SOUND, HERITAGE AND HOMELESSNESS
IN THE AGE OF NOISE

PAUL KENNETH TOURLE

RESEARCH DEGREE: INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

UCL

2020

'

I, Paul Kenneth Tourle, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.
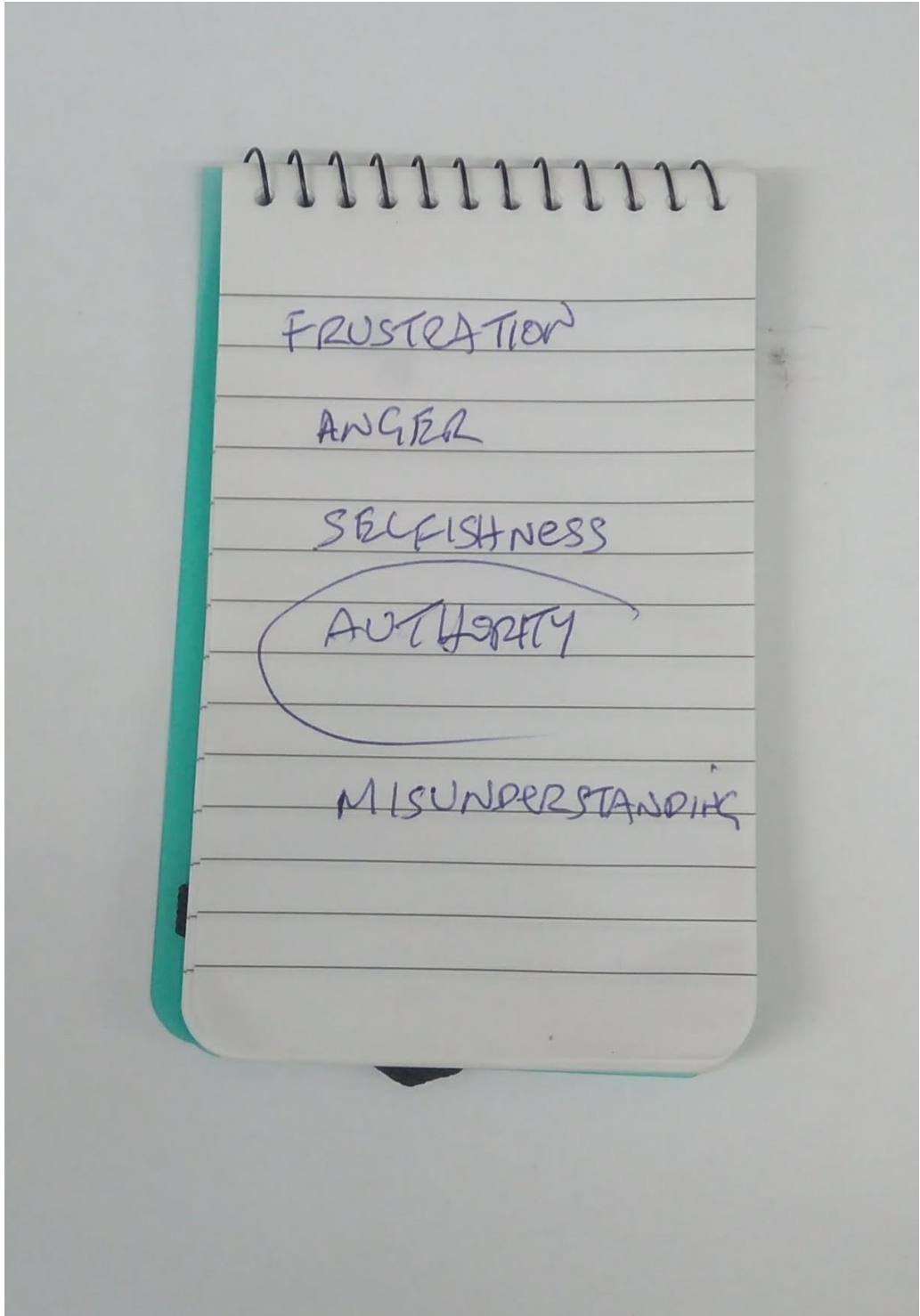
Figure 1: Participant notes from workshop at the Museum of Homelessness. Author's photograph.

ABSTRACT

Straddling the fields of critical heritage studies, auditory culture studies, and homelessness studies, this thesis follows a dual trajectory. First, it examines the critical implications of a recent embrace of 'soundmapping' in heritage institutions. A series of crowdsourced archives of 'everyday' sounds are analysed as case studies emblematic of three intersecting trends in heritage practice: 1) the rehabilitation as 'heritage' of hitherto neglected everyday and sensory cultural forms; 2) a notional 'democratisation' of collecting practices; and 3) an accelerating fragmentation of heritage practice that appears paradoxically both to enable and undermine work to resist hegemonic expressions of heritage.

Building upon this analysis, the second strand of the research documents my own attempts to formalize a critical sonic heritage practice responding to the issue of homelessness; in effect a 'counter-mapping' of my case study soundmaps. I present two listening projects undertaken respectively with guests at a London homeless shelter and in partnership with the Museum of Homelessness. Aligned with an emerging body of sensory homelessness scholarship, the projects question how sound and listening shape experiences of homelessness and underline the potential of an expanded engagement with the auditory as heritage.

A core concern of the thesis is to problematize the varied logics of participation and inclusion operational in heritage practice. Informed by critiques of the management of homeless populations within neoliberalism (strategies that prioritise individual over structural reform), I question how peripheral heritage projects like my own might be structured so as to address social issues at multiple scales; both challenging social inequality and mitigating its effects.

IMPACT STATEMENT

The key contribution this thesis makes is to further debates within the field of critical heritage scholarship pertaining precisely to how social "impact" can itself be defined and achieved in heritage contexts, what kinds of impact are desirable, and by extension, how heritage scholars and practitioners alike might best seek to work with marginalised groups and individuals to advance the cause of social justice, in particular within (and against) neoliberal capitalism.

For museum and heritage professionals, the discussions presented below relating to the collaborative primary research I undertook with people experiencing homeless, and to the limited tangible effects that research had in terms of improving the living conditions of the individuals concerned, should give pause to those planning participatory projects of their own. Above all, those discussions should encourage such professionals to think beyond established tropes and methods of inclusion, diversification, democratisation and recognition operative in the sector, and to be more ambitious both in working to position marginalised experiences at the very core of the work cultural institutions do (and of the stories they tell), and in striving to find connections between institutional objectives and audience members' own everyday lives and needs. The latter, the thesis suggests, should always come first, when it comes to designing and producing cultural exhibitions, content and other programming.

From a methodological standpoint, the thesis presents a series of practical approaches to investigating and promoting critical attention to everyday life that may easily be adapted to professional, institutional contexts. It also suggests critical ways forward for practitioners interested in exploring the sonic and auditory realms in museum and heritage settings.

CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

"When you were talking to him, discussing any subject at all, X frequently seemed to be looking away, listening to something else: you broke off, discouraged; after a long silence, X would say: 'Go on, I'm listening to you'; then you resumed as best you could the thread of a story in which you no longer believed."

(Like a bad concert hall, affective space contains dead spots where the sound fails to circulate. The perfect interlocutor, the friend, is he not the one who constructs around you the greatest possible resonance? Cannot friendship be defined as a space with total sonority?)

Roland Barthes (1977, 167), *A Lover's Discourse*

I hear that in New York
At the corner of 26th street and Broadway
A man stands every evening during the winter months
And gets beds for the homeless there
By appealing to passers-by.

It won't change the world
It won't improve relations among men
It will not shorten the age of exploitation
But a few men have a bed for the night
For a night the wind is kept from them
The snow meant for them falls on the roadway.

Don't put down the book on reading this, man.

A few people have a bed for the night
For a night the wind is kept from them
The snow meant for them falls on the roadway
But it won't change the world
It won't improve relations among men
It will not shorten the age of exploitation.

Bertolt Brecht (1931)[1], *A Bed for the Night*

---

[1] In *Poems* (1976, 181)

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 SETTING THE SCENE: MARIA, THE ARCHIVE & ME

The British Library Sound Archive is based at 96 Euston Road, London, where it forms one part of the larger library campus that squats in the shadow of the restored St Pancras station. Founded in 1955 as the British Institute of Recorded Sound in order to formalise a loose collection begun at the British Museum as early as 1906, the archive presides over a rich and storied array of sonic materials. Among the more than 6.5 million items in its care can be found recordings of the voices of public figures including Florence Nightingale, Ernest Shackleton, Alfred Lord Tennyson, and Queen Mary. It holds, alongside other treasures, more than 200,000 hours of radio broadcasts, hundreds of oral histories, a record of spoken English spanning more than a century, and a collection of recorded music drawn from all over the world, dating back to the late 1800s.

Wildlife and environmental recordings form a significant part of the Sound Archive's collection, too, and while many of these are the rarefied products of professional field recordists, from sound recording pioneer Ludwig Koch (1881-1974) to contemporary figures like Chris Watson (famed for his work on a string of BBC nature documentaries), not all have such venerable provenance. Indeed, nestled alongside around a quarter of a million scientifically classified field recordings (covering 'every group of sound-producing animal' (British Library 2019)), as well as a number of early soundscapes[2] dating to the 1930s, one of the more recent accessions to the archive is a group of over 2,000 field recordings crowd sourced from the British public in the course of the BL's 2010-11 *UK Soundmap* project.

Captured digitally – in many cases via smartphone - and presented tagged to a Google Map, the fragments preserved in this collection are together intended to document the ordinary sounds of lives lived in contemporary Britain. They include the nightmarish din of an ASDA supermarket in Reading (canned music bleeding into automatic checkout greetings and farewells), the ambience of the Great Court at the British Museum, and the steady hiss of a heavy rainstorm in Wokingham, Berkshire. The soundmap charts, at its southern extent, the restless parping of the Ariadne Steam Clock on the island of Jersey; its northern extreme is marked by the otherworldly sound of a metal farm gate resonating Aeolian-harp-like in storm winds on Fair Isle; and at its very centre, a point just east of Liverpool, one finds a ten-second long recording

---

[2] 'Soundscape' is a term coined by the Canadian composer and environmentalist R. Murray Schafer. Following Schafer's (2012, 99) definition, the term denotes 'any acoustic field of study'. As he writes: 'We may speak of a musical composition as a soundscape, or a radio program as a soundscape or an acoustic environment as a soundscape. We can isolate an acoustic environment as a field of study just as we can study the characteristics of a given landscape.' In its common usage (as is reflected in the OED definition – 'the sounds which form an auditory environment', and in the British Library's use of the word for the purposes of classification – drawing together 'mechanical and industrial sounds, soundscapes of the natural world and urban soundscapes'), the term is most commonly used to refer to the sounds of particular places and activities apprehended in a holistic manner. Just as landscape is the product of a particular kind of framing, surveying gaze, so soundscape is the product of a specific mode of listening: one attuned as much to the acoustic properties of a given environment as to the social origins and significance of the sounds audible therein.

of what might be (by the sound of it) a mid-sized dog, huffing and shrieking, immortalised under the title 'Sam Speaks' (British Library 2011).

Reflecting on their involvement in the production of the *UK Soundmap*, Maureen Pennock (the BL's then Head of Digital Preservation) and Chris Clark (its former Head of Digital Research and Curation) described with pleasure the opportunity the project had presented them to 'democratise the curator's role' (Pennock and Clark 2011). And indeed, such was the perceived success of the soundmap, that in 2015 the Library entered into a new partnership with the National Trust, the National Trust for Scotland, and AudioBoom[3], to deliver another participatory archiving project.

Sounds of our Shores, as this second project was called, aimed to capture and preserve a collection of field recordings representative of the sounds of the UK's coastline, and again culminated in part in the production of a digital soundmap and archive. Together with the *UK Soundmap*, these outputs are cultural artefacts that speak to a new trend in contemporary heritage practice: the crowd sourced collection and permanent preservation of everyday[4], environmental sounds as cultural heritage.

…

Take a walk outside the British Library on any but the chilliest or wettest of days, and you will likely find a good number of people – staff, researchers, students, and other visitors – enjoying a moment's pause in its generously proportioned red brick piazza. Some sit tucked beneath privet hedges, tapping away at laptops between sips of tea or coffee, or bolting down water before returning to the bone-dry reading rooms. Others sprawl in the shadow of Eduardo Paolozzi's colossal sculpture of Sir Isaac Newton, trading jokes and tired anxieties in twos or threes. Dense columns of school children bisect the space with their laughter; smokers puff noiselessly away, forming and re-forming their habits; and security guards exchange static via chest-mounted walkie-talkies. On certain days, too, it may be that one among the number of piazza-dwellers is Maria.

I first met Maria in the early spring of 2016, during a period in which she was one of around forty guests living temporarily at a London homeless shelter. The shelter was the site at which I carried out one of the principal components of the research that informs this study. In the course of two years spent volunteering there, I made several attempts to bring together a small number of its guests to discuss aspects of the sonic environment, and to reflect both on the part played by sounds in constituting everyday life, and on the historical conditions that bring certain kinds of sounds, and modes of listening, into existence. Maria, who explained her interest in these sporadic attempts with reference to her own passion for art and design, was

---

[3] An online platform for storing and sharing sound files.
[4] A complex and decidedly unstable term. I attempt to unpack the multiple meanings of 'the everyday' in Chapter 2.

among the most regular attendees at the informal walks, workshops, and discussions I organised, and it was during one of our earliest conversations about sound that she mentioned the piazza at the British Library.

Feeling my way through the early stages of the project, I had taken along a map of Greater London to the shelter with the hope of starting a discussion about the places that had particular sonic significance for the members of our group. For much of her time at the shelter, Maria was employed, working at a coffee shop in the heart of the city. This made her one of the thirty to forty per cent of guests in a typical cohort who are unable to afford accommodation in London despite being in employment. It made her, at that time, one of 3.8 million working adults in the UK – one in eight - living in poverty (Tinson *et al.* 2016, 5).

Tracing a route with her finger on the map laid out before her, Maria explained that most days, to get to and from work without having the funds to waste on tubes or buses, she would walk the four miles each way, there and back again, mostly along a series of noisy main roads. Talking me through her regular walk, Maria pointed on the map towards King's Cross and mentioned that very often she liked to stop off at the British Library in order to break up her journey and find a few moments to collect her thoughts. Earlier in the evening, another member of the group had brought up the subject of peace and quiet. Where could such a precious commodity be found in the context of a daily life book-ended by the squawking of a dozen bunk beds crammed side-by-side into a dormitory room, their inhabitants coughing, snoring, and breathing their way through each night? For Maria, the piazza at the British Library seemed in some way to provide an answer to that question. At the time she left the shelter to move into a rented flat of her own, she had never been inside the library itself, and never seen, read or listened to any of its collections. The piazza, however, set back a little from Euston Road, with its copious seating, and with no one in any hurry to move anybody else along, had become her own oasis of quiet and stillness set amid a desert of noise. Though in fact it is far from quiet, at that particular time in her life it was the site that offered her the silence she needed.

It has been more than a year now since I last met with Maria. Shelter protocol understandably prohibits me from re-contacting her, and as such I have no way of knowing to what extent, if at all, she continues to think about sound. I suspect, in any case, that the sonic environment is not particularly high on her list of priorities. For my part, however – with the privilege of having paid-for time available to me to dwell on it - the brief conversation we shared all those months ago about the restorative peace and quiet awaiting visitors to the British Library has lodged stubbornly in my imagination. Over time, the image of Maria sat only yards away from the Sound Archive, seeking a spot to be free from the onslaught of so many other sounds – just as inside are preserved so many thousand audio swatches of sea-swell, leaf-drop, and motor-engine - has come, for me, to summarise my research. It has come, that is, to stand both as a marker of the hope I put in the heritage industry as a site of individual and collective relief and social change, and as a reminder of the far broader, crueller, all-encompassing heritage that that same industry tends to disguise; the nation that stands behind the images of nation so often projected by institutions like the British Library. I wonder, therefore, what would it mean, and whom would it serve, to claim and document Maria's silence as heritage on the same plane as the recordings the BL seeks to preserve through its *UK Soundmap* – a project celebrated for the promise of cultural democracy it embodies. How might the heritage industry account for the restless nights that form such an unavoidable part of shelter life, or for the quiet places that offer succour to those in need of them? Whose story is this to tell, and in what forum would it best be told? What might heritage practitioners have to gain, and how might they contribute positively to social change, by attending to sounds and the silences that frame them?

1.2   OVERVIEW & RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This thesis is situated principally between the three fields of critical heritage studies, auditory culture studies, and homelessness studies. It is based substantially on empirical research into the roles sound and listening play in shaping the lives of UK residents experiencing homelessness.

Overall, the thesis is concerned to explore the critical and activist potentials and limitations – as well as the broader theoretical and operational implications - of a recent embrace of (digital) 'soundmapping' in mainstream heritage practice. Starting from a targeted survey and analysis of soundmapping practices wherein the British Library's *Sounds of our Shores* map is taken up as main case study, the thesis moves subsequently through a discussion of three projects of my own design, each of which has marked an evolution both in my thinking about sound and auditory culture, and in how I have come to understand the work and the responsibilities of a "critical" heritage researcher or practitioner.

The three projects - *Sounding Stamford Hill* (2015), *Our Sounds* (2016-17) and *This Noise Matters* (2018) each took very different forms. *Sounding Stamford Hill* was a pilot study centred on the North East London

suburb of that name and was conceived as a way of exploring and attempting to counteract what I then understood to be the limitations of existing soundmaps and soundscape archives. Comprising a series of eight 'listening walks' with local residents, it also provided a means of developing and problematising methodological protocols that would underpin my later research. The subsequent two projects both took homelessness as their subject matter. *Our Sounds,* based at a London homeless shelter, was a long-term study during which I worked both collaboratively with guests and independently as a participant observer (in my role as a volunteer) to try to document the sounds of daily life at the shelter. Its primary output is a written (single-authored) ethnographic account, presented here in Chapter 6.2. Contrastingly, *This Noise Matters* was a far more compact, and more thoroughly collaborative undertaking. Long in the planning, but compressed, ultimately, into a single, half-day workshop held in London in conjunction with the Museum of Homelessness, this project culminated in the production of a twenty-four minute long audio piece – a kind of collage work in which can be heard workshop attendees (with varying degrees of direct and indirect experience of homelessness) each describing a sound they had chosen to donate to a nascent archive. Today, that recording forms a part of the Museum's collection, and it is also presented here as an audio component in Chapter 7.

Writ large, through a critical analysis and comparative reading of *Sounds of our Shores* and my own primary research projects, the thesis responds to two core research questions:

1. What are the operational and theoretical implications of recent work in museums, archives and libraries to conceptualise and preserve large-scale crowdsourced collections of 'everyday' and environmental sound as cultural heritage? And;
2. What forms of knowledge and knowledge-making would a "critical" auditory heritage practice entail?

Through my engagement with homelessness in the latter half of the thesis I also respond to a third key question, as follows:

3. What roles do sound and listening play in shaping individual experiences of homelessness and how can these inform an understanding of contemporary society more broadly?

1.3   CRITICAL CONNECTIONS

Unpacking each of the above questions allows me to highlight the connections the thesis makes with a range of contemporary debates across the social sciences, and thus to map out a series of sub-questions. To begin with then, a consideration of the operational and theoretical implications of the recent intensification of crowd-based soundmapping practices in heritage institutions proposes three main avenues of investigation. Firstly, the past two decades have seen the gradual emergence and growth of a critical discourse targeted both to promoting the recognition and preservation of sounds as heritage or museological

objects (Boon 2014, Bubaris 2014, Kannenberg 2016) and to interrogating the ways in which heritage organisations frame and shape auditory culture (Bennett 1998, Rich 2016, Mansell 2017, de Jong 2018). Aligned with work in the interdisciplinary field of auditory culture studies which seeks to apprehend sounding and listening intersectionally, as culturally situated and mediated, classed, gendered, and racialised practices (Bull and Back 2003, Sterne 2003, LaBelle 2010, Kane 2015, Stadler 2015, Stoever 2016), as well as with research in heritage studies and associated fields attentive to the role museums and archives play in producing, and re-producing hierarchies of difference (Bennett 2006, Stoler 2009, Harrison 2014, Macdonald 2016, Bennett *et al.* 2017) this literature asks us to attend to the particular ways in which cultural institutions engage the sonic environment. In relation to institutional soundmapping initiatives it directs me to ask: What kinds of listening do such initiatives bring to bear on the world? What discourses, technologies and other material factors may be seen to shape that listening? Finally, how, in turn, and with what broader effects, do institutional techniques for collecting, categorising, and displaying sounds contribute to the promulgation of particular modes of listening among heritage audiences?

A second set of questions related to the popularisation of soundmapping practices corresponds with on-going debates in heritage studies concerning the problem of material (and therein especially digital) 'profusion' in late capitalist society (Merriman 2008, Harrison *et al.* 2016, Fredheim *et al.* 2018, Morgan and Macdonald 2018). Allied to a gradual relativisation of popular and institutional notions of what "heritage" is (Hewison 1987), the production of ever vaster and more variegated arrays of objects and digital records leaves cultural institutions faced with the twin challenge not only of managing rapidly growing collections with finite resources, but – perhaps more urgently – of finding ways to make meaning in a world awash with informational noise (Hoelscher 2006, Harrison 2013a). How, in this context, does the production and preservation of data-rich digital soundmaps intersect with critical concerns about the proliferation of information in contemporary society? Does the concern with listening such maps exhibit point to a new way of navigating and finding sense in our data-bound lives? Or are they, rather, better understood as a part of the problem; a product and symptom of a society that in crude terms appears more concerned with the exchange value than the use value of information (Terranova 2004, 2012, Dean 2005, Bauman 2007)?

The third focus of my investigation of soundmapping practices relates to their mobilisation of crowd sourcing techniques, and the framing of crowd sourcing as a democratic or democratising exercise. The twenty-first century mainstreaming of Internet communication has brought with it a widely observable increase in the application of models of "citizen sensing" in the social sciences (Goodchild 2011, Gura 2013, Zastrow 2014, Cohen 2017, Fredheim 2018), and it has helped to sustain the rise of democratisation logics in heritage practice (Carpentier 2011, Taylor and Gibson 2016, Coghlan 2018, Kidd 2018). Numerous claims have been made in recent years for the potential Internet technologies have to support the formation of counterhegemonic memory communities (Appadurai 2003, Beer and Burrows 2010, 2013, Hoskins 2011), and to allow people at the margins of society to claim and reinterpret the past (Harrison 2010, Owens 2013, Ridge 2013, 2014, Zastrow 2014, Purkis 2017). At the same time, however, a range of

commentators within heritage studies, have expressed reservations about the capacity for digital technologies 'merely [to] enhance the dominance of […] authorized, official narratives' (Silberman and Purser 2012, 16-17). Thus, through this research, I want to ask: To what extent can the "wisdom of crowds" be relied upon to furnish societies with accurate or useful information about the world we live in? What form should democratising practices take in heritage contexts, and whom does democratisation serve? Can crowd sourcing be legitimately thought of in terms of democratisation? How, if at all, does it transform institutional power relations? And what role do turns to more 'democratic' forms of heritage practice leave behind for "expert" curators, collectors and archivists?

Turning to the second of my core research questions, my concern to devise and a shape a "critical" auditory heritage practice relates back directly to several of the themes just discussed. Central to that project in particular, for example, is a questioning of the different forms of listening heritage practitioners might adopt and promote in and through their work, and, by extension, a consideration of the role sound and different sonic imaginaries play in shaping social life. A more pressing task here, however, is to situate my research in relation to contemporary debates on the role heritage workers and institutions can play in combatting injustice and reshaping social life. Readers in relevant fields will likely be aware of a long-running discussion that seeks, as Tim Winter (2013) puts it, to 'clarify the "critical" in critical heritage studies', and to reorient heritage practice and scholarship to address issues of local and global concern outside of institutions: from intervening in debates on climate and the environment (Solli *et al.* 2011, Winter 2016, Harrison 2017), to promoting peace and reconciliation in post-conflict situations (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, Meskell 2002, Zetterstrom-Sharp 2015), to working to mitigate inequalities and processes of marginalisation associated with uneven economic development and the extractive, exploitative mechanisms of global capitalism (Hamilakis and Duke 2007, Zimmerman *et al.* 2010, Kiddey 2014b, 2017a, González-Ruibal *et al.* 2018).

Here, notably, claims made for the redemptive efficacies of heritage as a driver of 'social inclusion', empowerment, and community building (Sandell 1998, Young 2003, O'Neill and Silverman 2012, Sandell and Nightingale 2012, Kinsley 2016, Johnston and Marwood 2017) are often countered with arguments emphasising the role heritage plays a tool of liberal governance in maintaining oppressive cultural hegemonies (Bennett 1988, Dibley 2005, Butler 2009, Graham 2012, Harrison 2013b, Alonso González 2014). Working in this context and addressing the particular problem of homelessness, my research asks to what extent a listening heritage practice could contribute to the promotion of social justice, and how such a practice might operate to effect change at the level of the individual, of communities, and of society more broadly.

Coming now to my final core research question, my project of investigating sound and listening in relation to homelessness connects both with the aforementioned critical literatures on auditory culture, heritage, democratisation and social justice, and with a separate research agenda in homelessness studies concerned with complicating, pluralising and destabilising public and academic conceptualisations of homelessness.

While David Farrugia and Jessica Gerrard (2016, 280) have called for the development of an 'unruly', interdisciplinary approach to homelessness research that rejects 'normative distinctions between "the homeless" and "everyone else"' and positions homelessness scholarship outside the narrow framework of social policy development, May, Cloke and Johnsen (2007) have proposed a need for 'alternative cartographies of homelessness' which complicate dominant portrayals of the 'homeless body' (ibid., 124). In the work of Robert Desjarlais (1997) and Catherine Robinson (2009, 2010, 2011a) in particular, one finds determinedly sensuous accounts of homelessness. These are, however, still relatively scarce; as are attempts (academic or otherwise) to document sonic and auditory aspects of the experience of being homeless (Di Croce 2017, *Skippering* 2017).

Finally, then, as a project which seeks ultimately to contribute to the public understanding of homelessness, my research forces me to engage with one further set of particularly challenging questions: What is the practical value of auditory knowledge of the experiences of people affected by homelessness, variously to scholarship, to society, and to the individuals concerned? How and in what contexts might such knowledge be applied? And, most urgently, how can research that both takes homelessness as a primary focus, and actively works to re-present homelessness to wider audiences, do so on an ethical basis; promoting social justice, and avoiding the further consolidation of regressive structures and hierarchies of difference?

1.4   HERITAGE & SOUND

Viewed in the round, and in so condensed a format, the above series of questions and sub-questions are suggestive of one of the main challenges I have faced in this thesis: to find a productive way of bridging and thinking across multiple different disciplines, without ending by merely talking extensively to, and at cross-purposes with, myself. Given this risk, by way of a further introduction to the thesis, I want to take the opportunity here to re-centre and begin to explore the two main subjects of my research – or the subject areas the research took as its point of departure; namely, heritage and sound. First and foremost, despite the connections it makes to auditory culture studies and homelessness studies, the thesis is targeted to readers within the heritage profession. For heritage scholars and practitioners interested in harnessing their work to promote social justice, it offers a detailed account of my own efforts in that direction, and the various challenges, both practical and ethical, that I faced along the way. At the same time, for individuals planning to conduct their own auditory enquiries into particular contexts or environments within the ever-diversifying heritage industry, the research supports and encourages a broad engagement with sound and listening. As much a record of different voices, types of laughter, shades of silence, and ways of listening, as it is a record of the different 'room-tones' one encounters moving from kitchen to dormitory in a crowded night shelter, the data assembled here is meant to give heritage professionals ideas to work with, and to advocate for a form of thoroughly relational listening in heritage practice that outstrips the documentary capacities of the digital recorder. So then, to begin with heritage.

1.4.1   DEFINING HERITAGE

As the primary object of my studies across the past several years, heritage has made for an unnervingly slippery companion, not least because it is a concept that evades easy definition. In short, as Robert Hewison comments in his seminal work *The Heritage Industry* (1987, 32), and as the sample of definitions provided below make clear, 'Heritage means 'anything you want'. It means everything and it means nothing.'

In 1972, setting out the particulars of its *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, UNESCO's World Heritage Committee (1972, §1) defined the kinds of materials it was concerned to protect and celebrate as including only those monuments, groups of buildings, or sites that could be deemed to be of 'outstanding universal value' from the disciplinary perspectives of history, art, science, ethnology or anthropology. Heritage was characterised as a resource 'increasingly threatened with destruction', the deterioration or disappearance of which would '[constitute] a harmful impoverishment […] of all the nations of the world' (ibid., 1).

For Historic England (2019a, 2019b), the national public body that, in its own terms 'helps people care for, enjoy and celebrate England's spectacular historic environment', 'heritage' is that which 'define[s] who we are', while 'heritage assets' are the 'elements of the historic environment that we value for more than their money's worth' – a strangely mercantile formulation, and one not easily squared with the same institution's efforts to defend public spending on heritage by demonstrating its functioning as a net contributor to economic growth (Historic England 2010, 2017, see also Tuck 2015).

A third, radically different interpretation of the term can be found in the Council of Europe's (2005) *Faro Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, a document which ventured a definition of heritage so broad as to encompass very nearly everything on Earth. Cultural heritage, it declared, is:

> a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. *It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time*.
>
> (2005, Article 2, my emphasis)

In an earlier echo of this radically broad view of heritage, meanwhile, in anarchist theorist Peter Kroptokin's 1892 work *The Conquest of Bread* (at least, in the English translation)*,* heritage is a term taken up to name all of the accumulated riches of humankind, its collective labour and ingenuity: cleared land, tilled soil, roads, tunnels, steam power, electricity, and so on, as well as 'a wealth of technical knowledge', all of which, 'were they but applied to bringing about the well-being of all' might ensure the harmonious and even luxurious co-existence of human beings the world over (2015 [1892], 9-10). While the scope of the heritage Kropotkin refers to may be identical to that defined in Faro, what is absent from his essentially

pragmatic use of the word is the idea that heritage has necessarily to do with questions of localised identity, belief or tradition. And, indeed, in his sense, far from being irrelevant to the definition of heritage, the problem of ownership is instead of critical importance: for Kropotkin, heritage is shared inheritance, and the denial of that inheritance and its product nothing less than theft.

Throughout this thesis, notwithstanding the inherent pliability of the term as just highlighted, my approach will be to treat of heritage primarily as a material-discursive *process* or group of processes (Hall 1999, Harvey 2001b, Jones 2006, Harrison 2013a), as 'a set of attitudes to, and relationships with, the past' (Harrison 2013b, 14), and as the necessarily intangible (yet powerfully affective) product of the past being 'actively remembered' (Horning 2013, 97) and felt (Navaro-Yashin 2009, Sterling 2015, Hamilakis 2017). Following Graham Fairclough (2012, xiv), I will view heritage as 'a conversation [or better, a multitude of conversations] between the past and our future', and, accordingly, as I proceed below, my focus will be on understanding the nature and the stakes of those conversations. In this, I will adopt three main analytical principles:

1.4.1.1   THE FUTURE

First, as the above line from Fairclough suggests - but this is a point worth reiterating - heritage is a process that both bears upon and is sustained by the future. As Rodney Harrison observes (2015, 13; see also Butler 2006, Labadi and Long 2010, Fleming 2015, Zetterstrom-Sharp 2015, Gilliland and Caswell 2016, Naidoo 2016), it is a central paradox within the field that:

> […] "heritage" has very little to do with the past but actually involves practices which are fundamentally concerned with assembling and designing into the *future* - heritage involves working with the tangible and intangible traces of the past to both materially and discursively remake both ourselves and the world in the present, in anticipation of an outcome that will help constitute a specific (social, economic, or ecological) resource *in* and *for* the future.

As Arjun Appadurai (2003) writes of the archive, then, heritage is as much 'an aspiration' as it is 'a recollection', and crucially, too, it is a process that also often justifies itself in reference to futurity. Most decisions to preserve a particular element or expression of one's (personal, communal, national, etc.) heritage imply the conviction and/or assumption that subsequent generations of humans will also value and appreciate the objects, records, documents, sites or memories that have been set aside and safeguarded for them (Holtorf 2011, 2014, Morgan and Macdonald 2018, May 2019). To a significant extent, as such, heritage institutions and practitioners are able to claim legitimacy for their work by projecting their own passions, values and concerns forward onto populations yet to come (DeSilvey 2012, 2017, Harrison *et al.* 2016, Harrison 2017) .

22

1.4.1.2 DIFFERENCE

The second foundational element of my approach to heritage is a concern with processes of differentiation. Here, building on the previous point, we may say that one of the principle means by which heritage practices work to produce the future is through the identification and articulation of difference (Harvey 2001a, Harrison 2013a, Alonso González 2014, Winter 2014, Macdonald 2016, Bennett *et al.* 2017). Whatever the scale it takes place at (and typically, as we shall see, heritage practices engage multiple scales simultaneously (Graham 2012, Harvey 2015)), the work of identifying and thence making heritage necessarily entails categorising and ascribing distinctive sets of values to objects, places, people and their behaviours. By emphasising, grouping together, excluding or downplaying particular traces and accounts of the past, diverse agencies work in the present to produce the conditions for particular actions in and on the future.

We can observe this process of differentiation in a wide array of contexts and at a range of levels in society, from the personal, to the communal, to the institutional. As a tool in the state government of populations, for example, as Stuart Hall (1999) has observed, the identification and re-presentation of a notionally shared heritage (e.g. in museum collections, or via systems of architectural grading and conservation listing) can act powerfully to supply content to the 'abstract idea of nation', helping to mark and reinforce the boundaries between two or more sets of differently ruled, geographically dispersed strangers (see also Bennett 1995, Billig 2010, Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012, Bennett *et al.* 2017). Equally, in commercial settings, as David Harvey has explained, manufacturers will frequently foreground (or invent) specific aspects or expressions of the past (traditions of handicraft, evocations of local authenticity, territory, and so on) in order to gain a competitive advantage. The articulation of heritage in this sense is one strategy in a broader effort to 'accumulate marks of distinction' – or difference – aimed, for Harvey, at driving up consumer demand, and hence maintaining the value of monopoly rents in a globalised market economy (2001a, 395-410).

And, to give one last general example here, we can see further processes of differentiation at play in an increasingly widespread trend (one backed by the development of a vast array of new services and products, from self-administered DNA testing kits to online genealogy databases) for individuals conducting research to trace their distant ancestry. Writing on the dynamics of decolonization in the USA, Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2012, 10), describe a contemporary phenomenon of 'settler nativism', wherein white Americans 'locate or invent a long-lost [native] ancestor […] and use this claim to mark themselves as blameless in the attempted eradications of Indigenous peoples'. Brought to prominence at the time of writing by US Senator Elizabeth Warren's decision to seek a DNA test demonstrating her (sixth to tenth generation) Cherokee Indian 'heritage' in the context of the race to secure the 2020 Democratic presidential candidacy, such strategies (which Tuck and Yang frame as 'moves to innocence') are clear examples of highly personalised differentiation through heritage. Through them, by revisiting and emphasising specific

aspects of their personal histories, individuals work to legitimise particular forms of action (or inaction) in the present and future.

1.4.1.3   PHARMAKON

The third and final principle I bring to my engagement with heritage concerns what Beverley Butler (2007, 2012) has described as its 'pharmakonic' efficacy. Following Jacques Derrida's deconstruction of the concept (1981), Butler draws out the complex set of meanings that adhere to the original Greek word 'pharmakon':

> The origin of the term 'pharmaceutical' [pharmakon…] is synonymous with wellbeing in terms of medicine, cure, remedy and healing. However, it also translates as drug, charm, magic, talisman, amulet, poison, spell, and as such can mean: the cure, the illness or its cause.
>
> (2012, 356)

A potent phenomenon, yet one which is ambiguous in its effects, the concept of pharmakon for Butler is applied in the context of her attempts to problematise the range of claims made in recent decades for the redemptive and/or healing properties of heritage. In her own particular research context, the "reconstruction" of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina in Egypt is cast as an example of the kind of 'urban shock therapy' (2007, 176) (i.e. 'culture'-driven economic regeneration) practised elsewhere upon Bilbao (victim/beneficiary of the 'Guggenheim Effect' (Plaza 2006)), and, for example, more recently in Stratford in East London, via the mechanism of the 2012 Olympic Games (see Cohen 2014, 2017, Gardner 2017).

In Alexandria, Butler (2012, 360-362) argues, the construction of the new Bibliotheca on the site of the destroyed Alexandrina Mouseion, orchestrated in part by UNESCO, represented at once a nostalgic attempt to recover the origins of the Western intellectual tradition, the concomitant privileging and/or imposition on local populations of 'rational' scientific knowledge practices, displacing popular concerns and beliefs, and, by extension, a continuation of elite interference in new nation states by older colonising powers, seeking to maintain and remake newly imperilled networks of power and influence. That the New Alexandrina was found significantly to alienate local Alexandrians was indeed evidence of the power of heritage (both in its mythic and revivalist incarnations) to act ambivalently upon the world.

For my purposes, below, the notion of 'heritage as pharmakon' takes on particular relevance in relation to the cluster of social justice, social inclusion, democratisation and wellbeing discourses that are today frequently invoked when cultural professionals seek to mobilise their work to the benefit of marginalised groups and individuals in society. In her work to excavate and document what she terms 'homeless heritage', to flag one particularly relevant example of this phenomenon, Rachael Kiddey (2017b, 167) sets

out a case for understanding 'collaborative cultural heritage work with marginalized groups as an explicit form of therapeutic social intervention', and as 'an affordable, accessible, and non-invasive way for people to interpret and deal with change and loss'. Through a series of digs in York and Bristol, staged at sites selected by research colleagues with lived experience of homelessness the Homeless Heritage team set out to unearth and interpret a series of objects for public exhibition.

With its strong emphasis on the importance of ensuring parity of esteem in research, on the (social, cultural, therapeutic) value of growing and supporting communities of research practice, and on the ethical imperative to presence subaltern histories in the public realm, Kiddey's research is in many respects an inspirational model for contemporary heritage practitioners to adhere to, and certainly it has played a role in shaping my own research practice. Butler's reminder of the undecided potency of heritage is, however, salient here. Where heritage (or culture more broadly) is posited as a cure to society's ills, she cautions, it is incumbent upon us always to ask: 'who or what is being cured? By whom and with what intended and unintended outcomes?' (2012, 362). For, if we do not, notwithstanding the good intentions that underlie the 'therapeutic turn', there is a significant risk that attempts to heal may become the cause of 'further traumatization, illbeing and exclusion' (ibid.).

1.4.2   ENTER SOUNDMAP: THE MAKING OF SONIC HERITAGE

Turning now to matters auditory, readers in heritage studies and related fields will perhaps be unfamiliar both with soundmapping as a practice, and with the growing interest particular cohorts of specialists within the heritage profession have shown across the past two decades in conceptualising and preserving sounds as cultural heritage. For this reason - and given that after this point I will not return substantively to discuss sound until Chapter 4 - some further introductory comments on the subject here may offer valuable context. To begin with, then, soundmapping is an overarching term used by a wide range of artists, researchers and institutions to name their efforts to document and represent the sonic characteristics of particular environments. As a first principle the practice can take many forms – ranging from the production of linear field recording compositions accompanied by notes (as in New Zealand-born sound artist Annea Lockwood's influential 1982 work *A Sound Map of the River Hudson*), to the creation of more impressionistic, iconographic maps using text and images, to the annotation of comparatively formal topographical maps with more or less arcane sets of data and icons marking intensities of volume, types of sound, their carry, and so on.

In the past two decades, thanks significantly to technological innovations in digital recording, data analysis and visualization, a new family of soundmaps has been developed, which exploit remote sensing and citizen feedback to populate dense records of noise levels in urban and wilderness settings, serving as tools in public health policy-making, real-estate marketing, urban planning, and ecological monitoring. Elsewhere, meanwhile, and of particular interest in this study, that same period has witnessed the proliferation of

hundreds of other web-based soundmaps[5], whose function is less clear-cut. Typically produced via the simple procedure of pinning geo-tagged digital audio recordings to their places of origin on an existing map interface (commonly Google Maps), and generated for the most part through processes of crowd-sourcing (with users invited to upload their own recordings of particular sites to central archives), these online maps are often the product of multiple overlapping impulses: to teach; to explore; to disrupt and subvert the silence and stillness of visual cartographies; and, not least, to archive, holding in reserve scattered fragments of the sounds of places wracked by social and environmental change for the supposed benefit of future generations.

With the rapid spread of the practice online, this last variety of Internet-enabled soundmapping has come, in recent years, to be the dominant form – at least in terms of its visibility to wider non-specialist publics outside of art and music colleges and planning offices. And though the practice was originally developed elsewhere - established and refined through the efforts of a small number of independent artists and researchers working from around the turn of the millennium - its more recent popularization is reflected in its adoption within a growing number of heritage institutions as a method of public engagement and archival production.

One of the first large-scale, institution-led mapping initiatives of the kind described here was the British Library's *UK Soundmap*, a project already introduced above, which saw more than 350 contributors submit recordings for preservation in the course of a year-long collecting period starting in July 2010. This was followed, as we have seen, by the same organisation's creation of the *Sounds of our Shores* archive of coastal sounds in 2015 in collaboration with the National Trust and the National Trust for Scotland. Further afield, from 2011-13, a cluster of six partner organisations including the national *Phonogrammarchiv* at the Austrian Academy of Sciences were awarded EU cultural funding to deliver a project entitled 'European Acoustic Heritage', culminating in part in the production of a continent-wide *European Soundscape Map*. Also in 2011, Mexico's national sound archive, the *Fonoteca Nacional*, embarked on producing its own *Sound Map of Mexico*. And in subsequent years, punctuating the period of my research, further new maps have continued to appear online as a result of the work of heritage professionals. In 2017, for instance, marking the centenary of the nation's independence from the United Kingdom, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation worked in partnership with the Department of Canadian Heritage to create the *CanadaSound* soundscape map, a project again fuelled by thousands of public contributions, through which are showcased, as its website states, 'an outpouring of the sounds that Canadians hear in their heads and hold in their hearts' (CanadaSound 2017).

---

[5] A number of bloggers have compiled lists and databases of online soundmapping sites. Their work gives a sense of the sheer number of different mapping projects underway today. See Aumond (2017), Mechtley (2013), Tausig (2010).

ORIENTATION

Though it is helpful to a point, this description has obvious limits. Most importantly, it does nothing to convey what it is like to navigate and listen to a soundmap, and as such, as a prelude to my critical discussion of soundmapping practices in the thesis, I would recommend that a reader to take a moment now to go online and sample first-hand the kinds of experience that soundmaps offer to their users; to attend to them as quasi-heritage objects; and to acclimatise to a world in which sound is afforded a strange kind of prominence. Three of the earliest forerunners of the heritage soundmaps considered through this research are: (i) *Radio Aporee::Maps*, founded by German artist Udo Noll in 2006, and built on the foundation of an online broadcasting platform launched in 2000; (ii) field recordist and sound theorist Peter Cusack's *Favourite Sounds* website, which was established in 2012, but compiles the results of community listening projects dating to 1998; and (iii) the *London Sound Survey,* a website created in 2000 by Ian Rawes, a former storesman at the British Library Sound Archive, on which can be found a range of different projects taking a variety of forms, all dedicated to investigating and documenting the city's soundscape. A good introduction to the soundmapping form can be had, I think, simply by navigating to those sites at the web addresses provided below and following one's natural browsing instincts. For an experience that more precisely follows my own first steps into the world of sonic geography, however, I would recommend the following itinerary:

1. Begin by visiting Ian Rawes' *London Sound Survey* and sinking into his London Waterways map. Distinct from the majority of soundmaps, which are built as layers upon a standard topographical base map, Rawes' waterways map instead takes the form of Harry Beck's iconic London Underground plan, ingeniously adapted to show, instead of train lines, London's minor rivers and canals (Fig.3). Sound recordings can be accessed by clicking on the named stops along each route depicted on the map. See: https://www.soundsurvey.org.uk/index.php/survey/waterways

2. Next, allow yourself to be led around the Radio Aporee map by activating its random playback function. The site is global in its scope. At the time of writing it hosts 46,868 recordings submitted by a total of 1,754 contributors, with an average duration of 3m51s (making, altogether, for more than 125 days of sound). A notable distinguishing feature of Noll's Radio Aporee map is the manner of its default presentation to users. Where many soundmaps are formatted at the point of first access to show high-level vectorised and annotated data (incorporating borders, roadways, waterways, street names etc., and offering a maximally 'zoomed out' view of their subject territories), *Radio Aporee::Maps*, is designed so as to present users with a low-level, satellite view of contrastingly far smaller areas, devoid of any kind of border markings or toponyms. In this, while limited metadata is presented in an unobtrusive bar at the foot of the web page, and though the site allows users to switch between different styles of map surface, the experience it appears to aim to create is one of initial disorientation. The site can be accessed at https://aporee.org/maps/. The shuffle function is accessed by selecting 'play > random sequence' from the top menu bar (Fig. 4).

3. Finally, navigate to Peter Cusack's *Favourite Sounds* website. As its title suggests, the archive presented on Cusack's site is the product of a series of community projects, based in the most part on a process of asking residents of particular towns and cities to identify their favourite of those areas' sounds and to explain the reasons for their choice. Presented on a project-by-project basis (with an overview of projects accessed via the left-hand menu bar), *Favourite Sounds* offers a somewhat more focused user experience than *Radio Aporee*. While all soundmaps exhibit a pronounced interest in place, Cusack's site (in common with Rawes' *London Sound Survey*) is a good example of an archive structured explicitly around discrete, region-specific enquiries. See https://www.favouritesounds.org/ and navigate to 'Hull Favourite Sounds in the left-hand menu. This gives access to recordings captured through a special edition of Cusack's project, created as part of the public programming for Hull's stint as UK City of Culture for 2017; evidence of the gradual mainstreaming of soundmapping within popular heritage practice (Fig. 5).
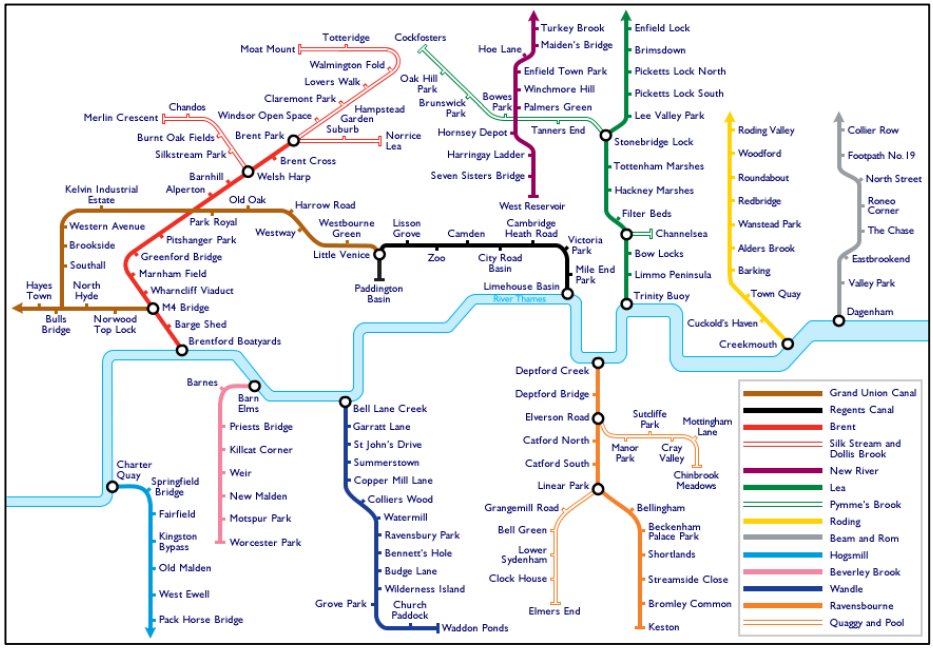
Figure 3: Ian Rawes' London Waterways sound map (Screenshot: https://www.soundsurvey.org.uk/index.php/survey/waterways)
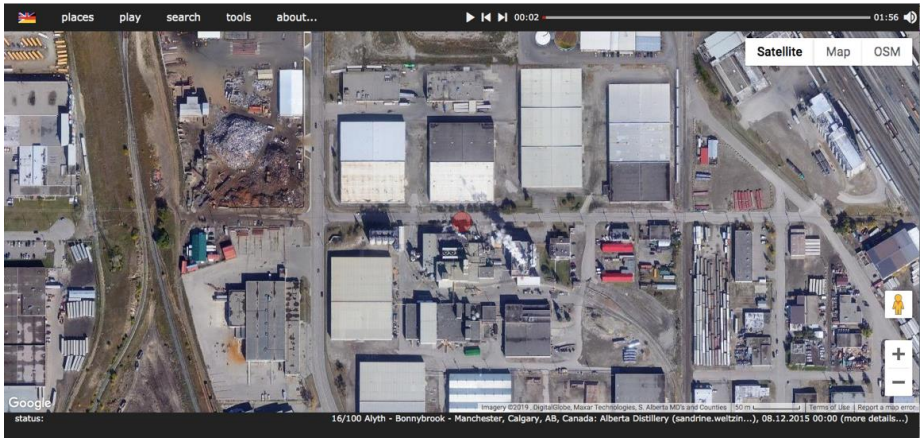
Figure 4: Default visuals on Radio Aporee :: Maps. With its detailed satellite imagery and tightness of frame, the map manages at once to disorient and to contextualise. The red dot (centre) anchors a digital audio recording of the area, accessed when clicked, and via the audio player at top right. Screenshot: https://aporee.org/maps/
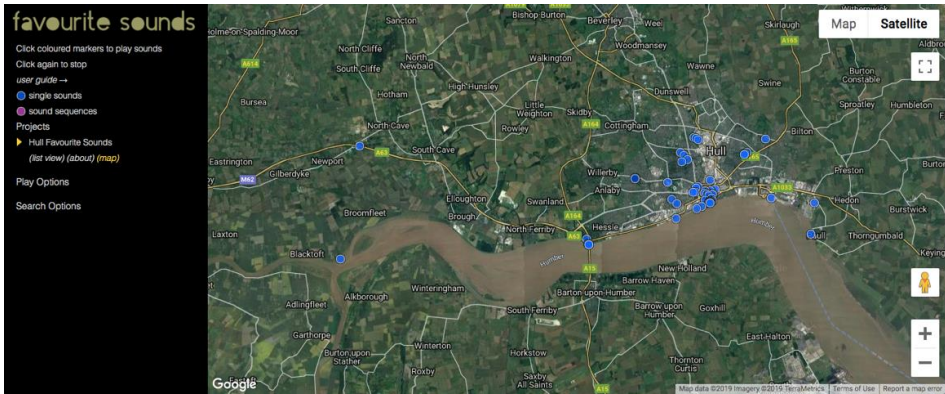
Figure 5: High-level view of Peter Cusack's Favourite Sounds Hull project. Screenshot: https://www.favouritesounds.org/

When I first set out to study online soundmaps towards the end of 2014, one of my primary drivers for so doing was a fascination with their rather contradictory form. Pushing against the conventions of traditional cartography, the format's characteristic blending of static visuals and fluid, ephemeral sound gestures, quite self-consciously, to the limitations of visual map-making, to the excess vitality of social life so effectively (and arguably necessarily[6]) blotted out by more familiar atlases, A-Z's, and roadmaps, and still further, perhaps, to the impermanence of all things. Though at root most examples still incorporate either satellite imagery or familiar sets of markings denoting various landscape features, nevertheless these are not typically maps of the kind that might inform the work of planners or policy makers; nor are they maps by which to plot an efficient route. Rather, soundmaps encourage their users to drift, to idle, and in many cases to question the manifold forms of boundary and borderline that transect their visible skins. As Salomé Voegelin (2014, 23) argues, where visual cartography tends to deal in certitude, sonic geographies of the kind exemplified in online soundmapping are contrastingly 'anxious and affective: full of doubt, uncertainties, and the pathology of who we are'. For Angus Carlyle (2014, 150), similarly, the soundmap '[makes] audible that which struggles to be seen as visible'. They promote, he suggests:

> […] affective attentiveness to what goes on behind the windows and walls, to the domestic beyond the architectural façade; intensified sensitivity to magnetic fluxes, to the internal vibrancy of matter, to shifts in heat, in wetness and wind, to the racket of the cicada and the buffalo's breath, to the dangerous […] and to the precarious (in whatever language it speaks).
>
> (Ibid.)

If the sense of precariousness, of movement, and of excess achieved by the juxtaposition (or recombination) of sound and space in a single experiential plane is what instils soundmaps with their particular magic – a certain gravity, under the influence of which regular users report often losing whole hours or afternoons – then it is these same qualities in part that, to me, mark the format as an archival technology deserving of close scrutiny. As Featherstone suggests, following Derrida (1995), at the heart of efforts to preserve and rediscover traces of the past in archives lies a longing for the experience of coherence and certainty, and the capacity to transcend a doubtful present:

> The archive fever is the attempt to return to the lived origin, to the everyday experiences which are the sources of our distorted and refracted memories whose transience and forgetting makes us uneasy.
>
> (Featherstone 2006, 596)

---

[6] Jorge Luis Borges' brief parable On Exactitude in Science (1999 [1946]) is a frequent citation for researchers grappling with this problem (e.g. Carlyle 2014, Soria-Martínez 2017). In it, Borges relates the story of an unnamed empire whose cartographers, aiming to attain perfection in their art, endeavoured to produce a map 'whose size was that of the Empire, and which coincided point for point with it'. Later, their descendants, 'who were not so fond of the Study of Cartography as their Forebears had been, saw that that vast Map was Useless'. The essential moral of this tale - that maps, to be effective tools for navigating, prospecting, planning, etc. must in some way essentialise, and prioritise between, the elements they depict – is all the justification map-makers need for the acts of exclusion that define their practice.

By returning their users to snatches and snippets of cafeteria sound, the ragged edges of just-audible conversations half-overheard, or the insistent, inscrutable song of crickets caught mid-stridulation, soundmaps grant access to moments of intimate abundance, activating personal memories, and conjuring the experiences of myriad unknown others beyond. In a sense, as nascent historical records, their potency lies in their capacity to evoke the everyday in something approaching its lived fullness, and yet, in being so full, they gesture simultaneously, too – somehow more vividly it seems than other forms of archive – to the vast expanse of living matter and experience that has escaped their grip. At the point at which any single recording trails off and ends in silence, there lies open the question of what came next, what sounds arrived, no less fleetingly, and never to be repeated in quite the same combination as before, to permeate the spot on which the recordist stood. More complete than other archives, then, soundmaps are, by extension, also emptier. And as such their trick, as I experience it, is to exemplify both the promise and allure of the archive and, at the same time, perhaps, its ultimate futility or failure.

Within the relatively brief span of their lives online to date, the soundmaps I engage with here have received only a correspondingly modest critical response, largely from researchers situated in the fields of cultural geography and sound or auditory culture studies. In each of these contexts, attention has focused principally, on the one hand, on exploring the potential soundmapping has to disrupt traditional, wholly visual cartographies (Théberge 2005, Ceraso 2010, Carlyle 2014, Anderson 2016, Thulin 2018), and on the other, as I will explore further in Chapter 4, on critiquing the forms of listening brought to bear upon the world through the practice (Waldock 2011, Madrid 2016, Bieletto-Bueno 2017, Droumeva 2017).

In heritage studies (and in its associated fields of museum and archive studies), although the popularization of soundmapping has not gone altogether unnoticed, at the same time the practice has largely escaped sustained critical scrutiny. Pinar Yelmi (2016) is one of a handful of writers who have published articles documenting the technical basis of their own attempts to develop soundmaps for the express purpose of containing and disseminating heritage, in her case through the production of a soundmap of Istanbul (see also Keys 2013, Komen and Oomen 2013, Rosas and Luna 2017). Across these examples, however, where limited efforts have been made to ground practice in theory, the authors have focused principally on justifying their own conceptualisation of soundscapes (in UNESCO's terms, see 3.1) as 'intangible cultural heritage', and, subsequently, on arguing (or in Yelmi's case assuming) the need for the long-term preservation of soundscapes in the form of archival recordings and maps. Working with the overriding and unquestioned goal of mitigating the in-situ loss and/or transformation of specific sonic environments, those authors alight upon soundmapping as a technical solution – the end point of an argument; and consequently, they stop short of discussing the broader socio-cultural trends the practice exemplifies and flows from.

Throughout this research, my approach has been very different. Rather than viewing soundmapping as a neutral technological solution to managing and preserving a heritage resource understood to be already out there in the world and in need of salvaging (the soundscapes Yelmi and others present as being endangered),

I have instead sought to examine the practice as a process of active heritage-making in itself. Furthermore, rather than mobilising existing heritage discourses and value systems in support of soundmapping, I have attempted the opposite, positioning the practice as a point of departure from which to investigate critically the present condition and operation of the heritage industry as a whole.

To this end, a key opportunity that this study presents is to connect with research in museum and heritage studies concerning the status, conceptualisation and mobilisation of sounds as a form of cultural heritage. In the past two decades, against the backdrop of a wider sensory turn in the humanities and social sciences (Jay 1993, 2011 Bull *et al.* 2006, Smith 2007b, Howes and Classen 2014, Bull and Howes 2016), the rise of auditory culture studies as an increasingly settled and productive discipline (Bull and Back 2003; Erlmann 2004; Pinch and Bijsterveld 2012; Sterne 2012), and the publication of a spate of sonic and auditory histories and ethnographies attentive to the changing soundscapes of, for example, the USA in its lurch into modernity (Thompson 2004) or post-revolutionary France – where Republicans set out to secularise time and space through a ban on ecclesiastical bell-ringing (Corbin 1999), significant strides have been made towards recognising sounds and other material and intangible expressions of auditory culture as historical objects and forms of heritage worthy of investigation.

Alongside the aforementioned framing of soundscapes as intangible cultural heritage, this period has also witnessed efforts on the parts of professional conservators to promote the acknowledgement and material safeguarding of the distinctive acoustic properties of particular historic buildings and environments - most often cathedrals (Suárez *et al.* 2005, 2015, O'connor 2011) and wilderness areas (Krause 2015)[7]; it has seen sound-oriented non-fiction titles find their way onto the bestseller shelves of high street bookshops (notably Trevor Cox's *Sonic Wonderland* (2014), a book striking for the way in which it repeats key heritage tropes[8]); and it has been marked, too, by increased engagement with sound on the part of a growing cohort of archaeologists; historically key agents in determining how the past is produced, understood and communicated to the public.

Since the mid-2000s a new troupe of specialists equipped with microphones, speakers, tone-generators, their voices for shouting and hands for clapping, have conceived and developed a field of archaeoacoustics or acoustic archaeology, working to sound out the hidden histories of sites both ancient and modern, previously examined only by hand and by eye (Goh, 2017; Schofield, 2014a, Till, 2014). Two pioneers of this sub-discipline - Paul Devereux (2008) and Iegor Reznikoff (2008, 2011) - are credited with

---

[7] Further, as a recent report in the online journal Ouest-France (Robin 2019, cf. Lewis-Smith 2019, 24) makes clear, politicians are now joining in the sonic conservation game. On the 30th July 2019 local Mayor Bruno Dionis du Séjour in the village of Gajac (Gironde) told reporters that 'Rural noises like animals and church bells are part of the patrimony of France and need to be protected by the government. This is necessary because of an accumulation of complaints from 'neo-rural' city people who move to country areas, and then bring cases before the courts, complaining about crowing cockerels, braying donkeys, and chiming church clocks. If these sounds are added to the *Inventaire du patrimoine culturel immatêriel en France*, it will guarantee that our farmers don't find themselves in front of the judges because their cows moo too much.'

[8] Specifically, the distillation of a global canon – 'the sonic wonders of the world', and the framing of his research as a 'scientific' 'quest', or an 'odyssey' in search of 'aural gems' – positioning the objects of Cox's enquiry well outside the realm of everyday life, and establishing himself as a researcher in a long tradition of enigmatic collector / explorer (2014, 24).

demonstrating a clear correspondence between the most sonically resonant spots of particular caves and chambers, and the locations of marks and drawings made on rock walls by our Neolithic cousins. Contemporary archaeologist Jeff Benjamin (2014a, 2014b, 2015), meanwhile, has coined the term 'sonifact'[9], working to build a theoretical framework for the wider recognition and investigation of auditory culture in archaeological research. And further, on the basis of investigations on the Tavoliere Plains in Southern Italy, Sue Hamilton and her colleagues have proposed that the use of multisensory phenomenological methods attentive to the sonic dimensions of human behaviour, could help to shape an understanding of how, for example, the distribution and siting of prehistoric settlements may have been planned according to the audibility in differing terrains of an anxious child's cries to its mother (Hamilton *et al.* 2006).

In museums, as well, sounds and those who promote their appreciation and study are enjoying a sustained moment in the sun. Building from the work of scholars including Tony Bennett (1998) and Nikos Bubaris (2014), who have worked to problematise the characteristic quiet of the nineteenth century museum[10], and informed, too, by a growing literature on sound's functioning as a prompt for involuntary memory (e.g. Lane and Parry 2005, Bijsterveld and Dijck 2009, Birdsall 2009, Hamilakis 2017), soundscape design has become an increasingly valued aspect of exhibition planning (Boon 2014). Albeit often sound continues to be deployed in fairly rudimentary ways, aimed simply at enlivening historical dioramas, there is also growing evidence that curators are working to harness sounds with more pronounced and ambitious pedagogical intent. Thus, for example, at POLIN[11] in Warsaw, Steffi de Jong (2018, 91-100, cf. Landsberg 2004) describes how the use of sonic effects - including an ambiguous sound suggestive of laboured, heavy breathing in the context of the museum's discussion of the deportation of Jews - forms part of a consciously multisensory attempt to promote empathetic identification with people from the past on the part of contemporary audiences.

Going yet further than this still fundamentally ambient use of sounds, meanwhile, and drawing me back towards my interest in soundmaps, the past three years in particular have given rise to a succession of museological projects wherein particular sounds and methods of listening have taken centre stage as cultural artefacts and objects of discussion in their own right, rather than being used primarily to generate mood or atmosphere. At London's Wellcome Collection from April – July 2016, the major exhibition *This is a Voice* saw the institution's main gallery space given over to a dedicated exploration of the human voice and how its 'unique grain […] locates us socially, geographically and psychologically' (Wellcome Collection 2016). In 2018, at Historic England's temporary show *Immortalised!*, an exploration of the

---

[9] 'A cultural or ecological sound form produced by and contextually dependent upon tangible, or "host" artifacts. It is a recognizable, repeatable, reproducible sound, made by people, other life forms or the environment, one that endures through time, with negligible variability' (Benjamin 2014a, 120)

[10] This is considered both a reflection of the scientific faith once placed in the eye as the supreme tool for accessing and producing rational knowledge (the now righteously 'demonized visual hegemony' of Enlightenment thought (Rice 2008, 296, cf. McLuhan 2010)), and an expression of the museum's public function as a tool for civilizing working class bodies and minds, more on which below.

[11] The Museum of the History of Polish Jews

nation's memorial landscape and culture, sounds played back to visitors through hidden speakers - including recordings of a traditional Gaelic funerary lament (keening), and a two minute remembrance silence held at the Cenotaph (oddly recognisable; a poised massed hush) - were given prominent status as exhibits in themselves, and acknowledged in interpretative texts as being of no less interest and significance than the more tangible objects distributed around the gallery space.

Finally, and most expansively, from late 2015 onwards, artist and researcher John Kannenberg (2016, Lynch 2017) has devoted increasing time to developing and promoting his *Museum of Portable Sound* (MOPS), attaining some minor celebrity and influence in the process. Taking the form of a kind of audio database stored on a single Apple iPhone, MOPS can only be visited by making an appointment to meet with its Director (Kannenberg himself), who will arrive at an allotted place and time and present the smartphone along with a formal printed guidebook (for reasons of hygiene, headphones are to be provided by visitors themselves). In terms of its internal organisation, the museum is arranged as a series of galleries, each of which draws attention to a particular type or thematic group of sounds and is accompanied by interpretative texts laid out in the guide (Fig. 6). On my own visit to the museum in early 2017, browsing the 'Audio Interfaces' gallery, I was thus, for example, able to access and contrast a series of recordings of the different sounds made by traffic lights (crossing signals for the visually impaired), collected by Kannenberg in a range of cites across Europe and North America: Toronto, Antwerp, Zagreb, Aarhus, Munich, Chicago, Ann Arbor, and San Francisco. Other galleries, for instance 'Plumbing, Heating & Cooling' with its focus on the sounds of various forms of air vent; or 'Weather & Water', which incorporates a collection of recorded rain and tornado warning sirens, are designed similarly to showcase and invite curiosity as to the origins, significance and localised specificity of relatively mundane, everyday sounds.

With its confronting director-visitor dynamic, and madcap imagined architecture (note the Frank Gehry Commemorative Wing, below) Kannenberg's museum is all too easily dismissed as an elaborate joke. On the contrary, however, as odd as these details may appear, each reveals an acute critical imagination at work, whether gesturing to the incorporation of "starchitect"-designed, self-consciously *spectacular* museum spaces in mass-tourist itineraries (Frey 1998, Ockman 2004, cf. Debord 1967), or working to subvert the undifferentiated terrain of the smartphone database. Most striking in the context of my research, however, is the rather baroque system of classification Kannenberg adopts to structure MOPS (a conscious imitation of the Enlightenment museum), and its contrast with the less elaborate spatial organisation of content typically used in online soundmapping. Here - in line variously with museum theorist James Mansell (2017, 2), who has called upon heritage professionals to pay greater critical attention to the various 'ways of hearing' deployed within the profession, with a rich vein of heritage scholarship addressed to the social implications of archival and museological classificatory systems (e.g. Bennett 1988, Mitchell 1992, Pearce 1995, Stoler 2002, 2009, Bennett *et al.* 2017), and with broader critical literatures on the intersections of knowledge and power, and the discursive effects of scientific observation (Daston, 2008; Foucault, 2002, 1982; Hacking, 2006) - the Museum of Portable Sound foregrounds the question of how

the selection and interpretative framing of sonic artefacts may serve to shape public understanding of, and attitudes to, auditory culture, self, and society beyond.

Figure 6: Conceptual map / architectural plan of the Museum of Portable Sounds, showing typological collections plotted to a series of imagined gallery spaces. Image courtesy of John Kannenberg.

In my own research context, and in terms of assessing the discursive effects of museological and heritage modes of listening, the apparent openness and inclusivity of contemporary soundmapping practices will pose a particular problem. Marking the continuation of a shift in sounds' usage and framing in heritage practice - from the background to the foreground of curatorial imaginations, and from the production of ambience, to the isolation of sounds as discrete cultural artefacts - soundmapping is nevertheless a radically indiscriminate form of collecting. When the identification and creation of sonic heritage is delegated to online crowds, and when literally anything goes – as recordings of rainstorms, teatimes, and dog-sounds mingle alongside one another in archives intended to represent entire cities, nations and continents, contained only by the super-category 'soundscape' - how can we identify the truth-effects produced by

such collections? What ways of hearing are at work in their making? Where are their deaf-spots? And how do they shape public knowledge of society as a whole? To return to my overarching questions, then investigating soundmaps and the conditions of their making will serve as an essential point of departure as I look to understand what kinds of knowledge sonic heritage practices create, what the theoretical and operational implications are of efforts to frame everyday sounds as heritage, and how alternative approaches to soundmapping might provide the basis of a critical practice attentive to problems of social inequality and structural injustice.

1.5   THESIS STRUCTURE

In terms of its overall structure, this thesis is organised in a quite conventional manner. Following this Introduction, Chapter 2 provides an overview of the methodological approach I adopted to analysing case studies and to conducting primary research in the course of the varied projects outlined above. Chapter 3 is dedicated primarily to reviewing and discussing a range of the critical, conceptual literature that I have drawn upon in thinking through practices of differentiation, diversification, inclusion and democratisation in heritage practice, and working to understand their varying relations to the notion and project of social justice.

From Chapter 4 onwards the thesis follows a broadly chronological route through my studies. There, in presenting my central early case study, the British Library / National Trust soundmapping project *Sounds of our Shores*, and in describing the pilot listening project I undertook in Stamford Hill, I enter into my first substantive discussion of the primary data gathered through this research. In reflecting critically on those two projects I work to draw out the potentials and limitations of contemporary approaches to sound and auditory culture in heritage practice.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 recount my research into homelessness. Beginning in Chapter 5, I explain the circumstances and decision making processes that led me to focus on homelessness during the latter half of my studies, and I present a further review of literature – drawn mainly from homelessness studies – aimed at situating my own work relative to others' in the field. Chapter 6 documents the time I spent conducting research with guests at a London night shelter. Subsequently, Chapter 7 centres on the workshop and recording project – *This Noise Matters* - that I undertook in collaboration with staff and community members at the Museum of Homelessness. In Chapter 8, finally, I offer a brief set of conclusions, reflecting on the overall findings of my research, revisiting the research questions set out above, and working to distil a set of recommendations and opportunities for further study that may inform and shape subsequent operational and theoretical developments and interventions within the conjoined worlds of heritage practice and scholarship

2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION: COUNTER MAPPINGS

This chapter maps out the methodological approach that I have taken to investigating my core research questions. Overall, I want to suggest, that approach can best be summarised, and my thesis as a whole conceptualised, as a series of 'counter mappings'. Somewhat stretching my definition of that term to incorporate analytical approaches in the field of critical cartography, I understand counter mapping as involving two distinct operations: on the one hand, deconstructive analysis to identify and make legible the means by which existing maps have been produced, the logics and power relations they conceal, and the agency they exert in society (Black 1997, Dodge *et al.* 2011, Harley 2011, Cohen 2016); and, on the other, proactive, and typically collaborative, efforts to research and represent both overlooked spaces and times, and marginalised perspectives and experiences, with a view to re-shaping social life (Peluso 1995, Cooke 2003, Harrison 2011a, Byrne 2013, Cohen 2016, 2017a, Droumeva 2017).

For urban ethnographer Phil Cohen (2017, 9), in a definition, which – for its unabashed utopianism – I cleave to here, counter mapping entails, precisely, 'the postulation of other possible words'. It involves, he writes:

> [...] challenging stereotypical notions of what maps are for, what they are supposed to look like or do, and who gets located on them by whom. It extends that agenda into examining what alternative plans, or new environments with different priorities, might be possible and what social and political arrangements would have to change as a condition of their implementation.

In my own studies, adopting both of the above-outlined processes, it is to a significant extent that same utopian impulse Cohen describes that I have followed. My research began with a critical analysis of contemporary heritage soundmapping practices, centred on a primary case study, the National Trust / British Library project *Sounds of our Shores*. Through that analysis I sought to unravel and trace the origins of the normative grammars operative in soundmapping processes, to understand the roles varied techniques and technologies have played in producing soundmaps, and to apprehend the crowd sourcing of map data as a media event.

In the course of that initial process I also began to register some of the different kinds of absence inscribed in sound maps - the lack of particular types of sounds, ways of listening, and forms of metadata in their representations of the sonic environment. Subsequently, through three primary research projects in Stamford Hill, at a London homeless shelter, and through a workshop held in conjunction with the Museum of Homelessness, I sought ways of documenting some of what was missing.

During those projects, reflecting a common feature within other examples of counter mapping (e.g. Byrne *et al.* 2004, Harrison 2011a, Waldock 2016), I used a large number of different qualitative data collection methods in combination, including: 'soundwalking' (Westerkamp 2007, Drever 2009, Paquette and McCartney 2012); 'bimbling' (Anderson 2004); participant observation; interviews; group map-annotation; participant field recording (i.e. lending participants recording equipment to use independently); and group archiving (here, in my final project with the Museum of Homelessness, participants were left alone to record themselves in groups of three, as each donated a verbal description of a sound to the Museum's collection).

Viewed individually, I might note, none of the three projects discussed in this thesis correspond with traditional notions of mapping. Their written and audio outputs do not take recognisably cartographic forms, and in the last project – *This Noise Matters* at the Museum of Homelessness, my research process led me to dispense altogether with an explicit focus on a discrete territory. Nevertheless, I would maintain that as critical investigations concerned with the relations between people, sound, and space, and, moreover, as grounded enquiries devised and designed in critical dialogue with the logics exhibited by existing soundmapping initiatives, the projects should be read collectively as contributions to an overarching process of counter mapping.

Having established this general conceptual frame, my approach in the remainder of this chapter is to unpack my methodology in three phases. Following this introduction, I begin by making some further general comments relating to the critical perspective I adopt in my work, my use throughout the research of a dialectical mode of analysis following the Marxist sociologist Henri Lefebvre, and my overarching research ethics. Next, I enter into a more detailed discussion of the main analytical devices and investigative tools and practices I have used through the research, again foregrounding the work of Lefebvre and providing contextual detail relating to his multiple-decade-spanning project to 'critique' everyday life throughout the twentieth century. Finally, to close the chapter, I introduce a key critical motif that I have deployed throughout my studies – "noise" – and discuss the relevance of this concept in terms of how it has helped me to think across and connect my different research sites and contexts.

Importantly here, before I go on, and for purposes of orientation, I should note two key - and possibly expected - elements that this chapter *does not* include. They are:

(1) A discussion of the sites, case studies and participants at, in relation to which, and with whom my research was carried out; and

(2) A description of the individual data collection methods used through the research, i.e. 'bimbling', 'soundwalking', participant observation, and so on.

Both of those elements are, it goes without saying, indispensable parts of a methodology. For two reasons, however, I have opted here to remove them to other parts of the thesis (thus each of my main data chapters

- 4, 6 and 7 - incorporates a further explanation of methods). First, given the number of different data collection techniques and participatory methods I used at different stages of the research, I feel that any attempt to summarise them all here would end in an ungainly and unedifying mess. More important at this stage, I judge, is to instead make clear the common logic that underpins and led me to select and make use of each of those varied tools. In this, I can say that regardless their ostensible differences, all of my primary research projects and case study analyses (counter mappings both deconstructive and creative) were shaped relative both to a Lefebvrian understanding of space, society and everyday life, and to my concern with the material/conceptual potentials and pitfalls of noise.

Second, as highlighted above, an essential feature of my research process has been a continual reflection on the value of participatory heritage practices to society and social change, often leading me to make drastic revisions in terms of what and where I studied, and the kinds of knowledge I aimed to produce through research. Thus, for example, when I arrived at UCL back in late 2014, I had no intention of investigating homelessness (see Chapter 5).

As Charlotte Davies (2008, 29) suggests, a challenge, and arguably a flaw, in a great deal of writing within the social sciences is that:

> […] the research process is often presented as evolving in a logical and unilinear fashion'; [as an] 'idealized scheme' [… that] 'tend[s] to downplay the often chaotic and unplanned nature of social research […], as well as the ongoing process of analysis from problem inception through data collection […] which may challenge [a researcher's] plans both practically and intellectually.

Throughout this thesis, then, rather than downplaying chaos or denying noise, I want to embrace it. In this, to explain the shifts in my method, and my migrations from research site to research site, it is necessary to discuss each phase in the context of a broader narrative, and each project, in some sense, as a counter mapping of my own prior counter mappings. Significantly, I think, this can only be achieved effectively in light of an unfolding discussion of findings and by situating my primary research relative to my reading of soundmaps, and of critical literatures on heritage and homelessness. As such, again, my progression through different sites, and the evolution of my research methods, will be discussed on a project-by-project basis spanning all of my principal data chapters.

Keeping the limitations of this chapter in mind, I will now move on to discuss three overarching aspects of my methodology: my critical perspective, use of dialectical analysis, and approach to research ethics.

2.2   CONSTANTS

2.2.1   CRITICAL REALISM

First, then, briefly, but very importantly in terms of the claims I make to describe and explain particular aspects of heritage practice, homelessness and auditory experience, my research has been carried out within a critical realist framework (Davies 2008, ch. 1). While accepting the necessary subjectivity of research practices and individual experience, and thus stressing the need for reflexivity in processes of knowledge production, this framework nevertheless 'asserts that there is an [external] social world independent of our knowledge of it' and that that world is 'knowable' and, to a significant extent, explainable (ibid., 18).

2.2.2   DIALECTICAL REASON

Second, as a basis for trying to apprehend, interpret and explain that social world, I have adopted, following Lefebvre, a particular mode of dialectical analysis. Like Lefebvre's, my own programme of research is oriented to 'the everyday'. It sees me adopt, overall, a three-part focus on understanding (1) the role sound and listening play in shaping everyday life, in particular in contexts of homelessness; (2) the way heritage practices account for and represent the everyday; and (3) the ways in which those practices in turn contribute to producing everyday life (and vice versa).

Keeping in mind this close attention to the everyday, the fundamental logic of Lefebvre's critical method (expressed and further developed throughout his work on space and rhythm) lies in a dialectical reading across and between, on the one hand, lived experience of everyday life, and, on the other, abstract critical (philosophical) knowledge of society as a whole. Within this process, as he suggests (1971, 14), '[the] limitations of philosophy - *truth without reality* - always and ever counterbalance the limitations of everyday life - *reality without truth*.' Put more prosaically, and with a slightly different emphasis, Lefebvre writes elsewhere:

> [...] there can be no knowledge of the everyday without knowledge of society in its entirety. There can be no knowledge of everyday life, or of society, or of the situation of the former within the latter, or of their interactions, without a radical critique of the one and of the other, of the one by the other, and vice versa.
>
> (2008a, 11)

A key feature of Lefebvre's dialectical approach - one emphasised by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, two of the main translators of his works into English – is its 'open-ended' nature (1996, 9-10). Striving to '[bring] together the conflictual and contradictory [e.g. the everyday and the exceptional; the homogenous and the fragmented; work and leisure] and linking theory and practice', Lefebvre's purpose

'is not to deny one or the other term, nor to transcend them […], but to reveal the continual movement between them' (ibid.). Importantly, the analytical relationships he establishes between key terms (and again, here, the everyday-exceptional binary is instructive) are 'not intrinsically dialectical, rather dialectical thinking can be brought to bear upon them'. This is a process that 'highlights the relationships between forms and contents and dissolves stable morphologies to such an extent that stability becomes a problem' (ibid., 10). (In my own research, to give one example here, and following a now fairly standard route through homelessness studies (e.g. Bramley 1988, Cronley 2010, Kiddey 2017b), this dialectical mode of thinking is made manifest in a reading of the two decidedly unstable terms 'homeless' and 'home' (see Chapter 5)).

In the next section of this chapter, I will return to discuss Lefebvre's methods more closely. For present purposes, however, I want to note a helpful parallel to his dialectical approach, which at this early stage, may help to illuminate further the basic logic of my analytical process. That is, Robert Desjarlais' (1997, 25) notion of a 'critical phenomenology'. For Desjarlais, framing his ethnography of residents' 'sanity and selfhood' in a Boston homeless shelter, such an approach:

> […] can help us not only to describe what people feel, think, or experience but also to grasp how the *process* of feeling or experiencing comes about through multiple interlocking interactions. [It] is phenomenological because it […] entail[s] a close, unassuming study of "phenomena," of "things themselves" - how, for instance, people tend to feel in a certain cultural situation. But the approach is also critical in that it tries to go beyond phenomenological description to understand why things are this way […] and what broader cultural and political forces are involved.
>
> (Ibid.)

Desjarlais' method, like Lefebvre's, is dialectical, entailing a continual oscillation between a sensuous attention to lived experience, and efforts to develop, and situate experience relative to, a critical explanation of social structure and agency. In terms of my own programme of auditory research, Desjarlais' formulation helps to stress the simultaneous necessity and insufficiency of a purely phenomenological approach to apprehending and documenting everyday sounds and ways of listening.

2.2.3   ETHICS

A final point to consider here by way of setting out the foundations of my methodology concerns my research ethics. This I want to approach in two steps, firstly in broad terms, aiming to take account of the overall ethical/political dimension of my work, and secondly by focusing in on the more localised ethical issues I encountered in conducting participatory research, most particularly in the latter stages of my studies when I worked collaboratively with people who had either previously experienced, or were at that time dealing with homelessness.

2.2.3.1   OVERARCHING ETHICAL PRINCIPLES

To begin, then, with the big picture. Fundamentally, in this regard I proceed from the position that no research practice may be considered wholly innocent or exempted from the ethical demands of broader social life on the basis of its contribution to knowledge alone, and that hence to 'do heritage' at a small-scale with marginalised groups requires a far-reaching commitment to trying to understand - at a societal level - what heritage does. This stance requires an extension of the above call for reflexivity to place in question not only my influence as a researcher in shaping knowledge of my case studies, research sites and subjects, but more broadly as well, both the direct ethical responsibility I have to my research participants, and my siting within a field of heritage scholarship and practice, which – as I have already noted – contributes to the shaping of specific social futures.

In particular here, by following others including Kiddey (2014b, 2014a, 2017b, see also Zimmerman and Welch 2011) in situating the study of homelessness within heritage frames, I am involved in the process of constructing a particular disciplinary future for critical heritage studies; which, if it is not carefully nurtured and subjected to critique, could easily be shaped in such a way as to normalise and promote the increasing instrumentalization of already marginalised people in processes of representation and 'social inclusion' that work ultimately to their detriment (see Chapter 3.1.2). As I have already suggested above, a key tension in this thesis lies in the dual tendency it exhibits, on the one hand to want (indeed, to feel morally compelled) to explore, understand and presence difference, and, on the other, to remain wary of the socio-political effects of processes of differentiation, and of the work heritage does as a 'differencing machine' (Harrison 2013b, 88, cf. Bennett 2006).

There are few contexts in which the ambivalent social function of difference can be more readily understood than in relation to the problem of homelessness, wherein the 'recognition' of difference might equally imply, either, in perhaps the best case, developing awareness of affected individuals' personhood, paying attention to their specific needs, and making an effort to understand and contest the structural conditions that enforce their marginalisation; or, alternatively, in a worse case, the denigration of individuals or whole groups as 'other', and the reaffirmation, in Farrugia and Gerrard's above-cited terms, of a categorical distinction between 'the homeless' and 'everyone else' that justifies social marginalisation. Difference, then, is a phenomenon which, if it is to be productively thought through and mobilised, requires a commitment to understanding the variable effects social practices exert across multiple scales.

Building from this understanding, and again adopting a Lefebvrian perspective on the entanglement of my own everyday life and research practice within larger social dynamics, a key part of my methodology has been to try to develop a dialectical understanding of the relations between, for example, the small-scale actions I undertake as a researcher – trying to presence homelessness in heritage and wider public

discourses; and, on the other, far broader processes of (neo)liberal governance and capitalist exploitation and expansion, which rely heavily both on the production and management of difference (Harvey 1974, 2001a, McLaren 1998, Bauman 2007), and on a model of individual responsibilisation and redemption (tacitly precluding overarching societal reform) very frequently mirrored in the design of participatory heritage methods (Hall 1999, Bishop 2012, Alonso González 2014, Coombe and Weiss 2015).

In terms of the structure of this thesis, that attempt to read, understand, and accordingly shape my own research process dialectically is manifested most clearly in my use throughout my research of noise as a critical motif / problematic (see 2.4), and in chapters 3 and 5 where I embark on sustained explorations of bodies of literature relating respectively to the relationship between heritage and social justice, and to the political and wider sociocultural framing and treatment of people experiencing homelessness. Here, importantly, far from constituting merely aspects of a literature review or providing background to the present study, those chapters should instead be understood as key products of my (ongoing) efforts to situate and understand the ethical and political implications of my work relative to broader social processes. Further, and accordingly, the work of producing those chapters and subsequently reading across and between them, my case studies, and my primary research projects, should be considered as an integral part of my methodology.

2.2.3.2   LOCALISED ETHICS

Turning now to discuss what might be thought of as a series of more practical - or finer grained, more context specific - ethical concerns, I arrive at issues relating to the design of participatory and ethnographic research, and of working with vulnerable people. Any process of participatory or ethnographic research necessarily entails careful planning to avoid causing harm to research subjects, as well as a commitment to grappling with notions of truth and subjectivity, the act of representation and its immediate effects, as distinct from the wider potential social impacts described above. Beyond this Chapter, I will make further detours to discuss ethical issues within their specific project settings (as for example, in Chapter 6, where I highlight the problem of negotiating power relationships in designating research goals at the shelter, and in Chapter 7, where I focus on the publication of possibly identifiable voice recordings, produced during the Museum of Homelessness workshop). Here, however, to ground the subsequent chapters, I highlight four key issues that I took into account in planning fieldwork across my three research sites. Namely; vulnerability, consent, confidentiality, and anonymity.

2.2.3.2.1   VULNERABILITY

When I opted to use participatory methods to address the issue of homelessness through my later research, I did so in the knowledge that I would be working with individuals who could be considered highly

vulnerable. Added to the complex emotional impacts that frequently accompany both serial displacement and the deterioration of personal relationships, people facing homelessness are also disproportionately likely to have experienced physical and sexual abuse, and to suffer with alcohol and narcotics addiction (Tomas and Dittmar 1995a, Desjarlais 1997, Robinson 2010, 2011b, Bramley and Fitzpatrick 2018). Prior to commencing my research, I had completed a training course on working with vulnerable young people, offered by the homelessness charity Centrepoint, which served powerfully to shape my understanding of the traumas victims of homelessness can carry with them, and of the many forms of violence and marginalisation many will have had the misfortune to experience. In this context – albeit in investigating experiences of homelessness (and more generally in addressing any given collectivity), it is advisable to avoid generalisation (see Chapter 5) – it was particularly necessary to plan my research carefully so as to avoid causing harm in any foreseeable form, whether physically or emotionally – for example, through betrayals of trust and confidence, or by placing individual research subjects under pressure to participate in my various projects.

As I discuss again in Chapter 6, it was in part this awareness of the likely higher degree of vulnerability of my intended participants that led me to undertake research in collaboration with organisations specialised in providing care for people experiencing homelessness. Both at the shelter, and at the Museum of Homelessness, participants were situated within organisations able to provide access to trained counsellors, and staffed by personnel experienced in providing care and managing substance abuse (the shelter, to the latter point, was a dry environment with support given to affected individuals). More broadly, but perhaps more importantly, they were also embedded in communities that provided love, security and familiar, reliable support networks. In contrast to alternative approaches, then, which – for instance – might have seen me approach 'rough sleepers' directly, on the street – this decision to work with specialist partners, ensured that participants would be safe. Furthermore, it mitigated a significant risk; that by working with homeless individuals independently I would enter into relationships of significant trust and dependency that could not be sustained beyond the relatively short timeframes of my various projects.

2.2.3.2.2 CONSENT, CONFIDENTIALITY AND ANONYMITY

Intimately connected to the issue of vulnerability, issues of confidentiality and anonymity had significant potential to impact my research and the participants in it. In the context of homelessness in particular, reflecting a range of literature that highlights the social stigmas associated with the problem (e.g. Desjarlais 1997, Belcher and DeForge 2012a, Schneider and Remillard 2013), Rachael Kiddey (2014b, 72) has described the fear that several of her own research participants articulated when considering the possibility that details of their lives and circumstances could be made public – most notably via media that could reach family members and friends, potentially causing emotional stress to all concerned, robbing participants of their autonomy, and conceivably threatening the fabric of important relationships. As Charlotte Davies (2008, 60) notes, a further potential danger in conducting any ethnographic research (and this is a risk

heightened in contexts of marginalisation) is that it may lead to the disclosure of sensitive private information – pertaining to issues of mental and physical health, for example, or of criminality – that participants would prefer remain private. For each of these reasons, I took a series of steps throughout my work to clarify and seek agreement upon – in effect – key terms of engagement. The first such step was to be open about my identity as a researcher. Whenever I spoke with individuals about their lives at the shelter, either in formal sessions, or otherwise during my time there, I would explain the nature of my work, the reason for my undertaking it, and the likely public outputs – written reports and articles - that it would lead to. The second was to assure participants in the research that any sensitive information they shared with me would remain confidential (unless published under condition of anonymity), with the key exclusion that, at the shelter, I would report to its management, any information that led me to believe individuals were at risk of harm. The third step was to guarantee anonymity to all those participants who wished to remain nameless in the research: a measure applied to all data collected and stored (but see Chapter 7 for a discussion of the use of participants' own voices in the co-produced audio essay born of my collaboration with the Museum of Homelessness). And the fourth, built on the foundation of these conditions, was to seek explicit, written, informed consent from all those individuals that took part in the research, emphasising their right to withdraw from specific projects and to request the destruction of data relating to them at any time up to the conclusion of my studies, when, in any case, the data would be destroyed.

2.3   TRANSFORMING EVERYDAY LIFE: LEFEBVRE'S DIALECTICS

> How can everyday life be defined? It surrounds us, it besieges us, on all sides and from all directions. We are inside it and outside it. No so-called 'elevated' activity can be reduced to it, nor can it be separated from it.
>
> (Lefebvre 2008a, 41)

> The object of our study is everyday life, with the idea, or rather the project (the programme) of transforming it.
>
> (Ibid., 2)

With these three fundaments in place – a critical realist faith in the existence of an explainable world external to (but comprised in part of) thought; my intention to try to read that world dialectically, combining more abstract, 'critical' and direct phenomenological approaches; and a corresponding ethical commitment to try to understand my own primary research practice as part of broader social processes – I will now move on to a discussion of everyday life and Lefebvre's analytical method.

By engaging everyday life as an object of research, I align my work implicitly with a long tradition of thinkers and practitioners, running from the earliest decades of the twentieth century with the emergence of Dadaism and Surrealism, and the work of Walter Benjamin (1999) and Georg Simmel (1969 [1903]), on

into the mid-century with the founding of Mass Observation in Britain[12], and the growth of the Situationist International across mainland Europe[13], and continuing in the writings of figures including Agnes Heller (1984), Maurice Blanchot (1987) and Michel de Certeau (1984) from the late 1960s[14]. Substantially, as I suggested above, my own approach to the everyday has been shaped by my reading of Henri Lefebvre[15], and most particularly by my adoption of his methods for analysing space and rhythm. As Lebas (2003, 70) suggests, however, without being grounded in relation to Lefebvre's politics and his particular notion of the everyday, these methods remain largely only 'geographical conceit[s]'. Crucially, too, in using Lefebvre's methods to 'map' everyday experiences of homelessness in the latter stages of my research, I did so in sympathy with his overall programme of critique, and, therein, with his above-cited imperative very firmly in mind: to study everyday life with the idea of transforming it. As such, before I come to a discussion of specific research tools, it is necessary first to consider the practical politics that underlie Lefebvre and others' project of everyday critique.

For Michael Gardiner (2004, 229), a key factor which unites the today increasingly formalised field of 'everyday life studies' is:

> […] the supposition that to focus exclusively on the memorable, highly visible or extraordinary events of the sociocultural world is something akin to a category mistake, because to do so universalizes the atypical and ignores the overlooked norm.

Meanwhile, Claire Colebrook (2002, 693-4) has suggested that another key point of connection between these varied thinkers and movements lies in their shared conceptualisation of the everyday as a kind of wellspring of utopian potential; a site or level of experience in which are secreted the seeds of social transformation, and ultimately revolution. For Blanchot, Heller and de Certeau, in particular, Colebrook (ibid.) explains, the everyday is understood as a realm essentially beyond the totalising grip of rational thought. 'Ungraspable, ineffable, or ever-receding,' it is considered as such to resist being absolutely incorporated, or fully colonized by the 'systems and logics' that 'enslave' modern life. That is, while the everyday is indeed subject to those systems (and must necessarily have given rise to them), it nevertheless retains, always, a certain excess that evades rational calculation, instrumentalization, and domination.

---

[12] A British social research organisation founded in 1937; notably Mass Observation's organisers were early proponents of crowd sourcing techniques in sociological research (see Harrison 2014, Noakes 2015).

[13] See Debord (1967), Vaneigem (1983 [1967]).

[14] Looking beyond those individuals most closely associated with its study as a discrete concept, there are countless other thinkers for whom the everyday and its near analogues have served as fertile ground for enquiry. In particular, for example, in Hannah Arendt's ([1963] 2006) discussion of the 'banality of evil' (the ways in which monstrous deeds flow from and are normalised and subsumed within everyday bureaucracy), and Iris Marion Young's (2011, 93) notion of '"ordinary" [i.e. structural] injustice', one finds powerful concepts, which – had my research developed otherwise – might valuably have been afforded greater prominence in this study.

[15] An important point to note here is that my reading of Lefebvre's work is and could only ever have been only partial, amounting to less than a tenth of his overall output. Born in 1901, Lefebvre died in 1991, and thus he lived – as a philosopher, an activist, a teacher, a fighter in the French resistance, a prime rabble-rouser in the civil movements of May 1968, and sometime taxi driver - to witness the better part of the twentieth century. During that time, as Stuart Elden (2004, 5) notes, he wrote with prodigious energy, often in the manner of a pamphleteer, pressing out works to meet the demands of a highly active political life. Returning time and again to the same core themes – space, time, the everyday, mass media, the character of modernity, architecture, and urbanism - he authored more than 60 books in the course of his lifetime, as well as dozens more papers and articles.

To focus on Lefebvre, one finds both these traits amply represented in his writing. In a key passage of the first volume of his *Critique*, for example, he suggests that everyday life is:

> [...] in a sense residual, defined by 'what is left over' after all distinct, superior, specialized, structured activities have been singled out by analysis.
>
> (1991, 97)

At the same time, however, he insists that the everyday 'must be defined as a totality':

> Everyday life is profoundly related to all activities, and encompasses them with all their differences and their conflicts; it is their meeting place, their bond, their common ground. And it is in everyday life that the sum total of relations which make the human - and every human being - a whole takes its shape and its form.
>
> (Ibid.)

This 'double determination' (Sheringham 2010, 149) of the everyday as the residue and product of life writ large is an essential aspect of Lefebvre's thought. As Goonewardena *et al* (2008, 8) argue, Lefebvre encourages us to resist seeing everyday life either as a discrete object, place, or repertoire of actions set apart from the grand movements of history, or wholly as a 'derivative' or 'repository of [those] larger [socio-economic] processes'. Instead, they suggest, we should attend to it as a vibrant, 'semi-autonomous and contradictory level of totality'.

An important point to underscore here, however, is that if Lefebvre's everyday is to be understood as a totality or a whole (and therein, simultaneously, as one aspect or level of an all-encompassing totality), then nevertheless, as Seigworth and Gardiner (2004, 142) argue, it should be recognised as:

> […] a whole of a highly particular (even peculiar) sort: not that fairly commonplace conceptualization of a whole which comes to be perpetually ensnaring or encircling […] and, thus, sucks up and seals off all that occurs (or has occurred or will occur) into its own endlessly assimilative totality. Rather, the everyday is a whole that reconstitutes itself in each moment […]. This is an everydayness that does not close-off but, instead, perpetually opens up: an open totality arising with every moment, a beach beneath every cobblestone.

The everyday, then, has about it a somewhat Promethean character. And it is this irrepressible dynamism, the constitutive instability and fecundity of everyday life, in which Lefebvre ultimately places his hopes for social reform. While on the one hand, the everyday might be understood merely as a remainder – 'the humble and sordid side of life in general, and of social practice' (2008a, 19), on the other:

[…] it is also the time and the place where the human either fulfils itself or fails, since it is a place and a time which fragmented, specialized and divided activity cannot completely grasp. (Ibid.)

2.3.1   DEFINING A CAUSE

If everyday life is to be understood, for Lefebvre, as a site or realm of resistance, of excess, and of human fulfilment; one which frustrates classification, evades power, and hence proposes the basis for alternative ways of living, then it is important to ask why it should be called upon or invoked in this way. By committing to the 'critique of everyday life' (a project which both Sue Middleton (2017) and Derek Ford (2017) note is as much political, pedagogical and revolutionary, as it is analytical), what evil(s) does Lefebvre seek to expose and to thwart?

In a word, underlining his clear and frequently acknowledged debt to Marx, the answer to that question is 'alienation'. Importantly, however, this is a phenomenon, or a state, which Lefebvre understands as being expressed in multiple areas of social life. Most immediately, he suggests, it is economic. Alienation is recognisable in the way in which, the everyday 'has literally been "colonised"' by capitalism and consumer society (2008a, 11), such that '[the] commodity, the market, money, with their implacable logic, seize everyday life' (1988, 79). This colonisation is expressed not only in the appropriation of the products of human labour by the property-owning class, or in the circulation of economic '"things", fetishes [which] envelop and disguise the human relations which constitute them' (1991, 179), rather it 'goes all the way to the slightest details of everyday life' (1988, 79).

As the 'commodity prevails over everything', Lefebvre writes, '(social) space and (social) time, dominated by exchanges, become the time and space of markets' (2004, 16-17). Rhythm, repetition, and routinization become a particular focus of interest as, increasingly, capitalist logic inserts itself into the everyday, 'creating hourly demands, systems of transport, in short, its repetitive organisation' (ibid.) – all shaped in line with the logics of production and profit. And, moving from the level of the city to the body, the organising force of capital extends even to people's most ordinary movements:

> People are separated from group to group (workers, craftsmen, technicians) and from each other, each in his box for living in, and this modernity organizes their repeated gestures. The same machinery whittles down the number of essential gestures.
>
> (2008a, 79)

Within capitalism, Lefebvre suggests, 'man [is] torn from his self, from nature, from his own nature, from his consciousness, dragged down and dehumanized by his own social products' (1991, 180). He maintains that:

> Humanly speaking, someone who thinks only of getting rich is living his life subjected to a thing, namely money [thus, they are subject to a form of domination]. But more than this, the proletarian, whose life is used as a means for the accumulation of capital, is thrown to the mercy of an external power.
>
> (Ibid., 178-9)

Perhaps the greatest source of anguish for Lefebvre, however, is that, in spite of their domination, humans living out their alienated lives are made subject to mystification. They do not see their own chains:

> [Society] becomes a mechanism and an organism which ceases to be comprehensible to the very people who participate in it and who maintain it through their labour.
>
> (Ibid. 180)

And, in this, finally, alienation is not only economic. Indeed, Lefebvre claims, it is: 'social (the formation of classes); political (the formation of the State); [and] ideological (religions, metaphysics, moral doctrines)'. Further it is philosophical, or a product of modern philosophy:

> […] primitive man, simple, living on the same level as nature, became divided up into subject and object, form and content, nature and power, reality and possibility, truth and illusion, community and individuality, body and consciousness ('soul', 'mind').
>
> (Ibid., 249)

In the end, then, not only capitalism, but all those systems of knowledge and belief, which conspire to instil in the human a false conception or a false consciousness of its true situation are causes of alienation. They deny the human its humanity. And, as such, they too are to be made subject to critique.

2.3.2   TOOLS: SPACE, RHYTHM, ALIENAITION, THE POSSIBLE

At this stage in my discussion of Lefebvre's work, its stakes and objectives are becoming clearer. Interested (after Marx (1969 [1845], §XI)) not only in describing the world, but in trying to change it, he establishes capitalism, the inequalities and injustices it generates, and the habits of mind that enable it among his main adversaries.

Now, in light of the above, there are certainly elements of Lefebvre's writing that should prompt caution. Perhaps most alarmingly in this regard, by seeming to rely upon a radically universalised notion of mystification and/or "false consciousness", as well as upon a no less universal and frankly unpersuasive appeal to the inherent goodness or rightness of 'primitive' humanity, Lefebvre appears variously to discredit 'ordinary' people's knowledge of everyday life, to make a perhaps unhelpful fetish of the intellectual, and

to commit himself to a somewhat monolithic redemption narrative that leaves, apparently, little room for cultural difference (Colebrook 2002, Felski 2002, Langbauer 1992, but see Gardiner 2004). These are problems with Lefebvre as a teacher – and, more particularly, as a rhetorician and polemicist - that complicate his legacy. Nevertheless, here, broadly speaking I feel comfortable aligning myself both with Lefebvre's work and with his critical Marxist outlook, and so I will move now to a discussion of the ways in which his thought is made manifest in method.

Building on my discussion of Lefebvre's dialectics thus far, there are four elements of his method I will discuss here, each of which I have made use of at different stages of my own primary research. They are, to summarise: (1) regression-progression; (2) defamiliarisation; (3) the spatial trialectic, and; (4) rhythmnanalysis. To conclude this section of the chapter, I also import and introduce a fifth, complementary term and approach, 'aurality', from the field of auditory culture studies.

2.3.2.1   REGRESSION-PROGRESSION

First then, to begin with an approach that speaks powerfully to my concern with heritage as a future-making endeavour, that echoes, too, my understanding of counter mapping as an exploration of the possible, and that simultaneously underpins and is informed by all other aspects of Lefebvre's work, there is the analytical process of looking backwards in order to look forwards. This is a movement that Kofman and Lebas (1996, 9) summarise under the term 'regression-progression'. Already above, I have noted an important tension explored in a great deal of twentieth century thinking on the everyday: that is that while the everyday is posited as a site of evasion, resistance and excess (eluding the dominating structures of bureaucratic thought and capitalist production), nevertheless – as the ground and substance of human existence – it is also the realm from which those structures must necessarily have emerged[16]. On this basis, critically investigating aspects of everyday life to determine their pasts and the conditions of their production may enable one to recognise different ways of remaking the social world in the future; an analytical return to origins in order to discover the possible. As Kofman and Lebas explain, in 'regression':

> [Lefebvre] combines genealogical (returning to the emergence of a concept and exploring its concrete affiliations, detours and associations) and historico-genetic procedures (abstract and total, linked to the general history of society and philosophy). Progression refers to the opposite move, that of beginning with the present and evaluating what is possible and impossible in the future.

---

[16] We see this near paradoxical process/relation very clearly in the case of money, an entity which exerts, undeniably, an oppressive material agency in daily life, and which Lefebvre explores through Marx's concept of the commodity fetish: 'Money, currency, commodities, capital, are nothing more than relations between human beings (between 'individual', qualitative human tasks). And yet these relations take on the appearance and the form of *things* external to human beings. The appearance become reality; because men believe that these 'fetishes' exist outside of themselves they really do function like objective things.' (Lefebvre 1991, 178)

Contra the more troubling image of Lefebvre sketched above (as universalising polemicist, dismissive of everyday consciousness), here an important task for him is precisely to identify moments of difference and conscious resistance that function counter to the colonising logics of individualization and routinization he associates with capitalism. Thus, in volume one of his three-part study of the everyday, conjuring a gloomy image of the modern French town at the close of the 1940s – an urban form expressing the 'almost total decomposition of community, [and] the atomization of society into 'private' individuals' (1991, 233-4) – Lefebvre nevertheless locates other trajectories in the development of society, and other formations that may serve as grounds for hope:

> [Provided] our purpose in deciphering them is neither the search for the superficially picturesque […], nor the search for would-be modern myths, then our towns will [also] show us something quite different: the rebirth and reforming of community in factories and working-class neighbourhoods. There, other modes of everyday living, other needs, other requirements, are entering into conflict with the modalities of everyday life as imposed by the capitalist structure of society and life, and tending to re-establish a solidarity, an effective alliance between individuals and groups. How does this conflict manifest itself? Constantly beaten down, constantly born again, how is this solidarity expressed? How does it translate in concrete terms? This is exactly what the positive side of the *Critique of Everyday Life* should discover and describe.
>
> (Ibid.)

Fundamentally, then, while Lefebvre's study of the everyday takes in part the form of a negative analysis – 'a question of stating how people live or how badly they live, or how they do not live at all', at the same time it is marked by a decidedly pragmatic and grounded utopianism; the 'question of discovering what must and *can* change and be transformed in people's lives' (2008a, 18, emphasis added). 'Critique of unfulfillment and alienation should not be reduced to a bleak picture of pain and despair,' he writes. Instead '[it] implies an endless appeal to what is possible in order to judge the present and what has been accomplished' (Ibid., 45).

2.3.2.2   DEFAMILIARISATION

> [To] reach reality we must indeed tear away the veil, that veil which is forever being born and reborn of everyday life, and which masks everyday life along with its deepest or loftiest implications.
>
> (Lefebvre 1991, 57)

The second element of the Lefebvrian investigative and analytical toolkit I have adopted through my research – defamiliarisation – is a strategy so beloved of contemporary geographers, archaeologists, anthropologists, philosophers and artists (e.g. Buchli *et al.* 2001, Ford 2010, Miller 2010, Morton 2013) as to have become, paradoxically, familiar to the point of cliché. It is no less useful for that.

As a general approach, defamiliarisation is applied in the works of numerous different groups and individuals active in particular from the turn of the twentieth century, many of whom shared Lefebvre's social milieu, and were, at varying times, colleagues, interlocutors, political allies and adversaries of his[17]. The drive to defamiliarise, to make the familiar strange, is expressed in the Surrealist practice of montage – seeking to create disruptive juxtapositions of mundane objects and images in order to furnish new readings of their content and meaning (see Highmore 2002, ch. 4); in the processes of list-making, classification and flat observation deployed by the writer Georges Perec (2008a, 2008b, 2010, see Harrison 2011b, Phillips 2018) – to whom I will return in Chapter 7; and in the Situationist practices of *détournement* - 'negating elements of culture as prelude to their transformation' (Highmore, 2002, 139), and therein *dérive* – wandering or drifting through the city, in order, systematically, to reveal and subvert its ostensible order, and to bring to the surface other elements of alternative orders, or disorder (ibid., and see Cohen 2017, 2).

For Lefebvre in particular, as Highmore (2002, 143) notes, Brecht's 'epic theatre' and concept of *Verfremdung*, were key additional influences. As, too, was Kant, whose celebrated aphorism (or a version thereof) – *'Was ist bekannt ist nicht erkannt*[18]*'* – Lefebvre ((1991, 15) proposed might be taken as an epigraph for his *Critique of Everyday Life* (albeit, perversely, he did not use it as such).

Across these approaches, a fundamental insight is that everyday life - in its all repetitiveness, banality and seeming obviousness - tends to evade critical comprehension; in Maurice Blanchot's (1987, 14) oft-cited terms, 'the everyday escapes'. And, as such, for the purposes of critique, a necessary first step is to find some practical means of detached observation: a form of cognitive alienation, designed to subvert and suspend the prior alienation to which the modern human is made subject (Highmore, 2002, 143). For Lefebvre, this process may take many forms. In analysing urban rhythms, for example, we find him removed to a high window in Paris, seeking physical distance in order better to observe the regular pulse of traffic, shoppers and schoolchildren through the city centre (Lefebvre 2004, 27-37). Elsewhere, as seen above, a dialectical negotiation of forced binaries (work-leisure; home-homeless; heritage-non-heritage) serves the same purpose. Or, again differently, a third strategy is found in the isolation of particular objects and activities, and in 'tracking […] the networks and relationships within which [they are] embedded' (Sheringham 2010, 140). Thus:

---

[17] See Sheringham (2010) and Highmore (2002) for detailed accounts of twentieth century engagements with the everyday, and the varied social entanglements, friendships and enmities of the above.
[18] The familiar is not the known.

[…] the simplest event – a woman buying a pound of sugar, for example – must be analysed. Knowledge will grasp whatever is hidden within it. To understand this simple event, it is not enough merely to describe it; research will disclose a tangle of reasons and causes […]: the woman's life, her biography, her job, her family, her class, her budget, her eating habits, how she uses money, her opinions and her ideas, the state of the market, etc. Finally I will have grasped the sum total of capitalist society, the nation and its history. And although what I grasp becomes more and more profound, it is contained from the start in the original little event. So now I can see the humble events of everyday life as having two sides: a little, individual, chance event – and at the same time an infinitely complex social event, richer than the many 'essences' it contains within itself.

(Lefebvre 1991, 57)

2.3.2.3   SPACE

In the example of the pound of sugar just given, one witnesses not only a process of defamiliarisation in train, but also, very clearly, Lefebvre's aforementioned use of a dialectical mode of reasoning that pivots back and forth between, on the one hand, the minute details of an everyday transaction, and, on the other, a consideration of the grand, interwoven structuring forces of, for example, nation, capital, and class. This is a way of thinking that is profoundly relational, and which tracks directly to Lefebvre's concept of social space (and, subsequently, to the thought of a great many cultural geographers whose work bears his imprint (notably, Massey 1991, 2005, Harvey 2001a, Soja 2011)).

Lefebvre's model of the social production of social space centres on the elaboration of a 'spatial triad', 'trialectic', or triple dialectic, in which are held in tension three 'moments' or processes, each in an unresolved, co-constitutive relation to the others (2011, 38-40). Importantly, as Christian Schmid (2008, 29) emphasises – in an incisive reading of Lefebvre's spatial theory that I will draw on again below - the three aspects of the trialectic are: 'doubly determined and correspondingly doubly designated'. This is to reflect a further dialectical relation (explored above and made clear in Desjarlais's notion of a 'critical phenomenology') between, on the one hand a phenomenological reading of space, and, on the other, an attention to concrete, material processes of production. Thus, finally space is figured as comprising three dual faceted dimensions: the perceived, the conceived, and the lived - in phenomenological terms; and, in parallel, from the perspective of production, spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation.
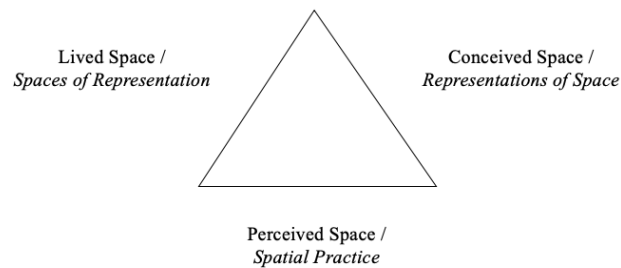
Figure 7: The Lefebvrian 'spatial trialectic', author's diagram

Within this model, the three constitutive elements of space can be explained as follows:

(1) Spatial practice, or perceived space: this is space as found, built, moved within and otherwise acted upon; 'the spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space' (Lefebvre 2011, 38). Through the designation 'perceived', Lefebvre gestures to space as it is 'grasped by the senses' (Schmid 2009, 29), and notably here he means very clearly to highlight the whole range of sensory perception: seeing, hearing, smelling, touching, tasting. In the auditory realm, for example, in a discussion of monuments, Lefebvre notes that: 'Monumental qualities are not solely plastic, not to be apprehended solely through looking. Monuments are also liable to possess acoustic properties, and when they do not this detracts from their monumentality. Silence itself, in a place of worship, has its music' (2011, 225).

(2) Representations of space, or conceived space: this is space as represented variously by cartographers, economists, bureaucrats, politicians, and so on, and as interpreted through the various ideologies and discourses those manifold actors bring to bear on it. For Lefebvre, it is 'the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers […] all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived' (2011, 38). Crucially here, in terms of my own project of thinking through the power effects of mapping practices, Lefebvre considers conceived space to be 'the dominant space in any society (or mode of production)' (ibid.). Further, and no less importantly, he posits the conceived as a realm that is in turn dominated by vision. Thus:

> People look, and take sight, take seeing, for life itself. We build on the basis of papers and plans. We buy on the basis of images. Sight and seeing, which in the Western tradition once epitomized intelligibility, have turned into a trap: the means whereby, in social space, diversity may be simulated and a travesty of enlightenment and intelligibility ensconced under the sign of transparency.
>
> (Ibid, 76)

Finally, we come to:

(3) Spaces of representation, or lived space: this is 'the space of "inhabitants" or "users"' (ibid., 39) as experienced in their everyday lives. Following Schmid (2008, 29), and reflecting Lefebvre's above-noted conception of the everyday as a space/time of excess, this 'lived, practical experience does not let itself be exhausted through theoretical analysis'. It is a space of dreams, impulses, spontaneous associations, driftings, and disorder. Within it, '[there] always remains a surplus, […] an inexpressible and unanalysable but most valuable residue' (ibid.), perhaps only fully intelligible and expressible through artistic means.

As a tool for thinking space as another kind of open totality, 'a concrete and dialectical unity' (Schmid 2008, 41), Lefebvre's spatial triad has been invaluable to me, both as a way into analysing soundmaps, and as a theoretical frame through which to try to apprehend and describe the sounds of everyday life in contexts of homelessness. As Schmid (ibid.) summarises, the strength of the model lies in its capacity for isolating and bringing into dialogue the counterposed and co-constitutive realities of thought, feeling and materiality:

> A social space includes not only a concrete materiality but a thought concept and a feeling—an "experience." The materiality in itself or the material practice per se [have] no existence when viewed from a social perspective without the thought that directs and represents them, and without the lived experienced element, the feelings that are invested in this materiality. The pure thought is pure fiction; it comes from the world, from Being, from material as well as from lived-experienced Being. And pure "experience" is in the last analysis pure mysticism: it has no real—that is, social—existence without the materiality of the body on which it is based and without the thought that structures and expresses it.

2.3.2.4   RHYTHM

The last main tool I draw from Lefebvre's oeuvre is his concept/practice of 'rhythmanalysis' (2004). I have already noted above one of the forms that rhythmanalysis may take: the distanced observation of patterns of movement within a given locality. And I have hinted, too, at the kinds of social phenomena Lefebvre fixes upon and wishes to problematise through the analysis of rhythms: the colonisation of time within the capitalist mode of production (proposing the radical separation/purification of, and rhythmical alternation between, work and leisure), and the concomitant instrumentalization of workers' bodies, most particularly within factory settings, where, in an ideal, 'rational' economic plan, life is reduced to a minimum series of rhythmically repeated gestures[19].

---

[19] A phenomenon given monstrous expression, for example, in the opening sequence of Fritz Lang's (1927) classic film *Metropolis*.

Within these examples lies the essence of rhythmanalysis. Importantly, however, Lefebvre's interest in rhythm was not confined to the movements and machinations of capital alone; rather it extended to incorporate all manner of rhythms – physiological, biological, planetary, mechanical; cyclical and linear; rhythms of speech and music, of games and cities – and to centre most critically on determining and problematising the interrelations between them all. Here, working again to establish a mutual, dialectical critique between apparently opposed forms led Lefebvre to posit and mobilise a number of diagnostic terms:

> The notion of rhythm brings with it or requires some complementary considerations: the implied but different notions of polyrhythmia, eurhythmia and arrhythmia. It elevates them to a theoretical level, starting from the lived. Polyrhythmia? It suffices to consult one's body; thus the everyday reveals itself to be a polyrhythmia from the first listening. Eurhythmia? Rhythms unite with one another in the state of health, in normal (which is to say normed!) everydayness; when they are discordant, there is suffering, a pathological state (of which arrhythmia is generally, at the same time, symptom, cause, and effect).
>
> (2004, 25)

And, as one might expect here, a frequent cause of arrhythmia for Lefebvre could be traced to the domination of lived time by the time of capitalism. As Kofman and Lebas (1996, 31) put it, Lefebvre came to analyse capitalism not only in terms of the production of classes, or of the exploitation of wage labour, but also 'as a system that is built upon contempt of the body and its life times.'

Overall, here, as Andy Merrifield (2002, 175) writes of his theory of the production of space, Lefebvre's rhythmnanalysis may tend to '[lose] its political and analytical resonance if it gets treated merely in the abstract'. Instead 'it needs to be embodied, with actual flesh and blood and culture, with real life relationships and events'. As such, I do not want to delay for too long here with theoretical discussion. There are, however, two further points worth noting. The first concerns routinization. Here, while Lefebvre's antipathy towards capitalism and the factory form might lead us to expect him to deplore routinization of all kinds, in fact, importantly, routine has an 'ambiguous and contradictory' (Gardiner 2004, 240) character in his work. As Gardiner (ibid., cf. Lefebvre and Régulier 1999, 8) explains:

> Lefebvre makes it clear that his target is not routine or repetition as such – which […] is central to the daily life (and especially the labour process) of all possible societies. But whereas the habits and routines that are tied to organic cycles and rhythms (including of course those of the human body) are an important (and unsurpassable) aspect of social existence, under Western modernity our activities are colonized progressively by the imperatives of the expansion and accumulation of capital. These latter forces operate in such a way as to 'empty out' the more sensuous and qualitative aspects of lived

temporality. It is only when routine becomes effectively 'routinized' by capitalist socioeconomic processes, when it becomes an 'obligation or an external imposition' (what he calls 'everydayness') rather than a 'self-creation', that it must be subjected to critique.

The second point to stress is that rhythmanalysis, in methodological terms, is far more than a visual exercise. Though at times it will require distanced observations, simultaneously it also demands a close attention to other sensory data; and perhaps most importantly, to sounds. The 'rhythmanalyst' Lefebvre (2004, 29) suggests, 'will listen to the world, and above all to what are disdainfully called noises […], and to murmurs […] and finally he will listen to silences.'

2.3.2.5   AURALITY

At the end of this summary of the analytical frames I have deployed in my research, I come finally to one last term – aurality. Although, to the best of my knowledge, that concept is not a part of Lefebvre's lexicon (reflecting, instead, my debt to scholars in auditory culture studies), it is nevertheless one which fits neatly within the bounds of a Lefebvrian style of dialectical, relational analysis as described above: drawing attention to the relations that inhere between sounds, the bodies that produce them, and those that hear them, and directing us to understand listening as being both constrained by and generative of discourse, as embodied, and as a practice formed in and conducted relative to time and space, history and geography.

For sound theorist Veit Erlmann (2010, 17-18) to investigate 'aurality' is to ask questions both of 'the materiality of perception' and of 'the conditions that must be given for something to become recognized, labelled and valorised as audible in the first place'; to ask, that is, 'Why and how […] certain orders of knowledge make some aspects of our auditory experience more worthy of attention than others'. As a concept it implies, following Jennifer Heuson (2015, 14), 'literally a "stancing" of the ears' that may recruit the entire body in its support. But it is also an idea that invites attention to the discourses that govern sounding and listening, and to the ways in which bodily comportment itself forms in relation to space, culture, other people and so on. For Brian Kane (2015, 8), who adopts a similar approach in his work on sound, we should understand listening as a process in which the 'capacities of the body are cultivated at the same time that cultures become embodied'. Finally, for Jonathan Sterne (2003, and see Rice 2008), who draws upon the example of mediate auscultation (that is, listening via stethoscope) to inform his notion of 'audile technique', a further necessary task in thinking critically about sound is to focus on the role different technologies may play in mediating listening, and shaping expert regimes of auditory knowledge. The concept of aurality, then, betokens an approach to listening, which apprehends it as unevenly specialised, bound – but not exhausted - by concepts, and necessarily material; formed through the application of particular tools and technologies, and by the variable affordances of human bodies.

To put this approach to listening in context, and to show both how it complements a Lefebvrian concern with the social production of space, and how it intersects with my project of counter mapping, an example here may be helpful. Affiliated with the Forensic Architecture school at Goldsmith's University, Lawrence Abu Hamden investigates the status of the voice as an object of legal scrutiny in processes of migration, and in particular, the ways in which asylum seekers are increasingly made subject to a form of 'speaker profiling' or 'forensic listening', intended to determine their ethnicity, national origin, and hence the legitimacy of their claims to asylum. After having been invited to take part in telephone or face-to-face interviews, an individual's speech is dissected and profiled using a combination of technical means (digital voice profiling relative to large, ethnically subdivided datasets), and expert listening carried out by forensic linguists and phoneticians.

A particular concern for Abu Hamden in exploring this practice arises from the confidence with which national citizenship - 'a bureaucratic distinction', and voice - a socially and culturally produced artefact that cannot be tidily assimilated into the nation-state' come legislatively to be mapped onto one another, as though, territorially, the two were perfectly isomorphic. And, indeed, this overlaying and coupling of distinctly different sonic and political geographies is revealed to have created some troubling effects: through undertaking research directly with those concerned, Abu Hamden has been able to identify examples of what he terms 'vocal discrimination', leading ultimately to individuals being deported from the UK by the Home Office.

In a particularly egregious example, he recounts the story of Mohamed, a Palestinian asylum seeker:

> […] who, after having the immigration authorities lose his Palestinian identity card, was forced to undergo an accent analysis to prove his origins. Subsequently he was told he was lying about his identity because of the way he pronounced the word for tomato. Instead of 'bandora' he said 'banadora' This tiny "a" syllable is the sound that provides the UK Border Agency with the apparent [proof] of Mohamed's Syrian origin: a country only 22 kilometres away from his hometown of Jenin in Palestine. Therefore, in designating this syllable as a marker of Syrian nationality, the Border Agency implies that this vowel, used in the word tomato, is coterminous with Syria's borders.
>
> (2014, 214)

As Abu Hamdan writes, 'The fact that this syllable designates citizenship above an identity card that contradicts it forces us to rethink how borders are being made perceptible and how configurations of vowels and consonants are made legally accountable' (*ibid*). While, he suggests, 'locating [a] Syrian vowel in the speech of a Palestinian surely proves nothing more than the displacement of the Palestinians themselves', in law, and within an asylum process entrusted to apparently expert listeners, the mutable, mobile voice is turned against its owner, not only to deny their claim to a first, original homeland, but further to bar their access to a second, future home. Apprehended by a particular way of listening – one bound up with notions

of nationhood, shaped relative to the conceived space of a geopolitical map, and animated by the fear of border transgression – the voice is registered coolly, juridically; as an object of bureaucracy. In a complex dialectical relationship, expressive of Lefebvre's spatial triad, the translation of conceptual borders into specific forms of listening (representations of space, guiding perception, generating further spatial practices) works in turn to create the lived experience of statelessness, homelessness, exclusion and exile.

2.4   THE AGE OF NOISE

In the first two sections of this methodology chapter, I have worked to set out the overall theoretical, analytical and ethical approach that has characterised my research. Built upon a foundation of Lefebvrian dialectical thought, my research practice is shaped around a close engagement with space, sound, and rhythm, as well as by the use of practical strategies of defamiliarisation (making strange through juxtaposition, the isolation and dialectical analysis of particular terms, objects and events, and varied field practices), and 'regression-progression'; an attempt to excavate the historical origins of particular social forms as the basis of an appeal to the possible. In subsequent chapters, as noted above, I will describe and reflect critically upon the ways in which these broad methods of analysis and enquiry were applied relative to my particular research sites and case studies. To draw this chapter to a close now, however, I come finally to a discussion of a noise, a concept and/or recurring motif which, as I noted above, has been central to my research process in terms of allowing me to think across my varied case studies and research projects, and in particular in helping or forcing me to problematise the social, epistemological, and ethical value of the variously more deconstructive and creative forms my research practice has taken. For Lefebvre, as we have seen, a key task in explaining human life was to bring to bear on each other practical knowledge of everyday life and philosophical knowledge of society and the human condition: "reality" counterpoised against "truth". Writ large in this sense, noise in my own research has provided a framework for exploring and trying to apprehend the latter; a concept via which to try to grasp the overarching structural conditions that contour modern life, and in particular a way of thinking about difference.

How, then, to begin with noise? Perhaps the best way to approach that bedevilled term is to start by explaining what I intend by evoking an 'age of noise' in the title of this thesis. Here, importantly, I am not the first to characterise a particular era in this way. In his recent book, *The Age of Noise in Britain: Hearing Modernity* (2016) James Mansell adapts the same phrase as a label for a specific period of acoustically disruptive mass mechanisation and industrialisation in early twentieth-century Britain, in which, he claims, 'hearing played a more than usually important role in imaginative constructions' of 'belonging, exclusion, order, disorder, and discipline', and in 'the urgent, and contested, task of reimagining modernity.' Similarly, Peter Payer's study of the 'age of noise' in Vienna from 1870 – 1914 sets out to describe a moment in which, quite simply, '[the] city had become "big and loud" (2007, 777). Both Mansell and Payer's notions of noise have relevance to this study, particularly in terms of the focus each recommends on understanding

acoustical noise as a product of socially constructed ways of listening[20]. Nonetheless, the age of noise that provides the stage for this thesis is of a somewhat different nature.

Substantially, that is, rather than responding to matters auditory, my designation of an age of noise instead mimics Neil Smelser's (2003, 103) use of the phrase as a synonym for 'an age of messiness' and of 'increasing complexity'; an age of relativity, 'less able to be characterized by single descriptors'. And, equally, it echoes Zygmunt Bauman (1987, 163), for whom:

> We live in an age of noise. In a world overflown with messages, messages that are in no way clear and carry no evidently preferable interpretation. Communication is difficult, as no authority is powerful enough to raise itself to the level of common sense and thus render one reading 'natural' and all other readings mistaken.

In a series of arresting passages at the opening of his book *Genesis*, the philosopher Michel Serres (1995) confronts the problem of how meaning adheres to and is made in the world, and, in particular, how human knowledge comes to fixate on perceived unities; notwithstanding the ways in which those unities dissolve when viewed either micro- or macroscopically. What he is searching for is a way of formulating a concrete knowledge of the world that acknowledges both *multiplicity* and, consequently, the uncountable multi-scalar relations that exist between things. In contrast to a 'universal [that] now only appears as the local monstrously inflated' (ibid., 3), Serres seeks to grasp what he describes as 'the ordinary lot of situations […], our common object': 'the multiple as such' (ibid., 5). And in searching for the multiple (in trying that is, to forestall abstraction; to resist being seduced by closed unities and localities, to see things in their relations), he alights on the figure of background noise:

> The background noise never ceases; it is limitless, continuous, unending, unchanging. It has itself no background, no contradictory.
>
> (Ibid., 13)

> It is a set of possible things, it may be *the* set of possible things. […] This noise is the opening. […] We cannot predict what will be born from it. We cannot know what is in it, here or there. No one knows, no one has ever known, no one will ever know how a possible coexists with a possible.
>
> (Ibid., 22)

---

[20] As Hillel Schwartz (2011, 21) puts it, noise is 'never so much a question of the intensity of sound as of the intensity of relationships'.

As a realm of possibility, Serres' background noise - the 'ground of all being' (ibid., 13) – is fundamentally indeterminate. It has no ethical charge. Yet, in trying to get close to noise, he is nevertheless embarking on an ethical project. He notes that:

> Noise cannot be a phenomenon; every phenomenon is separated from it […]. As soon as a phenomenon appears, it leaves the noise, as soon as a form looms up or pokes through, it reveals itself by veiling noise.
>
> (Ibid., 13)

And it is this veiling - the abstraction that perception and representation entail; closing one door to knowledge by opening another - that concerns him. With each delineation of an object or a category, with the sedimentation of conflicting truths, categories, and common sense, so the possible is obscured:

> The most common forgetting is that of the possible. It is so much forgotten that it is not visible. […] There is chaos, there is a circumstance, and suddenly there's the whole foundation. There is the background noise, then a noise in the midst of that background noise, and suddenly there's a whole song.
>
> (Ibid., 24)

But how then - against the thrill of discovery, and in the face of the persuasive fact of the song - to keep open the possible? For Serres, it seems, the constant challenge is to unsettle truth claims, and to relativise and deconstruct knowledge of all forms: to promote questioning. He proclaims that it is 'the function of the philosopher, the care and passion of the philosopher to protect to the utmost the possible', since, as it is, 'there are plenty of functionaries of truth […], without adding more' (ibid., 23-4). And he explains how, 'when a phenomenon, a form, a relatively durable state, a period, a coherent era, whatever, do appear, they do their best to obscure the extreme fragility of their origins and the absence of their legitimacy.' As such, faced with the durable, the philosopher's task, is precisely to refute and negate and query and question; to return us to noise and – for the sake of 'hope' and 'freedom' - to 'let the possibles roam free' (ibid.). It is not about taking sides, then, or valuing one truth over another; rather, the pursuit of possibility requires subverting all truths and destabilising all platforms.

In all of these renderings of the age of noise – Bauman's, Smelser's, and Serres' – an essential characteristic I would note is a dialectical tension between the twin processes of (social and epistemological) atomisation and homogenization; the opposed poles of order and disorder. Yet within those readings, and most particularly between Bauman's and Serres', there would appear to be a marked difference of tone. For Serres, on the one hand, the defence of the possible and the continual breaking down of knowledge claims is an ethical and philosophical imperative. For Bauman, however, on the other, it instead would appear to prompt anxiety: gesturing to the difficulty in contemporary society of making shared meaning, common sense, and social ties; of fostering solidarity. Significantly, too, in Bauman's description (in an

interpretation which I take further in the Chapter 4) noise takes on a material force: the world overflows with messages such that their *qualitative* differences cease to be as impactful as their oppressive, aggregate *quantitative* mass (cf. Simmel 1969 [1903]).

What, then, is the significance here of these two attitudes to noise, and to the differences that constitutes it? In relation to the topic of homelessness, I have already suggested above how a lack of care for the possible, of respect for difference, might be dangerous – ending in the application of a damaging and monolithic label to an ill-defined group, and thus preparing the ground for that group's further social marginalisation. At the same time, however, it would seem equally damaging to deny homelessness – to relativise it out of existence, and remove it as a valid term, and a real problem, in political debate. Mapping this problem to heritage, again, we have already seen – and will see further, in greater detail below – how the term 'heritage' has come to mean 'everything and nothing', losing gradually its discursive force. And, similarly, too, we will see in the next chapter, how across the past three decades notions of expertise have been scrutinised in heritage practice, driving institutions into an ever-greater reliance on crowd content and participation, and weakening their claims authoritatively to interpret the past. Everywhere the noise of the possible is rising, working materially, almost mechanically, to drown out or stymie debate. And yet, at this very moment, I have chosen to commit myself to a project based itself in Lefebvrian mode, and as a process of counter mapping, on a search for more possibles.

In the end, very likely, thinking through noise is a faster way than most to drive oneself mad. Yet, trying to do so, taking motif as method, and thinking noise as a physical, cultural, epistemological phenomenon with ethical consequences, has been a key part of the way I have approached my studies and primary research projects across the past five years.

3   HERITAGE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

In the previous two chapters I have introduced both my core research questions and a secondary set of sub-questions. I have also set out my overarching methodological approach: to 'counter map' existing soundmapping processes through a combination of deconstructive analysis and participatory primary research projects; to situate my study of sound and listening relative to Henri Lefebvre's 'critique of everyday life', and to use his methods of dialectical thought, defamiliarisation, spatial investigation, and rhythmnanalysis as tools for engaging both my case studies and primary research sites. Finally, immediately above, I introduced noise as a key critical motif. This is a polyvalent term that I will return to sporadically throughout the remainder of the text to frame and test my thinking around the political efficacies of activist heritage practices, and to problematise further both my own work in Stamford Hill, at the shelter and with the Museum of Homelessness, and the democratising logics of case study soundmapping projects including *Sounds of our Shores*.

In this chapter, recalling my intent to think dialectically across my case studies, projects, and the wider social contexts from which they emerged, and extending my opening framing of heritage above, I now arrive at a discussion of the ways in which, of late, heritage has been drawn increasingly into debates about social justice. Here, my priority is to introduce and discuss a range of topics - representation, inclusion, participation, democratisation and justice – and to consider, how, on what grounds, and with what purpose and effects various strategies of inclusion are today mobilised in heritage contexts.

3.1   RESHAPING HERITAGE REPRESENTATIONS AND PRACTICES

We live in an era in which heritage is becoming noisier. As struggles aimed at contesting the absence of historically marginalised constituencies from official historical narratives and memorial landscapes come to form an increasingly prominent part of cultural life, so too, as Mark O'Neill and Lois H. Silverman (2012, xx) write, are heritage institutions 'themselves […] experiencing a global awakening to their power and practice as agents of cultural activism'. As Eithne Nightingale and Richard Sandell (2012, 1-2) observe, '[the] last two decades have seen concerns for equality, diversity, social justice and human rights move from the margins of museum thinking and practice, to the core', with Sandell (1998, 411) speculating separately as to the role museums might play in combatting contemporary social problems as diverse as unemployment, crime, homelessness, poverty, and poor health. Melissa Baird (2014, 141) suggests that '[s]ocial justice is central to the work done in Heritage'; while Rose Pacquet Kinsley (2016, 475) has argued that 'inclusion in museums is a matter of social justice', demanding not only that the stories cultural institutions tell become reflective of a range of different experiences, but that members of marginalised groups be themselves afforded both a greater say in shaping, and increased access to, institutional resources. Contestation (the noise of protest), polyvocality (the noise of Babel), and the promulgation of myriad different forms of redemption narrative, in which heritage is called upon to be and to do more and more

things in society (archive, healer, entertainer, economic catalyst – the noise of indeterminacy); all of these very different features of contemporary heritage practice and discourse find some expression for me in that one term, noise. How, then, to proceed in such a way as to make sense of our present situation; how to chart a course through the chaos, or, as Serres (1995, 24) calls it the *belle noiseuse*?

Overall, as I set about framing debates about the relationship between heritage and justice, my aim is to describe and situate my own research in relation to a broad (if unevenly realised) evolution in the ways in which certain critics have conceived of museums, libraries, archives and other heritage organisations' function relative to society as a whole, and how – on this basis – they have imagined the work that needs to be done in reshaping heritage practices to meet the challenges posed by various forms of contemporary social inequality. This evolution, to be clear, does not necessarily entail a wholesale abandonment of older methods and logics. But I would suggest that it might loosely be characterised as incorporating two successive shifts of perspective, conceptualising heritage organisations as follows:

1) Less as neutral or passive guardians of culture, and more as active and necessarily political agents in the production and reproduction of social meaning and values; and

2) Less, or not only, as discrete centres or societies unto themselves requiring internal 'democratisation', and more as limited agents - humble bit-part players – within a far larger (and of course, far noisier) realm of democratic practice.

3.1.1   NOT NEUTRAL

The idea that cultural organisations and their representations of life are not neutral, but rather that they are shaped by the particular social imaginaries of those vested with the power to produce them, is a cornerstone of critical scholarship within heritage studies and museum studies. So, too, is the argument that within those representations are repeated processes of marginalisation and erasure, through which existing social hierarchies and structural inequalities may be naturalised, legitimised, and hence reproduced (e.g. Byrne 1991, Sandell 1998, Hall 1999, Butler 2009).

Writing at the close of the twentieth century, Stuart Hall (1999, 5-6) described heritage as a 'discursive practice', which 'highlights and foregrounds, imposes beginnings, middles and ends on the random and contingent', and which equally 'foreshortens, silences, disavows, forgets and elides many episodes, which - from another perspective - could be the start of a different narrative.' Proposing that 'the heritage' be understood as operating as a mirror on social life, and commenting in the context of UK cultural institutions' slow adaptation to the emergence of multiculturalism in Britain, Hall suggested accordingly that 'those who cannot see themselves reflected in [that] mirror cannot properly 'belong'' (*ibid.*). And as such he was pleased to note – albeit with some caution - what he cast as a then radical 'unsettling and subversion of the

foundational ground on which the process of Heritage-construction [had], until very recently, proceeded' (*ibid.,* 8).

Reflected in nothing less than a 'crisis of authority', as the questions '"Who should control the power to represent?" and "Who has the authority to re-present the culture of others?" […] resounded through the museum corridors of the world' (*ibid,* 7), the 'revolution' Hall observed in heritage practice at the turn of the millennium was driven by multiple, intersecting developments in social and intellectual life:

> A radical awareness by the marginalised of the symbolic power involved in the activity of representation; […] the rise amongst the excluded of a 'politics of recognition' alongside the older politics of equality; a growing reflexivity about the constructed and thus contestable nature of the authority which some people acquire to 'write the culture' of others; a decline in the acceptance of the traditional authorities in authenticating the interpretative and analytic frameworks which classify, place, compare and evaluate culture; and the concomitant rise in the demand to re-appropriate control over the 'writing of one's own story' as part of a wider process of cultural liberation.
>
> (Ibid.)

The form the revolution took, meanwhile, and which to a great extent it continues to take, has been of a threefold process of first, *diversification*, second, *relativisation* and lastly, to varying degree, *democratisation* – through which those on the outside of institutions have been invited in to participate either in the creation of new collections and artefacts, or in the re-interpretation of existing materials.

The first of these measures, diversification, can be readily observed in a range of settings. Already in the mid 1990s, Raphael Samuel – a founder of the History Workshop movement, and influential champion of a model of 'history from below' attentive to the experiences of the masses (see Schwarz 1993, Hall 1997, cf. Thompson 2013 [1963], Lindqvist 1979) – was encouraged by the steps numerous UK heritage sites had taken to incorporate working class narratives into their displays. Departing significantly from earlier critics including Patrick Wright (1985) and Robert Hewison (1987) who had problematised the rapid contemporary growth of the heritage industry in Thatcherite Britain[21], Samuel (1994, 160) by contrast found this 'new version of the national past' (including, for example, the celebration of industrial histories, or the shining of a curatorial spotlight on 'life below the stairs' in country houses – Fig. 8) to be 'inconceivably more democratic than earlier ones' and to offer a 'wider form of belonging' to 'ordinary people'.

---

[21] In particular, its tendency to reify and recruit the past in the service of nationalism, its commodification and market-driven distillation of history in the face of economic decline, and its consequent institutionalisation of public memory (see also Lowenthal 1985, Nora 1989).

Figure 8, Spotted: A working class narrative at the National Trust for Scotland property Pollok House, in Glasgow. Author's photograph.

As the twenty-first century has proceeded, the foundational changes that Samuel had approved of have been extensively built upon. From new initiatives at the National Trust (2019) and Historic England (2019c) to acknowledge LGBTQ+ histories; to the proliferation of ethnically-specific programmes like *Colourful Heritage* (2010) in Glasgow, which explores the stories of South Asians and Muslims in Scotland; to the raising of statues to previously neglected historical figures like Mary Seacole (a black contemporary of Florence Nightingale, also noted for her efforts as an unofficial nurse in the Crimean War); the list goes on, and it speaks to a concern with diversity that is now widely visible and significantly embedded in contemporary heritage practice. Among many heritage theorists, too, as in Kiddey's (2017b, 4) framing of the aforementioned *Homeless Heritage* project, a profound belief in the importance of diversity holds sway, with many critics echoing the sentiments she expresses when she writes that:

> People have the right to engage with the pasts with which they identify, and it is therefore important that the processes by which they are engaged are genuine and flexible enough that everyone may be included. […] The task of the heritage professional is, [therefore], to work with diverse groups to establish narratives representative of *all* ways to be human, past and present.

The second and third facets of the recent 'unsettling' of heritage Hall observed in 1999 are substantially bound up with one another. When I refer to 'relativisation' above, what I have in mind in particular is a longstanding process of critique (shaped substantially by mid-late twentieth century feminist and postcolonial thought), through which both the capability and, more fundamentally, the right of various kinds of experts to speak either for the past, or for others, has been placed in question.

Crucially, as this critique has taken hold, and as it has brought into sharper focus the kinds of perhaps more obviously subjective values and knowledge hitherto excluded by official heritage regimes – affection for and attachment to places, personal memories and experiences, and local myth – a natural consequence has been an increase in efforts to promote forms of engagement, through which unofficial stakeholders can participate both in bringing to bear their own views on established collections, and in identifying and interpreting their own heritage.

Theorising the establishment of what she terms the 'post-museum' in her *Museums and Interpretation of Visual Culture,* Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (2000, 152) – a key proponent of the 'New Museology' of the late 1980s and '90s (cf. Vergo 1989) - describes an institution in which:

> Knowledge is no longer unified and monolithic; it becomes fragmented and multi-vocal. There is no necessary unified perspective – rather a cacophony of voices may be heard that present a range of views, experiences and values.

Similarly, writing with regard to the shaping and maintenance of archives, Andrew Flinn has been an important voice advocating for strategies of democratisation that go beyond the mere cultivation of variety in collections. While diversity logics may have pushed collectors and curators to afford marginalised 'others' a place in their representations of social life, nevertheless, Flinn (2010, unpaginated) notes, in a majority of archives, these people 'rarely speak with their own voice, but rather appear as the objects of official interest and concern'. Accordingly, working to counter the prevailing dynamic of experts speaking for, or about, subaltern figures in their absence, he has called for the adoption of more thoroughly and consistently 'democratised and participatory' archival processes, in which it is recognised that:

> […] all those who come in contact with the archive (directly or indirectly) […] can and do affect our understanding and knowledge of [it].'

> (Ibid.)

Looking at further debates on this theme – for instance, those that address intergovernmental processes of heritage identification and management – one finds a similar progression from relativisation to democratisation, precipitating efforts to drive increased participation among audiences, local unofficial stakeholders, 'communities' (far from an innocent term, as I discuss below), and so on. Through the 1990s, both Dennis Byrne (1991) and Henry Cleere (1996) made pivotal contributions to heritage studies by calling into question the discursive foundation and effects of UNESCO's project of World Heritage listing; a profoundly Eurocentric, materialistic and imperialist endeavour for Byrne, which entails the marginalisation and denigration of a range of non-Western cultural sites and practices, deemed to lack the supposedly "universal" significance of, for example, a French medieval cathedral (cf. Meskell 2002, 2012, De Cesari 2010, Labadi 2013, Tucker and Carnegie 2014).

Moving on into the 2000's, meanwhile, and exhibiting a similar logic, Laurajane Smith's (2006) notion of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) has achieved substantial critical traction, highlighting the roles expert gatekeepers play in marshalling definitions of what heritage is, and how best it should be managed. For Smith, the AHD:

> […] emphasises the authority of experts to act as stewards for the past and its heritage, but also defines heritage as innately material, if not monumental, aesthetically pleasing, and as inevitably contributing to all that is 'good' in the construction of national or group identity.

> (Waterton and Smith 2010, 12)

By favouring material manifestations of heritage which accord with their disciplinary worldviews, and extrapolating therefrom apparently universal, rational grading systems - responsive to notions of phased teleological human development, technical mastery, genius, material authenticity, and scarcity - members of a professional class of art and architectural historians, archaeologists, conservators and anthropologists,

are understood to have ensured the formation and reproduction of heritage as a value system within tightly delimited parameters (a 'universal' that is the product of 'the local monstrously inflated' in Serres' above terms).

The essential argument Smith has advanced through the conceptual frame of the AHD is particularly clearly distilled in her reply to archaeologist Brit Solli's assault on the prevalence of constructivist thinking in heritage theory and practice. Where Solli (Solli *et al.* 2011, 44-48) - an archaeologist by training, railing against the 'academic *doxa* of constructivism in heritage studies' wants to maintain that the essential, universal appeal and value of certain large and materially durable objects (Stonehenge being one example offered) mark them specifically as elements of an order of 'found' (and it is implied, more authentic, meaningful, valuable, etc.) heritage, somehow distinct from other forms of heritage which are discursively 'made', Smith resists, arguing that:

> As a political resource, heritage cannot be (nor should it be) confined to the special
> pleadings of archaeologists [or other experts] to 'know' what [it] means.
>
> (Ibid., 74)

And it is this refusal to accept uncritically the primacy of any particular constituency's knowledge claims (save perhaps – as Alfredo González-Ruibal (2018) and his colleagues have charged - the marginalised) that characterises her increasingly activist presence within heritage scholarship. In the inaugural 2012 manifesto of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies[22] (an organisation she helped to found, and a document she authored as president) Smith encouraged her readers in the discipline to engage in a 'ruthless criticism of everything existing'[23], and to question both 'the received wisdom of what heritage is', as well as 'the conservative cultural and economic power relations that outdated understandings of heritage seem to underpin and invite.' Most importantly here, as she did so, she suggested that the clearest route to establishing a more critical disciplinary scholarship and practice lay in:

> Democratising heritage by consciously rejecting elite cultural narratives and embracing
> the heritage insights of people, communities and cultures that have traditionally been
> marginalised in formulating heritage policy.
>
> (Smith 2012, unpaginated)

In the years since the ACHS issued its initial rallying cry to the profession, and more broadly in the three decades in which democratising discourses have begun most palpably to influence heritage practice, not all commentators have been convinced of their logic and efficacy. While González-Ruibal *et al* (2018, 509-513) accuse Smith directly of making a dangerous fetish of 'the People' and their 'insights', Michael

---

[22] Henceforth ACHS.
[23] Thereby channeling Karl Marx (1843) in a letter to Arnold Ruge.

Landzelius (2003, 206) – writing more than a decade ago, and in terms which in fact Smith might agree with – lambasted:

> the `politically correct' assumption that everyone should have a right to his or her `roots' and `heritage', as if these catchwords somehow directly referred to entities that existed in the past, compartmentalized and ready to be claimed, rather than being socially and culturally constructed in identity struggles of the present.

Whatever the rights or wrongs of the turn towards ideas of community inclusion in heritage practice, however, (and I will have more to say about both below) what is beyond doubt is that they are catching on; not least on the level of global heritage policy, where a string of charters and conventions developed from the back end of the twentieth century have been indicative of a gradual move away from the rigid models of heritage value that characterised the early post-war era. Following in the wake of ICOMOS's *Burra Charter* (1979)[24,25], and its *Nara Document* on authenticity (1994)[26], UNESCO's *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003) has played a critical role in reshaping mainstream conceptualisations of heritage. Developed in no small part to counteract the above-mentioned biases engrained in the same body's original 1972 World Heritage framework, the ICH convention was remarkable both for the shift it marked from a canonical to a more representative approach to presenting and thinking about culture[27], and – far more powerfully, perhaps – for its insistence that 'intangible cultural heritage can only be heritage when it is recognized as such by the communities, groups or individuals that create it' (UNESCO n.d.).

Although, to be sure, the convention left in place a complex system of expert validation and political horse-trading (ensuring in effect that the identification of global heritage would remain anything but a popular endeavour (see Aykan 2014, Adell *et al.* 2015, Saeji 2017)), this top-down recognition of the important role unofficial stakeholders play in defining the content and meaning of heritage should be acknowledged as having been an important driver for what are now widespread efforts to democratise the field. Doubtless, too, by emphasising the essential contingency of heritage values, the ICH convention has played a key part in sharpening appetites for later, more radical policy interventions, including the Council of Europe's *Faro Convention* introduced above (1.4.1).

---

[24] ICOMOS: the International Council on Monuments and Sites.
[25] Which worked to emphasise communities' use and attachment to heritage places as values that should be recognised and weighed alongside their physical properties by authorities charged with their management.
[26] Which problematised notions of authenticity, emphasising that this lies as much in the practice of making and utilising sites as in their materials.
[27] Where the earlier World Heritage Convention aims at assembling a theoretically finite (yet, paradoxically, ever growing) list of those sites and places deemed to be of outstanding universal value, the ICH framework is more humble in its scope, and works only to showcase (and provide for the management of) a select range of cultural practices, that are taken to be suggestive of yet further practices out there in the world, of equal or comparable value to their respective communities.

This last document - while it appears to have been shunned by several of the most powerful European member states[28] - has exerted a notable influence on practitioners (with its radically inclusive terms echoed, for example, in the aforementioned *European Acoustic Heritage* soundmapping project – attentive to 'any sounds that form a testimony of a sonic situation', and shaped around a series of digital tools that would 'offer anyone the chance to deposit [their] own heritage' (Kytö *et al.* 2012, 68)). And it has been praised, too, by several scholars prominent in heritage studies (e.g. Bakker 2011, Holtorf and Fairclough 2013, Fairclough *et al.* 2014); most notably John Schofield (2014b, 3) who lauds the convention for its recognition that (in his words) not only does 'everything [have] the potential to be heritage if we wish it to be', but further 'everyone should be able to decide what their heritage should be and how they want to describe it'.

Such is Schofield's enthusiasm for Faro that, in his recent edited volume *Who Needs Experts?: Counter-mapping Cultural Heritage*, he went so far as to extract from the convention three principles that he proposed heritage professionals and scholars might all adhere to in the future, namely: '(1) Heritage is everywhere; (2) Heritage is for everyone; and (3) We are all heritage experts' - by which he meant: we are all specialists, as a minimum, in our own lives, and in the particular relationships we have built up with our respective surrounding environments (ibid.). And while, on the whole, it may not be quite as radical as its provocative title suggests – for example, a chapter contributed by Mats Burström (2014) considers the important role that experts might indeed play in towns such as Bückeberg in northern Germany, where many local residents and politicians have been all too eager to forget and erase traces of former Nazi activities – nevertheless Schofield's book is emblematic today of an increasingly robust, sector-wide support for the use of more 'democratic' participatory methods in heritage practice.

3.1.2   GOOD INTENTIONS

> [Good] intentions and generosity are not enough to sustain positive social change. The contribution of any social institution is only as good as its analysis of society and as the role it chooses to play in response.
>
> (O'Neill and Silverman 2012, xii)

> [It] becomes increasingly clear that contemporary participation has become a pharmakon of sorts […]: both a poison and a remedy, a benefit and a problem, a promise of emancipation as well as a form of subjection.
>
> (Barney *et al.* 2016, xi)

In the previous section I aimed to show how growing awareness of the partial, subjective, public and hence (it is argued) politically impactful nature of heritage representations has helped to fuel a threefold process

---

[28] To date, only 10 states have ratified the convention, against two-dozen others (including the UK, France and Germany) that have failed even to acknowledge it with a signature (Faro Convention 2005).

of diversification, relativisation and democratisation within the sector. I also began to hint at some of the critical discontent that has flowed from those developments. Building from that platform, I now want to continue this discussion by affording greater consideration to a number of the challenges that have been associated with diversity and democratisation agendas in particular. In all, there are three linked sets of problems I will focus on: misrecognition; instrumentalisation; and heritage- or 'museo-centrism' (Graham 2017).

3.1.2.1   MISRECOGNITION

As we saw above in Stuart Hall's discussion of the late twentieth century 'unsettling' of heritage practice, a key condition for the emergence of democratising practices within heritage frames has been a wider recalibration of social justice discourses, wherein an older politics of redistribution, rooted in demands for a more equitable division of material goods and resources, has been supplemented (if not supplanted) by a politics of recognition, centred on renegotiating questions of identity, achieving the acceptance of difference, and contesting the power of dominant social groups to establish and dictate cultural norms.

Among many of those heritage scholars who have engaged with the problem of recognition[29], a key resource has been the work of US critical theorist Nancy Fraser, for whom, crucially, these two forms of politics are viewed not as alternatives to one another, but rather – mirroring a Lefebrvian approach to the transformation of everyday life - as complementary dimensions of any social movement for change. Within a 'bivalent conception of social justice' (1996, 30), Fraser suggests, it is recognised that any particular oppressed or subordinated group may 'suffer injustices that are traceable to both political economy and culture simultaneously' (ibid, 15). Thus, in an example that is of considerable relevance to the problem of homelessness foregrounded in this research, Fraser discusses how efforts to overcome the oppression of working class constituencies within capitalism (traditionally viewed in terms of economic exploitation, and countered primarily with calls for the wholesale reappropriation of the means of production, or the implementation of more equitable forms of social democracy) must unavoidably also entail efforts to redress prevailing discourses on class, and to problematise the rhetorics that justify hierarchical models of society:

> To be sure, the ultimate cause of class injustice is the economic structure of capitalist society. But the resulting harms include misrecognition as well as maldistribution. [And, Fraser suggests, these 'harms' can become autonomous, self-sustaining – such that redistributive remedies to inequality will leave embedded cultural injustices intact.] To build broad support for economic transformation today may [therefore] require first

---

[29] See, for example, Smith (2007a), Waterton and Smith (2010), Graham (2012), Kinsley (2016), Johnston and Marwood (2017).

> challenging cultural attitudes that demean poor and working people: for example, "culture-of-poverty" ideologies that suggest the poor deserve what they get.

(Fraser 1996, 19-20)

Within the broad term 'misrecognition' deployed here are inscribed a number of quite different ills, any of which might theoretically prevent a particular group from enjoying full and equal participation in society, and which hence might undermine the demands of a parallel politics of redistribution. For this reason, remedies to misrecognition may take various forms.

As Fraser suggests (ibid., 35), in some cases a given collectivity 'may need to be unburdened of excessive ascribed or constructed difference.' Thus, numerous civil rights movements have advanced on the basis of proclaiming the equal and common humanity of groups formerly presented as being deviant, inferior, or less developed. 'In other cases,' she continues, 'they may need to have hitherto underacknowledged distinctiveness taken into account.' Here, a valuable reference point would be Iris Marion Young's (1990, 2011) explicitly historical conceptualisation of structural injustice, which demands, for example, that defenders of meritocracy account for the long histories of social exclusion, precarization, under-education, forced displacement, etc., which may make it harder for members of particular groups to succeed on the notionally level playing field of a free market economy. 'In still other cases,' Fraser (op cit.) goes on, activists 'may need to shift the focus onto dominant or advantaged groups, outing the latters' distinctiveness, which has been falsely parading as universality.' Or equally, she concludes, 'they may need to deconstruct the very terms in which attributed differences are currently elaborated'.

The pursuit of appropriate recognition, then, is no simple task. And it is here – in considering the different forms that misrecognition and its remedies may take - that numerous scholars have found cause to question the ways in which diversification and democratisation policies have commonly been applied in heritage organisations. For Stuart Hall (1999, 10), even as he called upon museums and art galleries across Britain to open themselves up to Black and Asian histories and cultural traditions, there remained significant doubts as to what such a process might achieve, with a key question centring on how those institutions might fulfil such groups' '"impossible" desire' simultaneously to be recognised as different and 'to be treated and represented with justice (that is, as 'the same')'.

Where, Hall argued, what museums and art galleries seemed most interested to offer hitherto excluded 'others' was *inclusion* (a place within or alongside dominant and otherwise largely unaltered portrayals of nation), instead, he suggested, any genuinely progressive politics of recognition would centre less on the validation of historically subaltern communities as additions to the popular cultural sphere, and more on the task of 're-writ[ing] the margins into the centre', revising the self-conceptions that underpin 'majority, mainstream versions of the Heritage'. 'This is not so much a matter of representing 'us',' he wrote, 'as of

representing more adequately the degree to which 'their' history entails and has always implicated 'us', across the centuries, and vice versa' (ibid., 10).

In terms of the last of Fraser's points above, a wide range of heritage critics have expressed concern at the ways in which efforts to cultivate diversity tend, too often, to be grounded in tokenistic ways of thinking, and to frame particular groups in unduly narrow ways, reflective more of the classificatory schema institutions have used to identify gaps in their audiences, archives and collections, than of the experiences and complex identities of those subsequently represented or invited in. For Harrison (2013b, 155-6, cf. Hage 2000, Bennett 2006), what is at play here is a form of 'zoological multiculturalism' in which reified versions of particular (most often ethnically-defined) groups' heritages are offered up for consumption in the terms most easily recognized by, and hence most likely to appeal and speak to, dominant 'white, cosmopolitan, educated, urban elites'.

Roshi Naidoo (2010, 73-5), writing again on the theme of multiculturalism, has also observed that '[increasingly] institutions create the conditions whereby people are defined too rigidly through singular aspects of their identity' (in other words, they are misrecognised), and she points out that amongst the consequences of this process is the continual reinvention of particular groups as novel, different, and other. That is to say:

> [It] has the effect of constantly reinventing a non-white presence in Britain as new and the future, rather than a long-standing historical fact. Therefore diversity and representation are always positioned as either being in a state of embryonic development or a 'work in progress' for institutions.

Looking more broadly at the ways heritage practitioners frame their work beyond institutions, Waterton and Smith (2010) have questioned the discursive force of terms like 'community' and 'outreach', which – even when they are used in projects meant to disrupt the internal workings and power relations of cultural organisations – appear to have the contrary effect of positioning local collaborators and participants irredeemably as outsiders; the beneficiaries of benevolent expert attention, rather than equal partners in the work of creating culture (see also Cornwall and Coelho 2007, Lynch 2011, 2016).

And finally, in what represents only a modest sample of scholarship on this theme, Chiara de Cesari (2010) has problematised the way in which UNESCO's aforementioned register of intangible cultural heritage serves as a foil for its original World Heritage List. Dissecting what she characterises helpfully as the 'additive approach' at the heart of UNESCO's strategy, de Cesari notes that, for all that the ICH convention has afforded previously marginalised groups and their cultural practices a certain place within global heritage discourses and tourist itineraries, nevertheless it has left the 'core' of the World Heritage system intact. In short (and following the same basic problem Stuart Hall had noted), the 'addition of 'other' cultures and 'other' values […] helps symbolically purge the World Heritage discourse of its Eurocentrism *while*

reproducing it' (2010, 313, my emphasis). In terms of Fraser's argument above, then, we might say that while the ICH offers a kind of recognition to some, its most powerful effect is to ensure the continued misrecognition of the World Heritage project as a whole, allowing it to disguise its own distinctiveness, and hence to continue to parade a very specific, culturally imperialist brand of false universality.

As I move on below, critiques of the processes of recognition and misrecognition that lie, inevitably, at the heart of heritage practice will be of considerable importance, and I find in them a third form of noise (adding to Serres' and Bauman's), worth pausing to consider here. Analysing the means by which social structures of oppression are maintained in his theorisation of a politics of aesthetics, Jacques Rancière (1999, 29) describes what he terms a 'distribution of the sensible', in which various capacities to act (and rights to be recognized as acting) are apportioned unequally both among the members of a society in accordance with the roles assigned to them ("labourer", "politician", "mother", etc.), and across the times and spaces of that society (thus parliamentary "politics" is hemmed in by arcane routine, concentrated only within a small number of appropriately plushed and gilded chambers, and it adheres to a highly particular lexicon and tone (see, e.g. Lovenduski 2012)). This 'allocation of different ways of doing, ways of being, and ways of saying', is marshalled by a 'police order' of ingrained social relations, and a matching logic of appearances. It ensures, ultimately, that 'a particular activity is visible and another is not, that this speech is understood as discourse and another as *noise*' (op cit.).

Importantly, although this particular notion of noisiness may at first appear to speak to a problem of exclusion (that is: noise as the excluded other), in fact, for Rancière, quite the reverse is true. Indeed, in as much as it actively acknowledges each person and assigns to them a role, the police order Rancière envisages as governing society is *fully inclusive*. Consequently, the problem for those individuals or constituencies oppressed by it is neither strictly one of being denied a voice, nor one of not being heard. Instead (and far more perniciously), it is a problem of one's words being wholly audible, but nevertheless neither recognised as forming a valid or meaningful political statement, nor acted upon by those who hold power. To be 'noisy' in this sense, then, and to use another construction favoured by Rancière (1999, 27), is to be 'counted' and yet 'of no account'; it is to be perceived with *indifference*; included always, but afforded recognition only in the terms prepared by a dominant other.

3.1.2.2   INSTRUMENTALISATION

The second challenge highlighted in existing heritage scholarship that I want to foreground here concerns 'instrumentalisation', a term I take to refer to processes whereby marginalised and dominated constituencies are invited to participate in practices that contribute ultimately to the reproduction of the conditions of their oppression (however this is understood: whether in terms of economic exploitation and alienation in capitalism; the promulgation of racist or misogynistic worldviews; environmental

despoliation; the loss of freedom of expression and action in totalitarian states, etc. (see Lefebvre 1991, 249)).

Now, in the preceding consideration of misrecognition we have seen how participatory practices aimed at bolstering the diversity of heritage audiences, collections and listings might be seen to instrumentalise their subjects: mobilising participants within structures that fetishise and reify particular aspects of their identities, with the overall effect of reproducing, for example, structures of representation that position minority ethnic communities as deviations from an uninterrogated white norm. With the essential logic of misrecognition already established above, however, I want accordingly to use this part of my discussion to focus attention on a related but, I think, significantly broader problem: the entanglement of heritage practices within systems of (neo)liberal governance and capitalist production.

3.1.2.2.1 GOVERNMENTALITY

Beginning in the late 1980s, a succession of theorists have found critical traction by applying Michel Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' to the study of museum and heritage practices (Bennett 1988, 1995, Dibley 2005, Graham 2012, Harrison 2013b, 2014, Bennett *et al.* 2017). For Foucault (1982, 1991), considering the growth and spread of liberal democracy throughout the modern (western) world, a key problem lay in understanding how, *largely* absent direct coercion, power could be exercised upon and through nominally free populations, so as to minimise dissent and harmonise public behaviours in accordance with overarching (state) goals.

This work is accomplished, he suggested, via a diverse array of expert 'knowledge practices' (Bennett *et al.* 2017, 4), which work to promote subjects' 'self-regulation within constructed norms of responsible and ethical conduct' (Flint 2004, 893). At the same time as the modern, democratic state emerges, so too are developed and refined, on the one hand, a series of methods, technologies and frameworks for producing and representing 'rational' knowledge about populations (e.g. anthropological science, economics, modern medicine, and psychology), and, on the other, a suite of public institutions which work to render the individual members of a society visible to themselves via the lens of the state. Viewing themselves in relation to statistical norms of health, educational attainment, sanity, etc. (Rose 1999, 74-6); attending state schools, wherein appropriate manners and values might be instilled and rehearsed (ibid.); and encountering myriad other discursive devices that link functional, rational 'truths' to desired behaviours (from public health campaigns to remembrance ceremonies (see Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010)), citizens are encouraged to understand both themselves and the worlds they inhabit through the optics prepared for them by centres of government, and to adapt their behaviours in accordance with that received understanding.

Perhaps the best-known application of governmental theory to the study of museums and heritage is Tony Bennett's analysis of the modern public museum and one of its key analogues, the public exhibition. In his

classic text, *The Birth of the Museum* (1995), building from an analysis of the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London's Hyde Park, Bennett identifies a series of logics and techniques at work in museums that coalesce to produce, in theory at least, a 'voluntarily self-regulating citizenry' (ibid,. 63) who identify with and know themselves as subject to state power.

First, he suggests, drawing its legitimacy from 'a new set of knowledges – geology, biology, archaeology, anthropology, history and art history' (ibid., 96), the museum makes a display of its own power to order and make sense of the world. Visitors encountering the world as arranged through the governmental gaze, and recognising themselves within its order, are afforded the possibility:

> […] to know and thence to regulate themselves; to become, in seeing themselves from the side of power, both the subjects and the objects of knowledge, knowing power and what power knows, and knowing themselves as (ideally) known by power, interiorizing its gaze as a principle of self-surveillance and, hence, self-regulation.
>
> (Ibid., 63)

Second, and by extension, the museum, as a public institution open to all, shares its gaze with those who visit it. That is, it invites the people to participate as qualified equals in its project of representation:

> Rather than embodying an alien and coercive principle of power which aimed to cow the people into submission, the museum - addressing the people as a public, as citizens - aimed to inveigle the general populace into complicity with power by placing them on this side of a power which it represented as its own.
>
> (Ibid., 95)

Finally, third, and in keeping with its project of ordering the world, the museum as a site for the supervised 'comingling' of populations' of different (but formally undifferentiated) classes, allows and encourages individuals to perceive themselves in relation to the body politic as a whole. In particular, invited to share a space with members of the middle classes (and established, in this context, within a system of mutual surveillance – no less on display than the objects arrayed before them), working class visitors might be persuaded to regulate their manners in line with those of their social "betters", learning 'to adopt new forms of behaviour by imitation' in the interest of not standing out (ibid., 100).

On this basis, as well as suggesting the content of 'culture' and 'history', the museum would also promote the proper means and mode of their consumption, initiating a kind of ambient corporeal instruction in how to look, what to look for, not to touch, and - as numerous commentators within sound studies have noted - how to remain appropriately silent in the presence of knowledge and power (Voegelin 2014, 15, cf. Bubaris 2014, Mansell 2017). The products of this instruction, moreover, would be carried over into everyday life. As Bennett (1995, 102) summarises:

'Going to a museum, then as now, is not merely a matter of looking and learning; it is also - and precisely because museums are as much places for being seen as for seeing - an exercise in civics.

3.1.2.2.2   NEOLIBERALISM

Now, in theorising the museum as a site and tool of liberal governmentality, Bennett grounds his analysis primarily in relation to mid- and late nineteenth century contexts of industrialisation, urban population growth, and nation-building. Amid the rapid expansion of industrial towns and cities, the museum (treated relatively straightforwardly as a tool produced and deployed by the state) is posited as one particular force among many others, mobilised to order, civilise and render docile newly concentrated working class populations: an unprecedentedly vast and unpredictable crowd whose potential for mass-uprising haunted the imaginations of public administrators and state government (ibid., 70).

Today, while this emphasis on the civilising function of museums has certainly not been lost (Duncan 1995, Dibley 2005, Graham 2012), it is nevertheless important to emphasise how, in the intervening century, both notions of the ideal citizen (the end product of civic instruction), and the status of museums and other cultural institutions as instruments, subjects, and centres of governmental power has been reconfigured in the context of broader social and ideological developments. To understand this shift, it is necessary to focus briefly on the question of neoliberalism.

The concept / practice / ideology of neoliberalism is as relevant to the study of contemporary participatory heritage practices, as it is to understanding how state actors today work to control and reform "problem" populations, including people experiencing homelessness (see Chapter 5). Following Jacques Wacquant (2009, 1) here, I understand the term to name an 'ideological project and governmental practice mandating submission to the "free market" and the celebration of "individual responsibility in all realms"'.

Developed largely through the 1970s and rapidly realized and implemented in advanced capitalist societies since the early 80s, neoliberalism sees the state - formerly saddled with the responsibility for delivering public services - move to withdraw as a provider/carer in itself, and to instead reposition itself as a convenor of specific markets for housing, transport, healthcare, welfare, education and so on. A concomitant policy of deregulation is pursued in order to maximise competition among private businesses, in theory supporting the optimisation of efficiency and standards among service providers. Since business is driven by a profit motive and (theoretically) kept honest by market forces, the delegation of social service provision to third party providers will, it is argued, inevitably lead to a reduction in the cost of those services. This in turn should enable the state to reduce its own expenditure, and consequently to lower taxation, on which basis, state citizens will be more easily persuaded of the value of / benefits to be gained from selling their labour

on the open market. Finally, closing a virtuous circle of profit-driven behaviours, as individual citizens recognise that "work pays", demand for state-provided social services will eventually fall[30].

For Foucauldian scholar Isobel Lorey (2015, see Butler 2004), a hallmark of neoliberalism is its substitution of a logic of 'securitization' for one of 'precarization'. In the nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries, state action on populations was intended, broadly speaking, to maximise public well-being and security. To be sure, state governmental practices on this model would aim to contribute to a productive economy (e.g. by striving to raise educational standards and improve workers' health), but it would privilege above all else the promotion of loyalty, obedience, community and orderliness among its subjects. In the social democratic states that grew up in the post-war period, new mechanisms including mass public health and welfare systems (along with other, older institutions, like the prison, which promised to remove dangerous elements from social life) ensured that the great majority of citizens were protected from risk.

By contrast, in neoliberalism, as economic growth, profitability, and competition have been adopted as the key markers of a healthy society, individuals and institutions alike have been encouraged to take on more risk for themselves. Private business, in theory, takes on the risk of incurring losses in providing services. Similarly private citizens, discouraged from relying on state support (whether through the calculated application of shame and social stigma (see Rose 2000); through the cultivation of discomfort – as in the capping of welfare payments; or through the removal or stricter rationing of services – for example, the planned depletion of social housing stocks) are encouraged to absorb more of the risks associated simply with living. In short, without the state to fall back on, life is made ever more precarious, and subjects are encouraged to embrace an ideal of self-reliance. As political theorist Wendy Brown (2010, 2) summaries, neoliberalism 'supplants democratic principles with entrepreneurial ones across political and social life'[31].

3.1.2.2.3 SOCIAL INCLUSION

Applying this understanding of neoliberalism in the context of the heritage industry brings into focus a process through which cultural organisations have been called upon increasingly to recalibrate the role they play in society to accord with a fundamentally economic rationality. One of the hallmarks of recent UK

---

[30] In the UK, among the impacts of neoliberal policies of greatest relevance to this study are: 1) the planned diminution since the mid-1980s of social housing stocks, aimed at creating a society of private home owners (Ronald 2008); and 2) a gradual transition from a 'welfare' to a 'workfare' model of social service provision in which individuals requiring state support are increasingly required to 'earn' benefits (through good behaviour, demonstrating a commitment to jobseeking, etc.) rather than simply claiming it as a universal entitlement) (Wacquant 2009, Woolford and Nelund 2013, Alden 2015a, 2015b). These developments are discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

[31] To cement an understanding of neoliberalism as a distinctive practice/ideology, a further helpful definition is provided by David Harvey: 'Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist … then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture.' (in Ford 2017, 36)

government cultural policy has been an intensification of the pressure placed on institutions to demonstrate (quantitatively) their public impact. As Claire Bishop (2012, 13-14) observes, writing on the parallel rise of participatory logics in arts practice, under three consecutive New Labour governments (1997-2010) rising public spending on culture was justified through a policy framework that emphasised the social rather than cultural value of heritage and the arts.

> The production and reception of the arts was […] reshaped within a political logic in which audience figures and marketing statistics became essential to securing public funding. The key phrase deployed by New Labour was 'social exclusion': if people become disconnected from schooling and education, and subsequently the labour market, they are more likely to pose problems for welfare systems and society as a whole. New Labour therefore encouraged the arts to be socially inclusive.

As ambiguous as it was as a concept (see Tlili 2008), the idea that social exclusion (and its various symptoms/causes: unemployment, homelessness, loneliness, poverty, crime, ill-health, etc.) might be combatted through countervailing processes of 'inclusion' is one that has become ingrained in heritage management. Allied to the aforementioned discourses on recognition, diversification, and democratisation, it continues to serve as a key rationale for promoting marginalised groups' participation in heritage practice.

In the writings of François Matarasso in particular – whose report *Use or Ornament?* (1998) represented an influential early attempt to document the social outcomes of inclusion, and in numerous other scholars' work (among them Sandell 1998, 2003, Dodd *et al.* 2002, Silverman 2003, Munro 2013, Kinsley 2016), a wide variety of different forms of heritage participation are celebrated for their capacity to build individual skills, confidence and self-esteem. Similarly, within the medical profession, museum and heritage participation is increasingly lauded as a means of mitigating mental health problems linked to stress, poor physical health, and social isolation (Napier *et al.* 2014, Chatterjee 2016), contributing to the gradual mainstreaming of a 'social prescribing' model within public health bodies (Thomson *et al.* 2015, Veall 2017, Drinkwater *et al.* 2019).

Today, as a consequence of this shift in policy and discourse, the idea that 'taking part' in heritage can make people feel better, less stressed, and more confident, if only in the short term, is hardly a point worth contesting. And there is some evidence, too, to suggest that efforts to promote participation in heritage may be a valuable way of building communities of practice (Munro 2013, Morse and Munro 2018) – somewhat counteracting the tendency of neoliberal policies, contemporary identity discourses, and processes of social atomisation inherent to late capitalism to individualise state subjects. Yet Butler's concern with the pharmakonic efficacies of heritage practices should again serve as a prompt towards greater caution. For Bishop (op cit.), notably, 'despite [its] benign ring' a key problem with the social inclusion agenda in its current form is that it:

[…] seeks to conceal social inequality, rendering it cosmetic rather than structural. It represents the primary division in society as one between an included majority and an excluded minority (formerly known as the 'working class'). The solution implied by the discourse of social exclusion is [therefore] simply the goal of transition across the boundary from excluded to included […]

The social inclusion agenda is less about repairing the social bond than a mission to enable all members of society to be self- administering, fully functioning consumers who do not rely on the welfare state and who can cope with a deregulated, privatised world. […] In this logic, participation in society is merely participation in the task of being individually responsible for what, in the past, was the collective concern of the state.

Increasingly today, in the context of an intensification of neoliberal governmental practices globally, arguments of the kind made by Bishop are being acknowledged and repeated in arts and heritage theory. Gregory Sholette (2015, 96), another observer of the participatory turn in contemporary arts, has called for recognition of the "accomodationist" nature of 'practices that only aim to fix local social problems without questioning the system that gave rise to these problems in the first place.' Within heritage studies, de Cesari and Herzfeld (2015, 172) note that there are 'surprising affinities between neoliberal techniques and rhetoric on the one hand and some forms of progressive politics on the other'. Finally (and again to give just a summary of ideas, rather than a comprehensive account of the literature on this topic), for Gonzàlez-Ruibal and his colleagues (2018, 509-510, cf. Alonso González 2014) - continuing their above-mentioned assault on Smith and the democratising turn in heritage practice - the essential solution to capitalism's erosion of public services and the social safety net lies not in in empty symbolic pluralism and all-inclusivity, but in the cultivation of class solidarity and critical consciousness. And as such:

[…] heritage students, alas, have little to offer in this situation. They may […] compensate this destructive process through the form of symbolic restitution that cultural heritage provides. But this will only satisfy the cultural needs of the liberal and educated middle classes. They may also help by transforming into heritage those economic sectors that will be shattered by the advance of unbridled capitalism: as we know, whenever an economic activity disappears, a museum is open in its place to showcase that same activity. But this will hardly appease those losers of global capitalism.

As a first encounter with the theme, perhaps, this discussion of the application of neoliberal logics in heritage practice remains somewhat abstract. Through a discussion of homelessness in Chapter 5 and subsequent accounts of my own primary research in Chapters 6 and 7 I will look to offer more tangible ways of understanding how social inclusion practices may operate on and through marginalised individuals. Overall, however, the point I want to stress here is that attention to the instrumentalisation of heritage

practices within neoliberalism should give scholars and practitioners pause before they embark upon the development of participatory practices.

For institutions, and - no less – for academic departments and projects like my own which (quite literally) trade upon the creation, negotiation and critique of heritage value, there is an unbroken line that runs from working to "recognise" marginalised peoples' experiences and life stories as heritage, to profiting from the books, articles, grant applications and exhibitions those stories furnish – grist to the mill of a rapacious capitalist economic system, indiscriminate in its consumption of new forms of difference. Similarly, where projects seek to work 'on' or with 'excluded' people to improve their confidence, or resilience, their employability, or their mood, (and in particular when they do so without addressing the structural problems that cause low confidence, frailty, vulnerability, unemployment and misery), they work directly to strengthen a system that puts its faith in individual transformation, rather than in societal reform and collective care.

3.1.2.3   MUSEOCENTRISM

With the concluding section of this chapter, I arrive at a final theme that serves both to draw together several of the strands developed thus far through my consideration of the challenges of misrecognition and instrumentalisation, and to further crystallise my concern with everyday life. In a number of recent articles, museum and heritage theorist Helen Graham (2012, 2017, see also Winter 2013) has invited her readers to consider the 'danger of placing the museum right at the centre of our thinking in a way that can lead to seeing the world from the museum out, or 'museocentrically' (2017, 83).

Where critiques of heritage practice have tended historically to be limited to calling for the narrow, internal reform (diversification, relativisation, democratisation) of particular heritage organisations, their collections, modes of representation, and privileging of expert knowledge, Graham proposes that critical attention would best be directed to understanding how heritage practices relate to and intersect with the everyday lives of specific audiences and publics. In her own words: 'We often see museums as a 'centre', as the centre that needs to be critiqued and changed, but museums are not the centre of most people's lives' (ibid.).

Throughout the preceding pages we have seen examples of situations in which heritage organisations and management structures are viewed, in certain respects, as constituting discrete and somehow totalising institutions: systems of representation that depict the world in microcosm, or – more frequently – that fail in that task and must accordingly be reformed (Dibley 2005). In Stuart Hall's analysis of the UK's national heritage, to be excluded was to be denied an important sense of belonging in British society, and hence (though, as we have seen, Hall was well aware of the limits and price of inclusion) efforts should be made to make museum collections, art galleries, and heritage listings more representative. In Laurajane Smith's

discussion of the Authorised Heritage Discourse, the heritage industry as a whole was posited seemingly as a single, flawed monolith – and again it needed to be reworked, pluralised, and made more reflective of the people as a whole. Finally, within the logic of social inclusion, and too in the writings of Kiddey and Kinsley above, one finds clearly expressed the idea that inclusion in heritage is a necessary good, a form of justice; and consequently, that to be excluded from heritage practices is to be denied a fundamental right.

The basic sentiment behind claims for the twin importance of inclusion, and of perfecting heritage organisations as microcosms/representations of society is easily understood. And it is one that is particularly potent in light of the ways in which many institutions frame themselves: the 'British' Library, 'English' Heritage, the 'National' Trust – these are all bodies that wear their claims to stand for the nation in its entirety proudly on their sleeves. Moreover, as we have already seen, there is – in parts of the heritage industry – a strikingly universalist imagination at work.

For Graham, however, drawing on Tony Bennett's analysis of the political rationality of the Enlightenment universal museum, a politics which directs all of its energies towards remaking museums as universally inclusive, flawlessly representative models of social life (or even a given subsection thereof) is one which is destined to be disappointed. As Bennett suggests (see also Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004, Harrison 2013b), there is a founding contradiction in the universalist logic of the museum, which 'fuel[s] political demands based on the principal of representational adequacy'. This contradiction consists:

> […] in the disparity between, on the one hand, the museum's universal aspirations […
> its claim to tell the 'story of Man'] and, on the other hand, the fact that any particular
> museum display can always be held to be partial, selective and inadequate in relation to
> this objective.
>
> (1995, 102-3)

As such, the 'discourse of reform' that is born of this contradiction is fundamentally 'insatiable' and it '[generates] a politics that is unachievable' (ibid.). If the aim of reform is to recover the true noise of social life, to forestall essentialisation and partial or mis-recognition, then that aim will always be thwarted; for always (to again recall Serres' work on this theme) the effort to apprehend noise entails its veiling.

Alongside the theoretical impossibility of representational adequacy, a parallel set of problems is associated with the discursive framing of museums and other heritage organisations as 'democratic' institutions. First, as a range of scholars have observed, heritage organisations are neither democracies in themselves, nor do many of their practices necessarily accord with democratic principles (Coghlan 2018, 2, cf. Carpentier 2011, Fredheim 2018, Lynch 2011). On a model of representative democracy, heritage professionals are neither elected by the publics they work to represent, nor made accountable to those publics. If they are deemed to have failed in the work of representing any particular group, then there is little that can be done by anyone external to a given organisation to remove them.

82

Equally, second, considering heritage practices as isolated expressions / instantiations of alternative forms of direct democracy (in which, for example, objects might be selected for display using collaborative methods of community co-curation), a growing literature documents how, very often, the experience of democratic participation fails to live up to the rhetoric that promotes it. While Cornwall and Coelho (2007) describe many institutions as offering, at best, 'empowerment-lite' to the groups and individuals they work with through notionally democratic, collaborative projects, Bernadette Lynch (2016, 6) has argued that more often than not, democratising practices provide only 'an illusion of participation'. In reality, she suggests:

> [C]onsensual decisions tend to be coerced, or rushed through on the basis of the institution's control of knowledge production and its dissemination, or on the basis of it institutional agenda or strategic plan, thereby manipulating a group consensus on what is inevitable, usual, or expected.

Finally, a further problem stems from the challenge of defining who, in any given project, is best placed to represent a particular constituency in society within heritage practices, or, more broadly, which constituencies are to be engaged in the first place:

> Every time participation is just 'added in' [to a project] the criticism comes back, a criticism always motivated by the best public service intention: 'why these people and not other people?' Or, 'if you cannot involve everyone, then how can you justify involving anyone?'.
>
> (Graham 2017, 76)

And of course, as specific initiatives expand in their scope, from deploying participatory tactics in relatively contained, locally oriented projects, to working to represent whole regions, nations, civilizations and planets, this challenge only grows larger.

For Graham, there are two main difficulties that arise from this imprecise treatment of museums as democratic institutions. First, if heritage organisations are held to be inadequate - either because they fail fully to represent social life, or because they fail to include enough or the right kinds of other people in their work, **and** if the end goal of any given process of diversification, relativisation, or critique is to reform, to perfect, to democratise those organisations, then the inevitably limited, inevitably inadequate involvement of small numbers of people in participatory practices can only ever serve those organisations more than it serves their critics:

> Rather than being counter to the logics of the museum, calls for greater participation and empowerment are fully consonant with the rationality of the museum […]: in the context

of museum participation, wanting more critique and more meaningful empowerment is itself consent being organized.

(2012, 567)

Second, even if - by virtue of a radical expansion of heritage practice, or, prospectively, through harnessing the affordances of a social media platform like Facebook – one were to be able to render heritage fully representative and fully inclusive, it would become quickly apparent that democratisation in heritage has no necessary correlation to the democratisation of society writ large. What is at work here, for Graham, (that it is to say, what underpins critical efforts focused on the reform of particular heritage institutions as discrete centres of power) is an unhelpful conflation of processes that take place at very different scales.

The danger of the critique-contest cycle is that museums and museum co-production encounters are imagined in a fully corresponding way with both institutional politics and wider circulations of power. The micro reflects the macro (institutional politics, policy, neocolonialism) and vice versa. Once the institutional critique phase has been completed then the hoped for co-production practice is imagined as reworking the dynamics between museum and public so effectively at a micro level that it is as if it might simply be scaled up to then transform […] power in general.

(2012, 568)

By holding onto (in any case) misguided notions of the museum and/or heritage as a kind of totalising democratic structure, we therefore overinvest our energies in institutional critique, and consequently fail to realize the full potential that cultural organisations have to influence broader networks of power.

Seeking a form of museological practice that both avoids the tendency to get trapped in institutional critique and resists the framing of heritage institutions as self-contained democracies, Graham proposes a twofold solution. Firstly, as mentioned above, she positions the everyday lives and suffering of oppressed peoples as the primary object of work for reform. Secondly, meanwhile (and in a move which somewhat defuses the risk of instrumentalisation associated with social inclusion policies – for these are, after all, no less concerned to intervene in the everyday), she advances an explicitly anarchist form of participatory politics aimed at connecting, in rhizomatic fashion, with other dispersed agents of (variously) anti-capitalist, anti-racist, and anti-imperialist struggle. Where the model of museum as centre / democracy / microcosm places demands on institutions to both represent, and be representative (to work on behalf of), Graham's model instead privileges 'decentralised and direct decision-making processes […] where decisions should be made by the people the decisions affect' (2017, 78). The overarching logic, here, is to 'make [heritage organisations] small' and 'move up close (to practice)' (2012, 568); to work within larger, distributed networks of political agents, focusing attention on injustices inherent in the practice of everyday life, rather than on the impossible redemption of discrete organisations.

Overall, I think, the central issue Graham's writings on heritage and museum participation force us again to confront is that of difference, and more explicitly the question: what difference does difference make? What is the end goal of institutional diversification? How should we understand and plot the route from first, recognizing difference in heritage organisations to then defending it in society? Importantly, of course, she is far from alone in airing these kinds of concerns. In the theories and rhetorics of noise developed by Serres, Bauman, Rancière and others I will introduce below, a key problem is to unpick and problematise competing logics of difference and diversity, and to question how difference is marshalled, mobilized, suppressed, and instrumentalised in varied social settings.

Closer to home meanwhile, there are a range of scholars who - eschewing museocentric imaginaries - have recognized and championed the need to be small and get close to practice. We see this concern in the writings of Lola Young (2003, 205), who asks:

> Can those who run or work in national institutions relinquish some of their power in order that others may exercise some? Is it possible that a large museum or archive can resist seeing itself as a 'centre for social change', instead becoming part of a matrix of groups that combine as partners?

And again, this form of argument emerges in the work of Michael Ames (2006, 177-178, my emphases), who takes Antonio Gramsci's notion of strategic alliances, and the writings of Brazilian revolutionary and educator Paulo Freire as his models in calling for heritage professionals to commit what, he suggests, amounts to 'class suicide' – eschewing traditional institutional loyalties, missions and apparently rational or objective neutrality, in favour of a radical solidarity with the oppressed:

> What needs to be suspended is the assumption that the Idea of the Museum necessarily contains within it all the solutions to a community's interest in its heritage, and in particular the notion that valuable heritage is that which experts judge to be suitable for institutionalization. *The museological initiative is only one alternative, and could in fact unintentionally limit local initiative and thus be counterproductive.*

> [Accordingly] The key task for the museum in a development context, with all its intellectual resources, is less to transfer knowledge than to create the possibilities for the indigenous construction or production of knowledge relevant to the community […] and *to assist in any subsequent action.*

Finally, to close on somewhat of a less dramatic note, within archive studies, Mary Stevens, Andrew Flinn, and Elizabeth Shepherd (2010, 73, my emphasis) have called on archivists to 'appreciate the tremendous advantages of valuing the contribution of the bearers of alternative forms of knowledge […] as much as the record itself.' For, they write:

> […] unless they work *to cherish the context from which an archive emerged* […] and find ways to encode it in their catalogues […] the meaning of the record is very soon lost.

Perhaps, then, one may tentatively conclude, an institutional concern with difference, and a parallel impulse to preserve the records difference generates, are only as powerful as the commitment institutions are prepared to make to defending difference where they find it, and to doing so on its (difference's) own terms. Rather than striving endlessly to recreate the noise of everyday life through heritage practices – working to survey and contain noise from the position of a detached observer, this entails a more humble and vulnerable commitment; a self-conception that understands cultural institutions and their staff not as being situated neutrally above the noise of society, doomed to the never-ending task of trying to describe it, but which condemns them instead to a life lived within, through and as a part of that noise. This is a different kind of project, and a different kind of pain, but one in which – as small recompense – the interminable epistemological task of tracing and representing all possible connections within social life is displaced by the more modest social imperative to forge and maintain a smaller number of connections with groups imagined less as objects of study, and more as equal agents of change.

In the course of this chapter on the relationship between heritage and social justice, I have sought to cover a lot of ground. Building upon the themes of *difference* and *everyday life* broached in Chapters 1 and 2, two key purposes of the preceding discussion have been (1) to ground those relatively abstract terms in relation to concrete developments in recent heritage theory and practice, and (2) through that process, to highlight a range of challenges associated with the mobilisation of heritage within practices of social inclusion and social activism, aimed, albeit in different ways, at transforming the everyday lives of their participants. Through focusing on the question of social justice, I also introduced three concepts of great importance in this research: misrecognition, instrumentalisation, and museocentrism. As I proceed below, these will be concepts which will help me – in responding to my overarching research questions - to shape a discussion of what a critical sonic or auditory heritage practice should aim to do relative to society as a whole. For now, however, a new direction is required.

Through three chapters thus far, I have written at length about the problem of difference, and, thus, by extension, about noise. Yet, for all that noise, I have said relatively little about sound. In the next chapter, therefore, to correct this imbalance, I will return to the point at which I began this thesis: to the British Library Sound Archive and the making of sonic heritage. By considering the approach the Archive has adopted to collecting and preserving 'everyday' soundscapes, and by describing my own initial primary research in Stamford Hill -a response to the BL's *UK Soundmap* and *Sounds of our Shores* archives – I will work, to a greater extent than has thus far been possible elsewhere, to draw out the potential and pitfalls of engaging sound and auditory culture through heritage frames. As trailed above, among the key features of contemporary soundmapping practices this research responds to is its frequent reliance upon the mechanism

of crowdsourcing. In looking at *Sounds of our Shores* as a central case study, my primary concern will be to ask who and what it represents, as well as how and to what ends the 'crowd' that produced the archive was constituted. As such, as well as cementing my concern with sound, the next chapter will also see me extend and begin to apply more tangibly the notions of noise developed above.

4   MAKING SONIC HERITAGE:

In introducing my research in Chapter 1, I gave a brief overview of online soundmapping, and noted how, within the past decade, the practice has come to be taken up by heritage institutions as an archival technique for collecting and re-presenting expressions of sonic or auditory heritage. Alongside the development of a range of exhibitionary practices also discussed above, soundmapping is one approach through which environmental sounds are today being gradually repositioned and re-evaluated in museological and heritage practice. Formerly largely neglected by heritage institutions or deployed primarily in ambient mode to create mood in exhibitionary settings, soundscapes (or recordings thereof) are now increasingly isolated and apprehended as cultural artefacts in themselves. And though, to be sure, sound recording has played a part in archival practices for much of the past century – indeed, ever since Thomas Edison's 1877 invention of the phonograph made possible sound's mechanical reproduction (see Sterne 2001) – what is distinctive about the present moment is, on the one hand, the scale at, and rapacity with which, seemingly ordinary or mundane sounds are now being collected, and, on the other, the way in which, increasingly, responsibility for selecting and documenting sounds is being delegated to crowds as part of a process of curatorial 'democratisation'.

In this chapter I return to my first encounter with contemporary online soundmapping practices, to my initial attempt to 'counter map' their representations of auditory life, and thus to the first of my overarching research questions, considering the implications of a turn to the creation of large scale archives of everyday and environmental sounds in heritage institutions. The chapter is arranged in two main sections. First, I continue below by presenting and discussing my main case study, the National Trust/British Library project *Sounds of our Shores*. Subsequently, I describe the pilot listening project, *Sounding Stamford Hill*, that I undertook in parallel with my early critical reading of soundmaps.

Within the thesis as a whole, finally, this chapter performs the dual function of origin story and pivot. In exploring what I understood, during the earliest years of my research, to be the limits of contemporary soundmapping practices within mainstream heritage organisations, I in turn establish the essential practical context out of which both my later, deeper engagement with homelessness, and my concern with logics of participation and social justice would eventually emerge.

4.1   SOUNDS OF OUR SHORES

4.1.1   OVERVIEW & RATIONALE

As I have noted above, *Sounds of our Shores* (henceforth *SooS*) was a soundmapping project led jointly by the British Library Sound Archive, the National Trust, and the National Trust for Scotland, and supported by AudioBoom, a platform for sharing and storing digital sound files online. The project took place

throughout the summer of 2015, leading to the creation of a map and archive of more than seven hundred crowd sourced field recordings, submitted by members of the public and intended to endure in the British Library as 'a permanent digital resource of UK coastal recordings' (British Library 2015a).

Overall there are four factors that explain why I highlight *SooS* here over and above other comparable initiatives. First, a point which marks the project out as being of particular interest to heritage scholars, *SooS* was conceived and created specifically with long-term (indeed, perpetual) preservation in mind. While numerous contemporary soundmaps function almost incidentally as historical repositories (finding an afterlife, as Droumeva (2017, 338) notes, as '*de facto* documentary archives of place'), *SooS* was built explicitly to last, and to speak to the future as heritage.

Second, and in a similar vein, *SooS* is distinctive for being the product of a collaboration between two large, high profile heritage organisations. For the National Trust, additionally, the project marked a first institutional foray into the sonic realm, and as such it gives an indication of the extent to which an interest in environmental sounds is being mainstreamed within contemporary heritage practice today.

Third, and in contrast to a majority of soundmapping initiatives which tend to act as online hubs for existing hobbyist field recordists, *SooS* was actively promoted to the public at large. Advertised over both radio and television (in the latter case via the BBC's popular magazine show *Countryfile*), the project was also trailed extensively in print and digital press up and down the country. In this respect *SooS* was, by archival standards, a major media event, and as such it offers a helpful example of sound's positioning as heritage within wider public discourse.

Finally, fourth, and most importantly in terms of how the arguments I present here relate to the remainder of this thesis, the project served for me, during the earliest years of my research, as an embodiment of several trends in contemporary heritage practice (and in particular the treatment of sounds therein) that I wished to avoid replicating in my own work.

When I first studied and wrote about *SooS* through late 2015 – leading to the publication of rather too combative an article in the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (Tourle 2016) - I did so from a very particular perspective. Noting the way in which the project was framed by its makers as an attempt to express 'the diversity of the coastline' (British Library 2015b), as well as, further, the very specific documentary purpose they imagined it serving (namely to answer the question 'What did the UK coastline sound like during the summer of 2015?' (ibid.) my approach to critiquing its resulting archive was to read it in terms of a single, (to me) glaring absence.

Having been staged, that is, from 21 June to 21 September of that year, the collecting window for *SooS* coincided very precisely with the first major manifestations in Britain of what has since come to be known as the 'European migrant crisis'. On 23 June, two days after the project launched, strike action taken by

staff at the Port of Calais caused delays at the border between France and the UK. As well as precipitating huge tailbacks on roads and motorways across Kent (a cause of unusual stillness and quiet), this period also saw small numbers of migrants seeking refuge in Britain take advantage of slow-moving traffic to stow away in lorries queuing for the Channel crossing. Subsequently, within weeks of those events being reported in the media, members of two organisations, the National Front and the South East Alliance, had descended on Dover to lead the first of what would be many far-right demonstrations to follow that year. Characterised by outbreaks of violence, each of these protests also entailed fierce and widely reported periods of shouting and chanting: 'No more refugees!'; 'There ain't no black in the Union Jack!', and so on (Dover Express 2015, Mullin 2016, Sommers 2016). To me, at the time, this appeared a significant, deeply shaming, and palpably sonic episode in in the history of Britain's coastline. In the *SooS* archive, however, no trace of it was to be found.

Now, on reflection, it is hardly surprising that this should have been the case. Perhaps, indeed, it would have been far stranger an outcome if the sounds of abhorrent racial abuse being hurled at an indifferent sea *had* found their way into an archive under the National Trust and British Library's joint stewardship. Today, four years on, I find it peculiar to think how fixated I became on what I perceived as the failure of those organisations to register what was, really, a relatively small-scale series of protests. And importantly, too, I should concede that the *SooS* map was and remains, in its own way, rather a convincing document. In reviewing a random sample of 150 recordings (c. five hours of listening in all), I found that approximately a third of public contributions focused on water (waves, rainfall, and rivers); a further two fifths respectively on wind and wildlife (primarily birdsong); and one in ten on the sound of people walking on shingle. Take a trip to a stretch of the British coastline on any given day of the year, then, and the chances are that much of it will sound rather similar to the bulk of recordings captured by *SooS*.

Nevertheless (and notwithstanding my earlier discussions of Bennett, Graham and the futility of arguments that centre on representational inadequacy), this absence continued to bother me, and throughout my subsequent studies it has remained a key point of reference. That a project intended specifically to document the sounds of the UK coastline during the tightly defined period of the summer of 2015 had failed to capture a moment - an auditory eruption - so emblematic of that precise place and time, appeared to me, if not surprising, then at least disappointing. Similarly, that a crowdsourcing exercise designed to showcase 'diversity' had ended in generating perhaps as many as two hundred practically indistinguishable swatches of sea sound[32] (all of which will be preserved for the nation in perpetuity) seemed nothing less than perverse. Finally, and most importantly, that the absence I had noted was real – verifiable - and that its content spoke so powerfully both to the state of the nation the National Trust and British Library had set out to represent, and to the potency of sounding practices in everyday life, suggested that other ways of listening, beyond that deployed through the project, were possible. Accepting that, by my own over-specific and reactionary measure of representational adequacy, *SooS* had "failed", I could, then, nonetheless seek to understand why

---

[32] Scaling up from my sample.

it had missed what I had heard, why its listening was, by my understanding, so narrow, and how that listening could be learned from and adapted.

And that, in short, is the process that I propose now to take forward. As I do so, I will look to problematise three main aspects of *SooS*'s production and underlying logic: (i) the project's reliance on the material process of field recording as a means of representing the sonic environment; (ii) its figuring or calculation of difference and diversity; and (iii) its conceptualisation and mobilisation of 'the crowd' and public participation. To those ends, I will draw both upon my own reading of the map and of relevant secondary documents (materials published by the National Trust and British Library that either relate to or were produced directly in support of the *SooS* project), as well as on insights provided by the two project leads, Cheryl Tipp (Curator of Wildlife and Environmental Sounds at the British Library Sound Archive) and Mike Collins (Senior Press Officer at the National Trust), each of whom I interviewed via email during my initial research into SooS. As described in previous chapters, my analysis will be guided by a concern with processes of differentiation and future-making, by my understanding of heritage as a material-discursive process, and further by the Lefebvrian conceptualisation of space as a social product, introduced in my methodology.

4.1.2   MATERIALS

For map readers, archival theorists, and museum critics alike, a key route into problematising the end products of processes of representation is to understand how, under what circumstances and with what intent certain phenomena are made legible, perceptible, measurable, and thus capable of being represented. As Bennett, Dibley and Harrison (2014, 142) propose, 'depending on how "data" are defined, determine[s] how they are collected and processed'. In *SooS*, one can point to myriad ways in which the definition of data shaped the process of crowd sourcing that brought a new archive to life, several of which I will explore below. To begin with, however, I would suggest that the single most important factor to highlight in this regard is the project's positioning of sound as a material resource *to be recorded*.

Recalling my introduction to this research above, I recounted a story shared with me by Maria, relating to her experience of quiet at the piazza at the British Library. To me, that story provides a resonant example of a kind of highly ordinary listening that nevertheless serves to illuminate an aspect of contemporary social life and which, moreover, fundamentally transcends the documentary capacities of a straight audio recording. The significance of the moment Maria described does not lie within, or at least it is not exhausted by, the acoustic properties of the space; indeed, the same space to me feels unpleasantly noisy. Instead it is a product of relations: the interplay of personal biography, emotion, physical tiredness, habituation to varying environments and extremes of noise, and so on. When I sat down with Maria to discuss the sounds she valued, the location and the specific properties of the cherished peace she described were almost incidental: instead the value or weight of the story derived from her and her own everyday life. In other

words, the story could not be told by a recording alone. In the *SooS* map and archive, by contrast, although the BL's crowd sourcing process allowed for users to upload a small amount of written, descriptive commentary (notably, only a handful of users in my sample did so), or even to introduce sounds verbally, the essential thrust of the project was to capture recordings, and to place those recordings at the centre of an overarching process of conservation and communication.

Now, setting aside for a moment the reasons why this should have been the case, it is important initially to consider the simple effect that the adoption of so essentially materialist an approach may have exerted in *SooS*, and that, more broadly, it would exert on any comparable process of collecting. For fundamentally, it seems to me, any approach to apprehending the significance of the sonic environment that is predicated primarily on the process of recording, will run up against a number of barriers. On the one hand, here, a recorder alone cannot capture the memories that people associate with certain sounds, just as equally it cannot convey the emotional responses that make listening meaningful. On the other hand, meanwhile, and far more pragmatically, sound is a fluid phenomenon, and as such by the time one decides to record something exceptional or unusual, it has usually vanished into the ether. This means that for most participants in *SooS*, recordings would have to have focused either on sounds they could reasonably expect to stay 'still' for a while (the sea, churning away), or otherwise on things they could control or predict (regularly chiming bells, for example, or their own footsteps). Lastly, the act of recording is not always a comfortable one: there are times (and perhaps standing in the middle of a neo-Fascist protest is one of them), at which it might feel decidedly risky to withdraw a recorder from one's pocket to start harvesting materials. Taking these points together, then, one can appreciate the extent to which the eventual content of the SooS archive may in part have been dictated by the assumption that material conservation matters. Conceiving of 'sonic heritage' as something to be explored through recording(s) alone necessarily reduces the complexity of our engagement with sound, placing tangible limits on our listening.

Why, then, privilege the direct material recording of sounds, over and above some other mechanism (e.g. interview) that might have shed more light on their received meaning? And why favour a method, which, ultimately, distorts the process of collecting to favour those phenomena that are the easiest to observe, either on account of their ubiquity or of their regularity? To begin with the most obvious answer to those two questions, one might respond that, of course, the project was geared to creating an archive, and that producing and keeping records of things is what archives do. And, although it is obvious, that answer is not without interest, for it in turn raises further questions: why keep things in the first place; with what purpose?

Already in Chapter 1 I have drawn attention to the ways in which heritage institutions and practitioners seek, very often, to justify the work they do via rhetorical recourse to an uncertain and incalculably different future. Similarly, in exploring the concept of 'loss aversion' within heritage practice, Cornelius Holtorf (2015, 407-8, see Kahneman *et al.* 1991) describes the way in which:

[…] the entire sector [...] has long seen itself, in terms of a constant fight to save the existing heritage [...] selflessly preserving for future generations what does not only belong to us today.

Partly out of an inflated (or at least naturally biased) sense of the importance and interest contained in our own present day lives, then, partly because we hope that people in the future will care about, respect, learn from and carry on the values inscribed in the things we set in store for them, and partly, too, because it is easier to project our passions forward onto generations to come who cannot question them, rather than to gain consensus about their value among our peers, preserving things for the future based on the significance we imagine they might one day hold is a neat way of validating our labours and forestalling scrutiny of their significance in the here and now.

In my exchanges with Cheryl Tipp, this faith in or reliance upon the future to bring meaning to *SooS* was clearly in evidence. Cheryl explained that a key objective of the project was to inform future research. She hoped, she said, that the project could be replicated 'at some point in the future' in order to see 'whether the recording choices people [make] are roughly the same or completely different, based on changing landscapes and technologies'. Similarly, noting that through a public poll it had organised, the *SooS* team had identified 'gentle waves' as the public's favourite sound, Cheryl speculated as to whether 'in 100 years' this 'would still be the nation's favourite', or whether that preference might have changed. If it did, she asked, 'what would that say about the human psyche?'.

In both cases, I think (and this particularly given the century-long timeframe for comparison that Cheryl proposed) the questions raised here are at best speculative, and ultimately, very likely, unanswerable. As I will discuss further below, it seems unlikely that the crowd brought into being by *SooS* is one that was by any measure representative of the nation; hence it constitutes a flimsy basis on which to assess broad responses to social and technological change in the future. Further, given the lack of rich qualitative data in the archive, it would seem to me to be somewhat farfetched to infer from the project anything at all, beyond the merest platitudes, about the 'human psyche'. To me, however, the rhetorical investment *SooS* made both in the future, and in the idea of archival permanence, has less to do with any clear research rationale, and far more to do with a search for legitimisation. It is a gesture, that is, designed to instil *SooS* with a sense of gravity and purpose that otherwise it might struggle to retain. Why listen? What is the value of these sounds? These are questions that are yet more difficult to respond to than those posed above about the future, and which, in fact, *SooS* as a whole does little to answer. If we cannot justify our actions in the present, however, then at the very least we can *endure*, seeking validation not in the present, but in the eyes of others whose judgement and scepticism we will never be forced to face.

Turning now to a second facet of *SooS* that might help to explain its adoption of direct field recording as a collecting methodology, I alight at the twin problems of media and motive. Here we will begin to see more clearly what to me is a mismatch of ends and means characteristic of the project as a whole. A key detail I

have yet to note about *SooS* relates to the role the project was designed to play as a marketing device for the National Trust and the British Library Sound Archive alike. For Cheryl Tipp, very straightforwardly, extending an invitation to members of the public to map the sounds of the coastline was viewed as an opportunity to promote the Archive's work and win over new audiences. As she wrote to me:

> The BL really wanted to engage with the public, get them interested in sound while at the same time promoting the fact that a national sound archive does exist.

For Mike Collins at the National Trust, meanwhile, *SooS* was to function primarily as a means of marking and celebrating the 50th anniversary of the organisation's Neptune Coastline Campaign, an initiative, which raises funds to enable the purchase and preservation of coastal territory (574 miles of it to date) for the enjoyment of the public. Somewhat in tension, then, with the aim of creating a diverse and representative record of coastal life of the kind that might usefully serve (notionally interested) future historians, the project also – and perhaps above all – needed to achieve both mass participation and media cut through.

Thinking momentarily about each of these supplementary goals, it is easy to understand why a devolved process of field recording might have been preferable to any alternative method: a specialist survey, for example, or a more complex attempt to interview large numbers of the public about their experiences and relationship to coastal sounds. Firstly, from the perspective of logistics and quality control, it is far easier at a distance to ask people simply to record sounds than to bid them to think about those sounds and submit detailed reflections on their values. Not only would the latter process have taken considerably more conceptual scaffolding, but further, the data it yielded would likely have been far less consistent. Secondly, and by extension, for a project team looking to use public submissions in an array of marketing and communications contexts, it seems reasonable to suggest that straight recordings of sound would make for a far more malleable, more rapidly editable, and ultimately more aesthetically pleasing resource, than would hours of complexly structured monologue.

Among the secondary outputs of *SooS*, alongside its map and digital archive, were a series of musical compositions commissioned from two artists, Joe Acheson and Martyn Ware; pieces produced by mixing together elements of recordings contributed by members of the public, several of which were used to promote the project via radio and television (e.g. *Countryfile* 2015). Similarly, in another strand of its overarching marketing effort, the project struck a deal with London Underground to pipe recordings into a range of stations on the capital's tube network. Here, as is confirmed in a press release published by the PR agency Chloé Nelkin - quoting the National Trust's London Creative Director Joseph Watson - the intent behind the event was unambiguous. Based on the idea of bringing sounds 'to the rather unexpected context' of the Underground, it would, it was hoped, 'add a little dash of pleasure to Londoners' daily commute and even encourage them to head for the coast at the weekend' (n.a. 2015). Central, to the marketing drive around the project, then, was the dissemination of recordings that needed to be playful, unexpected, and straightforward enough for a busy public to understand them whilst on the go in non-coastal settings.

Now, as my analysis unfolds here it would be reasonable enough to cry Scrooge or else to declare me an unremitting misery. What could be so terrible about two heritage organisations seeking to inject a little fun and theatre into their public communications? Surely, this is the kind of institutional behaviour that should be encouraged, rather than fought against. And indeed, to a great extent I would agree with that sentiment. The point I wish to reinforce, however, even to labour, is that there is a great deal of difference between the two sets of objectives at play here. One, to enthuse and mobilise the public with easily grasped, shared and consumed materials; and the other, to write history and represent the nation. To me, it seems, in *SooS* the balance of these priorities teetered more towards the former than the latter; and, I would suggest, it did so with the ultimate effect of limiting the project's breadth, depth, and in the end its utility as a statement on auditory culture. This is a problem that we will encounter again in the next section, when I consider the way in which the project framed and produced diversity within its emerging record.

4.1.3   PICTURING DIVERSITY

In interrogating both the varying forms, and – again, by my reading – the relative lack of 'diversity' represented in the archive of sounds assembled through *SooS*, there are numerous avenues one might choose to take, all of which begin with the question of how 'diversity' itself was defined in the project. To start with, taking into account both the National Trust's prominent role in natural landscape conservation and the fact of the project's lead curator being a wildlife specialist, one might reasonably assume that the documentation of biodiversity was a key goal of the project. Given that species distributions vary seasonally, however, and that *SooS* was compressed into three short summer months alone (a factor, Cheryl Tipp explained, of limited resourcing, and of the decision to prioritise the summer and peak tourist season in collecting as a means of maximising participation), it would seem that the project was ill-designed to achieve that outcome. Consider, too, the way in which collecting was delegated to anonymous members of the public (rather than, say, a select band of highly trained and experienced ornithologists or coastal ecologists), as well as the commitment the project made in various marketing materials to capturing anthropogenic as well as natural sounds (more on which below), and it becomes still harder to see this as a guiding logic capable of explaining the archive's content.

So, diversity here cannot reasonably be equated with 'biodiversity'. Could it be, in that case, that the diversity sought through *SooS* lay within the make-up of its expected audience: the crowd? Perhaps, yes. Yet with the project promoted largely to audiences predisposed either to enjoying rural/natural tourism in its many guises (National Trust members, *Countryfile* viewers and so on), or to engaging closely with field recording as a tradition and practice, again I would suggest there exists a certain slippage between desired ends and methods employed. In terms of the latter grouping – hobbyist phonographers – a range of scholars have drawn attention to a pronounced 'beauty bias' (Waldock 2011, n.p.) in field recording communities, leading to a disproportional focus on 'natural' sounds. Similarly, and noting the scientific (i.e. ecological,

zoological) roots of the practice, Droumeva (2017, 338) has problematised the way in which phonographers tend overwhelmingly to neglect not only 'the vernacular, the everyday, [and] domestic soundscapes', but also, more pointedly, 'sounds of strife, inequality, alterity and resistance' (see also Schoer 2014, Madrid 2016, Thulin 2018).

More broadly, meanwhile, that the *SooS* project team might have believed themselves, simply by placing their project online, to be also, in one manoeuvre, making that project open and equally accessible to everyone seems to me to reflect a misplaced faith in the Internet; a misunderstanding of its workings. Indeed, on the contrary, as political theorist Jodi Dean (2005, 67, my emphasis) writes, the vision of the Internet as 'a wide-open space […], an open, smooth, virtual world of endless and equal opportunity *is a fantasy.*' All the while it may provide an 'imaginary site of action and belonging', and all the while it 'enables myriad constituencies to understand themselves as part of the same […] structure', nonetheless, the Web is a profoundly stratified and bubble-strewn environment. As a technology for accessing multitudes (and thus in heritage contexts for circumventing the barriers that might prohibit rapid collections development: limited timeframes, vast distances, scarce resources, and so on) it holds great potential. As a resource for encountering and connecting with difference, however, it is no less limited and limiting than any other means of communication.

In terms of the collections processes *SooS* set in train, then, it is difficult to accept the project either as a credible effort to monitor biodiversity, or as a serious attempt to document socio-cultural diversity. How, on this basis, was diversity recognised and cultivated in the project? Here, I alight finally, at the very central role played by the technology of the map itself in the practice of soundmapping. In my earlier discussion of the spatial and rhythmnanalytical theory of Henri Lefebvre, I noted both his identification of representation as the dominant node in a triadic conceptualisation of social space, and the suspicion with which he regarded visual culture. To repeat a key passage here:

> People look, and take sight, take seeing, for life itself. We build on the basis of papers and plans. We buy on the basis of images. Sight and seeing, which in the Western tradition once epitomized intelligibility, have turned into a trap: *the means whereby, in social space, diversity may be simulated* and a travesty of enlightenment and intelligibility ensconced under the sign of transparency.
>
> (2011, 76, my emphasis)

To me, in this light, perhaps the most striking finding I was able to take from my research into *SooS* as a whole, and most particularly from my exchanges with Cheryl Tipp, was the extent to which, in a project notionally dedicated to sound and listening, 'diversity' was calculated in terms of geographical distribution, and therein especially as a visual product of mapping. In responding to my questions about the process of crowd sourcing the BL had initiated in order to build its new archive, Cheryl was generously frank and open: 'The British Library can sometimes seem a bit londoncentric,' she explained, 'so by inviting members

of the public to get out there and record their favourite UK coastal sounds we were spreading our reach beyond the capital and interacting with people all over the UK.' From the outset then, the project was shaped in part as a response to anxieties regarding a lack of perceived institutional presence at Britain's peripheries. When I asked Cheryl directly about the project's use of a soundmapping model, meanwhile, she was again very clear, explaining the purpose the map had served precisely in ensuring diversity in the archive:

> We thought a sound map would be the best way, visually, to present all the coastal sound recordings we expected to receive. We wanted to be able to easily see which areas of the coast were being visited and recorded, where potential gaps that could be filled were, and how the map was developing over time.

Simply then, both acoustic and social/auditory diversity would be calculated based on a set of wholly visual checks and balances. Where recordings had been submitted, these were to be taken as adequately representative of the region within which they had been produced. Critically, eliding innumerable other forms of difference (biological, ecological, political, ethnic, class-based, and so on) aural diversity would be measured with the eye. And again, to relate this back to the scope of the project as a whole, a permanent chapter of the nation's history, an expression of its 'heritage', would be written and set down for posterity, neither on the basis of its representativeness, nor of its strength as a record of a particular moment in time. Instead, that history would be legitimised via a visual simulation of diversity: by the impression of comprehensiveness conjured from the placing of a series of otherwise uninterrogated dots on a map.

Figure 9: Sounds of our Shores map. Screenshot from https://www.bl.uk/sounds-of-our-shores/map

4.1.4   THE CROWD

In foregrounding the role played by the map as a technical device for calculating and presencing 'diversity' in the British Library and National Trust's joint crowd sourcing endeavour, I find there are two themes that emerge that warrant further discussion here. The first is participation, and the second, scale. In this section, in relating my final observations about *SooS*, I intend to explore both of those themes via the figure of the

crowd; the mass of several hundred members of the UK public, who, as a 'community' brought into being by the project, were subsequently persuaded to furnish it with content.

Beginning, then, with participation, I have gestured already above to the muddling of ends and means that I consider characterised *SooS*. On the one hand, the project set out to generate a lasting, diverse and representative record of a specific place and time in the UK's history and geography. On the other, however, it worked towards those aims by delegating its archival labours to a crowd of people, who – whilst anonymous (and hence unaccountable) – could also reasonably be expected to be united by a relatively narrow set of interests ('nature', phonography), and thus, foreseeably, to be far from representative of the nation, its interests, or its listening as a whole. This to me placed tangible limits on the project's documentary value: by relying wholly on a model of mass participation, yet failing to take any more than a superficial interest in the make-up of the mass in question, its organisers sacrificed variety and insight for volume. Nevertheless, and again in light of Bennett and Graham's respective arguments outlined in Chapter 3, it is worth considering the project through lenses other than that of representational adequacy. How else, then, might we read *SooS* as an exercise in participatory heritage-making? One helpful way, perhaps, is to ask what status or agency the project's contributors were afforded in bringing it to life.

Among the points Cheryl Tipp was keenest to stress in discussing *SooS* with me was the freedom it gave members of the public to shape the national archive in line with their own interests, passions and experience. Underlying the decision to crowd source the project was, she explained, a desire for 'the public to tell **us** what were the most interesting, evocative and beautiful coastal sounds during the summer of 2015, rather than the other way around' (original emphasis). Similarly, Cheryl noted that 'allowing people to contribute to something that would ultimately end up in the British Library Sound Archive felt inclusive and different to just commissioning professional sound recordists.' To a significant extent, then, the partners and team responsible for running *SooS* were imagined as neutral receivers, while the participating public, contrastingly, was conceived as a newly activated but essentially independent and autonomous mass.

So *SooS* would be democratic, at least in theory. In considering the ways in which the project was marketed to its audiences, however, as well as the particular means by which potential contributors were inducted into the process of recording, and, finally, the impact the project was intended to have on them, this view, too, becomes hard to sustain. Firstly, in terms of its marketing, a notable feature of *SooS* was its use of exemplar sounds to seed public interest and inspire would-be participants to go forth and produce recordings for themselves. In the main project press release (Sewell 2015), for example – a document which was picked up and disseminated with a minimum of editing by a wide range of newspapers, local and national, up and down the country - one finds listed an assortment of sounds that go a long way to defining the data the project partners were interested in collecting. Those are, in full:

> '[The] vibrant sounds of a working fishing village';
> 'gulls screaming on one of the wonderful seabird islands dotted around our coast';

'the kettle whistling from inside a much loved beach hut';

'someone wrestling with putting up a deck-chair',

'the sounds of a fish and chip shop or a busy port'

'footsteps in the sand';

'the sound of people ordering and eating ice-creams';

'the waves crashing against the rocks';

'the seagulls calling....'

Secondly, meanwhile, and offering a different sense of the way in which *SooS* framed in advance the data that was to be collected by participating members of the public, a common thread running through numerous of the project's media materials was its dual positioning of listening as primarily an aesthetic act, and of environmental sounds, in turn, as a musical resource. In its spot on BBC's *Countryfile* - a show which through 2015 regularly achieved 7 million viewers per episode and would thus have constituted by far and away *SooS*'s largest single platform to attract contributors (BBC 2015) - a feature showing the musician Joe Acheson digitally recording sounds on the Lizard Peninsula in Cornwall is framed as if precisely to persuade viewers of the otherness of listening as a practice, as well as the almost monastic silence and stillness required to do it properly.

Digital recorder holstered at his side, wind-baffled-microphone directed studiously towards cliff-crashing waves, Acheson is introduced to the watching television audience by a presenter, Ellie Harrison who, encountering him in set-piece manner in the midst of his solitary work, immediately apologises for interrupting his recording by speaking: "Hi Joe! Just going to ruin your recording!" (*Countryfile* 2015, 17'21''). Later, when in a second segment in the same episode Acheson is set the task of composing a short piece based on the recordings he has produced that day, his output is praised by Harrison above all for its musical qualities ('That sounds pretty […] It sounds amazing […] like a modern piece of music' (ibid. 20'21'')). As a first introduction to field recording, and as an appeal to members of the public to take part, the logic underpinning this framing seems clear to me. Above all, and in line with a long tradition of late nineteenth and twentieth century avant-garde composition in Europe and North America[33], it situates listening as a specialised activity divorced from everyday experience, and environmental sound, in turn, as a thing of beauty: a resource to be enjoyed first and foremost, rather than one to be critically apprehended from a broader range of sociological, political and ecological perspectives.

---

[33] Here, I refer to a succession of artists – notably Edgard Varese, John Cage, Pierre Schaeffer, Luc Ferrari, and Pauline Oliveros - who pioneered and popularised the use of found and incidental environmental sound in creative works, and thus provided for the increasing appreciation of all sounds as 'musical' (see Kahn 1999, LaBelle 2006, Voegelin 2010, Grubbs 2014 for background). Unquestionably the most notorious and frequently cited work in this vein is Cage's 1952 work *4'33''* – a silent composition of the length stipulated in its title, originally and still typically performed in a concert setting. For art historian Douglas Kahn (1997, 580, but see LaBelle 2006), a 'central effect' of Cage's repertoire as a whole – and of *4'33''* above all - was a blanket 'silencing of the social'. By routing all sonic perception via the pathway of musical attention, Kahn suggests, Cage tended to reduce the sonic realm to a palette of tones and rhythms apt only for artistic manipulation and contemplation. Under these conditions, the political, poetic and societal resonances of auditory culture would be lost, displaced by a form of consciously cultivated, and thus impoverished, listening.

Now, in terms of the way they stood to influence contributors' prospective engagement with the sounds around them – the way, that is, in which they discursively framed the coast and its sonic environment – the effect of these varying materials seems quite clear; certainly they can have done little to increase the diversity of the archive *SooS* assembled. What is most notable to me here, however, is not so much the representational bias those materials may have generated, as what they reveal about the attitude of the project's organisers relative to the wider public. For, indeed, all the while *SooS* relied on public participation, and though, in principle, it set out to understand and celebrate people's existing relationship to coastal sounds (relying, in this, on the idea that those people already did care about and respond to such materials), nevertheless the project appeared also to be driven by the assumption that the public's listening needed to be trained. Ordinary people's everyday listening, in other words, was inadequate for the purposes of the National Trust and the British Library. Consequently, in order to be useful, it needed to be moulded and reshaped on the model of those organisations' own specific modes of audition[34].

Far more than being valued for the new insights it could offer about the coast, then, and far more than being courted in order to generate new ways of understanding the auditory realm, the crowd in *SooS* functioned as a resource to be manipulated both in amplifying a predetermined message, and – as we saw above with regard to the visual mapping of content – in creating the appearance of diverse engagement. The project, in this sense, was a classically museocentric endeavour; harnessing popular participation in such a way as to affirm the project partners' credentials as participatory, democratic (etc.) institutions, but doing so in such a way as to leave its core activities and narratives fundamentally unaltered.

Coming to my final theme in this analysis, scale, I want also to return to and elaborate upon the problem of noise that I began to explore in Chapters 2 and 3. To that end, further, I will now move to foreground a concept that I brushed only fleetingly past above, but which, again has been central to much of my thinking across the period of my studies; that is Jodi Dean's (2005) notion of 'communicative capitalism'. Used to problematise what she terms 'the strange merging of democracy and capitalism' (ibid., 55), communicative

---

[34] A point worth noting separately here is that *SooS* is far from alone in having set out to reform public listening on its own terms. Founded in the late 1960s by Canadian composer and activist R. Murray Schafer, the World Soundscape Project (WSP) is a research group dedicated to promoting social responsibility for the maintenance and conservation of acoustic environments (see Schafer 1977, 2004, 2012, Truax 1996, 2012). With the body a key influence for many contemporary field recordists (see Drever 2009, Kautonen and Koivumäki 2010, Kytö *et al.* 2012, Thompson 2014, Madrid 2016, Yelmi 2016, Breitsameter 2017, Droumeva 2017, Goh 2017), the WSP's members worked on the principle that widescale action on environmental noise pollution would only ever materialise if the public could be taught to listen. As the group's leader Schafer himself advocated courses of 'ear cleaning' for his students, intended to help them 'learn to respect silence'. Meanwhile, within the whole of the organisation's variegated output, an interview given to the short-lived journal *Sound Heritage* (1974, 5) by two of his close colleagues ,Barry Truax (BT) and Howard Broomfield, gives perhaps the most concise summary of its aims and attitudes towards laypeople's everyday listening:

> HB: The most important thing that we can concentrate on now is teaching people how to hear, because with so many people you can produce the most beautiful documentary or the most beautiful soundscape, and it goes right by.

> BT: If someone doesn't have ears to listen, what is the purpose of all this marvellous sound, if he cannot hear inflection, if he cannot detect a balanced soundscape, or hear the subtleties of space and time as sound creates and molds them.

capitalism for Dean is a structure / phenomenon, which operates by harnessing democratic contributions within the marketplace of the information and/or 'attention' economies (see Terranova 2000, 2004, 2012 for a fuller analysis of the latter). It ensures that 'the proliferation, distribution, acceleration and intensification of communicative access and opportunity, far from enhancing democratic governance or resistance, results in precisely the opposite' (Dean 2005, 53).

Central to the workings of the system Dean describes, and fundamental to that system's ability to re-produce itself (even as, paradoxically, it enables the accelerated production and circulation of materials by groups vehemently opposed to capitalism) are a set of three 'fantasies' born of the present age of mass, Internet-enabled communication. The first of those fantasies, 'the fantasy of wholeness', we have already met. It names the impression created by online connectivity of being part of an inclusive, transparent and responsive whole. When heritage institutions place their collections online or seek to source new collections from online publics, in each case with a view to diversifying their audiences or holdings, this is often the fantasy that they are indulging. The second fantasy is that of participation, wherein 'technology functions as a fetish covering over our impotence and helping us understand ourselves as active' (ibid., 62). Here, one might think of the phenomenon of 'clicktivism', wherein the posting, re-posting or 'liking' of politically targeted materials via social media sites creates a sense of satisfaction – of having done something – regardless the odds against such content being shared or having impact outside of a narrow, and already sympathetic social circle[35]. The third fantasy, meanwhile, and the one that I will focus on here is the 'fantasy of abundance'. This, for Dean describes a misplaced faith in the capacity of large-scale digital communications technologies to support democratic education, deliberation and decision-making, ignoring the way in which, instead, as communication scales, 'facts and opinions, images and reactions circulate in a massive stream of content, losing their specificity and merging with the data flow' (Ibid., 58).

Where, for Dean, optimists and pessimists alike are convinced of the potential that mass networked communications systems and increased public access to information have to transform democracy (the former imagining an expanded and revitalised public sphere as its consequence; the latter fearing the freedom it might afford those with extreme views to espouse and promote them at scale), on the contrary, she argues, the essential product of the digital boom has been a *qualitative decrease* in communication. For in communicative capitalism, and more precisely within the kinds of massive, digitally condensed information architectures and data pools that support and are born of it, specific messages (actions designed to elicit responses; statements that might be imagined as forming part of a dialogue) come increasingly to function merely as indistinguishable contributions to circulating content. Indeed, crucially, by this logic:

> The value of any particular contribution is inversely proportionate to the openness,
> inclusivity or extent of a circulating data stream - the more opinions or comments that

---

[35] This is not to say that all such efforts are worthless. For they may well be of great value, for example in terms of raising the political literacy of a given grouping, or in forging and maintaining emotional and social solidarities between group members.

are out there, the less of an impact any given one might make (and the more shock, spectacle or newness is necessary for a contribution to register or have an impact). In sum, communication functions symptomatically to produce its own negation. Or, [in] Agamben's terms, communicativity hinders communication.

(Ibid., see Agamben 2000)

Now, to be sure here, in taking up Dean's model of communicative capitalism as a frame for interpreting *SooS*'s process of coastal soundmapping, I am to an extent comparing apples with oranges. For Dean, the urgency of critiquing communicative noise in capitalism (the distortion of information at scale, its increasing illegibility as a qualitative phenomenon, its rendering and commodification as a quantitative mass) stems above all from her concern to address the failure of left-wing political movements to achieve cultural hegemony and thus to mount an effective defence against the abuses of neoliberal capital. For their part, by contrast, neither the British Library Sound Archive nor the National Trust can be said to have approached the task of crowd sourcing with so lofty or so political a goal. Setting aside that key difference, however, what Dean's concept does allow us to recognise in *SooS*, is the way in which the project's scale and format tend to work automatically to limit the value of any given contribution, relative to its audience, and thus to undermine a key part of its original aim: to enable meaningful public participation in the definition and production of heritage.

In the soundmap, to begin with, both the sheer volume and hulking combined duration of the contributions assembled within it, make it inordinately time-consuming and thus practically impossible to attend to each recording either on its own merits or comparatively (as part of a collective negotiation of/meditation on nation) in a considered way. Moreover, taking into account, the scaling functionality of the digital map base (the ability to zoom in and out of the map at will in order to isolate different geographical regions), a further challenge for any prospective map reader is to understand if and how the varied recordings pinned to the map relate to, reflect, and either complement or contradict one another. If we understand the *SooS* archive as a collection of statements about place or nation, then in the map we encounter those statements only as they slide past each other - ranged as a database, rather than as a narrative (see Manovich 1999, 80) - at different scales. The end product of the crowd sourcing process, then, is noise, both in the sense of an overabundance of unorganised meaning, and in the sense that any single recording on the map comes to be regarded with indifference. Again, I would suggest, the primary achievement of crowd sourcing in this case is the consolidation of a mass emblematic of participation; that is a mass fit for the purpose of legitimising the project's representation of the coast/nation, but one incapable of contesting or unsettling the terms of that representation. In the abstract, the map signifies the conquest of quantity over quality in informational terms. It symbolises the atomisation and corrosion of communication in digital democracies, and the triumph of unanswered monologue over deliberative dialogue in processes of crowd consultation. In terms of listening, finally, it represents the instrumentalisation (or even the monumentalisation) of everyday sounds within a single, overarching narrative frame: that of nation. While individual recordings may be added to the map in a spirit of dissent (thus, had I acted more quickly, I might somehow have managed to

contribute my own document of the Dover protests I referred to at the beginning of this discussion); the mechanical, informational structure of the *SooS* archive tends automatically to side-line and silence difference, drowning it within a scarcely navigable swell of information.

4.2   SOUNDING STAMFORD HILL

In the previous section, in working through an analysis of a primary case study, *SooS*, I sought to highlight what to me in the early stages of my research appeared amongst the most problematic aspects of recent efforts in cultural institutions to document and preserve everyday sounds as heritage. Some of the problems I identified concerned the specific positioning of sound itself both as a material resource in need of physical conservation (the deferral of a negotiation of sound's value and significance to an unspecified moment in the future), and as an object of musical listening (a tendency which serves equally, but in quite a different way, to foreclose sustained critical engagement with sound, and hence following Douglas Kahn 1997, 580, see ft. 34], to silence the social and political dimensions of auditory life). Other problems, by contrast, spoke more generally to heritage practice as a whole, and related to the narrow framing of diversity within *SooS*, as well as the project's essentially museocentric mobilisation of the crowd, and its monumentalisation of dispersed, ephemeral fragments of everyday life under the master sign of nation.

In this final section of the chapter I want to extend my consideration of the potentials and possible limits of heritage practices oriented to sound by offering a brief account and discussion of the pilot listening project I undertook in parallel with my early reading of soundmaps. *Sounding Stamford Hill* was in essence conceived as a response to a number of the challenges just summarised, and hence as a means of developing a more 'critical' approach to engaging sounds as heritage. As I understood it upon beginning the project, a critical sonic heritage practice would resist the interpretative noise of a national mapping project by swapping territorial frames for thematic ones (notably, in this case, experiences of home and selfhood – themes which had been addressed obliquely through *SooS*, but which were left underexplored owing to that project's markedly tourist-eared framing of the coast). It would be narrower in its focus, substituting the visual calculation of diversity in large-scale maps, for a closer attention to difference on a more intimate scale. A critical practice would prioritise a discussion of listening and the received meaning and value of sounds, over their capture as archival data, and in this it would function more effectively as the basis for an enquiry into the present, rather than as a process of salvage for an unknown and unknowable future. Finally, a logical extension of both its thematic orientation and its increased attention to subjective, relational aspects of listening, the practice would aim to compose a readable narrative, rather than to produce a database. In all these aspects, I considered, this alternative practice would work to activate and foreground 'noise' in its guise as destructive/creative difference (the holding open of the possible that characterises Michel Serres' philosophy; an opening up of listening to broad critical scrutiny). And it would act, too, to mitigate 'noise' in the form of informational overload and disorder.

Overall, at this remove and given the comparably far greater commitment I made to investigating homelessness in later years, it would be fair to characterise *Sounding Stamford Hill* as representing scarcely more than a footnote in my studies. In terms of its value and efficacy as a form of participatory heritage practice, moreover, the project would prove to be neither more responsive to its participants than had been *SooS*, nor necessarily any more useful as a document of people and place. That I include it here, however, and that I do so – though it makes for somewhat of an awkward fit - alongside my exploration of *SooS* reflects the ultimately important role the project played in shaping my later research priorities and methods.

4.2.1   SITE & METHODS

To begin by describing the project, its siting, and the methods applied therein, *Sounding Stamford Hill* comprised a series of eight 'listening walks' undertaken in the late summer / early autumn of 2015 with residents of the north east London suburb of that name; an area which at that time I had called home for around eighteen months.

Although, on the one hand, there was something defeatist about the decision I took to begin my active participatory research in my own local neighbourhood (a misguided sense, confronted with the noisiness of the soundmap, that the selection of any site at all would be arbitrary), it was also the case, on the other, that I felt able to justify that choice relative to the work of a range of writers, whose own critical explorations of home terrain have, from my undergraduate years and ever since then, stoked my interest in and informed my approach to the everyday: Henri Lefebvre (1995) in Navarrenx; Doreen Massey (1991, 2005) in Kilburn; Iain Sinclair (2003) in Hackney; and W.G. Sebald (2002) in his adopted corner of East Anglia.

Further, Stamford Hill in itself was, to me, an interesting place to have the opportunity to explore more thoroughly from an auditory perspective. One of my formative experiences of living in the area was to be enthralled by the sounds of the large local orthodox Jewish community preparing for and marking Sukkot[36], a festival which brought with it every year hours of preparatory hammering and drilling[37], and later rich evenings filled with prayer song: a welcome addition to my own domestic soundscape. Moved by the way in which such sounds had come to shape and infuse my own sense and experience of home, I determined to investigate more of the sonic matter that poured daily through my open windows.

In terms of the way in which the project was staged, I began by recruiting participants using a variety of means. As Waldock and Droumeva each suggest, soundmapping projects have tended historically to attract a primarily white, male, hobbyist audience. In attempting to avoid this bias and to garner a range of

---

[36] A festival named for the rudimentary huts families are required to build outside their homes to pray and eat in for its duration. The huts echo both traditional harvest practices, and the Israelites' mode of survival in their forty year desert life following Exodus from Egypt.
[37] The construction of the huts.

perspectives on the local area and its sounds, I therefore sought to recruit participants from a variety of different backgrounds. Two local librarians (Pat and Zvi, whom additionally I had intended might collaborate in disseminating the outcomes of the project[38]) agreed to take part – one from a local council library, and another from Chabad, a centre for the Jewish community. A further two participants, Joe and Kim, I invited to join me for a walk when I met them at a meeting of the constituency level Labour party. Richard Beard, a well-known field recordist and sound artist who lived two streets away from me became my fifth fellow walker, and Rachael – a retired academic and another member of the Jewish community - became the sixth after she was introduced to me by a colleague at UCL. Jim and Sara, the final two walkers were near neighbours who had responded to a leaflet I posted through the letterboxes of houses on streets adjacent to my own.

Having assembled that group, I then followed a simple protocol. Meeting residents individually, I offered each a choice of walks. Either we could follow a path of their choosing related to their own knowledge of the area and everyday routines, or we could walk along a route of my own design. Passing up the busy main stretch of Stamford Hill, in and out of a number shops on Stamford Hill Broadway, down backstreets and avenues, through Springfield Park, and along the banks of the River Lea, this route was designed so as to cross through as wide a range as possible of different territories and sonic environments, all the while adhering to a 3 mile / 1.5 hour limit that I estimated could be managed by participants of different ages and fitness levels. With two exceptions (an older participant, Rachael, who preferred to be interviewed at home before walking only a short orbit of the streets immediately adjacent to her own; and Pat who worked in Stamford Hill and offered to show me her daily walk back to nearby Walthamstow) this was the route that was taken.

During the walks, I adopted a methodology hewn together primarily from the 'soundwalking' practices popularised by members of the World Soundscape Project (see ft. 35), and from geographer Jon Anderson's (2004) descriptions of 'bimbling' and 'talking whilst walking'. As defined by composer and WSP member Hildegard Westerkamp (1974, 18), a soundwalk is 'any excursion whose main purpose is listening to the environment. It is exposing our ears to every sound around us no matter where we are.'

Though as sound scholar John Levack Drever (2009, 163) notes, 'motivation, methodology, and manifestation radically vary' within that broad framework (with some practitioners prescribing silence for all participants, and others devising elaborate scores to follow – incorporating gestures like clapping or striking in order to activate the sounds and acoustic properties of a given environment), a key feature of most soundwalks is the attention they give to the everyday, and the effort they make to reveal its hidden depths:

---

[38] Here, my intention was to assemble a small lending collection reflecting individuals' listening, or, best of all, a series of informal non-guides to area: audio rambles that could be played back, traced and re-plotted but never truly repeated by a borrower. Ultimately, this plan failed to come to fruition: not least because upon completing my walks, I lacked any confidence at all in their relevance or utility to the people of Stamford Hill.

Taking the everyday as its context, soundwalking mingles in the everyday but is not of the everyday. […] It is a kind of limbo activity, where the goals and stresses of everyday life are temporarily lifted, and the sensation of partaking in a performance event is invoked. […] [D]istinctively in soundwalking the relationship between participant and everyday life is conspicuously porous.

(Ibid., 165)

On this basis, further:

[One] of the underpinning goals of soundwalking is […] circumnavigating habituation, in a process of de-sensitization and consequently re-sensitization, in order to catch a glimpse (un coup d'oreille) of the 'invisible, silent and unspoken' of the everyday.

(Ibid.)

In my own adaptation of the soundwalk form, aiming in this sense, and in line with my earlier discussion of defamiliarisation techniques, to unsettle and thus make the everyday strange, I opted nevertheless not to impose silence on my fellow walkers, but instead – from the starting point of moving quietly through the landscape – to invite them to reflect on the sounds we encountered, and to comment aloud whenever they felt compelled to do so. In this my adoption of Anderson's practice of 'bimbling' came to the fore. As he describes:

[…] 'bimbling (or aimlessly walking) through a co-ingredient environment can be harnessed to prompt theretofore unstated or unrecalled knowledge of the life-world [… and to] open up the senses to allow the re-calling of incidents, feelings and experiences that [are] constitutive of that individual's understanding […]. It [is] possible therefore to harness […] the associations created by these individuals in this place, to excavate levels of meaning both the researcher and researched may theretofore have been unaware of.

(Ibid., 257-8)

In walking, listening, and talking then, I aimed to create a context in which participants could become more consciously attuned to their familiar surroundings, and in which they would have both the time and space to reflect on the substance of their daily lives in the area. In addition to those basic steps, I began every fieldwork session by asking participants to describe the sounds of their own home (a means of fixing the sonic as a field of focus, and equally of enriching my understanding of their relationships to the area). Each walk and each conversation meanwhile I documented using a digital audio recorder (in all cases, with participant's express consent).

In general terms, I. might observe, the process I adopted in *Sounding Stamford Hill* was a quite rudimentary one. Crucially, however, it was also a process that enabled me, on the one hand, to delve further into human relations and responses to the sonic environment than had the relatively more passive field recording methods utilized in *SooS*, and, on the other, to make space for personal reflection and reminiscence, circumventing the spatial and temporal limits of popular soundmapping practices that focus overwhelmingly on the 'here and now' of any given environmental encounter with sound.

4.2.2   FINDINGS

Coming now to relate the findings from my work, I want to begin by stating from the outset what the project did not achieve, and thus what it does not allow me to present here. Crucially, then, as a pilot study based on only a very limited number of walks – and this saying nothing of the essential inexhaustibility of the everyday as a field of enquiry (see Chapter 2) – the research does not provide for anything like a full understanding of the sonic environment and variety of ways of listening present within the suburb of Stamford Hill. Writing today, I can readily accept the superficiality of the 'sample' of residents I created and the method I used to produce it. Recruiting participants from my own social milieu led me to undertake walks with a group of people who, like me, were not only (in crude terms) 'middle class' and predominantly white, but who were also predisposed to engaging with the environment through arts methods. Kim it transpired, was a community artist, Jim a painter and musician, Joe a videographer, and Sara a museum professional. My recruitment of two participants from the Chasidic Jewish community might be viewed as an attempt to enhance the 'diversity' or 'representativeness' of my sample. Equally however, it could be understood as reflecting both an unexamined exoticism in my approach, and a tendency that Waterton and Smith (2010, 5) have argued is common in heritage practice, to mobilise…

> […] reified and unreflexive notions of community […], constructing and dividing
> society into seemingly homogenous collectives defined by ethnicity, class, education or
> religion and so forth. This artificial idea of community works to reinforce presumed
> differences between the white, middle classes and 'the rest', as well as the full range of
> heritage experts and 'everybody else'.

As my walks and conversations with Rachael and Zvi unfolded, it became clear that they too shared certain of my own assumptions and predilections (from placing a high value on notions of community history and 'history from below', to exhibiting an interest in the anthropology of the everyday), and thus it seems retrospectively that despite my efforts to the contrary, the main result of my approach to recruitment was to assemble a collective of walkers considerably like myself and predisposed to viewing and understanding the social world through lenses and in terms similar to my own.

As critical as I am above, then, of the ways in which the British Library Sound Archive has mobilised maps to inflate the apparent significance and representativeness of its national field recording projects, so it would

be absurd for me to claim that my own work has led me to any kind of more robust or more representative understanding of Stamford Hill. This is not to say, however, that the project, or the contributions generously made to it by participants are without value. Indeed, from a sonic and auditory standpoint, the project was a rewarding one. In the course of the walks I undertook I found myself continually surprised both by the subtlety and intensity of the observations my participants volunteered about their own auditory experiences, and by the way those observations served to illuminate aspects of life well outside the realm of sound and listening.

Above all, the data that I collected through my walks was anecdotal in nature. And, as such, its value to me in the context of this research as a whole lay not so much in revealing generalities within the nature of sonic experience, as in affirming the potential of talking about listening as a method for investigating, and promoting critical attention to, the everyday.

On Stamford Hill Broadway, for example, Zvi, the librarian from Chabad, halted our walk shortly after passing a group of young Chasidic women to explain that they were what he would term "Yoishies": a moderately disparaging name for a kind of lowbrow gossip, derived from their apparent habit of screeching 'Yoi!' often and loudly during conversation. Here, a conversation premised on exploring sounds had opened a window onto the social relations and internal divisions of a community, which to many outsiders in the area can appear closed and monolithic.

A few days later, Joe – pale, slim, and bespectacled - would recount how, in his teenage years he had grown accustomed to listening for voices and footsteps around corners when out around the area's estates; a defensive response to being frequently harassed by older boys for money, his watch, and his phone. Here, palpably, was an expression of auditory culture which went beyond concerns with sounds' beauty, or with the durability of particular sonic environments in a technologically transforming society, to instead highlight the intimately social life of listening, and to speak to a heritage – of urban decay and individual vulnerability – quite different to that encountered in the *SooS* archive.

Then, to give one last example, there was Rachael, who described to me the 'hoot attacks' that were such a part of her life in Stamford Hill. A common trait among members of the Chasidic community, she told me, was to make enthusiastic use of their car horns whilst driving. And she confessed that she was no different herself: a habit that made her highly self-conscious when travelling further afield to university in her lecturing days:

> When I drove a lot which I don't anymore because I've got a freedom pass, but when I drove a lot, I used to have to remember: I'm leaving this area, *don't hoot*. People don't hoot! I didn't think I was a hooter, but I suddenly caught myself hooting in an area where people really don't hoot, you know, there's a... I felt so… Several times a week, I used

to drive to Egham in Surrey at Royal Holloway College, and people don't hoot round there!

Within each of those examples, in short, lies buried a tangle of class connotations, private prejudice, fear, vulnerability, shame and humour that spoke to me at the time of the research, and which indeed continues to speak to me now, of the real social life of sounds. Although, as anecdotes, they are lent only minimal collective weight or coherence in my research by virtue of the convenient frame of place, nevertheless as individual stories they invite curiosity and empathy; they express and illuminate difference, I would suggest, more than they represent diversity; and, additionally, to repeat what is by now a familiar refrain, they illustrate precisely the kinds of social complexity bound up in listening and sounding as practices that cannot wholly or usefully be captured or explored in mass archives concerned only with the material preservation of sounds themselves.

Simple stories about sound, then, were the product of my research in Stamford Hill. And because of the anecdotal and often mutually unrelated nature of those stories – as well as the large number of them my research yielded (20 miles of walking gave up 11 hours of recordings in all) it would make little sense to reproduce them all here, each in turn, in full. Instead, and to focus this account on the parts of the project that would come to have the greatest impact in shaping my later studies, I want to highlight just two brief fragments shared with me by participants.

The first of that pair emerged, again, in my conversation with Rachael. As is implied above, Rachael was an active member of Stamford Hill's Chasidic Jewish community. As a mother, grandmother, and great grandmother well into her retirement years, she was also the matriarch of a sizeable family. And, when I visited her at her home, she explained to me the care that went into maintaining an acoustic environment fit for the daily litany of prayers she recited in her many relatives' names:

> Well… we have passed the hundred-mark in terms of children; I mean children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. And that really needs a lot of attention […] One of the things I like to do, is to say a chapter of the book of Psalms for each one in the course of the day. And that's quite time consuming. And I find I can't do that so easily if there's music playing. So therefore, my heart sinks if anybody starts playing music […] There's always a constant "I don't want music", you know? And, so, part of my habitual consciousness is "let's keep it as quiet as possible".

For Rachael, the steps necessary to prepare her living room for prayer were simple ones, and no one prevented her from taking them: close the windows; close the doors; tell the only one of her sons living at home (a professional composer) to keep his music down and to plug in his headphones when practicing at his electric piano. Despite their simplicity, however, those actions were essential to Rachael: by performing them, she could thus produce the silence that was necessary for religious action.

When Rachael shared with me this detail from her life, it put me in mind of a study of sermon listening among Islamic communities in Cairo, undertaken by the anthropologist Charles Hirschkind (2006, 21). Spending time, above all, with taxi drivers weaving their way through the city, Hirschkind describes how adherents of that practice play back cassette recordings of sermons as they move within and across private and public spaces in order that they might 'orient themselves within the modern city as a space of moral action'. Such embodied processes of listening and sounding, he suggests, constitute steps toward the preparation of an 'ethical soundscape' and form only one small facet of an extensive 'inherit[ed] … practical tradition for the formation of a pious sensorium' (ibid., 79). They are means of producing oneself and one's place, of exerting control over a chaotic environment; and of ensuring one's moral, spiritual and bodily wellbeing. In Rachael's story, far closer to home than Cairo, I recognised the same process, or one akin to it, at work. Most importantly, by working at the scale of an individual's everyday life, and by foregrounding a questioning of rhythm, habituation, and the familiar, I was able to gain an insight into one way in which sound and silence combine and may be marshalled in order to produce domestic space, and by extension, self.

The second story that I have carried with me in the years since completing my walks and moving on from Stamford Hill is one that was shared with me by Pat. More than a story, in fact, it is an object; an artefact; a charm; and, again, it relates to the experience of being at home. As I noted above, Pat, like Rachael, had opted to lead me on a walk of her own rather than following my prescribed route. On this basis, we met at Springfield Park and followed a path up the River Lea for a short while then eastwards towards her home. And, as we went along, we shared a stilted conversation. For a very long time, Pat found very little to say about the sounds we encountered. Nor, however, did she seem comfortable in silence, and so, soon after crossing the Lea, we descended into small talk. An hour passed, and we drew nearer to Walthamstow. Then at the market in the centre of the town, we stopped to say goodbye to one another. And, only at that point, did the theme of listening emerge again. 'Sound is a strange thing,' Pat began:

> It's like when I get home, and I just close my door on everything and be quiet at home as well; not necessarily have the television or radio or music or anything. I just… ah, the sound of the locking of my door. I'm home, with the cat, no angry shouting man... It was a bad time.

Standing amid market holders packing up their wares for the day, she went on to describe how for years previously, and up until quite recently, she had been living with a violent, abusive partner. The newfound silence in her home, following his removal, was now something that she experienced consciously, and a primary part of an environment in which she felt secure and able to be herself. The sound of the door, and of its lock, locking, were totems to be cherished and fought for; tokens of survival. And that was all. After ninety minutes together, Pat and I went our separate ways, never to meet again.

4.3   SO WHAT?

Looking back with four years' perspective on the twin experiences of reading and critiquing *SooS* and conducting soundwalks in Stamford Hill, I cannot help but find them strange chapters in my life, and this, in turn, a strange chapter in my thesis. In the long view, both processes represent phases of my research that enabled me to think through and problematise the work of 'making' sonic heritage. Nonetheless, the version of events I have shared above feels both vague and patchy, and the significance of each undertaking rather paltry and unclear.

That in returning to Stamford Hill here I feel able to share only two thin excerpts from the data I gathered walking with my then neighbours reflects a secondary process of filtration that has now taken place; a sorting of signals from the noise of a pilot study, which enables me to show how it was that home – its making in sound, its volatility, and its fragility – came to be a key concern in my research. In the course of the next three chapters, wherein my focus turns to homelessness, that is a theme that I will expand and dwell upon at far greater length.

Equally, by juxtaposing my own series of soundwalks with the crowd-based mapping procedures deployed in *SooS*, I have shown here how my early research was shaped by a search for different forms of listening, and different modes of representation, which rather than silencing the social content of auditory experience might rather bring it to the fore. By my own interpretation, that search was a successful one, and, indeed, it would be a version of the methodological protocol I adopted in Stamford Hill that I would take forward in subsequent fieldwork.

To me, finally, the most troubling aspect the account I give above is the use I make of Pat's story. Shared with me in good faith in the course of a process of community research, that fragment has been left to linger on a hard drive now for years only to fulfil a meek purpose, ultimately, as a narrative hook in this document. That I hold up Pat's story here as an example of 'auditory heritage' says less about her valuation or understanding of it, than it does about the orientation of my own studies, and the particular disciplinary framework within which they exist. That I publish the story here, but am wholly unable to forge a connection between that act of publication and Pat's own everyday concerns and needs, stands more as an example of the extractive functioning of communicative capitalism (the conversion of experience to content) and of my own embroilment within that system, than it does as evidence of the capacity of heritage practices to change society through minor alterations in its methods or modes of representation.

Like *SooS*, then, *Sounding Stamford Hill* was, a fundamentally museo-centric endeavour: one designed solely with the purpose of addressing problems that 'heritage' alone as a system of values, an industry, and a field of study, recognises. Though it was of and about the everyday, the project was at same time wholly divorced from the everyday. Outside of a close circle of scholars and practitioners to whom it matters to

ask what heritage is, the project says and does relatively little. Throughout the later years of my research, this would be an imbalance, an indifference, that I would look to correct.

.

5   HOMELESSNESS

In the course of the preceding two chapters I have sought to provide a background to the practices of sonic cartography and everyday sound archiving that my research took as points of departure and to situate my studies in relation to a long process of critical exploration and re-orientation that today finds heritage researchers and practitioners seeking new ways to apply their work for the purposes of social justice. From this point forward, I will shift focus to concentrate on the issue of homelessness. In Chapter 6 I will present the listening project I undertook with guests at a London night hostel, and in Chapter 7 I will describe the final component of my studies, *This Noise Matters* at the Museum of Homelessness. Here, ahead of those later discussions, I want primarily to lay a foundation for thinking about homelessness by situating my own studies relative to existing work in homelessness studies. Prior to that, however, I will begin by noting the reasons why it was that almost halfway through my studies in mid 2016, I made the decision to turn a project about sound and heritage into a project about sound, heritage and homelessness.

Already, then, through Chapters 3 and 4, I have hinted at some of the factors that led to my adopting homelessness as an object of study. These included, notably, a recognition of the limitations of forms of heritage critique that centre interminably on contesting absences in given archives, collections and other representations of social life, and hence of the need in Graham's (2012, 568) terms for heritage professionals and institutions to make themselves 'small' and 'get up close to practice': to try to discover what heritage practices can do when applied in 'everyday life' without the expectation that, through such practices, 'heritage' itself as a totalising structure will be redeemed or made perfect.

Another factor, of a different kind, was my exposure to the varying soundmaps produced by the British Library and other national and pan-national archives within the past decade. Considering *Sounds of our Shores*, for example, figuratively as a representation of nation, which makes legible, and thus serves to reinforce, the imaginative limits of national belonging - the shoreline, so to speak, between self and other – I found the impetus to think through alternative ways in which home might sound, resound, and be heard. And in this of course, I was impacted, too, by the accounts of the sounds of domestic life shared with me by participants in *Sounding Stamford Hill*. To listen to Pat, for example, describe the sound of closing and locking her front door - reliving the memory of her former partner's abuse - was to be invited to consider alternative experiences of home, its absence or corruption, and how these might manifest in sonic/auditory terms.

A fourth factor was the staggering rise in levels of homelessness witnessed in England both prior to and, more sharply, throughout the period of my research. Since 2010, coinciding with (and many would argue caused by) a period of dramatic budgetary constraint and public spending cuts across the UK, levels of rough sleeping nationwide have reportedly risen by 169%, with more than 4,000 people on the streets each night across the country. And while this figure is shocking enough in the abstract and thus might prompt a politically driven response, it was also made manifest in the increasing number of people affected by

homelessness that I met in my daily life in London – a fifth factor underpinning the reorientation of my studies.

Most decisively in this respect, and in a context in which sound was frequently on my mind, what turned out to be the critical factor in pushing me to study homelessness was the intensifying and uncomfortable familiarity I had developed with the silence so often characteristic of my own encounters with rough sleepers. This is a silence that has taken many forms, and which is born of many different kinds of gesture – a personal choreography of evasion: crossing the road to avoid a feared conversation; being in a hurry; half-removing one earphone as if to listen whilst proceeding onwards at a more-or-less unbroken pace; staring at my feet; looking past, or through, or directly at the person in question with what I take to be an apologetic, helpless expression; checking my phone; re-planning my route well in advance to dodge likely meetings that would, unavoidably, be painful, and so on, and so on: an endless litany of subtle movements united by a sole purpose: to avoid the responsibility of stopping, speaking, listening, trying to understand.

The silence is banal. It is relational, of course, and can only be recognised as such, for the sounds of traffic tend otherwise to drown it out (hence it escapes the listening ear of a phonographic recorder). Critically, too, it is a silence that seems endemic to everyday life in its present guise, and as such to be historical – a monumental expression of our shared heritage. Here, in what ranks among the most poignant commentaries on the everyday I have encountered through my research, Maurice Blanchot posits a view of the modern city-dweller as anonymous, that is to say, 'without a subject'. The everyday, he writes:

> […] is the movement by which the individual is held, as though without knowing it, in human anonymity. In the everyday we have no name, little personal reality, scarcely a face, just as we have no social determination to sustain or enclose us […]. The street is not ostentatious, passers-by go by unknown, visible-invisible, representing only the anonymous "beauty" of faces and the anonymous "truth" of people essentially destined to pass by, without a truth proper to them and without distinctive traits (when we meet someone in the street, it comes always by surprise and as if by mistake, for one does not recognize oneself there; in order to go forth to meet another, one must first tear oneself away from an existence without identity).

For Blanchot, a key consequence of this anonymity, or perhaps simply another way of describing it, is as a withdrawal of the self as a critical, moral agent:

> [The] man in the street is fundamentally irresponsible; while having always seen everything, he is witness to nothing. He knows all, but cannot answer for it, not through cowardice, but because he takes it all lightly and because he is not really there. Who is there when the man in the street is there? At the most a "who?", an interrogation that

settles upon no one. In the same way indifferent and curious, busy and unoccupied, unstable, immobile.

And as such, again:

> 'The everyday escapes. Why does it escape? Because it is without a subject. When I live the everyday, it is anyone, anyone whatsoever, who does so.

For me, at once placing in parentheses and seeking somehow to explain my own moral-ethical character, my own silence in the face of the lived reality of homelessness seemed to me a product precisely of the anonymity of modern urban life (the possibility of namelessness; the lightness of everyday being, its lack of consequence; its massed disconnection; dwelling alongside but apart from so many million others; homogenous but fragmented; noisy; beyond accusation) – and this was an anonymity that I wanted to resist. By shifting my research to focus on homelessness, albeit I could have only the most limited expectation of it having wider social impact, I was, at the very least I felt, stopping to listen to the sounds that in my own life, most frequently, I had until that point turned a deaf ear to.

With this brief explainer in place – a necessary aside I think to clarify a research process that has transformed substantially throughout its lifespan - I will now move on to discuss a number of key debates in contemporary homelessness studies.

5.1   KNOWING HOMELESSNESS

To begin with, the problem of knowing and defining homelessness is a highly political one with significant consequences for how people experiencing being homeless are perceived and treated in society. Homelessness scholarship from the last decades of the twentieth century has emphasised how public and academic debates around the issue have tended to focus unhelpfully on a single problematic – namely, housing - with the effect of excluding a more nuanced and humane understanding of the phenomenon, and more particularly its complex causes and consequences.

Fitzpatrick, Kemp, and Klinker (2000, 8) caution that, in the UK, the definition of homelessness contained within the Housing Act 1996 (legislation that I will discuss further below) functions 'primarily [as] a device for rationing council housing' […] rather than for capturing the nature of homelessness'. Similarly, Cloke, Milbourne and Widdowfield (2001, 260) have outlined how, overwhelmingly, public and political debate about homelessness centres on the problem of counting, with efforts on the parts of governments and their critics to create maximally reassuring or shaming numerical representations of homelessness underpinned by obvious motives (Clapham *et al.* 1990). Legal definitions of homelessness are narrow, the argument goes, because they minimize governments' workloads in providing relief to those effected by the issue.

While conflicts over who counts as homeless for statistical and policy purposes do shed some light on broader debates about what it means to be homeless (for example, the higher counts often produced by homelessness charities will tend to draw attention to a 'continuum' (Bramley 1988, Neale 1997) of housing situations beyond rooflessness - highlighting squatters, the precariously housed, 'hidden homeless' sofa surfers and others[39]), nevertheless, such efforts tend to be unhelpfully reductive. Even in the broadest continuum definitions of homelessness, an individual's problems are likely to be viewed primarily through the lens of their housing situation. And this in turn has the effect of constraining discussions about how best to make interventions to assist people in need, or to prevent them from becoming marginalized within the housing market in the first place. For policy makers working in this environment, it can easily become the case that a range of possible objectives (from reforming labour laws to protect the precariously employed, to reassessing the kinds of in-work psychological support given to military service personnel, to rebalancing or even dismantling capitalism) are obscured by the isolated goal of simply seeing more people housed.

This is a point that has been raised notably by a number of feminist homelessness scholars, influential since the late 1980s, who stress the particular circumstances (e.g. economic dependence, histories of abuse, increased social stigma, and a tendency to remain hidden in public space and hence out of reach of street teams) that disproportionately accompany women's experiences of homelessness, and which may shape their support needs (Watson and Austerberry 1986, Tomas and Dittmar 1995b, Passaro 1996, Reeve 2018). And it resonates, too, with a broader argument put forward by Malcolm Williams (2001, §3), who decries what he terms the 'naïve and opportunist belief amongst politicians, policy makers and most social scientists that there is, in any meaningful sense, a 'thing' called homelessness'. Since, in fact, 'there is no such [single] thing', Williams suggests, but rather 'a range of heterogeneous characteristics that give rise to a wide range of symptoms that we term 'homelessness'', then attempts to recast and endlessly redeploy the term in communicating information publicly about diverse peoples' lives, or in formulating social policy, tend to obscure matters more than they illuminate them. Defining someone as homeless, Williams writes is the 'social policy equivalent to [diagnosing them] as 'feeling poorly' in medicine'. And, as such, it takes us nowhere towards a cure.

Building from a growing critical recognition of the need for greater complexity in theorising homelessness since the late 80s, responses to the fundamental set of problems being sketched here (how to know homeless people, their situations, and what might be done to improve the latter) have evolved in a number of directions. Here, I want to review four key avenues for approaching those problems. Firstly, I consider homelessness as the other of an equally addled notion, 'home'. Secondly, I discuss how homeless people have been framed and responded to diagnostically – their situations viewed as a product of sin, sickness, or

---

[39] On this basis, for example, in 2017 UK homelessness charity Crisis estimated 'core homelessness' in England stood at 143,000 (Bramley 2017) – more than double the government figure for 2018 of 58,660 for statutory homelessness (Wilson and Barton 2019). Also in 2018, Shelter claimed a figure of 276,925 people homeless in England alone, and 320,000 nationwide (Shelter 2018).

systematic social failure (Gowan 2010). Thirdly, I highlight a recent, explicitly sensory body of research into homelessness. Finally, supplementing the lessons drawn from each of those three lines of enquiry, I reflect on a recent turn to work with and on behalf of homeless and formerly homeless people in museum, archaeological and other heritage settings, considering how that work might be understood to fit within a broader landscape of homelessness services and advocacy.

5.2   HOME

> [By] turning in circles, the displaced preserve their identity and improvise a shelter. Built of what? Of habits I think, of the raw material of repetition, turned into a shelter. The habits imply words, jokes, opinions, gestures, actions, even the way one wears a hat. […] To the underprivileged, home is represented, not by a house, but by a practice or set of practices. […] These practices, chosen and not imposed, offer in their repetition, transient as they may be in themselves, more permanence, more shelter, than any lodging. Home is no longer a dwelling but the untold story of a life being lived. At its most brutal, home is no more than one's name – whilst to most people one is nameless.
>
> John Berger (2005, 63-4) *and our faces, my heart, brief as photos*

A consideration of what is meant by the term 'home' has become integral to much academic research into homelessness in the past thirty years (see Somerville 1992, 2013, Neale 1997), with many scholars sharing Megan Ravenhill's (2008, 11) view that:

> If we are serious about understanding what homelessness means and defining 'home'-less, it is necessary to first look at what 'home' means [and] to understand what it means to be without that 'home'.

Efforts along these lines have typically adopted highly dynamic models of the social world, understanding home – in an interpretation that closely accords with a Lefebvrian conceptualisation of social space - as an entity that forms and is sustained in action and in relations, rather than as an intransigent material shell. Far more than a roof and some walls, home is instead the product of myriad social relations, concepts and experiences that continually form and reform at different spatial and temporal scales.

Looking to how home and notions and sensations of being at home have been conceptualised within the fluid framework described here, one common approach that I would highlight has been to understand home as a source and expression of 'ontological security' (Saunders 1989, Easthope 2004, Robinson 2011a, Somerville 2013) – that is following Anthony Giddens (1991, 92):

> The confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self identity and in the constancy of their social and material environments.

To be 'at home' by this understanding is to be established within a network of relations and meanings in which the world is ordered, familiar, and tamed. Yet where or how one seeks and sources one's sense of familiarity and order is a matter subject to a high degree of variation.

It has been argued, for example, that home is a site of specific emotional intensity far more than being a particular bounded space (Gurney 1990). Likewise, studies have suggested that a feeling of being at home may to some extent be generated through a sense of cultural affiliation. Thus, for rough sleepers it is argued, street communities can offer emotional support, recognition, and a form of liberty (often, in particular, in terms of freedom from judgement relative to issues like addiction) that is unavailable elsewhere (Ravenhill 2008). A feeling of being at home, it has been repeatedly observed (e.g. Easthope 2004, Graves-Brown 2013, Kiddey 2014a), may be generated out of even the most limited and temporary 'possession' of a given territory - be it a vehicle, a doorstep, a pathway or a patch of riverbank – provided one is able sufficiently to inscribe that spot with memory, or to form it, through minor adjustments, to meet one's own needs. Home can be located in rhythm and routine, or more expansively in a sense of time (Pallasmaa 1992). Thus, we have seen above how the heritage industry can be argued to have flourished in response to a widely felt disjuncture between past and present in modernity, and therefore, arguably, how heritage responds to a sense of cultural homelessness; a rupture between self and society. Further, linking again to the notion of heritage developed above, and how heritage works to shape the future, Peter Somerville (2013, 384) has proposed that home can be thought of in spiritual terms as comprising (among multiple other dimensions) a sense of hope, and of purpose.

Placing one additional stress on the term that I want to consider here, the writer John Berger (2005, 63-4) emphasises how home might be understood as a product of choice. Resonating with other accounts that cast home as a kind of defensible and hence voluntarily sharable space, with entry regulated by invitation and consent (Jacobson 2012, Hogeveen and Freistadt 2013), Berger's analysis nonetheless goes somewhat further than others' by transcending the intimately interpersonal or crudely architectural to consider a more global phenomenon of homelessness. Building from the example of an itinerant worker seeking orientation in the city or abroad, he describes how in modernity - in a globalising world that generates quickfire displacement through mass-migration, and in a post-industrial economy that decouples work from the land – '[what] has been lost irretrievably is the choice of saying: this [my life, my home] is the center of the world.' Distance from (or the destruction of) one's own origins, the atomisation of labour, the recognition of one's dependency on unknown and unreliable others connected via inscrutable global networks, and of having been overtaken by global events; these (at least within Berger's analysis) are the hallmarks of a form of ontological homelessness that today afflicts an ever-swelling mass of the world's population.

And it is the absence of choice, the inability independently to refuse or restructure the demands placed on oneself by others (and by other structures) that precipitates, finally, a turn inwards to find choice and home in oneself: in personal ritual and routine, in gesture, in claiming a place of one's own on the banks of a

river, in the manner in which one wears one's hat, or ultimately perhaps, in one's own name. In what is fundamentally a dialectical problem, (a feeling of) homelessness is born in the first place of the actions of others that strip one of one's autonomy and call into question one's place in the world. Subsequently, through this process, the purest form of homelessness that one arrives at would appear to be absolute isolation; the loss of the choice not to be alone. If an important part of feeling at home is to be at once autonomous and connected, then the condition of homelessness appears conversely to take the form of non-autonomy and separation.

In opening up debates about the nature of homelessness to reconfiguration in light of the meaning of home, one moves a long way from the problem of rooflessness equated with homelessness in UK and other international law. How useful, then, are these more abstract interpretations of homelessness, when ranged against the arguably more pragmatic, housing-oriented legal and continuum definitions described above?

Here, though I acknowledge the risk that such a discourse entails of neglecting or relativizing away the challenges faced by those made most vulnerable by a lack of physical shelter (Pleace *et al.* 1997, Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2000, Watson 2000), there are nevertheless lessons to be learned from a 'meaning of home' approach to homelessness that can be applied in designing support services for, and advocacy efforts on behalf of, the actually roofless.

In North America, for instance, one of two key tenets of the 'Housing First' (or 'Pathways') approach developed to care for chronically roofless individuals with complex needs, is a respect for 'consumer choice' (Tsemberis 2010, Hennigan 2017). As well as decoupling housing supply (taken to be a universal human right) from other care provision, such that individuals are able to opt in or out of (for example) addiction support or other counselling services without risking the loss of their accommodation, this principle manifests further in the decision to grant supported individuals a genuine choice in whether or not to accept the type of accommodation offered to them. Acknowledging that loss of choice and control is a key aspect of ontological homelessness, and hence, more broadly, that finding solutions to homelessness is a *relational* as much as a *distributional* problem (Robinson 2011a, 5), advocates of Housing First point out that their model responds to situations of crisis by engaging individuals first and foremost on the level of autonomous, responsible citizens (Tsemberis 2010). In the UK, by contrast, the bulk of services follow a 'staircase' or 'linear' approach, wherein service users are required to progress through stages of incrementally more independent / less sheltered accommodation before (for those that traverse the entire 'continuum of care') being provided with a secure sole tenancy. Founded on a 'treatment first' philosophy, the linear approach requires that service users demonstrate enhanced 'housing readiness' at each stage (most often, sobriety) before progressing to the next (Johnsen and Teixeira 2010)

In a heritage context, a respect for and affirmation of the autonomy of individuals experiencing homelessness can be seen to have underpinned archaeologist Rachael Kiddey's (2014b, 66-67) decision to treat the people she worked with in her Homeless Heritage project as 'colleagues', rather than as passive

research subjects or, worse, as objects of her own benevolence. Furthermore, as she makes explicit in discussing the project, several methodological aspects of Kiddey's work respond directly to an understanding of the 'ontological insecurity' experienced by homeless people, who may feel stripped of aspects of their identities in the context of extreme social exclusion and isolation. Undertaking research in group formats, for example, is advanced as a means of generating a sense of collective identity and purpose among participants, who come through time to know and, to varying extents, to depend upon one another (ibid., 296).

Leaving aside for now this discussion of the kinds of direct intervention in situations of homelessness that a 'meaning of home' perspective might support, a further valuable effect of the literature under consideration here has been to prompt examination of how popular conceptualisations of home and homelessness alike are produced and maintained as ideological constructs and opposites (Somerville 2013); how, that is, in Lefebvre's terms, the conceived dictates the perceived and the lived. While in some instances, this work has examined peoples' ideologically grounded expectations of their own homes (showing, for example, how housed and un-housed individuals alike can come to be weighed down by the perceived personal failure to make an appropriate, 'ideal' or 'dream' home, or to climb up the 'housing ladder' (see Hiscock *et al.* 2001)), in others, it has explored how ideological assumptions about home may be produced and maintained at an institutional level. This is the case, for example, in Williams' work cited above, wherein close examination of the myriad different housing situations and life experiences covered by the legal category 'homeless', reveals the latter to be without intrinsic meaning. By this reading, 'homelessness' - as a catchall term used to cover any number of distinct deviations from an ideologically produced norm - is considered to be devoid of any real analytical force (though not devoid of social agency).

Similarly, a number of homelessness scholars have shown how, in Europe and North America in particular, popular expectations of what a home should be (i.e. fixed, bounded, and privately owned) have been successively reinforced to protect the interests of feudal, patriarchal and, later, capitalist institutions (Chambliss 1964, Saunders 1989, Ronald 2008, Cronley 2010, Kiddey 2017b). In the UK, from the late-Medieval and early Modern periods throughout which a series of vagrancy laws were introduced to counter the mobility of itinerant labourers (restricting workers' rights to seek better wages further afield, and thus assuring landowners a steady supply of cheap labour) (ibid., 40, cf. Chambliss 1964), up to 2012 with the criminalization of squatting in residential properties (a boon for owners of second, third, fourth, fifth, [etc.] homes), Kiddey demonstrates how – with minimal let up across the centuries – legislation has been shaped in order to discredit and punish transient lifestyles. Allied to a system of incentives including Margaret Thatcher's still functioning 'right to buy' programme that subsidises, normalizes and celebrates private home ownership (Humphreys 1999, Ronald 2008 , Davies 2013, Fitzpatrick and Watts 2017), and to further legislation like the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, which relieved councils of the duty to provide sites for traveller and gypsy communities (Kiddey 2017, 49, cf. *Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994*, §80), the overall effect of the law is to place under suspicion of deviancy anyone who wants for a permanent, long term residency.

Today, although, as Robert Humphreys (1999, 8) records, the founding of the British welfare state after the Second World War saw such vocabulary 'laid aside' for a quarter of a century, legislative use of pejorative terms like 'vagrants' and 'vagabonds' has once again resurfaced to describe people experiencing homelessness. From 2006/07 to 2015/16, the number of offences in England charged and tried annually under the 1824 Vagrancy Act rose from 1,510 to 2,365 (Cromarty and Strickland 2018) – a law which makes people experiencing street homelessness subject not only to removal by police, but also to implausible fines of up to £1,000. In early 2018, meanwhile, councillor Simon Dudley, the leader of the Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead, caused a public furore when he called on police to use 1824 powers to address what he termed "an epidemic of rough sleeping and vagrancy" nearby Windsor Castle, in advance of a royal wedding to be held there. That homelessness should be cast in such a way, not only in unambiguously pathological terms (an 'epidemic') but moreover as a misdemeanour to be punished rather than as evidence of suffering to be relieved, speaks to the ideologically grounded suspicion (and frequently also intolerance) to which people without homes are so often subjected in Britain today. While a range of cultural groupings dispersed throughout history have sustained (e.g. nomadic, or communitarian) models of home that rely neither on settlement, nor on the institution of private property for their meaning (Linklater 2014), and though scrutiny of the concept of home reveals it to vastly transcend mere housing, in Britain and in modern capitalist societies on the whole today, these alternative models or ideologies of home are relentlessly othered, exoticised, suppressed and criminalised.

'Meaning of home' approaches to homelessness can then be a valuable resource for those concerned to confront negative public attitudes about homelessness. Thinking home, as John Berger invites us too, as the negotiated product of simultaneous and conflicting desires for autonomy and connectivity, constrained by vast social processes; or recognising that home may take many different forms (and moreover that the specific forms of home-making a given society sanctions are underpinned, inevitably, by ideology) can be the basis for a radical reimagining of social approaches to housing, private property and the ways in which people live together and share resources. For heritage practitioners, meanwhile (whose agency in these matters I will return to in more detail below) surely one very clear effect of such insights is to make us question how our own industry reinforces the norms that make deviants of those who choose or are forced to live their lives outside of formal housing.

5.3   DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT: THE NEOLIBERAL SUBJECT

> Homelessness denotes a temporary lack of housing, but connotes a lasting moral career.
>
> Robert Desjarlais (1997, 2) *Shelter Blues*

If one's understanding of what home is and how it is experienced can be seen to shape policy responses to individuals' situations of homelessness, then this is doubly true of how one explains the causes of the problem (or of the multiple problems circumscribed by the term). Here, to underpin later discussions both

of the role heritage practitioners might play in confronting homelessness, and subsequently of my own fieldwork methodology, I introduce scholarship that has considered how the management of homeless populations in advanced liberal capitalist societies today has been informed by the logics of neoliberal governance.

Already above (in 3.1) I introduced neoliberalism as a key term and analytical concept - an ideological project and set of practices predicated on the responsibilisation of individuals on an entrepreneurial model within free market capitalism. Since taking root in UK politics from the mid-1980s neoliberalism has been popularly associated with the simple retreat of the state from social life, and hence with programmes of fiscal austerity, cutting funding for social housing, discontinuing or sharply limiting welfare support, privatizing health and education services, and so on. Since the late 1990s, however, commentators have emphasized how alongside this ostensibly guiding logic of state withdrawal, adherents of neoliberalism have simultaneously worked to govern populations in ever more invasive ways. This 'roll-out' phase of neoliberalism, following the initial great 'roll-back' of the state (Peck and Tickell 2002) has mobilised:

> new modes of "social" and penal policymaking, concerned specifically with the aggressive reregulation, disciplining, and containment of those marginalized or dispossessed by the neoliberalization of the 1980s.
>
> (Ibid., 389)

Both the 'roll-out' and 'roll-back' dimensions of neoliberal governmentality may be observed within the contemporary political management of marginalized groups like the unemployed and the homeless. In terms of the former process, for example, recent decades have seen governments resort increasingly to imposing debilitating financial sanctions on welfare claimants found to be failing to search sufficiently vigorously for work, just as - as we saw above - vagrancy laws have been revived to legitimize the removal and detention of people sleeping in public space. Very clearly, these are not the actions of a "hands off", minimalist state.

At the same time, however, one also finds a range of softer, more rhetorical techniques being deployed. As Nikolas Rose (1999, 2000) argues, and as I discussed above in relation to Tony Bennett's analysis of the nineteenth century public museum, a crucial necessity within a governmental strategy that seeks to exercise power through the extension of individualised and marketised freedoms, is the ability to act on freedom indirectly. This is achieved through the development of 'technologies of the self' (cf. Foucault 1982, Foucault *et al.* 1988), of 'civilization' and 'responsibilization' (Rose 1999, 73-74), in which individuals are encouraged to know, regulate and fulfil themselves as free individuals relative to 'widely disseminated grammars of living' (ibid., 166). Here, the political characterisation of unemployed people as 'jobseekers' may serve to frame marginalization with the market as a symptom of personal weakness - the product of an individual's lamentable incapacity to search effectively for work (ibid,. 254), while, similarly, politicians' demonisation of figures like the 'Welfare Queen' (single mothers claiming benefits), or the

122

popularization of ideologically loaded binaries (such as "strivers" and "skivers", or "workers" and "shirkers") can be understood as instrumentalising 'aversive emotions against minority subjects […] as technologies for garnering public consent for the shift from protective liberal forms of welfare to disciplinary workfare regimes' (Tyler 2013, 26). Without directly intervening to punish problem citizens, then, a neoliberal reframing of structural marginalization in terms of personal choice and failure to engage with market opportunities, works to promote and intensify feelings of shame, guilt and responsibility within individuals, with the intention of modifying their behaviour in relation to community (Rose, 2000, 1399).

Alongside this 'calculated administration of shame' (Rose 1999, 173), designed to promote individual entrepreneurship and adaptation to the market, or else to encourage the acceptance and internalization of self-blame for the situation one finds oneself in, a further key mechanism Rose observes in the application of neoliberal market logics to broader society is the elaboration of increasingly specialist forms of expertise suited to dealing with minutely segmented problem populations. In place of a 'social politics of solidarity' that offers a common set of services and supports to a massed and universally legitimate citizenry, in neoliberalism (operating through the language of choice, personalization, and flexibility):

> [a] new territory opens up 'on the margins' – advice bureaux, groups of experts offering services to specific problematic groups, day centres and drop-in centres, concept houses and voluntary homes, as well as a multitude of 'for-profit' organizations [within which] experts strive to govern their clients according to the new regime of autonomy and choice, utilizing a tool-bag of techniques derived from explanatory systems as distinct as psychoanalysis and behaviourism to attempt to install the capacities for self-determination and self-mastery.
>
> (Ibid., 89)

An essential tendency of this proliferation of services is to obscure the often common social roots of the hardship afflicting members of a discursively fragmented underclass, and hence to position the search for solutions to personal suffering on what might be conceived as a vertical axis (tending towards achieving successful integration into the market), rather than more laterally in terms of common human interest or class solidarity:

> The marginalized, the excluded, the underclass are fragmented and divided, comprising all those who are unable or unwilling to manage themselves and capitalize their own existence. Their particular difficulties thus need to be addressed through the activities of a variety of specialists, each of whom is an expert in a particular problem – training schemes for those excluded through unemployment, specialist agencies working with those with disabilities, rehabilitation of addicts undertaken by specialist drug workers, education in social skills by workers with the single homeless, specialized hostels for battered women, for alcoholics etc. (Ibid., 259)

Of course, much may be gained by this logic of division. I have already noted above how feminist responses to homelessness identify a range of specific needs commonly experienced by women, and hence how institutions like the specialized women's hostels Rose highlights here may be deemed welcome additions to a broad palette of social care. Yet a pernicious side effect of specialisation in managing social ills remains: to render the diverse problems faced by individuals increasingly mutually unintelligible. In place of broader social measures that might address far-reaching inequalities born of patriarchy, underinvestment in public housing and public education, and the increasing precarization of labour, neoliberalism prescribes personalized interventions, geared to developing individual resilience, morale and entrepreneurialism, and fostering new markets.

Continuing now by sharpening my focus on homelessness, I noted above that on the basis of research undertaken in San Francisco, Teresa Gowan (2010, xxi) has characterised explanations of homelessness as being governed in general terms by three main discursive logics: 'sin-talk', 'sick-talk' and 'system-talk'. While the first discourse frames homelessness as the product of individual failure, shortcomings in character, laziness, alcoholism, drug use and moral deviancy, the second derives from a more therapeutic perspective, and is concerned to pinpoint behavioural disorders, emotional incapacities and mental health issues as causal factors. The third discourse, 'system talk' tends to view homelessness as an inevitable product of structural social injustices, and frequently more explicitly as a product of inequalities inherent to capitalism and the neoliberal retrenchment of the state (see Marcuse 1988, 2017, Young 1990, Belcher and DeForge 2012b).

For Gowan, importantly, all three discourses imply distinct ways of knowing and hence of combatting homelessness:

> Each sets up antithetical causal stories about homelessness, and each demands of us fundamentally different strategies to deal with the problem. Sin-talk summons up the twin strategies of exclusion and punishment, sick-talk calls for treatment, and system-talk recommends broader regulation, reform, or even transformation of the broader society.
>
> (2010, xxi)

Now, while each of the three explanatory systems named here has enjoyed particular moments of popularity in recent decades, (with 'sick talk' more prominent today, and 'system talk' having its heyday from the 1960s-1980s (Cronley 2010)) it would be wrong to imagine that any one account has attained dominance to the absolute exclusion of others. While Anglo-European homelessness studies, notably influenced by Anthony Giddens' (1984) structuration theory, has since the 1980s witnessed the emergence of a substantially consistent 'New Orthodoxy', which casts homelessness as the product of a convergence between structural factors and individual vulnerabilities and choices (Pleace 2000, Somerville 2013, Bramley and Fitzpatrick 2018), nonetheless, in contemporary Britain, there is substantial evidence to

suggest that a weight of popular opinion favours individualistic explanations of homelessness that foreground issues of moral deviance and personal vice (Bretherton *et al.* 2013, Tyler 2013, Chauhan and Foster 2014, Teixeira 2017). In 2018, for example, the London based homelessness charity Evolve (2018) found that 72% of the UK public believed that rough sleepers could get themselves off of the street independently 'if they wanted to'.

The overall effect of this, numerous commentators have argued - with ideologically reinforced suspicion of and revulsion towards those experiencing homeless combining with a logic that, while acknowledging structural conditions, nevertheless insists on emphasising individuals' agency in 'causing' homelessness - has been to favour the development of policy responses centred on the individual (Marcuse 1988, 2017, Farrugia and Gerrard 2016, Marquardt 2016).

Following Nicholas Pleace (2016, 22), then, the overriding logic of the New Orthodoxy within neoliberalism dictates, notwithstanding structural factors, that:

> Individual capacity, if it were sufficient, [would mean] the risk of homelessness could be effectively resisted […]. Vulnerability to homelessness due to structural factors [begins] with individual characteristics [and] structural factors 'cause' homelessness only when someone [has] limits to their personal capacity.

Relating these insights directly to policy, two features of the UK government's response to homelessness are worth highlighting.

Firstly, I mentioned briefly above how UK legislation on homelessness is perceived as functioning primarily as a system for 'rationing' state resources. Made subject to the Housing Act 1996, the Homelessness Act 2002, and most recently the Homelessness Reduction Act 2017, individuals applying to local authorities for housing support in England, Wales and Northern Ireland (and found to be homeless) are processed and responded to according to criteria of 'priority need'. Initially there are six categories of applicant who qualify as priority need and who hence are owed the 'main housing duty' - to be temporarily housed until such a time as this is no longer necessary. These include: pregnant women; households with dependent children; all 16-17 year olds; care leavers aged 18-20; people made homeless as a result of fire, flood, or another natural emergency; and, finally, those deemed to be 'vulnerable'. Notably excluded from priority need, however, are all men and women over the age of 18 without children, and hence, for these people, support is available only in the form of advice; the assumption being that, with time, they ought to be able to act independently to re-establish themselves within both labour and housing markets.

Secondly, I noted earlier that in the UK (and commonly in the United States, too, where Housing First style interventions are reserved for a minority of cases in which chronically homeless individuals exhibit complex needs tied to severe addiction), the primary strategy for addressing homelessness is one of working

to increase the 'housing readiness' of service users as they move through a 'staircase' progression from sheltered to independent re-housing. Housing is provided as a reward for good (i.e. 'normal') behaviour, and signs of deviancy exhibited through the programme may be met with the withdrawal of support already offered. Farrugia and Gerrard (2016, 276) observe that '[the] enforcement of therapeutic interventions is often a condition of funding for homelessness service provision'; no help will be granted unless individuals are compelled to change in accordance with the demands of the privatised housing market. And, reinforcing the point made with respect to neoliberalism in general, managing people experiencing homelessness in this more personalised way has the effect of foreclosing a discussion of the need to address wider societal injustices. In effect:

> [Homeless] policy depoliticizes extreme poverty: Treating homelessness as a discrete limited phenomenon, blaming and stigmatizing homeless individuals, and ultimately "neutralizing" the extent to which homelessness evidences mass failings of the social and economic order.
>
> (Elwood and Lawson 2017, 329, cf. Marcuse 1988)

5.4   HOMELESSNESS FELT

Building further on the multifaceted description of homelessness being developed here (and making explicit a sense of embodiment already present in accounts that view home and homelessness as products of [e.g. gendered] rhythm, action, desire and shame), the past twenty years have witnessed a slow proliferation of forms of research attentive to sensorial and emotional aspects of homelessness, and to how the senses may function as key loci through which homelessness is experienced. Concerned with documenting experiences of homelessness 'felt and lived' (Robinson 2009, 2011a), with understanding homelessness (and becoming homeless) as an often slow, incremental and corporeally and emotionally cumulative *process* rather than as an isolated event (Ravenhill 2008) and asking not 'what' but rather *'how' homelessness is* (Lancione 2013), the research generated out of this avowedly qualitative turn is marked, as we have seen, by a common refusal of 'normative distinctions between 'the homeless' and 'everyone else' (Farrugia and Gerrard 2016, 279), with its overriding logic being thus to show the extraordinary effects that the process and experience of homelessness exerts on ordinary bodies.

From this position, scholarship has extended outwards in a multitude of directions, looking, for example, to account for the physical and psychological effects of the long periods of boredom often associated with homelessness (O'Neill 2017), to trace emotional cartographies of fear and comfort in temporary shelters (Williams 1996, Conradson 2003, Datta 2005, Johnsen *et al.* 2005), to register the cumulative effects of assault and abuse that build up in individuals continually exposed to street violence (Robinson 2010, Jordan 2012), to document how homelessness is experienced as a symbolic (but nonetheless embodied, affective) burden – a kind of 'feeling homeless', made manifest as a sense of shame and low self-worth (Farrugia

2011), and to show how homeless bodies are made subject to exclusionary urban design (Sibley 1995, Amster 2003, Tosi 2007, DeVerteuil *et al.* 2009). In a notorious example of the last of the items on the above list, Mike Davis (1991, 2006), as part of his extensive writing on the post-industrial transformation of Los Angeles, has documented a steady, corporate 'erosion of collective space' (1991, 326) and 'a conscious "hardening" of the city surface against the poor' (2006, 231), designed to cause discomfort, reduce mobility and resist the homeless body.

Mirrored in towns and cities throughout the 'developed' world, some of the most egregious strategies Davis observes include the installation of "bumproof" benches shaped so as to resist homeless people sleeping or even lingering in public space, the placing of ferociously barbed and reinforced fencing around bins likely to contain discarded food, and even the development of complex sprinkler systems programmed to drench both city streets and anyone on them at random intervals throughout the night. In the UK, notably, such 'designs of discomfort' (Marquardt 2016) aimed at dispersing and removing groups of homeless people from public space (regardless the lack of alternative places to go) have also included the use of various sonic ordinances, ranging from the broadcast of bagpipe music and songs performed by the animated children's TV characters 'The Chipmunks' over loudspeakers in a Bournemouth bus station – a strategy sanctioned by the town's mayor (Wadey 2015, Mansary and Munday 2016), to the use of 'Mosquito' noise deterrents outside shops and restaurants. The latter, a controversial 'anti-loitering' device marketed by Compound Security Systems that emits a constant pulsed sonic tone at a frequency designed to annoy and disturb, was originally developed to disperse groups of young people (see Little 2015). In the summer of 2017, however, via the testimony of an anonymous homeless person blogging about his experience 'being slowly driven to insanity by the sound' sleeping outside the Ilford branch of Marks and Spencer in East London, it became clear that the technology had been harnessed to other ends (Anonymous 2017, Taylor 2017a).

Among the most rigorous and deeply felt examples of the growing body of sensuous research into homelessness, Catherine Robinson's *Beside One's Self* (2011a) and Robert Desjarlais' *Shelter Blues* (1997) also offer, in my reading, the most intricately multi-sensory accounts of homelessness published to date, with each notably demonstrating an unusual attention to the role of sound in shaping experiences of homelessness. In Desjarlais' book - an ethnographic account of the lives of residents at the Station Street Shelter in Boston, Massachusetts – sound is a pervasive material presence that seems continually to interrupt, defer or displace residents' sense of self. His informants lament a lack of 'peace around the ears', find themselves 'distracted' and 'disturbed', or made 'nervous' by environmental noise; they are 'engulfed by the elements', 'their ability to sense or make sense of the word [...] often overwhelmed by the harshness of physical and social environments' (1997, 222-225). Robinson, meanwhile, in striving to express the intense vulnerability to pain and trauma suffered through by people experiencing homelessness, demonstrates a clear sensitivity to often neglected or unwritten sonic and auditory dimensions of research. An encounter with a young girl fleeing domestic abuse is recounted partly in terms of Robinson's own physical incongruence in the refuge setting – her raised voice, 'the loudness of my whole body - its health,

its power, its intentness.' In a shattering narrative, the girl's contrastingly 'quiet voice', her 'little shaky pauses', and 'held down sobs' are not gratuitous detail; rather they represent the reinstatement of a fundamental emotional and bodily reality so often masked by research that 'knows' homelessness only in terms of the layered abstractions of housing needs assessments and statistical models of causation (2011a, 47).

Of course, adopting a sensory approach to the study of homelessness offers no guarantee in itself of preventing other forms of insensitivity from clouding the research process. Nicola di Croce's provocative article *Sonic Territorialisation in Motion* (2017), based on fieldwork observing 'rough sleepers' in Grenoble, France, is a rare example of a study that focuses specifically on sonic and auditory aspects of homeless experience. Seeking to understand the sonic culture of homelessness by mapping, listening to, and recording the individuals in question at distance, di Croce made apparently no attempt to solicit their views on his subject matter, and as such his paper tends towards drawing a caricature of 'homeless populations' whose (apparently shared, single)…

> … message […] is spread through dogs' barks, reprimands and yelling at dogs, as well as self-lamentations and begging […] a "language" that overwhelms the sonic environment through aural expressions, aggressive tones, and loud cues that may provoke and disturb normative life in the city.
>
> (Ibid., 1)

To say nothing of the way in which his work silences the subjects whose lives it seeks to document (and that in spite of his declaiming 'a lack of communication between minorities and institutions' (ibid., 11)), the manner in which di Croce generalises across 'homeless populations' betrays an alarming tendency to treat of homeless people as multiples of a monolithic *typ*e. In this, it reminds us of the very real limits of forms of enquiry, which, by fixating on the body through the eyes and ears of an observer, risk foreclosing a more complex understanding of the self as thought and felt.

Yet sensory research into homelessness does have rich potential to inform both practice and theory. Within the past decade, it is precisely an awareness of the various complex, long-term and *embodied* traumas individuals experiencing homelessness may carry with them through their lives that has prompted the development of new, more thoughtful approaches to homelessness provision. Good practice models like 'TIC' [Trauma Informed Care] and 'PIE' [Psychologically Informed Environments]), which stress, for example, the benefits of simple steps like reducing noise in care settings, are today growing in popularity and finding advocates across the UK, the USA and Australia (K. Hopper *et al.* 2010, Guarino 2014, Homeless Link 2017).

Elsewhere, meanwhile, research exploring individuals' subjective experiences of the processes they must navigate in applying for housing relief has informed calls for welfare reform. One issue subject to

considerable scrutiny in the UK at present is the role that local authority homelessness officers play – and the personal discretion they are able to exercise – in assessing the respective degrees of individual homeless applicants' 'vulnerability' (e.g. in terms of mental or physical health), their *honesty* (registered in judgements about individuals' voices, bodily comportment, and their overall appearance of well- or ill-being) and hence their eligibility for housing support under the category of 'priority need' (Bretherton *et al.* 2013). Writing for Shelter Wales in a briefing against priority need assessments, Jennie Bibbings (2018) describes how, required to 'prove' vulnerability in order to access support, homeless applicants are placed in the 'humiliating' position of having to present a 'sob story' to councils in order to get to the front of the queue. Significant in promoting an understanding of how contact with welfare services may reinforce trauma and undermine self-worth, Bibbings' analysis connects, too, with Daniel Edmiston's (2017) study of the formation of 'welfare' subjectivities, as well as with Andrew Woolford and Amanda Nelund's (2013) assessment of the emotional burden placed on individuals required to perform 'neoliberal citizenship' in order to be deemed deserving of state support. Such studies should remind us of the potentially profoundly degrading effects of applying market logics to the government of human lives, and they lead me finally to the argument that underpins Catherine Robinson's advocacy of felt research into homelessness.

Such sensuousness, Robinson (2009, 13) argues, is urgently required, for:

> Felt evidence extends a potentially radical call for public recognition of and responsibility for homelessness. Knowledge of the felt begins to open "those who are not themselves in pain" to "those who are" (Scarry 1985, 6). If the felt dimension of homelessness remains unnamed, it remains foreign, effaced, and without a response. As [Judith] Butler (2004, 150) suggests, 'If those lives remain unnameable and ungrievable, if they do not appear in their precariousness and their destruction, we will not be moved'.

For researchers and activists (or even, researcher-activists), then, who are seeking to engage with homelessness effectively, a fundamental challenge is to refuse, resist, and complicate those ways of knowing homeless people that deny or abstract from their essential humanity, and which present homeless people merely as serial examples of an unindividuated, unfeeling, and malfunctioning type apart from the rest of society. Conducting research that acknowledges sensation - the pain and discomfort, and equally the pleasure and joy - experienced by individuals living through homelessness may be a key strategy in confronting and reworking public and policy attitudes to the issue. Though Robinson concedes that empathy and compassion alone will not solve homelessness – and certainly they can do little of lasting value divorced from a critical understanding of the causes of the problem(s) – it may yet be the case that creating complex, sensitive, and even sensual accounts of individuals experiencing homelessness can serve to suspend public prejudice and invite and promote recognition of, and curiosity about, individuals' circumstances. This, in itself, can be a valuable route to encouraging a critical public discussion of the issue.

5.5   HOMELESSNESS & HERITAGE

The final step I wish to take in introducing homelessness here is to consider a series of three examples – projects undertaken by other heritage researchers and professionals – that are reflective of a range of different ways in which heritage practices have been applied to the problem of homelessness within the past decade. Importantly, while describing the projects below and seeking to learn from and problematise aspects of them, I do not mean necessarily to pass any kind of final judgement on their respective merits. Indeed, following my own fractured and frequently despairing efforts to mobilise heritage logics productively in the context of homelessness, it feels essential to remain collegial, to celebrate the strengths of others' work, and to cherish hope – possibility – wherever it can be found. What I do wish to stress here, however, through a brief discussion of the projects, by returning to some of the arguments I made in Chapters 2.2 and 3.1, and in light of my preceding comments on the governmental logic of neoliberalism, is the significant extent to which work with and on behalf of people affected by homelessness, who find themselves materially and discursively marginalised in contemporary society, may be compromised and instrumentalised by the very systems within which that work takes place, and out of which so many injustices arise.

Starting then, by introducing the three projects in question. As a first example, I want to highlight heritage scholar Kimberley Marwood's work with homeless young people at the Roundabout hostel in Sheffield. This project was based on a series of outings and workshops through which hostel residents were invited to work with heritage professionals and academics as peers in conducting research into the history of the hostel itself – a late 18th century, Grade II heritage-listed building. Conducted through the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council programme 'Research for Community Heritage', it was led by Marwood, and is described in a paper co-authored with her colleague Robert Johnston, *Action heritage: research, communities, social justice* (Johnston and Marwood 2017).

As Marwood explains (ibid., 5), the essential form this project took was of a series of activities including a 'heritage trail, trips to local heritage sites and research visits to the local studies library and the university'. A key challenge she faced in her work (one that I too experienced in my own research, as I discuss below) was transience. With her project staged over the course of a year in a context in which the hostel's residents typically only remained on site for up to six weeks, Marwood notes that only a small number of young people participated in more than one activity. As such, and given that 'most of the young people would not remain in the hostel to see the conclusion of the project', she records that:

> […] the research process itself was privileged above potential outputs. The primary aim
> was to introduce the young people to the places and practices of research rather than on
> achieving tangible outcomes.

Notwithstanding this caveat, one concrete, material output of the project was a 'scrapbook' compiled by the young people, which 'wove together evidence from the library and archives with [their own] stories and [as an unanticipated by-product of the process] their written reflections on experiences of the hostel'. At the conclusion of the project, the scrapbook was retained at the hostel as a resource for future guests to explore, and prospectively contribute further to.

The second project I will consider here, already introduced above, is contemporary archaeologist Rachael Kiddey's *Homeless Heritage* research, undertaken in Bristol and York across the period of her own doctoral studies. As described earlier, Kiddey's work centred on the staging of a series of collaborative archaeological digs and survey walks at sites identified by homeless colleagues. The project has been framed overall, as we have seen, as a series of therapeutic interventions designed to promote community solidarity, individual confidence, self-esteem and wellbeing. At the same time, it also generated a number of other outcomes: several co-authored papers, two public exhibitions hosted by Kiddey and her research colleagues, and a number of talks and discussions. Thus, in her article *From the Ground Up* (2017a), Kiddey describes an event at the University of the West of England, where local Liberal Democrat Member of Parliament Stephen Williams acted as discussant following a presentation on sites of contemporary homelessness in Bristol given by Kiddey and her homeless colleagues: an experience which led, she reports, to Williams 'acknowledg[ing] that deeper understanding of the ways in which people use the contemporary city, and of the agonistic politics surrounding particular sites, would change the way he thought about particular places' (ibid, 12; cf. Dixon 2011, 121). Developed within an explicitly critical Marxist framework, Kiddey's work is notable, too, both for the efforts she has taken to make research process and outputs widely accessible and engaging (see, e.g. fig. 10), and for the commitment she makes to explaining homelessness in structural terms throughout her varied sole and co-authored publications on the subject of homelessness.

Figure 10: Excerpts from Journeys in the City - a short graphic essay about Kiddey's research, published open access in the Journal of Contemporary Archaeology (Kiddey et al. 2016). Screenshot from source.

Finally, coming to the third project, Unseen Tours is a 'not-for-profit social enterprise […] which offers a source of income to homeless, formerly homeless and vulnerably housed Londoners by employing them as tour guides' (Dolezal and Gudka 2019, 141). Described by Claudia Dolezal and Jayni Gudka (the latter being a volunteer director of the organisation) in the context of a discussion of emerging and critically counterpoised forms of 'social' and 'slum' or 'poverty' tourism ("poorism") (ibid., 146), Unseen Tours employs at the time of writing twenty homeless and formerly homeless tour guides, offering training and peer-support to those individuals in order to enable them to lead guided tours of different areas of London: Brick Lane, Camden, Shoreditch, London Bridge, Brixton, Mayfair and Covent Garden. Charged at standard tourist rates, 60% of the income generated through each tour is paid directly to the guides, while the content of each route is shaped by the guides themselves to incorporate both elements of a conventional historical walk, and aspects of their respective personal histories and experiences of living in London. In this, for example, a tour of the London Bridge area that discusses the history of the Globe Theatre, also draws attention to the presence and function of 'anti-homeless architecture'; spiked pavements and bumproof benches of the kind described by Davis in his writing on Los Angeles (ibid., 147).

In terms of its aims, Unseen Tours adopts a threefold focus on increasing guides' skills and confidence, offering them gainful employment, and raising awareness of homelessness; challenging public perceptions of homeless people 'by cutting through negative stereotypes and social stigmas' (ibid., 143). Highly commended within the tourism industry (wherein it has claimed prizes at both the 2011 Responsible Tourism Awards, and the 2013 Observer Ethical Awards), the enterprise would also appear to be greatly valued by those individuals that contribute to its running. Thus, Dolezal and Gudka (ibid., 157) relate how:

> David, [the London Bridge guide], commented that, 'I am now doing a job which I love, I tell people that I used to go to work because the government told me to, now I go to work because I enjoy it!' Working as an Unseen Tours Guide therefore gives guides a purpose and, ultimately, can also increase their ability to take up other work opportunities in the future: 'If I should ever leave Unseen Tours I would get some qualifications and try to find more work as a tour guide or something similar. I would then have all three: qualifications, experience and skills. With those I should be able to get myself a job.'

Reading critically and comparatively across the three projects as just described, it is helpful as a starting point to note several features they each share in common. First, for Marwood, Kiddey, and the Unseen Tours team across the board, a clear priority was/remains to recognise the value of homeless colleagues and participants as bearers of practical knowledge about, and alternative perspectives on, varied places (York, Bristol, London and the Roundabout hostel), and accordingly to seek to devise situations wherein that knowledge might be shared on the basis of an equal collaboration with professional researchers (or in the case of Unseen Tours, through a peer-supported process of training).

In Marwood's case, the participatory research undertaken at the Roundabout hostel was one of three case studies referenced in the co-authored paper cited above. In this context, its claims for impact were founded upon an conception of social justice rooted in Fraser's (2000) notion of parity of participation, and addressed to perceived inequalities in the ways (institutional and academic) heritage research is carried out. Articulating a position recognisable in all three of the projects discussed above, Johnston and Marwood argue that:

> Social justice is achieved by enabling full participation through equality of status and access to resources. In the context of heritage research, this means surfacing and addressing inequalities between community-based and institutionally-based participants. This must involve recognising the expertise that lies within communities and ensuring that the resources for research are fairly distributed to enable more equal opportunities to participate.
>
> (2017, 828)

Similarly, and extending this concern to unsettle existing power dynamics, all three projects framed their engagements with people affected by homelessness in terms of empowerment. For Kiddey, homeless colleagues' participation in archaeological fieldwork and the public communication of findings created empowerment in the form of 'greater social connectedness', 'wider recognition of their specific skills and knowledge' and through the possibility it afforded for individuals to exert their own agency in narrating their own pasts. For Dolezal and Gudka (2019, 158), likewise, Unseen Tours:

> […] empower[s] guides [by] giving them a platform and voice to tell their stories and paint a picture of the city from their own perspective. It is an opportunity to add alternative narratives to the dominant tourism discourses of the city, which tend to overlook social inequalities and poverty.

And, finally, for Marwood and Johnston, work at the Roundabout hostel was taken to be illustrative of the ways in which '*researching* is socially active and empowering', in this instance because it 'personally connect[ed]' participants with 'the heritage' under investigation (here, the historic building that houses the hostel).

Significantly then, echoing the varied logics of diversification, relativization and democratisation that I presented as hallmarks of contemporary heritage practice above, the three projects all centre on a flattening (or, as a minimum, a problematisation) of organisational and broader social hierarchies, and on a blurring of perceived binaries (subject/object of research; official/unofficial heritage; expert/layperson, etc.). From here onwards, however, to varying extent, the projects diverge, and it is in exploring that divergence that one can begin to find the edges of their constitutive logic, and to understand the possible limits to their efficacy.

133

Turning back, firstly, to Marwood's work at the Roundabout hostel, what seems most notable to me here (to judge by the way in which the project was written up) is the broad lack of attention it appeared to pay either to the lives and circumstances of those young people whom it engaged as participants, or to the outcomes of the research undertaken by them. Where Kiddey's work, for example, departs from a pronounced desire to foreground in public discourse varying experiences of homelessness and the structural preconditions for its occurrence, Marwood leaves both the content of the scrapbook produced by the young people and the broader context of homelessness wholly unremarked upon, save to note that '[by] established measures of research outcomes, the project produced relatively little new knowledge'. Similarly, where Unseen Tours foregrounds a process of knowledge sharing intended to disrupt official interpretations of place, and augment tourists' understanding of the sites visited by guides – drawing upon and thus valorising knowledge held exclusively by those guides, Marwood's process cleaves to established sources of knowledge and routes of knowledge production. The initial framing of the hostel site as an object of enquiry rested on its predetermined status as a listed building. Equally, libraries, archives and heritage sites were selected as appropriate resources to support research, precisely because they offered access to pre-existing historical records. The project's impact as I interpret it, then, was neither to disrupt pre-existing official histories that might exclude homeless narratives, nor to develop new additional narratives in public expressive of 'homeless heritage' – for the scrapbook would be retained by the hostel. Instead, homeless young people were simply to be given the tools to read up on local history: a process which proceeded from the assumption that academic and heritage resources - the 'places and practices of research' to which the young people were to be introduced – were already adequate to answer those questions most relevant to their lives.

The conception of social justice Marwood deployed through the project was, to be sure, a tightly and explicitly delimited one. Stating that 'it would be unrealistic to judge the success of [the project] on whether [it] achieved wider, large-scale social change' (because, Marwood and Johnston state, 'such ambitions take time'), the authors committed themselves instead to 'challeng[ing] unjust and undemocratic economic, social and political systems […] *within the research* process.' This, to me, seems a valid qualification to make – and equally, a valid objective. And yet, at the same time, in light of the project's outcomes, it begs the question of how successful or impactful such an attempt to democratise the research process can be, if, as its starting point, it positions the findings of that process – the knowledge produced through it – as irrelevant. To be invited to participate as a researcher in a process that shows no interest in the product of research is, in the end, to be treated with indifference, or as noise; to be counted, but of no account in Jacques Rancière's above-cited terms.

Further, what that same indifference to the young people's knowledge would appear to reveal is that rather than reshape research processes or public knowledge, what Marwood's project instead set out to do was reform problem individuals. Instead of being empowered to author new histories, the young people were entrained within existing processes of knowledge production, taken to 'places they hadn't been before' and

afforded the chance to 'mix with people [i.e. academics] they wouldn't usually mix with' (a clear echo of Bennett's aforementioned analysis of the civilising rationality of the nineteenth century museum). Marwood concludes that: 'By engaging in research and reflecting on their past and present circumstances, the participants constructed hopes for their futures'. For two of her collaborators in the project, meanwhile, the success of the research process lay similarly in its capacity to build aspirations and curiosity among those involved in it. A youth worker based at the Roundabout praised the way the project encouraged the young people to look at 'the past and the present and where they are at in their lives'. Elsewhere, the hostel's CEO reflected on the benefits that might arise from residents being exposed to a library:

> I don't think any of them had gone to the library before, and certainly not into the local
> history bit, and you know, they might not go this year or the year after but in ten years'
> time they might go and say, 'I'm interested in my family'.

The challenges that arise from this framing of the project and understanding of its outcomes seem, to me, to be significant ones. While on the one hand, the aspiration to democratise public processes of knowledge production is a laudable one, on the other hand, that aim seems dubious if it fails also to place in question the kinds of knowledge that are produced through research and the ends to which knowledge of the past is mobilised in society. Without addressing those problems - without actively valuing alternative forms of knowledge and interpretations of place - the goal of projects of the kind devised by Marwood appears ultimately to be to make "them" (marginalised people) more like "us" (researchers). Following a classically liberal governmental logic, such efforts place the burden for change on the shoulders of individuals: to conform, to take an interest in our shared past, to become a functioning part of the body politic, but to do so in such a way as not to unsettle the fabric of that past, or that body. And again, from a certain (i.e. conservative) political perspective, these are valid aims. But they are not aims that, if achieved, will disrupt the social structures that cause homelessness. Indeed, in the final analysis, their goal is assimilation, not transformation.

Turning now to look more closely at Unseen Tours, one encounters initially a qualitatively different but logically similar problem to that just discussed: by helping homeless and formerly homeless individuals to establish themselves as paid guides (promoting entrepreneurialism and economic independence), and mobilising those individuals' experiences of homelessness as marks of distinction designed to distinguish its product in the market, Unseen Tours is very clearly expressive of the economic rationality that underlies neoliberalism. Again, then, its function appears primarily to be assimilatory rather than transformative. Here, however, albeit one might bridle at the brazen commercialisation of homeless experience *Unseen Tours* entails, it would seem disingenuous of me to fixate on the economic side of the enterprise. Ensconced within what Ravenhill (2008, 15) has termed the 'homeless industry', I cannot but acknowledge my own involvement alongside a range of other statutory and voluntary organisations, charities, and research organisations, and academics that 'rely on the existence of homelessness for their funding or wages'. And as such, to question the right of the people most immediately affected by homelessness to profit from it,

when already so many others do, would amount to rank hypocrisy. The questions I want to ask of Unseen Tours, then, are of an altogether different nature, and concern the problem of audience.

Allied to the general proliferation of information witnessed in modern society, a further key source of the noisiness of contemporary heritage practices I have looked to problematise through my research is a process of channelisation, which sees increasingly differentiated audiences insulated against one another, and hence against difference. As the noise of mass communication swells, so too does the audience (as a configuration of stored and shared information) become noisier in itself: ever less a single coherent body sharing knowledge and meaning in common, and ever more a series of discrete bubbles. In Bauman's terms (2007, 41), 'the fragments threaten to become hegemonic'.

For well over two decades now, heritage institutions have been alive to the value of audience segmentation, whether in terms of creating and maintaining safe spaces in which marginalised and discriminated minorities may come together without fear of attack, or, more commonly, in the sense of consciously cultivating and targeting market niches. At the cultural consultancy Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (2019), for example, whose 'Culture Segments' are perhaps the best known and most widely used such tool in the UK, rigorous data modelling has informed the production of eight averaged audience clusters, each of which is to be approached with its own set of bespoke messages and products[40]. Of course, having the capability to apply different communications strategies in relation to different constituencies creates marvellous opportunities for heritage professionals to attract and engage with diverse publics. At the same time, however, it allows for an unprecedented tailoring of messages and truths such that, for the modern museum attuned to its audiences' plural desires, every public can find an event or exhibition to fit its motivations, and no one need be denied affirmation in the multifaceted mirror of culture.

For Dolezal and Gudka, framing Unseen Tours, key strengths of the enterprise's offer include its capacity to contribute to the 'growth of tourism in more ordinary, "edgy" and impoverished urban neighbourhoods, and the appeal it makes to the 'desires of the postmodern tourist', keen to get off the beaten track. While, indeed, then, the tours do '*add* alternative narratives to the dominant tourism discourses of the city', they do little in themselves to disrupt those discourses. Instead, the tours are positioned already as marginal, designed and marketed to be consumed by those outside of the mainstream, and – one would expect – by those already alive to homelessness as an issue. While they may work to promote solidarity and further action relative to homelessness, there is no data as yet to demonstrate such an outcome. And so, in the end, outcomes appear limited to the reinsertion of a small handful of individuals (guides) into the sphere of economic production: a process which makes minimal if any difference to the thousands more people

---

[40] For example, the 'Essence' segment accounts for 3,841,900 UK adults or 9% of the cultural market. 'Discerning', 'Confident' and 'Independent' members of the Essence segment 'can be dismissive of things they believe to be too populist or unsophisticated'; and as such the best way to communicate with them is to 'Flatter their independence and sophisticated tastes.' Essence finds its Other in the 'Entertainment' segment ((5,976,300 adults; 14%). Driven by the quest for 'fun […] rather than any intellectual pursuit', the needs of Entertainment types centre around a range of 'fairly simple hygiene factors', meanwhile 'they don't see culture as contributing to community or society at large.'

experiencing homelessness across London, and which – read perhaps unduly critically – tends somewhat to reinforce the misleading notion that all homelessness could be stopped, if only those affected would take the time to develop skills and a sense of entrepreneurialism.

Coming finally to Kiddey's work, I find myself, as noted above, both sympathetic to and considerably inspired by the processes and materials developed through the Homeless Heritage project. Significantly here, however, and returning me back to the themes of representational adequacy and museocentrism addressed in Chapter 3, I want to suggest that Kiddey's practice is somewhat more radical than her theory, and that, moreover, the latter tends to some extent to undermine the former. To use heritage as a vehicle to confront both general publics and individual, locally accountable politicians with an account of the structural causes of homelessness is a powerful act. Equally, it seems to me, it is powerful, and potentially socially transformative to reposition heritage practice, as Kiddey does partially, as an enquiry into everyday life, and to valorise marginalised colleagues' knowledge and expertise, not for the ways in which it can be adapted to absorb, augment and replicate existing dominant narratives, but for the ways that it can reveal and illuminate different aspects of our shared past.

For Kiddey, in an approximate parallel to Unseen Tours, the 'heritage model' – staging exhibitions that drew on museological convention to document and share artefacts of homelessness in public – was a 'means of effectively [breaking] down invisible barriers between the general public and the concept of homelessness'. As she suggests, 'the "social environment" of the public exhibition space was one with which visitors were accustomed even if the subject […] was less so' (Graves-Brown and Kiddey 2015, 140). By mimicking conventions of historical presentations and modes of consuming the past, the Homeless Heritage project functioned to some extent as a parasite, a noise in the machine that worked, prospectively, to harness dominant power structures and modes of representation for alternate ends.

The virtue of this approach, to me, lies precisely in its posing homelessness itself as a historical question: rather than exploring marginalised peoples' *experiences of official sites of heritage* (as in Marwood's work), it instead articulates the *everyday experiences* of marginalised peoples *as heritage*, as part of a shared past that needs to be explained and responded to by broader publics. These, then, are all significant merits. What to me seems regressive about Kiddey's work, however, is its framing within a familiarly relativistic contemporary discourse of inclusion that tends, even as it foregrounds homelessness, to diminish or place in parentheses the issue's importance. Even as Kiddey embraces and makes explicit an acknowledgement that the stories we choose to tell as cultural professionals are overtly political, (2017, 23), and even as she promotes public attention to the questions of what societies choose to preserve, and why they value some narratives over others, nevertheless she retreats and justifies her engagement with homelessness relative to a conceptual framework that positions heritage as a universal but fragmentary social good. Everyone has heritage, she argues; 'heritage is necessary multiple, palimpsest, different for everyone' (ibid, 3); and, as we have seen, she insists that everyone 'has the right to engage with the pasts with which they identify' (ibid., 4). The implication of this kind of language, finally – a point reinforced by Kiddey's framing of her

work ultimately in terms of its therapeutic benefits to individual colleagues or participants – is that doing 'homeless heritage' is of value primarily for homeless people, and that those who choose to see the past differently should be permitted to do so. It is a *laissez-faire* ideology which indulges (indeed, promotes) the production of an endless scree of different interpretations of the past, without insisting on the greater or lesser validity and importance of any one narrative. In market terms, it is an ideology which reduces engagement with the past to an elaborate form of niche production, servicing individual identity needs without insisting on the need for the general acceptance of general truths.

Kiddey's practice is radical, issue-led, and informed by a notion of social justice that is explicitly responsive to specific contemporary injustices: '[Our] reasons for studying the past change in accordance with the present(s) from which we are working', she writes:

> The present from which I work is one characterized by a fight for space - migration, overpopulation, overcrowding, lack of housing, increasingly gated communities - and a growing, cavernous gap between those who have space (land, resources) and those who need some. Therefore, the present from which I investigate the past demands that cultural heritage work must do all it can to address and inform our understanding of pressing contemporary issues.
>
> (2017, 172)

But, simultaneously, the theoretical platform upon which that practice is built is weakened by a refusal to attack the alternative forms of heritage production that underpin and facilitate the reproduction of social injustice. Read through an activist lens, Kiddey's *Homeless Heritage* can easily be taken as an invocation to remake heritage practices from the centre out, placing injustice at the core of what heritage professionals do and demanding a confrontational approach that mobilises heritage as a political resource; a means of communicating with those who exercise the greatest power in society. From a more conservative standpoint, however, the project also gives succour to those who understand heritage practice in less antagonistic terms, as a means of promoting social inclusion (rather than social transformation), and as a variegated means of economic production, and individualised responsibilisation and reform.

5.6   THE QUESTION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

'To live in a society with others is to be historical.'

In the end, as I come to conclude this preliminary discussion of homelessness and the ways in which the problem has been approached in heritage practices, it seems hard to outrun a sense of pessimism. On the one hand, a range of scholars in homelessness studies across the past three decades have put forward a strong case for developing multi-disciplinary representations of homelessness that transcend the limits of statistical and legal accounts of the problem, and position homelessness research outside of social policy units. On the other, however, consideration of a range of methods for engaging homelessness through heritage practice suggest the need for caution and realism in developing participatory practices with those affected by the issue.

Unless carefully framed and designed so as to promote public reckoning with the structural causes of marginalisation, my view is that efforts to include homeless people in heritage projects may all too easily be co-opted by the forces of capital and socially corrosive neoliberal governmentality. By specifically foregrounding the individual therapeutic potentials of heritage practices, scholars like Kiddey, Marwood and Dolezal pose what to me appears as a fundamental ethical problem. Assuming that heritage practices contribute to individual wellbeing, employability, resilience and so on, it would appear callous to deny marginalised individuals those benefits by reducing opportunities for participation. At the same time, however, the process of tailoring heritage experiences to individuals as a form of care and a means of self-improvement risks undermining other struggles against social injustice in two key respects: first, by promoting a culture of flexibility and relativity in which the "best" version of the past is that which is best suited to relieving individual suffering, rather than that which might guide society as a whole, collectively to understand and act upon present structural injustices; and second, by contributing to the further fragmentation and privatization of systems of social care. Work of the type undertaken by Marwood suggests that responsibility for transforming the social conditions that produce homelessness lies largely in the hands of those who experience the problem: give marginalised people the opportunity and means to conduct research, the theory seems to go, and subsequently those individuals' research will transform institutions and subsequently society. In the long term, perhaps, this approach has merit. In the short term, however, operating at a minute scale, it seems a powerful way of salving the collective conscience of the heritage profession, whilst dodging the responsibility to speak with institutional voices about the causes of social injustice. While encouraging the marginalised, those with the least power in society, to raise their own voices in protest, those at the centre remain conspicuously neutral.

By raising these concerns and objections here, I repeat that I mean neither to dismiss the efforts that lay behind the projects discussed above, nor to suggest that I have the answers that others do not. What I do mean to stress, however, as I move into the next two chapters and my own participatory work with homelessness groups, is that there is no straightforward route to harnessing heritage practices for social good. In Marwood and Johnston's (2017, 818) discussion of the Roundabout project, invoking the concern with heritage as a future-making initiative outlined above, the pair suggest that:

It is a small step from recognising heritage as social action to specifically directing that action towards social justice.

Here, while sharing those two authors' hope for the future, my purpose has been to show that that simply is not the case, and that, on the contrary, to repeat O'Neil and Silverman's (2012, xii) earlier warning, 'the contribution of any social institution is only as good as its analysis of society and as the role it chooses to play in response'.

Given this framing, finally, it seems to me to be necessary - and appropriate here as a final prelude to a discussion of my direct engagement with people with lived experience of homelessness - to be open about my own conceptualisation of social justice, as it has informed my research and practice. Here in turn, of course, it is also crucial to acknowledge the ways in which, across different societies and throughout human history, general definitions of justice vary. Since any appeal to 'social justice' is necessarily contingent on how one characterises 'a' or 'the' good life - and this not only in terms of the distribution of material goods and services, but also, perhaps more fundamentally, in terms of questions of individual freedom and fulfilment – it follows, firstly, that justice is an innately political problem, and, secondly, that as such it is an idea subject almost inevitably to bitter debate.

Considering the terrain my research has traversed, and the critical traction I have sought to find in reading many contemporary practices of heritage inclusion as expressions of the prevailing individualist logic of neoliberal capitalism, one particularly relevant way of highlighting the ambiguous and contested nature of the concept of social justice might be to foreground the thought of liberal justice theorists like Michael Novak (2000) and Paul Adams (Novak and Adams 2015). For Novak, his work grounded in the robustly libertarian philosophy of Friedrich Hayek, and characterised as such by a trenchant anti-statism, the very notion of *social* justice threatens to invite infringements upon individual rights and justice – 'an attack upon the free society, with the aim of moving it toward a command society' (Novak 2000, n.p). In areas, Novak's thought transcends traditional divisions of 'left' and 'right' wing politics (for example, in as much as it connects with Marxian writers like Murray Bookchin (2005) – a fierce critic of hierarchy in all its forms). And his suspicion of government may well arouse some sympathy; not least, for example, with regard to the question of housing in the UK, where, as we have seen, successive governments have taken it upon themselves to criminalise itinerant lifestyles.

So strong is the centring of freedom within Novak's analysis, however, that it gives rise to a conceptualisation of social justice that appears fundamentally to undermine any large scale or structural efforts to address inequalities. For Novak, that is, social justice properly understood 'is a specific habit of justice', a 'habit of the heart', acted upon by individuals, that is 'social' in two senses: first, in that the 'skills it requires are those of inspiring, working with, and organizing others to accomplish together a work of justice', and second, in that it aims at the good of others, rather than at achieving good for a particular

individual (ibid.). But, crucially, he insists, social justice can only be enacted on the basis of *free association*.

Now, this in many respects might be considered a useful and inspiring model of justice. Indeed, as a blueprint for a society built anew – *ex nilho*, as it were – it seems to me to carry great promise. Yet a key area where Novak's concept of social justice reveals itself to be limited is with regard to questions of ingrained and sustained structural inequality. In so much as it deems state-orchestrated remedies for homelessness unjust, for example – abjuring their reliance on the imposition of the will of the powerful on the masses they control – this model offers perhaps little hope or comfort for individuals or groups that find themselves largely or wholly marginalised or disenfranchised within society; those unable, through free association, to form the kind of effective or powerful alliances that might face down the interests of a wealth- and property- hoarding minority elite, much less to contest the very terms and serial privations of a capitalist structuring of society.

Novak's model, substantially, adopts an ahistorical view of social justice. Centred on defending the freedom of individuals in the here and now (and measuring justice according to the success of that defence), it offers little to those whose freedoms, from the outset, are constrained. That is, in seeming to assume the equal ability and freedom of individuals to organize, collectivise, and act for themselves, the model is perversely blind to the kinds of deep-rooted structural inequality (in education, housing, the workplace, and so on - inequalities exacerbated by class, race and gender relations) that make some individuals – almost from the moment they are born - more free than others to shape the world to their own benefit, or to the benefit of others like them.

So Novak's paradigmatically liberal sense of justice privileges freedom over equality, all the while apparently failing to recognise the ways in which inequalities themselves diminish freedom. Much like certain additive heritage outreach initiatives, then - those of the kind that encourage marginalised groups to write their own histories, absent any attempt to reform mainstream narratives - it designates struggles for inequality as being primarily the work of people suffering inequality, or of others sympathetic to them; and it casts as violent or oppressive any attempt to force the centre to change. Novak's sense of justice, in short, is not one that I can wholly share. And instead, throughout my research, as referenced very briefly in Chapter 3.1.2 I have been guided rather by a different notion of social justice; namely that set out by the socialist feminist Iris Marion Young.

Ranged against a more liberal concept of social justice, there are two aspects of Young's work and thought that can be isolated for consideration here, and which best speak to my own convictions. The first is a foregrounding and historical analysis of difference, used to problematise existing inequalities, to reveal them as products of structural settlements, and to show precisely why it is that individuals and groups experiencing and coming to terms with issues like poverty and homelessness may be less well equipped and empowered to 'freely associate' and contest power. The second, building on a historical analysis of

inequality, its roots and causes, is an explicit socialisation of 'responsibility for justice'. In Young's 'social connection model of responsibility', since all members of a society are implicated in inequality (whether as victims or beneficiaries of historically uneven distributions of wealth, land, and favour, often compounded over many decades, centuries or millennia), it follow that all have a responsibility for their redress.

Now to be clear, Young's notion of responsibility has nothing whatsoever to do with apportioning blame to individuals. Understanding injustice in terms of systematic domination and oppression, she explains that:

> The systematic character of oppression implies that an oppressed group need not have a correlate oppressing group. While structural oppression involves relations among groups, these relations do not always fit the paradigm of conscious and intentional oppression of one group by another. (REF, 44)

Structural, social injustice, rather, Young goes on:

> […] is produced and reproduced by thousands or millions of persons usually acting within institutional rules and according to practices that most people regard as morally acceptable.' (REF 95)

And it follows from this, that rather than seeking to deny, evade, or work around the agency of institutions, the proper, *responsible* approach to addressing injustice demands and entails – far more than kind-hearted liberal free association - both a more conscious, more thoroughly collectivised recognition of one's own participation in institutional structures, and consequently the willingness to work to challenge and transform those structures. Here, to clarify this point, I will quote extensively from Young herself:

> 'Because we dwell on the stage of history, and not simply in our houses, we cannot avoid the imperative to have a relationship with actions and events performed by institutions of our society, often in our name, and with our passive or active support. The imperative of political responsibility consists in watching these institutions, monitoring their effects to make sure that they are not grossly harmful, and maintaining organized public spaces where such watching and monitoring can occur and citizens can speak publicly and support one another in their efforts to prevent suffering. (REF 88)

> 'The social connection model of responsibility says that individuals bear responsibility for structural injustice because they contribute by their actions to the processes that produce unjust outcomes. Our responsibility derives from belonging together with others in a system of interdependent processes of cooperation and competition through which we seek benefits and aim to realize projects. […] *All who dwell within the structures*

must take responsibility for remedying injustices they cause, though none is specifically liable for the harm in a legal sense. Responsibility in relation to injustice thus derives not from living under a common constitution, but rather from participating in the diverse institutional processes that produce structural injustice. (REF 105)

Writ large, then, - and to bring this discussion towards a close - the explicitly historical and collectivising notions of structural injustice and general responsibility for justice that I draw from Iris Marion Young derive from and lead towards a socialist sensibility, and a socialist understanding of how the common good can be achieved. Less through an absolute defence of individual freedoms, than through an absolute privileging of collective equality in order to defend equal freedom from oppression and domination for all. One cannot, ethically, choose merely to 'freely associate' with or 'disassociate' from a society that harbours injustice. And, consequently, the struggle for justice must be grounded in and directed towards the whole society and the institutions that shape it. As Young proposes, it should prioritise the creation of 'institutional conditions necessary for the development and exercise of individual capacities and collective communication and cooperation' (1990, 43).

Now, in terms of how this position, this politics, maps or mapped to my own research, to the project of listening to, around, and about homeless that I will shortly describe, and to wider movements to harness heritage practices for social justice alongside which I situate my work, I retain significant doubts. As I explore across the next chapters, it was often unclear to me how the work I sought to undertake with people experiencing homelessness connected or could be made to connect to institutions and to power. As I document in Chapter 6, it was that concern with institutional power that led me increasingly throughout my time in the shelter to foreground instances of bureaucratic indifference and silencing within housing governance: an attempt to make my own heritage practice speak to and problematise structural injustice. And as I highlight in Chapter 7, it is also the case that as my research practice evolved I became less concerned with documenting sounds per se, and far more interested in cultivating forms of critical public listening that would hear the world in structural, institutional terms – using listening practices in that sense as what might be regarded as forms of socialist/socialised consciousness raising. Most, fundamentally, however, the sense of justice that I have developed through this research can be detected, as it were, in negative terms: in the scepticism I exhibit above towards grand-gesture inclusion in museums and heritage practice, and in the doubts I express concerning the political value and communicative efficacy of participation. Albeit throughout this research, as Lefebvre puts it so stridently in his Rhythmnanalysis, I have sought to undertake a 'critique from the Left', working to shape my projects as meagre contributions to a socialisation of public consciousness and thought, still it seems to me to be the case that that intent can be read most clearly not in the practices and strategies I actively adopted, but rather in those that I problematised and rejected.

6 OUR SOUNDS: SOUNDING HOMELESSNESS

In the previous chapter, I sought to give an overview of existing scholarship that has aimed variously at defining homelessness, describing experiences of being homeless, and problematising the kinds of remedy habitually deployed in neoliberal settings to intervene in the lives of marginalised peoples. Towards the close of the chapter, highlighting the work of anthropologists Robert Desjarlais and Catherine Robinson, I placed a particular emphasis on recent work in homelessness studies that has sought to foreground sensory knowledge of the issue and hence to promote an understanding of homelessness 'felt and lived' (Robinson 2011a), and I considered further some of the pitfalls attendant to projects that seek to include homeless or other marginalised individuals in heritage practices. Together, these varying strands of thought provide helpful context on the basis of which to explore my own research practice and findings, and they point towards the potentials of an auditory study of homelessness. Here, incorporating a Lefebvrian approach to making the everyday strange, listening and sound might be used simultaneously as a defamiliarizing strategy/medium (augmenting and perhaps disrupting institutional and popular knowledges of homelessness), and conversely as a means of generating familiarity – making homelessness, even to a limited extent, feelable, and hence prospectively more relatable, by routing discussions of the problem through the figure of the ordinary body.

Beginning in the summer of 2016, a research project I undertook at a London night shelter gave me an opportunity to put into practice my emerging ideas about the potential value of 'listening to homelessness' through heritage frames. Founded more than a decade ago, the shelter operates as an independent charity largely without government funding. Each night it plays host to an average of 40 guests, serving dinners and breakfasts and providing accommodation in separate men's and women's dormitories. In addition to the basic hospitality it offers to people experiencing homelessness, the shelter also provides an in-house counselling service, English language tuition for non-native speakers, and support to allow guests to access legal representation or advice, to claim the benefits they are entitled to, and to find employment and/or enrol in education.

Formalised under the title *Our Sounds*, my work at the shelter was in many respects chaotic. Having been designed as a collaborative investigation, the project was based jointly on the staging of a short series of workshops in which, together, I and several of the shelter's guests worked to map the sounds of everyday life we encountered, and on a process of field recording, in which I provided handheld digital recorders to enable participants to document aspects of their lives both inside and outside of the shelter. Although both these elements – group workshops and recording practice - were productive to a certain extent, for reasons I discuss below the project as a whole quickly became unsustainable, and within four months it had almost completely petered out.

Along with a series of unplanned conversations with guests and other visitors to the shelter which took place outwith the bounds of the project but yielded insights into sonic and auditory aspects of homelessness

I felt compelled to document, the unravelling of *Our Sounds* as a formal project led me ultimately to recast my work at the shelter as a form of impromptu sonic/auditory ethnography. In all, continuing to visit almost weekly on Tuesday evenings as a volunteer, I remained at the shelter for around two years. In that time, by listening to the sounds of the building and the lives lived within it, and by discussing my research openly with guests in the course of our chance conversations together - learning from their responses to it, I developed an understanding of sonic and auditory aspects of homelessness, which, I feel, complements the findings generated through group work.

Through this chapter, taking *Our Sounds* as a point of departure, my primary aim is to convey what I learned about sound, listening and homelessness through my two years at the shelter, and to position those findings as elements of a sensory heritage expressive of the kinds of stories museums and archives could tell about homelessness and society more broadly, and equally of the ways in which they could approach sound and auditory culture. Beginning with a discussion of a number of practical methodological issues (my choice to undertake, and the limitations of, a shelter-based study; my approach to accessing the shelter and involving guests in the project; and a more detailed description of the research process), I then move into a more descriptive account of the kinds of sounds and listening I encountered and learned about at the shelter, piecing together evidence and insights provided by guests and adding to these my own observations. At the end of the chapter I reflect on the project's outcomes, its status as a piece of heritage research, and what can be learned from it as form of participatory counter mapping.

6.1   PROJECT BACKGROUND

6.1.1   STUDYING SHELTERS

Albeit a crucial catalyst for my decision to focus on homelessness in the latter stages of my research had been my encounters with people sleeping outdoors on the street, in seeking an appropriate context in which to carry out research I decided to pursue a shelter-based study for three main reasons. The first of these was a wish to gain as broad an understanding as possible of different contexts and experiences of homelessness. Bearing in mind my above discussion of continuum definitions of homelessness and the tendency of women in particular to remain relatively 'hidden' even if forced to live on the street, I was conscious that by focusing exclusively on rough sleeping I would be likely to exclude certain groups of people. Similarly, prior to beginning my studies, from 2013-14, I had volunteered as a mentor with the youth homelessness charity Centrepoint, a process through which I met two young men – one a student evicted from his family home by his mother, and the other a recently arrived asylum seeker – neither of whom had ever had to resort to sleeping on the streets before finding sheltered accommodation (they had relied instead respectively on the short-term support of other family members and friends, and the welcome offered by a local mosque). By basing my research at a shelter, I judged, I would be likely still to encounter and have the opportunity to work with people who had experienced rooflessness (provided they wanted to work with

me), but I would also mitigate against the risk of perpetuating stereotypes based only on the most visible forms of homelessness.

The second reason was a concern to establish, in so far as was possible, a stable and supported research environment in which both I and any prospective participants would feel safe, free from coercion, and able at any time to walk away from the project. In Kiddey's account of her *Homeless Heritage* research, based conversely on work with individuals encountered on the streets of Bristol - in most cases sleeping rough - she describes how the project led her to forge very close relations with her research colleagues, how she sat with two of those colleagues in hospital as they died, how she attended six pauper's funerals, and how 'when the weather took a turn for the worse, sometimes late at night, sometimes at dawn, [she] took food, blankets and tobacco to places where [she] knew colleagues would be' (2017b, 7). For me, while this may seem rather a cold position to adopt, and while I admire the commitment, humanity, and solidarity Kiddey's approach entailed, it was precisely this kind of intimacy that I sought to avoid. Though aiming to develop strong, trusting and convivial *research* relationships with participants, I was pointedly aware both of my own inability to provide adequate physical and emotional care to vulnerable individuals, and of the dangers of entering into relationships that I felt I would be unable to sustain over the long-term. By seeking to conduct my research through an organisation formally equipped to cope with homelessness and its associated challenges, I looked, too, to mitigate the risk of exploiting participants, who with many of their most basic needs provided for had relatively less need to seek the kindness of strangers, and who hence could refuse my researcher's advances without compunction.

Finally, a less important point in terms of my decision making process, but nevertheless a relevant one in the context of my research overall, I was conscious that the majority of mainstream heritage organisations would likely be equally as unable or as unwilling as I was to commit to a study of the intensity of Kiddey's, or to maintaining the kind of very personal relationships with participants that she did. In this sense, conducting my research with and through a shelter would allow me, prospectively, to develop a process that could realistically be taken up by other industry professionals and applied at a larger scale.

Notwithstanding these benefits, I was nevertheless aware when I began my research of a number of challenges associated with shelter-based studies, and these I looked to mitigate through the design of the *Our Sounds* project. One particular risk was that of overstating the significance of the shelter itself in guests' lives, and hence foreclosing consideration of other environments that may conceivably have been of greater relevance both to my study and to the individuals I conducted research with. Here, reflecting on studies undertaken into the causes of long-term homelessness in the US throughout the 1980s and 90s, anthropologist Anthony Marcus (2003) has noted and sought to contest the emergence of a 'shelterization' thesis (cf. Grunberg and Eagle 1990), which tends to cast shelters as socially corrosive environments, likely to instil and reinforce negative behaviours and attitudes in their inhabitants. As Marcus (2003, 135) explains:

Shelterization can be described as a process of acculturation endemic to shelter living […]. The adaptation to shelter life includes the development of a shelter vocabulary, the assimilation of shelter themes, the acceptance of shelter ideas and beliefs, and an eroding will.

For Marcus, a key limitation of research undertaken into shelterization was its conceptualisation, following Erving Goffman, of shelters as 'total institutions', defined as 'place[s] of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life' (Goffman 1961, xiii, cited in, Marcus 2003, 135). Against this model and reporting on his own experiences as an ethnographer investigating municipal men's shelters in New York, Marcus emphasises the permeability of the shelter environment. Not only was it unusual, he found, for individuals to remain resident in any one shelter for a significant period of time, but, further, residents tended to travel around significantly beyond the confines of their respective shelters in the course of their daily lives. Indeed, such was the variability of the lives led by his research subjects, Marcus argued that shelters 'were neither cultural spaces that redefined the self nor total institutions that radically reorganized behavioural patterns'. Instead, 'they generally constituted little more than places to sleep that underhoused individuals drifted in and out of over the course of days, months, and years' (2003, 136). The shelter, he writes, is 'more like a beach on a crowded day than a unified institution, community, or small town […] the human networks among shelter residents mirrored the dispersed and atomized surrounding city' (ibid., 140-141). And indeed, it was possible that 'if there were shelterized individuals experiencing something approaching a total institution, it was more likely researchers and social service providers who sometimes never met their informants outside of shelters' (ibid, 136).

In looking to counter shelterization effects in my own research – that is, in trying to mitigate the risk of equating the sounds of the shelter with the "sounds of homelessness" - I adopted a number of different strategies. The first, albeit as I have already noted this faltered, was to establish the research as a collaborative undertaking, in which ideally guests would be able to speak for themselves, describing the shelter and other aspects of their lives (such as they felt willing or able to share) in their own terms. The second was the use of varying tools to expand the focus of the research beyond the immediate confines of the shelter environment. Unable to accompany or contact guests in their regular daily lives (this being beyond the limits of the volunteer protocol by which I was bound) I nevertheless sought, through the use of maps and other prompts in workshops, and through the loan of recorders, to facilitate discussions of participants' lives and routines outside of the shelter. A third mitigating action I took – one that was particularly important when in later months at the shelter I relied increasingly on my own listening to the site and less on guests' formal contributions – was to consult secondary literature and accounts of homelessness that would help to contextualise and qualify my impressions of particular events or experiences. Thus, for instance, my discussion of homeless individuals' encounters with 'street level bureaucrats' (Lipsky 1980) in section 6.2.6, pieced together from fragments of fleeting conversations held

around the edges of the *Our Sounds* project, is supplemented with references to relevant anthropological and sociological studies of bureaucracy.

Finally, in terms of trying to suspend the effects of shelterization, I found that by commencing my research only several months into the time I spent at the shelter as a volunteer, I was able to encounter the site, if only to a limited extent, as a familiar space. Again, reflecting his concerns with the limits of hostel-based studies and the ways in which researchers might become 'shelterized', Marcus notes the very real risk of exoticising the shelter environment; one, which for him (as for me, a relatively affluent student with only limited experience of financial hardship, let alone housing insecurity) appeared initially to constitute a world apart from the one he was accustomed to; an "exotic" space, in which 'the otherness of the physical location' led him to see 'another culture rather than the revealed darker side of the everyday life of his own culture' (2003, 140). The first time that I visited the shelter I was indeed taken aback both by the strange scale of the site, its busyness and frequent loudness, by the stories guests recounted to me about the circumstances of their having become homeless, and also by the very oddness of my being there. Contrastingly, what remains with me now that my research at the shelter has come to an end is a sense of the fundamental ordinariness of both the conditions and the people that I encountered there.

6.1.2   NEGOTIATING ACCESS

Coming to the question of access, my approach to initiating research at the shelter was, as noted above, to establish myself first as a volunteer, before later raising the prospect of running a project with guests with its founder Caroline[41] and general manager Tom. By staggering the process in this way, though to be sure it entailed a partial deceit in terms of the way I first presented myself to staff, I aimed, on the one hand, to give myself a chance to assess the viability of conducting research involving the shelter and its community, and, on the other, to give staff, other volunteers, and guests alike the opportunity to get to know me before taking the leap of talking with them about sound. If several of the individuals I had carried out research with in Stamford Hill (notably Zvi) had found my interest in and approach to exploring the sounds of social life peculiar (a rather elaborate way, it had seemed, of finding out little of obvious value), then asking permission to conduct a similar study with potentially highly vulnerable people experiencing homelessness was, I felt, at least moderately likely to be perceived as being somewhat frivolous and thus, perhaps, to be rejected as a waste of time.

In the event, having spent two months making increasingly regular visits to the shelter, I found it to be a very accepting environment. In particular in my early conversations with Caroline, I was encouraged by

---

[41] Here, and throughout this chapter and the next, names have been changed. As I discuss below, the decision to anonymise guests, staff and the shelter itself was one imposed by Caroline, very reasonably I would add, in order to safeguard against details of guests' lives in particular becoming public. When I spoke with guests in the context of research, many were quick to confirm that they would not be mentioned by name. June, for instance, had a large extended family – two sisters and three grown up daughters – none of whom knew that she had become homeless and was living in a shelter. It was a point of personal pride, and a decision taken out of concern for those family members' own wellbeing, that they should not become aware of her true circumstances and struggles.

her eagerness to explore new ways of communicating the realities of homelessness to the broader public (thus, she told me that she had recently embarked on the production of a series of podcasts in which guests gave simple, narrative accounts of their life histories and experiences), and so, first verbally, and then in writing I set out a proposal to work with guests on a collaborative project. Receiving a warm if cautious response - sound was 'quite a weird thing to talk to people about' as Tom put it - this first approach then led into a planning phase in which I met separately with Tom and Caroline to talk through the details of what I wanted to do.

With Tom, this conversation centred on logistics and issues related to safeguarding. Here, we agreed that throughout the project I should avoid asking guests invasive questions about their personal lives, to 'try not to make it too much about people' as he put it. With numerous of the guests dealing with contexts of trauma, family separation, abuse and violent displacement (here, for example, many were refugees, still entangled in process of seeking asylum in Britain), it was important not to 'end up in the situation where you've just brought something up'. Though I noted, and Tom acknowledged, the possibility that talking even about highly mundane sounds might evoke particular memories, some of which might be traumatic, it was agreed that a focus on the sounds of the shelter building and its daily routine – as well as the responses these prompted – would be a relatively 'safe' route into beginning the project. 'There's a difference,' he explained, 'between asking someone "how do those sounds make you feel?", and "oh, can you tell me about a sound from your childhood."' The latter approach was to be avoided.

Turning to my conversation with Caroline, this had rather a different tenor. Acutely aware of the harm that even the most apparently benign activities could inflict on guests, Caroline told me that she and the shelter's other staff had 'looked closely at what [I] wanted to do', feeling reassured by the collaborative basis of the project, but nevertheless underlining that respect for guests, their autonomy, and wellbeing should be of paramount importance in the research. Here she noted a number of instances in which outsiders' ulterior motives and preconceptions about homelessness had become a cause for concern. A sewing circle that visited the shelter regularly was, for example, felt to be valuable in terms of the focus and opportunity for relaxation it offered participants, but had become a source of frustration when its organisers took to proselytising and proposing religious solutions to the varied contexts of displacement and crisis guests experienced (a reminder that approaches to social change predicated on individual redemption are far from being an exclusively neoliberal innovation). Equally, Caroline was quick to stress her disdain for what she termed '"Love Production" type people' – the television producers behind programmes like *Benefit Street* and *Filthy Rich and Homeless*, that constantly 'bugged' her for access to the shelter, and who, as she put it 'just want to get their fucking noses in here […], to see the track marks'.

Ultimately, she said, 'It's about balance. It's that balance between investigation, information, giving voice to people, and abusing people, or letting them abuse themselves.' Here, she referred to a painful experience in which – having agreed to take part in a public radio interview, accompanied for the first time by a guest - the latter (expressly against her own clearly stated wishes) had been quizzed repeatedly about her

149

relationship with her young daughter. 'I'm not going to let that happen again,' Caroline said; 'I'm vicious about… you know, I am quite Stalinist about it'. From the earliest stages of my research at the shelter, then, the point was reinforced: the project should not be taken as an opportunity to sensationalise homelessness, and it should avoid prying into guests' personal histories. Added to this, the shelter would have full editorial control over any public outputs of the research, and, as an added precaution, all participants and the shelter itself would be anonymised.

Once these ethical baselines and ground rules had been firmly established and following my receipt of approval from the university research ethics board, my next step prior to commencing research proper was to recruit guests to take part in the *Our Sounds* project. On Tom's advice this was done without great fanfare. Having agreed with him the content of a simple written flyer that also set the date of a first planned project meeting, I left copies displayed on the half dozen or so tables where guests and volunteers eat dinner together, and also handed them in person to individuals whom either I or he felt might be interested in participating, taking the opportunity this presented to explain verbally what the research would entail. Without drawing a particularly large crowd, this process did attract four initial participants: Maria (whom I introduced above in Chapter 1), Jan, Hamid and Marc. Subsequently, across the duration of the project, with our meetings taking place in the middle of the open plan social area at the heart of the shelter – and with an array of maps, digital recorders, and tea and coffee mugs making it clear that something was happening - a number of other guests drifted over to investigate. For some, *Our Sounds* was of no interest. One young guest, a singer as Tom had informed me, took to calling me 'Sound Man' but lost interest when it became clear that my recording equipment was not up to the job of making music. Another guest who made enquiries seemed put off by what I think he took to be the therapeutic intent of the research. When I explained hurriedly that the research was about 'listening', his sole response before walking away was to say that he had 'no time for that mindfulness bullshit'. In still other cases, however, the project did prove to have some further appeal, and so at various points along the way, June, Jim, Terry, and Ekemma joined the group.

Without risking endangering guests' anonymity, there is relatively little that I can share about the lives of the individuals that came along to *Our Sounds.* In any case, my purpose here is to focus on the sonic, the auditory, and the everyday, rather than to distil life histories. Nevertheless, and acknowledging the inevitable inadequacy of the caricatures below, it seems important here and may be of some value in terms of evoking the atmosphere of the shelter to note in very broad terms the different characters and experiences guests exhibited and shared with me, and the many different routes through life that had led them to become homeless. Indeed, mirroring Williams' above comments on the essential emptiness of the term homeless (a label most often applied from above that tells us little of real value about individuals); and reflecting, too, the essential noisiness of social life and knowledge thereof (the fragility and ultimate illegitimacy of supposedly durable concepts in Serres' view), the guests I met appeared to have little more and no less in common with each other than any other group of randomly assembled strangers.

Terry and Jim, both balding, both in their late fifties, were lifelong Londoners. There, however, any superficial similarity between the two ended. Terry was mild, a lover of disco music and sometime community DJ, made homeless with no savings when his marriage came to an end, working on average two days per week stacking shelves at a local supermarket, trapped in a zero hour contract, and struggling to save a deposit to establish himself in a flat of his own. Given to philosophical reflection, he took great pains to include others in group conversation. After thirty years working in the print industry, he felt that many of the practical skills he had learned were now obsolete.

Jim, by contrast was a good deal more abrasive. His descent into homelessness upon release from jail, he explained, had been shockingly quick:

> All they done was give me forty-six quid and sent me on my merry little way. By the time I bought Oyster, put seventeen quid on for the weekly bus pass, got myself twenty fags, a lighter, and a couple of cans of drink, money done, finished.

When Jim joined the group, it made the others palpably uncomfortable. He did not hesitate to tell those assembled that he had been doing time for his part in a murder. He stayed with us only for one evening, for the time it took him to drink a cup of tea – a period in which the other participants were pointedly reluctant to speak to or otherwise engage with him. His single contribution to our discussion about sounds was to describe the screams his fellow inmates had heard in jail. 'It's haunted', he said. 'I thought I heard them but whether it's my mind playing tricks on me, I don't know.'

Hamid was a refugee from Eritrea, shy, generously friendly, languid, and quick to laugh. Having had his initial application for asylum rejected he now found himself without recourse to public funds. His English was basic but improving with lessons. Though he took part in every element of *Our Sounds,* he shared relatively little with the group, and I and Terry struggled to involve him in conversations as more dominant characters – Marc, Maria, June - took the opportunity to speak. Like June – from South London, in her forties, fierce, formal, and appalled by what she saw as the laziness of many of her fellow guests, and Jan – a bespectacled, grey haired, middle-aged Polish man with the air of a professor, the figure of a dancer, the hands of a bricklayer and an enviable deadpan humour - Hamid disclosed very little about his past.

Often found chatting with Jan, Maria too was Polish. Her husband had had an affair. She had left him. Her sisters ('rich, spoilt princesses' as she described them dismissively) had married wealthy men and wanted nothing to do with her troubles. When the business she had started collapsed, she had been left alone to deal with it. She showed me photographs of her teenage son with whom she was in regular contact. I found Maria to be serious but light-hearted, lively, and determinedly optimistic. She had found work almost immediately on arriving at the shelter through a training scheme offered by the café chain Prêt à Manger. She spoke frequently about her ambition to become a manager and worked late into the evenings I met her at the shelter on homeworks set by the visiting English instructor.

Finally, the two youngest guests I worked with, Marc and Ekemma, were both in their early twenties and again could scarcely have been more different from one another. Ekemma, warm but reserved, gentle, and subdued; we talked mostly about food (an easy 'in' for me, since often I'd been involved in cooking the evening meal) and less often about the work she had taken on as a cleaner. Soon she would start college to try to gain a qualification in social care.

Marc by contrast was surly, sharp, delicate, brooding, mischievous; a Frenchman who liked to greet me each time we met with a thumping thumb-lock handshake and shoulder bump, and who never had less than one earphone piping music into his head. His passions, such as he shared them with me, were football, girls, and grime and dubstep. He had run away from home and made his way to London for reasons we did not discuss, though he made it clear that his relationship with his parents had become strained. After he left the shelter, Marc and I bumped into one another several times again around the city; each time he seemed to see me coming from a long way off, calling to me from behind, bounding into view from the side. The last time I saw him, he told me hand found work, flipping bratwursts for tourists at Winter Wonderland in Hyde Park. He seemed happy then, and at ease.

6.1.3   PROCESS

In total, across the four months from July to October 2016 for which it held together, the *Our Sounds* project comprised eight individual group meetings. As a volunteer, my shifts at the shelter took place from 5-9pm on Tuesdays. Given that the shelter was closed in the daytimes, and that a number of the group had jobs to go to and did not return back until after 6, our meetings took place usually from around 7:30pm, once I had finished my work as a volunteer, helping to cook and subsequently wash up and tidy the kitchen. In basic terms the meetings took the form of informal conversations that I documented with a digital recorder. After I had provided and talked through an information sheet clarifying the nature of my research, explaining that I would be recording our discussions, and setting out participants' right to anonymity and to withdraw their contributions at any stage through the project, all of the guests who had chosen directly to join the group completed a consent form. Whenever a new individual joined the project this process was repeated, and I also reaffirmed consent verbally each time we met before switching on my recorder.

After our first meeting, which was simply a conversation to get to know one another, and in which I introduced the project and described and gave guests the opportunity to navigate around the sound archives my research had departed from, my intent through the subsequent sessions was to build a cumulative conversation about sound by adding in a new frame or point of reference each time the group met. In the second session, I took along a rough plan I had drawn of the shelter along with a pile of post-its. Sat at our table in the middle of the building, I encouraged the group to add to the plan sounds that they associated with living there. In the third session, I brought a map of greater London with the shelter marked on it, and together we discussed the places and sounds guests knew best or that seemed significant from their lives in

the city. Here, besides Maria's connection with the British Library described in Chapter 1, Hamid noted a local park he liked to spend time in to relax, and Terry brought up the theme of quiet. Mostly, in this context, however, the guests had few recollections to share about specific sounds. Instead, what became clear was their lack of familiarity with the area in which the shelter itself was located, and the strong ties many of the group had to other places, other far-flung parts of the city.

In the fourth session, continuing a Lefebvrian jaunt through space and time, we focused on rhythms. Returning to the plan used in the second session, I asked the group to describe the sounds they associated with particular times of the day and the week at the shelter. In the fifth, I tried to initiate a more abstract conversation about tones of voice and types of listening. And in the sixth, we went for a group listening walk. Planned to fit within an hour, and incorporating two of the few places guests had identified locally on the map – Hamid's park, and a church Jan identified as being part of a regular itinerary of sites offering food and other kinds of support to homeless people that he visited most weeks – the walk also took us along stretches of nearby river, busy high streets and back alleys in a search for different kinds of sounds; tones and atmospheres that might prompt memories, reflection, and discussion.

In our seventh meeting, with the group now somewhat reduced (only Maria, Ekemma, Hamid, and Jan remained), I distributed digital recorders to the guests and provided instruction in how to use them to capture sounds, programming and checking levels, creating and deleting files, and so on. This followed a discussion with Tom, in which he raised the risk of the devices going missing (thefts were rare but not unheard of in the shelter; for many guests, too, lack of funds might have provided a motive to sell the recorders on). Having agreed with Tom that this was an acceptable risk that I would bear, and after making provisions for guests to store their recorders in a safe box if they wished to, I discussed with the group both the implications of having the recorders (here, I stressed, I would take responsibility for any losses and damage; the recorders should not be a burden, and the group did not have to take or use them if they did not want to), and the possible ethical problems associated with recording in the shelter. In this regard, we agreed that guests should avoid making clandestine recordings and give full warning to others present in the shelter should they want to document any particular goings on indoors.

In providing for the group's members to make their own recordings, I had four objectives in mind. The first, as stated above, was to gain insights into guests' lives outside of the shelter. The second, in a similar vein to the practice of soundwalking discussed above was to try to use the recorder as a tool for defamiliarising guests' everyday environments, introducing by another means than mapping or walking the work of framing, isolating, and selecting particular sounds for analysis; interrupting the flow of everyday life (Schafer 1973, Drever 2007, Carlyle and Lane 2013, Carlyle 2017). A third reason lay in a desire to get closer to the ways in which guests related to their respective everyday environments, to understand what was of interest to them, and what and how they heard through their listening. Adopting a similar recording strategy in her work with and among the residents of a condemned housing estate in Liverpool, Waldock (2016, 66, my emphases) notes how, '[instead] of listening *in on* them, this methodology makes it much

more possible to listen *to* and *with* them.' And the process also approaches anthropologist Bryce Peake's (2014, 4) notion of 'listening via listening about listening'; a method he developed in his work on the island of Gibraltar. Through a long-running series of interviews with Gibraltarian men, Peake claimed to develop an understanding of how the latter encountered the social world 'within colonial matrices of gender, race and class', 'mak[ing] it possible for [him] to listen to Gibraltar outside of the interview in a way that is empathetic to the biographically situated ways Gibraltarian men listen to the world as a culmination of social forces'. In my own research context, I hoped, by listening back to the way guests listened, and seeking their commentaries on the recordings, I might understand something about the way in which they perceived the world.

My final aim in introducing the practice of recording to the project was to diversify the range of materials the group had to work with in prospectively developing publishable project outputs. In creating documentary sound compositions with and about members of the Kaluli people of Papua New Guinea, anthropologist Steve Feld (1987, 204-8) developed a process he terms 'dialogic editing', producing audio recordings documenting what he considered to be a typical twenty-four hours in the life of the community his research responded to, inviting group commentary on those recordings, and distilling a final piece based on the interpretations and arrangements suggested by participants. In initiating a recording project at the shelter, a part of my intention was that group members and I would work in a similar way, arranging recordings collaboratively, and mixing in verbal commentaries. It was to this end, listening together, and mixing and re-mixing recordings that I planned to spend the eighth and final session of *Our Sounds*: a process that was begun but never finished.

6.1.4   COLLABORATION, COLLAPSE, AN ACCIDENTAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Overall, to repeat, the process of collaborative research I set in train through the *Our Sounds* project was a chaotic one, complicated and undermined by three principle factors that are worth exploring here as a final prelude to recounting my formal research findings.

The first factor, echoing Marwood's experience outlined above, had to do with the unpredictability of shelter life, the moments of disjuncture and crisis that took their toll on participants' lives; the transience of a shelter environment in which guests stay, on average, for only twenty-eight days before moving on to alternative accommodation. In the four months in which the project took place, whether because they chose independently to leave (Marc), because they had been ejected for inappropriate behaviour (Jan), or (in every other case) because they had managed to find alternative housing, all seven of the guests who made a regular commitment to *Our Sounds* (excluding Jim here) left the shelter. Typically, because I limited my visits to Tuesday evenings, these departures were events I became aware of only after the fact. And though, being conscious of the likelihood of participants leaving, I had tried to expedite the project process, this did not prove possible. Having planned to hold workshops weekly and move rapidly into a position where the group could begin planning creative outputs, I found repeatedly that life got in the way: participants were

154

perennially tired and stressed, sometimes ill, and often forced to prioritise various more important tasks in the limited spare time they had available to them; looking for somewhere to live, polishing CVs, completing job applications, meeting with counsellors and key workers. Though the group would meet briefly each week together and catch up, it would often be necessary to reschedule lengthier conversations for another time. In this context, we lost momentum, focus, and through the process, as time wore on, our numbers dwindled.

The second factor, a result more of my own planning than the realities of shelter life, was a want of clarity of purpose; a lack of focus on the end goal towards which the group's joint exploration of sound was working. Reluctant in this regard to impose project outcomes on guests (aiming that is to construct a democratic project in which as little as possible was predetermined from outside and above, and anxious – for the reasons explored in Chapter 5 - to avoid processes that defined ends in terms of wellbeing and empowerment towards which participants might be led) I had sought from the outset to devolve decisions about the form our work together should be presented in. Leading an informal review of our progress at the end of every session, I would recount the different pieces of information – map, plans, rhythms, recordings – that we had gathered and try to start a conversation about what to do with it all. Invariably, however, these attempts got nowhere; though consistently such provocations were met with hope and enthusiasm, nevertheless, we could not agree on a shared purpose.

And, this general ambiguity bled into the varied activities the group undertook together. During the walk (an event, which saw another six guests join us, such was the appeal of an opportunity to get outside, explore, break with the daily grind of shelter life, and fill an evening) my intent, as in Stamford Hill, had been to move together initially in silence, allowing the experience of different sounds to prompt reflections that might be discussed either as they arose or at the conclusion of the walk. Almost from the moment we left the shelter, however, following an explanation of the process, as we turned out of the estate the building was located on, it was clear that the evening would take a different course.

For the whole hour of our walk, the only contribution about sound or listening was provided by June, who, with characteristic seriousness, determined to stick to the plan. 'That's the sound of freedom', she remarked forcefully – as though setting an example to others - as we passed a busy bar, its customers spilling out onto the street: 'people just having a laugh, no worries'. The other guests, however, seemed pleased simply to have the opportunity to talk in a new, relaxed environment. Several of this expanded group were strangers to one another. Natalie was a new arrival: clearly shocked by the events that had made her homeless, she had clung to the margins of the shelter, finding corners in which to sit alone, seemingly fearing everyone. After she accepted my open invitation to come along on the walk, and once we had been walking for perhaps half a mile, we settled into a light conversation – pleasantries about the riverside, the water, moonlight, everyday things – and later she mingled with the others. One of the great joys of a walk, I find, is the space it offers to drift onto another's shoulder, and drift off again, eyes forward, conversation easy but not inevitable. As Natalie and I walked and talked, Terry, a few paces behind us, launched into a deep

conversation about his past, his ex-wife, his work, with another volunteer who was accompanying us. For me, to be sure, the walk was an experience to learn from – perhaps it could be a helpful tool for the shelter to use; a way of building ties among strangers, and of helping guests to uncover some of the hidden beauty spots in the rather unlovely area that temporarily they had been forced to call home. Certainly, the walk seemed to make it easier for guests to converse and share stories than was the case when we gathered inside the shelter itself. As far as *Our Sounds* went, however, it took us nowhere towards an end point.

The process of group recording, too, afforded me certain insights as a researcher, but felt almost laughably devoid of purpose (indeed, this was something that Maria and I were able to joke about). Of the four group members given recorders, three – Maria, Hamid, and Ekemma - made extensive use of them. Maria produced four hours of recordings, the bulk of which documented the sounds of her walk to work, and a regular shift at the café. Hamid, having had the recorder for a fortnight, returned it to me when he received the good news that his asylum appeal had been successful, and he would be moving into alternative accommodation. His recordings: an hour-long bus journey, taped from end to end (electronic stop announcements, engine sounds, pneumatic doors and incidental chatter), and a shorter snippet of road noise and wind. He told me that additionally he had wanted to record the sounds of the Eritrean community centre he sometimes visited in Wood Green but had been unable to squeeze in a trip in recent weeks. Finally, there was Ekemma, who seemed disappointed in what she had produced; another expansive recording, this time of a local library: 'It's basically silence', she said: 'Computers and that'. 'Why did you record the library?', I asked her. 'Because I'm always there', she said. 'It's like my second home.'

When I came to listen back to the recordings with Maria and Ekemma – the two guests who remained at the shelter at the time that we gathered for our eighth and final session proper, I think we were all equally bemused. As seems to be the case with every field recording I have ever listened to, these strange documents had a certain still poetry about them. But in truth, none of us had the first idea of how to wrest meaning from our accumulated hours of sound. In attempting to discuss with guests what they had recorded, we could only sit confounded listening to the tapes. Maria, picking through her own recordings, could not point to anything of special interest she wanted to share with the world, or with a notional public audience. She had simply recorded her own everyday life outside of the shelter. And this was how it sounded: mundane; unremarkable, workaday.

The essential problem here was that having arrived at the shelter, driven by my own research agenda (to 'counter map' sonic heritage - an agenda derived from and shaped ultimately in response to the British Library's own method of heritage production), I had proceeded to foist it on others without then providing either the necessary scaffolding or the support and leadership required to make a success of our project. For all that I had designed the project to be democratic and inclusive in terms of decision making processes, the reality of the *Our Sounds* project was that it was wholly a top-down process; an instrumentalisation of guests' experiences to generate data with the sole clear purpose of unsettling heritage discourses. In hoping

that a different goal, external to my research and shared by the group, would emerge through our conversations, I was relying on participants to give my own actions significance.

A third, related factor has to do with my essentially ambiguous status as a researcher and volunteer. All the while my presence as a volunteer at the shelter created possibilities for me to socialise with guests, to earn their trust and, to a limited extent, get to know them, at the same time it also created a sense of informality somewhat inimical to conducting productive research: it fostered an air of amateurishness and inconsequentiality that came increasingly to grip the project. Coupled to my own reluctance to impose group objectives, my experience was that this made it more difficult to shape *Our Sounds* as a project *per se.* By contrast, I imagine that had I been able to endow the process with a greater feeling of distance, of the project being set apart from the everyday life of the shelter, or possessing a greater sense of institutionality, it may well have been easier to see it as a discrete collaborative undertaking with a necessary endpoint: to generate the sense of purpose that comes with working with a specialist outsider, rather than a concerned insider.

Finally, here, and again reflecting back on my positionality as a researcher, the last factor that led me to reframe my research as more of an ethnographic enquiry was the way in which my attention was drawn by events that took place beyond the group setting. In the late Autumn of 2016, for example, a visit to the shelter by a film crew caused a great disturbance among guests. Commissioned to film an advertisement centred on homelessness by a well-known multinational company, the crew brought with them cameras, lights, a small arsenal of microphones and booms. They were noisy and invasive. Because they had been forced to shoot to a tight schedule they made no apology for decamping into one of the shelter's two men's dormitories to film interviews with staff and volunteers at well past ten in the evening, disrupting guests' sleep in order to get the footage and vox pops they needed. To me, the process was alarmingly disrespectful of guests: a concrete display, I felt, of the thoughtlessness with which homeless people so often are treated. And it raised further questions: how would the crew depict the shelter and with what motive? Given my status as a student, it was straightforward for me to approach the shoot's director, and to schedule an interview that later I would undertake to ask those questions. In terms of *Our Sounds,* however, in the context of this distraction and the desire I felt to pursue it, I found that it was becoming more and more difficult to reconcile my own developing interests as a researcher with the shape of group work. The research was becoming something different altogether, shifting in scope and losing coherence.

And so, I drifted into a process of observation and listening. The last of the group I had worked with left the shelter. I helped to cook, washed pots, chatted with guests. My own interpretations of the site came ever more to the fore. At mealtimes, if guests asked me what I did day to day, I would tell them both about my research and interest in sound, and about the project I had tried to initiate at the shelter previously. If this explanation led to a discussion, I would ask them if they would give me permission to share their stories and observations. Through this process, finally, and incorporating the insights and comments that could be

salvaged from *Our Sounds*, I arrived at the account set out below: an accidental ethnography of sorts, compiling auditory impressions of a homeless shelter and the lives of some of those who have lived in it.

In his appealingly informal late work, *Travels with Charley in Search of America*, John Steinbeck (1997 [1962], 59-60) describes the unease he feels attributing the status of truth to the document of the nation he produced following a road trip across the United States. Steinbeck's was a 'long journey', he wrote, in which 'doubts were often [his] companions'. And he goes on:

> I've always admired those reporters who can descend on area, talk to key people, ask key questions, take samplings of opinions, and then set down an orderly report very like a road map. I envy this technique and at the same time do not trust it as a mirror of reality. I feel that there are too many realities. What I set down here is true until someone else passes that way and rearranges the world in his own style.

For my part, as in the rest of this chapter - beginning with a description of the shelter where I spent so much time - I try to describe certain of the "sounds of homelessness" I and my interlocutors experienced, it is very much with Steinbeck's scepticism that I ask a reader to proceed. Though I remain faithful to guests' comments and to the notes I made on my way home from the shelter each Tuesday night, I cannot help but associate a certain sense of unreality with the following account of auditory life there. In the years since I ceased visiting the shelter regularly (having myself moved out of London), I have nevertheless had occasion to visit again and help out as a volunteer. Truthfully, during those visits, I have found that I hear the space and the people within it somewhat differently: the kind of focused, intentional listening I undertook there seems beyond recovery, and my overwhelming experience today is of the shelter's ordinariness. I wonder if, how, and what aspects of my listening became exaggerated in the writing process; how my intent and requirement for data moulded a certain form of perception. Notwithstanding these doubts, however, the record stands as it is.

6.2   AUDITORY IMPRESSIONS OF A HOMELESS SHELTER

6.2.1   ARRIVAL

Approaching the shelter across the forecourt of the trading estate on which it is situated, a visitor is confronted by an ordinary looking light industrial unit, albeit one softened by the addition of a number of hanging baskets (gaudy pinks, reds, and dark greens illuminating an otherwise grey scene). Nestled squat amid a row of identical units, the shelter's front aspect is dominated by a large, metal, mechanical shutter, framed by cream-painted brick, and topped by a pitched roof of corrugated sheet metal and plastic that drums and rattles in heavy rainfall. Toward the end of the afternoon or in the early evening, the times at which I would tend to arrive, the estate is awash with the sounds of a series of businesses winding down

for the day: forklift trucks and other light machinery groaning through their toil; lorries reversing accompanied by the standard automated bleeps and warning messages; the clatter and clunk of palettes of goods being loaded and unloaded. Save for the commercial traffic, there are few other vehicles to be heard moving around in what is a relatively peaceful backstreet, and the surrounding quiet tends to intensify as the evening wears on.

At the foot of the shelter, to the right of the shutter, a short flight of steps leads up to a smaller, blue metal door. Here, a stuck-on doorbell flickers in and out of life as the seasons vary and new batteries come and go. When it works, a visitor waiting outside can press their ear to the window to hear the standard Westminster chimes droning electronically within. Failing that, a firm blow with the heel of a palm will catch the attention of those indoors. Just inside the doorway there is a reception desk where volunteers sit greeting guests, checking them in, and answering the phone. Under the desk can sometimes be found a small box of soft orange earplugs.

Designed with little more than storage in mind, the shelter is roughly oblong in shape, and has a rough polished concrete floor that flattens and hardens the sounds that bounce around inside the building. Past the reception, turning left, a narrow entryway widens out onto its main, open living space. To the right of this area, hidden from the reception by a short staircase that leads to a mezzanine, a large wall mounted television is framed on either side by bookcases, as well as by three sofas and a number of easy chairs oriented toward the screen. Behind the sofas, and extending backwards into the rear of the building, a selection of tables and chairs are set up for mealtimes and allow guests further space to sit down and relax. Tucked away behind the tables are two PC's on computer trollies.

Directly opposite the television, on the far left of the shelter, there is an upsize kitchen, separated from the rest of the room to waist height by a long countertop. The kitchen is the source of a great many distinctive, and, to me, ambiguously domestic sounds; testimony to the scale of the organisation and the number of meals its volunteers churn out daily. Each evening, the commencement of culinary activities is marked by the switching on of, first, a towering hot water urn (cackling, puffing, panting – exhaling in Vader tones), and then the gas supply to the shelter's hulking 6-burner stove and oven. As the latter sparks into action, it is accompanied by the roaring of a cavernous built-in extractor hood: an energy-sapping tone that fills the main downstairs space of the shelter.

Not only the appliances but also the majority of all the other implements in the kitchen are dauntingly large or numerous. Aluminium pots the size of bass drums cause a tremendous racket as they are hefted from one metal surface to the next. Stacks of dozens of plates and an endless stream of cutlery endure the constant guttural attention of the dishwasher and cause a clattering din as volunteers, flinching at the freshly washed heat, thrust them back onto shelves and into drawers. Churning out a supersized batch of mashed potato for fifty requires hauling the very largest of the shelter's pans onto the warped metal bench in the centre of the kitchen (further implements, containers, and stacks of chopping boards stored beneath it) and beating away

at its contents for ten minutes at a time. More than once, this potato performance with its acoustic effects (like taking a sledgehammer to a shopping trolley) drew a small crowd of amused guests to the kitchen to observe.

Exiting the kitchen area, a turn to the right leaves one facing the shelter's pool table; beyond that there is the metal shutter at the front of the building, and to its right (a seldom played upright piano stationed outside of it) a small partitioned area conceals three toilets and two showers. Looming above, and across from the kitchen, meanwhile, the mezzanine floor provides space for the shelter's staff to work, additional computing facilities for guests to use, and a small office: here, in the same room where the kitchen knives are stored for safety when not in use, private conversations between staff and guests can take place, out of the earshot of the shelter's many inhabitants. Of all the sounds in the shelter, it is the squeaking, motorised burr and scrape of the shutter that, to me, felt the most out of place in a building converted to function as a home. Often, on fine summer evenings, the shutter would be left open for a time to allow the building to air and to let all those inside enjoy the spectacle of a lingering sunset. When this was over, however, with guests turning in for the night, the noisy unfurling of the shutter struck me each time anew as being somehow poignant: the audible expulsion of the world outside, and again a reminder (both sonic and visual) of the strangely industrial conditions in which guests must spend their nights.

Given the lack of alternatives available to its residents, perhaps the most important rooms in the shelter are the three dormitories that take up the bulk of space available at the rear of the building, one for women (to the left) and two for men (to the right and centre), each neatly filled with bunk beds and lockers. The beds are made of metal, and, to judge by the comments of guests, together they conspire to provide a running commentary each night on the nocturnal movements of their inhabitants. Early on in the *Our Sounds* project, Jan gave a transcription-defying recital of the sounds made by his bed springs and those of his neighbours at even the slightest disturbance: *reeyaaawwwwww-ree-ree-reeeaaawww*. Inevitably in these conditions, he, like many guests, often found it difficult to fall asleep.

Movement through the dormitory rooms presents a certain problem for staff and volunteers, too. In the furthest right hand corner of the shelter, accessible only through either one of the men's dormitory rooms, there is a laundry room, wherein two washing machines and a dryer (all three at commercial scale) share space with a full size, two-door fridge and matching freezer, as well as a bank of shelves piled high with clean bed sheets, kitchen aprons and towels. In the busiest hours at the shelter, between 5 and 9pm when the majority of cooking and cleaning takes place, the laundry room is in near constant use, thus from 6pm, when guests are permitted to return to their beds and make use of the dorms, the men face regular interruptions from volunteers passing through. Taped to the door of each dormitory is a notice instructing volunteers to knock before entering, a reminder of staff's determination to protect the meagre privacy available to guests. Late into evenings, packing away left-over food in the fridges, I remember struggling with the dilemma of whether or not to knock, and if so, how loudly – to disturb guests' privacy, or their sleep.

Even in the limited time that I spent at the shelter, several years on from the organisation first leasing its premises, material changes to the environment continued to be made. In 2015, a developer purchased the entire estate within which the shelter is located, and, as a series of smart new media businesses took up tenancies, the new owner took steps to "clean up" the area. Just as it was forced to begin an arduous search for an alternative home (only recently completed on-going at the time of writing), the shelter was also compelled to remove a temporary cabin erected in the forecourt outside of it, which had been used to store donations of clothing and footwear made available to guests. When this happened, the clothes store was moved inside into a new room Tom had built, encroaching on the dining area, and requiring further rearrangements inside. Opposite the reception desk a large cupboard served for most of my time at the shelter as a kind of sick bay – a quiet, closed-off room with a bed for guests to retreat to in times of serious sickness or high stress. In the reorganisation, however, this resource was lost, turned over to storage space.

Having described the basic space that frames the lives of staff, guests, and volunteers at the shelter, I want also to consider briefly how it was that the organisation came to exist in at that site. At the time that I first began to visit as a volunteer, I found the shelter already in its fourth different incarnation. Upon first opening, its team had operated one night per week out of a church hall. The next four years, however, witnessed a process of expansion that saw the shelter forced to relocate twice (chasing a larger, dedicated space and security of tenancy) before, around a decade ago, it was able to settle for a time.

Several potential barriers to establishing a hostel for homeless people are made clear in the retrospective planning application the shelter submitted to councillors to allow it to remain on the estate, initially for the duration of a three-year tenancy agreed with its landlord. In the context of a severe housing shortage across London, the council within which the shelter was situated generally discourages the conversion of residential properties for the purpose of emergency shelter (wishing to prevent the loss of good family accommodation), whilst simultaneously requiring that hostel locations afford their inhabitants easy access to transport links, local shops and amenities. Considering applications for the development of hostels in employment areas, meanwhile, planners must strive to ensure that, where possible, new conversions do not result in the loss of buildings for storage and distribution, and they are further requested to take account of any potential detrimental effects to businesses that might arise from anti-social behaviours of the kinds frequently associated with homelessness.

This last consideration is an important one and helps to explain Caroline's decision to seek planning approval only retrospectively, after the shelter had already been in operation at the site for several months. Appended to the shelter's application are a series of testimonies provided by local business owners that make clear the initial scepticism they felt upon first learning of the shelter's arrival. Subsequently converted to the shelter's cause, their fears of disruption had been allayed after having witnessed the peaceful and orderly day-to-day operation of the organisation. Indeed, several testimonies noted that the shelter's appearance on the estate had led to a marked downturn in 'unfavourable' activities such as drug-taking and

prostitution. Nevertheless, that the business-owners made clear their original concerns at having to share a site with homeless people, underlines the resistance homeless charities can meet with in identifying premises from which to operate. (See Lyon-Callo (2001) for further discussion of the phenomenon of NIMBY-ism in locating homeless shelters.)

Considering the legal and social obstacles the shelter faced in searching for a long-term home (not to mention the financial challenge of securing a tenancy in London - a city that has seen property prices rise 78% in the past decade 2006-16 (HM Land Registry 2019)), it should be clear that any thoughts the shelter's team might have had concerning the architectural merit, atmosphere or ambience of any prospective site, were most definitely of secondary concern. All of which is to say, as I reflect on the description above, that if the shelter appeared to me, at first, to be a strangely industrial and only tenuously domestic space, then there were many good reasons for it being so. As Tom put it: 'it's not a home environment, it's a move in first, think later'.

6.2.2   CONTROL

In describing above the physical environment provided by the shelter, I have begun to gesture towards an understanding of the space of the shelter as one patterned by different kinds of sounds associated with its architecture and with the various activities that occur both within and without its four walls, from the daily preparation of meals to far wider reaching, long-term processes of urban planning and development. Building on that initial sketch my aim in the bulk of the remainder of this chapter is to develop a clearer picture of the ways in which the space and time of the shelter act to enable or constrain certain modes of sound production and listening; how, conversely, the sounds of the shelter might be understood to contribute to the production of social space; and how guests in turn may be seen to both shape and adapt to the shelter's sonic environment. On this basis my aim is that it will become possible to understand both that environment and the lives it frames as being thoroughly historical, embedded in and produced by inherited social structures and processes.

Among the more obvious characteristics of the space in which the shelter team carries out its work, the limited size of its building (and the close proximity of individuals to one another this enforces) exerts a continual influence on the play of sounds within the shelter. In their dormitories each guest has only the standard 6x3 foot of a single bunk bed to call their own. There are no doors or screens to separate them out from their neighbours, and, of course, in an open space, sound travels: people breathe, snore, chat to one another, clip their toenails; music seeps tinnily out from a half dozen sets of earphones; Terry described being kept awake by the sound of teeth grinding in the night - a reminder to him of his late father, and of the stress so many guests live with day-in, day-out. In the main living area of the shelter, meanwhile, the din emanating from the kitchen extractor often prompts those watching it to nudge the volume of the television gradually skywards until very quickly the whole space is filled with noise. Listening to this open

area during the busiest hours at the shelter there are a thousand other sounds that compete with and interleave the two dominant tones of oven and television: fingers tapping and clicking away at computers; pool balls clacking and bouncing on the ripped surface of the table; chairs scraping; conversations unfolding, spanning the entire gamut of whispered to shouted; kitchen knives rattling through endless piles of vegetables; the doorbell chiming or fists rapping at the door - a steady trickle of new arrivals, returning guests, and smokers seeking readmittance. All of this and more for a clear two or three hours each evening, in a space no bigger than, say, a large school classroom or a small pub, usually with no fewer than 45 guests and volunteers filling the space.

In the context of this overarching swell of sounds, it was surprising that two of the participants in *Our Sounds* considered the shelter to be rather a quiet and peaceful place by comparison with the other hostels they had previously been forced to stay at. Indeed, once we had completed an initial process of mapping sounds to a plan of the shelter I had drawn up, no one had very much at all to say about the general ambience of the place. Instead, we spent far more time talking about individual characters in the shelter and their particular contributions to its soundscape. Occasionally, a former guest, Peter – not seen for several weeks - would strike up a tune on the piano. Maria regretted Peter's absence and related the pleasure she took from the sound of him playing to her memories of the International Chopin Festival, held each year in her hometown of Duszniki-Zdrój in Poland. Marc lamented the loud, intermittent laughter of one of his fellow guests, a young Chinese woman. Attributing this to mental illness, Marc explained that the woman's laughter caused him to feel like she was continually mocking or attacking those around her. Typically, in a context in which guests reported forming few close relations with their fellow inhabitants, he had never spoken to her – indeed, the whole group seemed rather wary of her – and thus the laughter remained a threatening mystery, one more unexplained fragment of social life among many. Another mystery was a woman who, Maria explained, spent an age each night - perhaps half an hour at a time – washing her face ('She's playing with the water? I don't know…'), and thus, again, disturbing her sleep as the shelter settled down for the night.

Both Maria and Terry grew animated when the latter moved the conversation onto snoring. While Maria's bunkmate 'snored like a bear', Terry complained that he had to put up with it 'in stereo': 'snoring here, snoring there'. 'Sometimes,' Jan added, 'there was such a snoring that I wanted to record it, it was just unbelievable snoring – a symphony.' Though he never did make his planned recording, later, after the group had disbanded for the evening, Jan approached me to describe how, prior to coming to the shelter he had been threatened with violence and ultimately kicked out of his previous accommodation (an acquaintance's sofa) as a result of his own snoring; he had surgery planned in the coming months to address the problem. As commonplace and even comical as irritation with another's snoring might seem, then, for individuals threatened with homelessness, the fine line between having a place to stay, or wearing out a host's hospitality, is one easily transgressed: the sounds of heavy breathing, of air reverberating the wrong way through blocked nostrils, could be enough – at least to go by Jan's account - to force a vulnerable individual back out onto the streets.

Whenever the conversation among the guests settled on snoring, there was a general, light-hearted acceptance that little could be done about it: it seemed petty to blame individuals for something so patently beyond their own control. Special ire was reserved, however, for those whom it was felt could pay more conscious consideration to their fellow guests. James, an ordinarily mild-mannered young man – an electrician by trade, in and out of work - grew visibly irritated discussing the habits of an elderly West African woman, Joy, whom (since we shared no common language) I was unable to speak with, yet who made an inescapably large contribution to the shelter's sonic environment for the duration of her stay. James:

> Well you can't help snoring, but what you can help is putting that [the main living space] off limits at night-time for the crazy woman that's praying 'til fucking two o'clock in the morning and keeping everyone awake.

Joy's prayer routine was, indeed, a distracting one, albeit also – to me, who didn't have to share the building with it at nights - a very beautiful one. Each evening I visited the shelter, for a period of perhaps three months, she would sit at one of the communal tables after dinner and work her way through as much as several hours of intricate prayer, clapping intently, rhythmically, and singing aloud throughout. Though she was cognisant of the room around her, and of individuals passing her, nothing would seriously distract her, or shake her from her rhythm. As with Rachael in Stamford Hill, and again following Hirschkind's analysis of Islamic sermon listening, it seemed to me that Joy's singing and clapping in prayer were vital, self-sustaining activities that worked to transform, domesticate, or sacralise the space around her. For many of those sharing the close confines of the building with her, however – individuals whom I observed growing quietly more and more frustrated with her behaviour - her actions had the opposite effect, creating a space of distraction and discomfort. Caroline explained to me how one local business owner (a dairy wholesaler) had approached her with a complaint about Joy:

> I call him Danny Cheese; he drives around in a sort of Maserati. He came over and said to me, 'I'm not being funny but one of your people has been sitting out there under that tree and has really upset my women in the office. She was there all afternoon singing.' God forbid... Do you know what I said to him? I said, '*That must have been so dreadful, do accept my apologies... rest assured, leave it with me!*'

For Caroline, as her response, laden with sarcasm, suggested, there was no question of interfering in Joy's routines. As she put it to me: 'We're allowed to go to the street howling at the moon. It's not against the law'. Furthermore, in the context of the estate's purchase and on-going development she was in no mood to cede ground to gentrifying or cleansing forces of any kind unless absolutely necessary, least of all when guests' wellbeing was at stake. Yet the various tensions that arose around Joy's prayers were a stark

example of the extent to which sound could shape social space at the shelter, and, too, of the extent to which guests' sonic lives lay beyond their individual control.

6.2.3   RHYTHM

Another theme evoked by Joy's daily ritual is that of routine, or rhythm. As noted above, one of the approaches I adopted in structuring my research at the shelter was to focus on the sounds individuals associated with different times of the day and night. Here, Jan, was eager to talk about his friend "Henry 7:30", so called because, each day, volunteers working the morning shift would call into his dorm to try to wake him (a large man and a heavy sleeper) ahead of the other guests. Thus, Jan began to describe his morning routine: 'Reminders, reminders - the first sound I hear is, "Henry, it's 7:30" - my first sound I hear.'

Though Jan's anecdote yielded no little laughter from the group assembled for *Our Sounds*, the very fact that this command or reminder had settled on Henry as a nickname gives a clear indication as to the extent to which guests' days and nights are structured – sonically and otherwise – by the conditions of shelter life. And, indeed, Jan's story led more guests to list the various other commands that structure their time, week in, week out. "WAKE UP, TIME TO GO!" first thing in the morning; "DINNER!" – an order more than an invitation shouted by volunteers from the kitchen at half past seven every evening; "ICE CREAM!" half an hour later on a good day, and so on, every day. In his audio documentary *Skippering*, produced for BBC Radio Scotland in collaboration with homeless men in Glasgow, Steve Urqhart (2017) captured the sounds of the regular 'death check' undertaken by staff at one of the city's homeless hostels: two rounds of banging on dormitory doors early each morning to check that inhabitants have survived the night. As one of Urqhart's interviewees explained, 'they rap every door to get a response. If you don't get a response, the door gets kicked in. Automatic. Police gets called. Ambulance gets called. The door goes in.'

Though I found there to be very little aggression in shelter life, there seemed to be an inescapable, and largely unavoidable violence in the mode of collective address necessarily used to run such an operation efficiently, and in the extent to which individuals housed in shelters are forced to adhere to an imposed schedule. At the shelter this rigid group timetable was a source of annoyance for James in particular. Not among the formal project group introduced above, James' initial motivation for speaking to me, spying the recorder at the centre of our group discussion and sensing an opportunity to have his say on shelter life, was to express his frustration at the daily early starts he was forced to endure whilst living there. 'Here's one for you,' he began, angrily, cutting across the on-going conversation as he approached our table:

> We should be allowed one day where we don't get kicked out and have rest. Cos getting
> up at eight in the morning, some people can't sleep 'til one, two, because of waiting for
> showers and stuff, so we need at least one day, or even half a day where you come in at
> one o'clock or something instead of six, so you can get your head down.

When James paused, I asked him if there was any sort of forum where guests could raise these kinds of concerns. And, indeed, there was a regular monthly meeting for guests that provided just such an opportunity. Unfortunately, however, from James's perspective, these listening exercises seldom prompted concrete action:

> Well, it was meant to be happening about a month ago. Caroline was like, ah we'll try it, we'll do one day where it's open all day in the week - cos they've got plenty of staff that can do it. And they just haven't done it. And it's taking the piss to be honest. Cos what [she] says and what she does is two totally different things […] I'm being serious. Nobody likes her […] because she promises things, but never keeps up to it.

If James's assessment of other guests' attitudes towards Caroline seemed an overstatement to me – one at odds with the testimonies of others I was able to speak with – his intervention in *Our Sounds* nevertheless underlines two related problems faced by many homeless people: firstly, to reiterate, a lack of control or agency in shaping many of the rhythms and the texture of their own daily lives; and secondly the feeling (and often, too, the reality) of not being listened to, or being paid lip service (a point I shall return to below).

Of course, in considering the imposed rhythms of shelter life, it is clear that the violence of routine and its sonic effects afflict a great majority of people in industrial and post-industrial societies, and not only those individuals that find themselves living in homeless shelters. No doubt we have, all of us, had our fill of alarm clocks, and of the incessant nine-to-fives, seven-elevens, shift work and office hours that structure life in market conditions. A point worth stressing here, however, is that – contrary to popular portrayals of homeless people as being somehow exempt from the constraints of daily life and labour – the inhabitants of the shelter I met with appeared to be no less dogged by routine than anyone else in society at large. Indeed, among a number of rhythms that intersected and overlapped to produce the time of the shelter, the steady plod of the standard working day had clear impacts and imposed clear constraints. Very simply, in terms of the opening hours the shelter kept, decisions to close at 8am and re-open at 6pm reflected the availability of volunteers who were in most cases required to fit their shifts at the shelter in around other work.

Turning to James's main complaint - that by his estimation there were more than enough people at the shelter's disposal to ensure that the building could be kept open during daytime hours, my own experience suggested that this was not necessarily the case. While personal commitments, work deadlines and illness often caused volunteers, me included, to have to renege on commitments at short notice, leaving a skeleton staff to muddle through short-handed, broader patterns in volunteer availability were also manifest. Though a detailed study would be required to confirm my impression of this phenomenon, it seemed, for example, that, in the course of a calendar year, levels of volunteering fluctuated distinctly, with numbers dropping off in the summer before peaking around Christmas, the New Year, and on into the coldest months of late

166

winter. Studies by Bunis *et al* (1996) in the USA, and Meert *et al* (2006) in Europe, confirm that levels of media coverage dedicated to homelessness (and consequently levels of public sympathy with those afflicted by it) tend to follow an identical seasonal pattern – a correspondence which would appear to offer some explanation of the rise and fall of volunteer numbers.

Very often in trying to interpret the sounds I heard at the shelter – striving to make them resound within broader socio-economic histories and narratives, I find myself running the risk of over-explaining, over-simplifying or misattributing the causes of certain phenomena; portraying a thoroughly deterministic social world in which little is left to individual agency, and doing so with only the most partial understanding of the life histories, attitudes and passions of those I met. Conscious of that danger, it nevertheless seems plausible here to venture a speculative reading of James's intervention - the embittered edge in his voice as he spoke, and the very fact of his choosing to address a complaint to me (a virtual stranger, marked out only by my possession of a digital recorder) - in terms of rhythm.

At the shelter innumerable different rhythms coincide and mesh, the product of diverse historical processes at wildly divergent scales, from the planetary to the domestic, the religious to the secular, and from the rhythms of capital to those of the human body. There are cyclical, annual rhythms – the changing of the seasons; the coming and passing of periods of severe weather; annual celebrations like Christmas, known to tug the heartstrings of the charitable, to prompt favourable coverage of social crises in the media, and, perhaps, to bring new volunteers out in force. Further cycles pattern daily and weekly life: people go to work; they value their weekends disproportionately; biological rhythms dictate that they grow tired and have a vested interest in getting home on time (volunteers shout that bit louder, hurrying others on to get their dinner so that they can wash up and leave). In the shelter, physical crowding in a constrained environment places stress on certain other rhythms: forty people must pass through two showers; bedtimes slide backwards; the sleep-deprived grow agitated. A monthly cycle of consultation among guests rubs against still further cycles: for all that individuals have periodical opportunities to make their concerns known, being listened to is no guarantee of positive change, since an endlessly repeating burden of costs (rent, food, heating, insurance and so on) argue against the hiring of any more permanent staff. There are linear rhythms, too: request, refusal; request, refusal; request, refusal; ad infinitum; often centred on the most miniscule demands: for more food, less salt, clean towels, a particular television channel, space, time with staff to access support. At the shelter, I want to suggest, there are certain sounds that mark and regulate rhythms (door-knocks, group commands, and wake up calls), and there are other sounds that are born of rhythm and repetition (raised voices, colourful language, and long sighs of frustration). To be attentive to the rhythms sounds trace, and to the sounds rhythms produce, is to draw attention to the historicity of the sonic, and offers us a further means of thinking sound as heritage.

6.2.4 HARD TALK

In their attempt to survey and catalogue the multitude sonic and auditory effects that colour and shape everyday life, Augoyard and Torgue adapt the rhetorical term asyndeton to name the 'forgetting' or 'deletion … from perception or memory of one or many sound elements in an audible whole'. Asyndeton 'allows the valorization of a portion of the sound environment through evacuation of useless elements from our consciousness' (2006, 26). The asyndetic moment, in this sense, is one that will be familiar to many readers. Without it, innumerable relatively commonplace activities (e.g. car and aeroplane travel, with their accompanying drones and wheezes) would be quite intolerable. And certainly, in my time at the shelter, it was a relief to be able to filter out the incessant tones of extractor hood, television and massed/mashed conversation, to concentrate on smaller-scale exchanges of sound. At these moments, as the noise receded, it became possible to observe more closely the emergence of what sound theorist Brandon LaBelle (2010) terms 'acoustic territories': multiple overlapping zones, 'cut with flows and rhythms, vibrations and echoes, all of which form a sonic discourse.' For LaBelle, mobilising a form of relational geography sympathetic to Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, the process of acoustic territorialisation is necessarily a relational or an associative one: the product of bodily deportment, activity, rhythms, architectural and other material features and social convention (e.g., as on a packed tube train, crowds of individuals tend to conspire in producing and mutually reinforcing a general silence). In the play of human and material interaction, spaces are born, they evolve, and eventually dissipate. 'In the movement of sound, the making of an exchange is enacted; a place is generated by the temporality of the auditory' (2010, xxiv-xxvii).

While numerous of the sounds I have described above – from the mandatory knock-before-entering of volunteers traversing guests' dormitories, to Joy's prayer routine, or the sounds of routine kitchen labour – can be understood as forming or co-constituting particular kinds of space, and hence as reflecting particular configurations of social life, to me, in my capacity as a volunteer at the shelter, processes of acoustic territorialisation and de-territorialisation were clearest when they involved the production of pockets of relative silence. Several *Our Sounds* participants mentioned to me their dislike of being overheard. They would leave the shelter and stand outside in all weathers to make phone calls. Similarly, as I moved around the building, I found the space cut and parcelled into bubbles of semi-private conversation that would palpably shrink and expand again as strangers drew close and passed by. The evening mealtime, in particular, set in motion a kind of socio-sonic roulette, as less established guests and volunteers (encouraged to grab a plateful of food and join others to eat) manoeuvred through a forest of crowded tables and chairs seeking a place to sit where they could add to, rather than obliterate, the on-going conversation.

Though often this process turned out to be straightforward (many guests were comfortable with newcomers, and happy to chat about all manner of things), on numerous occasions - like many of the volunteers and guests I observed - I would sit down at a table only to feel a hitherto animated discussion evaporate. In many instances this was a product of linguistic difference, a discomfiting variation on the Babel myth, with many languages colliding and confounding one another (Schwartz 2011, 48). Guests who shared a foreign

mother tongue, finding their natural conversation broken by the interruption of me, an English speaker, would cease talking out of politeness, not wishing to alienate a new arrival. At moments like these, a silence would spread that encouraged rapid eating, a swift retreat and indigestion. At other times, a similar effect was produced by the failure of those of us seated around a particular table to find common ground or common impetus for discussion, held apart as we were by innumerable kinds of other differences, grounded in class, ethnicity, gender, age, privilege, individual experience, mood and so on.

For my part, quite naturally, the level of difficulty I found in sustaining conversations during shelter mealtimes fluctuated significantly, depending on my familiarity with particular guests. Yet the barriers to becoming familiar with individuals were themselves often difficult to surmount. An unavoidable truth of shelter life was that one of the few things one could know with any certainty about a newly arrived stranger was that they had become materially homeless. (They were, then, as Kiddey (2014b) notes, immediately defined and understood in the negative, in terms of a particular lack, or an absence.) Likewise, one of the only things guests could know about me at first, as a volunteer, was that I was not homeless. The very fact that I stood in the kitchen where they were not allowed to stand, preparing food for them with knives and other implements that they were not allowed to touch made that clear. Though this basic feeling of mutual otherness could be and often was disrupted or even overcome in time, it was nevertheless inscribed on us from the first.

The knowledge of another's homelessness, and of my having a home to go to when I clocked off from volunteering, presented an obstinate first barrier to conversation. It made selecting questions or topics of discussion (beyond the most basic pleasantries) an act fraught with discomfort. Though frequently, after some time, guests would begin to volunteer information about themselves, I avoided asking personal questions. Unless asked directly, I said little about my own life. Mass public events like the 2017 UK General Election, periods of remarkable weather, or football's Euro 2016 tournament, provided a release, constituting a common basis for small talk, and in some cases a route into more substantive conversation. Such events, however, could not be relied upon. And even when I got to know individuals a little better (learning about their work lives, how and why they had come to the shelter, and so on) and hence felt more able to speak honestly with them and ask questions, often the answers I received left me in turn floundering to respond, struggling to transcend sympathetic platitude. They were stories of ill-health, isolation, insecure work, difficult choices, misfortune and misunderstanding, or else of better times to come, only just now frustratingly out of reach. Terry for instance would talk often about a lost pension pot he was trying to track down; tens of thousands of pounds bound up in a long since disbanded printworks and presumed irrecoverable. On another occasion, two men who had known each other for several years, crossing continents and dodging border patrols together in a migration from northern Iraq told me of their travels, their families left behind, and their destitution. They were stories that were wholly incommensurable with my own experience, and which left me clutching at half sentences and half sentiments.

In his work on the figure of the other in *The Community of Those Who Have Nothing in Common*, Alphonso Lingis (1994) has written perceptively of the way another's anguish or vulnerability grips the body, as an ordering 'alien imperative' or 'command' (ibid 32-3):

> What recognizes the suffering of the other is a movement in one's hand that turns one's dexterity into tact and tenderness; a movement in one's eyes that makes it lose sight of its objectives and turn down in a recoil of respect; and a movement in one's voice that interrupts its coherence and its force, confuses its concepts and its reasons, and troubles it with murmurs and silences …
>
> (1994, 31-33)

'The other comes as an intruder,' writes Lingis:

> His approach contests my environment, my practicable layout, and my social arena. Her approach commands an understanding that arises out of the sensitivity that is afflicted by her suffering.
>
> (Ibid., 33-34)

It is the other's contestation of one's own habitual reason and social comportment that inhibits regular discourse and regular speech, emphasising the workings of the voice as a physical instrument of touch; a means of extending the body towards another as much as a tool for linguistic communication.

Lingis describes the experience of sitting talking with his terminally ill mother:

> 'You end up saying anything - "It'll be alright, Mom" - which you know is a stupid thing to say, even an insult to her intelligence; she knows she is dying and is more brave than you. She does not reproach you for what you said; in the end it doesn't matter, what was imperative was only that you say something, anything. That your hand and your voice extend to her in accompaniment to the nowhere she is drifting on to, that the warmth and tone of your voice come to her as her own breath gives way, and that the light of your eyes meet hers that are turned to where there is nothing to see. Everyone has known such a situation in which the rift between the saying and the said opens up. A situation in which the saying, essential and imperative, separates from the said, which somehow it no longer orders and hardly requires.
>
> (Ibid., 109)

Reading Lingis, I find a valuable expression of the physical substance of the broken conversations I shared with so many guests across the dinner tables at the shelter. I heard the grain of my voice change, the better (I thought, or felt) to convey solidarity, or welcome, and I shared countless moments with guests in which,

they too, sensing my discomfort, conspired in a mutual effort to fill space with words. Yet the words we exchanged at the shelter were neither those of a son to his dying mother, nor those of a mother to her son. Instead, they were words shared between me (one of a continually shifting cast of strangers - a Tuesday volunteer, scarcely distinguishable from a Wednesday or a Saturday), and a series of individuals about whom I knew very little. Who was I to impose my voice, clouded with patrician sympathy, on others? What did guests have to gain by entertaining a conversation with another red-faced stranger, an individual who would doubtless exit their lives the moment the meal or the volunteer's evening shift ended? If the voice was to serve its tacit function, generating intimacy by means of the saying, rather than the said, then it was necessary as a minimum that both parties to a conversation be open to such an exchange of touches; that the voice be met and received as in an embrace, rather than experienced as a violating force.

In his work *A Soldier's Story*, the artist David Tovey, a former UK serviceman made homeless, arranges a group of mannequins dressed in military fatigues face on to a wall with their backs turned to the viewer. Duct tape covers the soldiers' mouths, while the details of their individual descents into homelessness, drug addiction and isolation following military service are marked in black pen on the backs of their jackets. To understand their situations, as the interpretative panel accompanying the work explains, you must look at 'the backs of the soldiers who have turned their backs on you, one of the last acts of resistance available to people who are so often ignored.' At the shelter, the convention of volunteers joining guests to eat and talk seemed better than the alternative of standing back and watching, yet so often it yielded exhausted, evasive, defensive silence.

Remaining momentarily with the question of voice, its tactile quality, and affective capacity to transform space and social relations, I was made intensely aware of the ways in which my own voice might resonate in the shelter context in the very early stages of the *Our Sounds* project. As my third workshop with the group got underway, we were joined for the first time by, June, newly arrived at the shelter, who asked me to explain again precisely what it was we would be talking about through the project. "It could be any sounds at all that you find interesting," I replied; "the sounds of the building, of your day-to-day life, work, voices even…". She replied instantly: "Not your voice, I hope… It'll make people want to kill themselves." There was an agonizing pause before June began laughing and assured me she was joking. And I was relieved, of course. Nevertheless, there was something very troubling about having my voice scrutinised in this way, and it gave me pause for reflection. The more I listened to myself and other volunteers going about their work in the shelter, the more it seemed that there was something premeditated in the voices that volunteers in particular inflicted on guests: something flatly, neutrally cheerful; a tone laced with automatic sympathy. A fellow volunteer, a trainee doctor, drew a comparison between that voice and the equally modified one he adopts when carrying out visits with patients.

It is very difficult I think to analyse such a voice objectively, or to say where it comes from. I can say, however, that it is a voice that I inhabited only temporarily at the shelter, and one, which I had to consciously struggle to disengage. I realised in talking with June, that the voice I had used in first speaking with her

was one addressed to a cause, or an affliction, far more than it was to an individual; as if I was speaking to homelessness or to a homeless person in general, rather than to a person first and foremost. I discussed this with Caroline, and she agreed that there was something behind this play of voices: a degree of performativity that coloured most interactions. She described a voice of her own, drawn from a rich back-catalogue of stern, overbearing female characters of the kind that has populated British television and radio throughout the last century, and which, for her, grants a degree of control and necessary emotional distance in contexts where guests are often highly vulnerable and prone to becoming attached to caregivers. In this regard, that particular voice might be thought to embody a dual heritage, functioning both as a sonic trace of social neglect, and as an echo of female typecasting throughout media history. It was a voice that functioned to ward off overfamiliarity, to mark the boundaries of an ideal guest-caregiver relationship, and to ensure that respect would be given to the shelter's management, and that prescribed standards of conduct would be adhered to. It was a voice that militated against guests becoming too much at home.

Finally, here, in his writing on noise, Michel Serres (1995, 52-3) pays close attention to the role sound plays in conflict, and in struggles over territory.

> The cause and goal of a squabble are the taking of a place, and noise occupies space. The whole point is to hold, occupy or take a place. […] Noise is a weapon that, at times, dispenses with weapons. To take up space, to take the place, that is the whole point. […] And noise occupies space faster than weapons can. Words and cries are quicker than winged arrows, or Horace's footrace.

Although, as I have said already, the environment at the shelter was by and large a peaceful one, there were nevertheless occasions when unrest broke out, or individuals moved to exert themselves on the shared space of the shelter. One night, following a terse confrontation in the main living area between one of the younger guests and a member of staff, the former disappeared into his dormitory room only to re-emerge moments later, waltzing slowly towards the front door as he sang, at the top of his voice, and in a quite ludicrous style, the first verse of Louis Armstrong's *What A Wonderful World.* This performance, impossible to ignore, as it seemed to me, was met with a pronounced silence, Leon's fellow guests turning their backs on him, or staring pointedly past him, volunteers casting downward glances at their chopping boards and shoes. Typically, in the rare instances where guests made a scene, this was the reward their efforts yielded: a kind of 'sadistic listening', to borrow a term coined by Steven Connor (2014, 9); one which he explains via the example of the stand-up comic:

> Nowhere is the sadism of listening more in evidence than the relations of performance, and never more intensely than in the complex relations brought about by laughter. The performer who becomes addicted to applause and approbation is really addicted to the fantasy of being able to determine how they will be listened to. The comedian is addicted to the periodic laughter that is proof that they have the audience's ear - and a joke is a

machine for ensuring total listening compliance on the part of an audience, or performing

at least the fantasy of it.

The use of the voice, then, in moments of high stress, functioned in the shelter as a means of occupying space and asserting (or indulging a fantasy of) control. And it produced in turn a certain form of resilient, or resistant (non-) listening; a means of defending space against the advances of an extrovert other. Silence, as Susan Sontag (1967, 11) reminds us 'remains, inescapably, a form of speech (in many instances, of complaint or indictment) and an element in dialogue.'

6.2.5   FUNCTIONAL SOUNDCAPES

From the faltering conversations of mealtimes (Jess, a fellow volunteer described them as 'bus-stop-conversations' – pleasant, but without consequence or commitment), to the resolutely deaf ears guests tended to turn toward individuals acting up or out, many of the manifold forms of silence I experienced at the shelter might again be thought productively in terms of rhythm. In the flux of shelter life, new guests and new volunteers arrived almost weekly; meanwhile, very regularly, others left, leaving part-formed relationships in their wake. So great was the level of disruption these continual comings and goings brought about, I came to understand the shelter as a kind of engine, generating ever-new combinations and re-combinations of individuals such that its inhabitants were to some extent always among strangers. And it was in terms of this unending process of estrangement that I came to understand the noise of the television as a critical resource for guests. Innumerable evenings passed at the shelter where, several hours into a shift of volunteering - the television having all that time been blaring out something or another over the heads of those watching it - a guest would go searching for its remote control to change the channel, only to find it lurking in the kitchen, untouched for several hours. Apparently oblivious or indifferent to its offerings, guests often sat under the television, it seemed, in order to minimize the requirements placed on them to interact with strangers: the sound of the TV gave cover, a distraction, another layer of social and psychological shelter allowing individuals to occupy a place in safety. Further, in the context of atomization, the standard dynamics of channel selection that characterise joint viewing in family or other collective contexts became less certain. If it was unclear who had picked out whatever it was that was being broadcast into the room at a particular moment, then finding that information out, or entering a conversation to choose something better meant initiating a dialogue that might be challenging among strangers. Hence, it was usually one of the more established guests, more secure of their status in the shelter, or in the relationships that structured their lives within it, that came looking for the remote.

I have already hinted at the widespread use of personal music players (usually smartphones) and headphones in the shelter. While this was by no means a uniform behaviour among guests, it was nevertheless a common sight to see two or three individuals sat around the same table, each absorbed in their own world of audition. In trying to interpret or generalise about behaviour of this kind, it would be

hyperbole I think to claim that headphone listening (or television viewing for that matter) operated always as a means of escaping or shutting out the broader shelter environment or the other people within it. Doubtless, indeed, in many cases, plugging into headphones was simply the most courteous and considerate way of indulging an ordinary pleasure in listening to music or the radio in a crowded environment. As such, to imply that there was anything specifically anti-social or pathological about the behaviour in the shelter context would be to introduce a double standard. (Just as, by way of an analogy, homeless individuals with drug addictions tend to find themselves far more negatively judged by society than does the proverbial middle-class media executive with a coke 'habit'.) That headphone-listening is commonplace in the 21st century, however, does not mean that it was without significance for many of the guests who practised it in the shelter; and certainly the practice had the effect of creating miniature exclusion zones around individuals, as, engaged in private listening, they became to a large extent unapproachable. For Marc, who as I mentioned above could seldom be seen without wires leading to his ears, the ability to tune out of the shelter and into the music playing through his headphones was a primary means of enduring life at the shelter:

> I don't hear any of these sounds, I sleep with music on, headphones on inside one ear. I don't wanna hear no shit. I don't like bullshit. All the time, music. […] I think music, I couldn't survive one day without music. It's one of the fundaments […] It gets me out. It's a buzz. My way to escape the society, and the shit that's going on.

In his conscious articulation of music as a means of escape and survival, Marc's testimony resonates with numerous contemporary critical explanations of private listening practices. For Ben Anderson (2002, 223-225), listening to recorded music and hence personalizing one's own soundscape, works strategically as a form of 'immanent utopianism'. Whilst, on the one hand it enables a retreat from the 'discontented here and now' (and hence might be understood as a process of 'active forgetting'), on the other, it performs 'an affective hope […] enabling the configuration of traces of how 'something better' might feel.' Here, for Anderson - following Ernst Bloch (1986) – the hope born of private, personalised listening functions as an 'expectation-affect', and utopia, in turn, less as a 'no-where' or 'no-when', than as a 'not yet' or 'still not'. Utopia is a process of endless becoming rather than a fixed location or social form, and in this context private listening generates feelings to be pursued and templates to build upon in subjects' experimentation toward alternative futures.

Among the most prominent theorists of a phenomenon he terms 'iPod culture' Michael Bull (2007, 2011), shares Anderson's interpretation of private listening as a utopian pursuit, whilst at the same time placing a strong counter-emphasis on the potential 'toxicity' of the practice, as headphone users come to be wilfully colonized by market forces (2011, 528). Increasingly isolated from their peers, and ever more dependent on auditory technologies and the outputs of the culture industry to escape the hostile everyday, headphone listeners are seduced by the 'utopian impulse to transform the world'. However, 'since this transformation occurs only in the imaginary - in its technologized instrumentality - the world remains untouched' (ibid.

174

535). Here, finally, Bull's analysis connects with Mark Fisher's (2009, 24) characterization of headphone listening as an engine of postmodern schizophrenia, which produces paradoxical effects. If, on the one hand, the practice offers isolated individuals the reassurance that 'the matrix [is] still there within reach', nevertheless, on the other, it enacts a profoundly consumerist 'walling up against the social', and induces a 'schizophrenic' 'fragmenting of subjectivity in the face of the emerging entertainment-industrial complex' (2009, 25). In sum, then, headphone listening may be seen to function ambivalently: as much a strategy for individual liberation and transcendence, as a symptom and cause of social privation, atomization, and colonization by the market.

Taking together the various forms of media listening practised in the shelter, I would suggest that one useful way of understanding these collectively would be in terms of what Keith Jones (2005) calls 'functional soundscapes'. Writing on the production of the BBC daytime radio programme *Music While You Work* (1940-1967), a show 'specifically designed [by academics, governmental and broadcasting institutions] for relay in British factories' during and in the wake of the second world war Jones explains how, by feeding workers on a diet of non-stop light popular music, broadcasters aimed at regulating and enhancing their performance (ibid., 731). Carefully curated playlists were 'employed as an affective soundtrack in factories—to raise employees' work rates, to increase their efficiency, to combat fatigue and boredom, to improve morale, to access and manipulate their emotions and loyalties' (ibid., 723). In this context, music functioned less as a 'communicative' medium, than as an affective 'material' agent, working on and against the ordinary tendencies of the human body, in effect to discipline it (Jones 2005, 724; cf. DeNora 2000, 16).

While it would be a mistake, I think, to attribute to the management of the shelter anything like the degree of calculation or coercion exhibited by the BBC in the context of the 'war effort', it was notable that it was Tom, the shelter manager (rather than any of the guests) who most often switched the television on early each evening, only to disappear immediately upstairs or into one of the back rooms without pausing to watch or listen to it. This was most frequently the case when new guests arrived and were invited to sit down on one of the shelter's sofas whilst waiting to be registered and shown around the site. By providing acoustic cover and a visual focal point, the TV helped to make new arrivals feel at ease in their surroundings. In its multisensory embrace, it provided the interim hospitality that staff – their hands full with other work – could not. As such it worked to produce (following Jones and DeNora) a soundscape that was functional more on an affective level - calming anxious bodies and domesticating an unfamiliar space – than on the level of communication.

Certainly, there are a great many differences between the practices of (not) listening to television and consciously tuning into a personalised selection of music via headphones. Here, Bull (2013) distinguishes between the Fordist logic of older mass media (e.g. national television and radio broadcasts, or the piped 'Muzak' used to regulate and stimulate consumers in shopping arcades (Jones and Schumacher 1992)) and the 'hyper-post-Fordist' rationality of iPod culture, wherein the individualization and privatization of the

soundscape is paramount. Nevertheless, in contexts where individuals' private headphone listening served to block out the other sounds of the shelter, or to allows guests to sleep, headphone listening could be seen to perform a function similar to that of television. In each case, I would suggest, functional, technologized soundscapes protected individual guests from having to negotiate what might be frightening, uncomfortable, or aggravating confrontations or encounters with others guests, staff and volunteers: they were material props that helped individuals perfect that most paradigmatic of 21st Century arts: being alone together.

6.2.6   BUREAUCRATIC LISTENING

For many guests, life at the shelter appeared to consist of nothing so much as an extended period of waiting, scarcely contoured, yet agonizingly prolonged by a series of often-fruitless encounters with bureaucrats. Luca was an overseas student, reading law at a London university when financial troubles forced him out of his flat. He told me that he had never been on the streets, instead managing to get by couch surfing and staying with friends while awaiting the outcome of his application for assisted housing. As the re-housing process dragged on, however, he was eventually referred to the shelter.

By the time I met him in early 2017, Luca had been forced to put his studies on hold, with the stress of his housing situation making it impossible to keep up with lectures and to maintain any kind of focus on work. He regretted other changes that shelter life had brought about in him, echoes of the shelterization process questioned by Marcus. 'You get entrenched in certain groups,' Luca explained, 'certain behaviours that ordinarily you'd rather not.' From hanging out with friends and fellow students at university, he started to spend more and more time with other shelter guests and with larger groups of homeless people who would gather at a local library. In that environment, he suggested, 'if you have a drug problem, it only gets worse… Same with alcohol.'

Two months passed, from mid-November to mid-January as he waited to hear back from the local council, a period in which he made repeated email enquiries about his case, as well as following up in person at the council offices, and over the phone. In December, he was told that a member of staff had forgotten to attach the right form in an internal email that might move his application forward. Two weeks later, another member of staff had 'forgotten to press send.' Luca explained that making amends for these errors had taken hours of meetings, face to face, with a rotating cast of council staff: 'The same questions, over and over again. Empty promises.' And, all the while, he felt the humiliation of having to suppress his anger and keep on playing the game. 'You're always on your best behaviour … you're listening, trying to be polite, to words that you know are meaningless.'

In the end, Luca's case was resolved when a member of staff at the shelter took up his cause and got in touch with the council directly. Just like that, his application was settled inside of twenty-four hours, and soon after he was able to move on to alternative accommodation, and to look forward to resuming his

studies. The process continued to grate with him, however, and his overall impression of 'the system' was that it was designed to put people off and save money. 'It feels like they go out of their way not to help,' he said. 'There have been cuts, serious cuts, and they don't want to help us.'

Luca decided not to take part in *Our Sounds* when I explained the project to him, raising two points by way of an apology. Firstly, homeless people had enough problems to deal with without worrying about trying to influence their own representation in an increasingly saturated and fragmented mediascape. Secondly, homelessness is not one thing, and 'homeless people' are not a coherent group. So there isn't a single identity to rally around and campaign on behalf of. He was happy, however, for me to quote him and to use his story in my research, particularly if it was able to draw attention to what he felt were ingrained structural injustices. 'People aren't interested in listening to a homeless person,' he suggested: 'Fundamentally, they don't believe them anyway.' But they might listen to a story about the system as whole. 'It's easier to believe that the government is incompetent,' as he put it 'than to accept that a homeless person is good.'

Two more examples stand out from my time at the shelter, where encounters with systems intended to provide support to individuals appeared to do as much to cause distress and resentment as they did to provide relief. Natalie, whom I met through our group walk, was a victim of a violent crime, which had left her hospitalised and severely traumatised. As we stood, talking outside the front of the shelter towards the end of another Tuesday night, she seemed huddled inside herself, shocked by the noise of the environment she found herself in. Inside, as per the usual rhythms of the shelter, a group was at the pool table playing a game, leaning, between shots, on the heavy metal shutter that separated us from them at the front of the building. They could hardly have known that every time they rested on the shutter in this way, it produced loud clunks, cracks and shrieks outside that caused Natalie to flinch and hunch.

Having worked as a bookkeeper for almost two decades, by her own account living happily and peacefully in an outer London suburb, the crime she had suffered had come out of nowhere: a mugger had tried to take her bag and became violent when she resisted, attacking her with a knife. When she emerged from a long spell in hospital, she found that her flat had been burgled and all her valued possessions taken. Unable to go home, she had been accommodated for a time in a police safe house. This, however, had been taken away from her as soon as the evidence she gave in her assailant's trial had led to a conviction. Now, homeless, life felt beyond Natalie's control. She had no access to money. As such, she was unable to travel to work far away in West London. She wanted to work, and for life to go back to normal, but having never before had to use it, she found herself struggling to comprehend the benefits system that might give her the financial support she needed to move on.

Describing an interview with a welfare officer, in which she had tried to make progress in claiming Employment Support Allowance, she explained that she had been made to feel useless, and that she had the impression that no one wanted to help. Crucially, it felt as though, if support were to be accessed, it would not be offered to her; rather, she would have to learn how to demand it. 'They don't tell you anything

unless you ask,' she explained, 'And I don't know what to ask, what questions to ask.' Distressing in and of itself, the intransigence of the system Natalie had been forced to navigate – one which had effectively rendered her silent - felt all the crueller to her, precisely because she was so accustomed to getting on with life independently. 'Every other time in life, I just get up and do things for myself,' she said. To do that in her new, reduced circumstances, however, would mean fighting on two counts, both to overcome her trauma, and simultaneously to find her place, and her voice, in a system that gave her little encouragement.

A third story I want to recount in connection to the theme of bureaucracy is one that emerged in the course of *Our Sounds*, albeit in an exchange that seemed at first to have outstripped the purpose of the workshop that prompted it. Following a tortuous half hour in which I had tried to facilitate a discussion around the significance of tone of voice in communicating meaning and how vocal dynamics might colour life at the shelter (on reflection, an alienating move on my part), the group conversation broke down, and two floating participants peeled off, leaving me sat around the recorder with Maria and June. An intense exchange followed, during which June described her personal experience of speaking with an older, street homeless man (his shock at being addressed by a member of the public; his tears when she stopped to listen to his story), as well as offering a number of insights into the challenges that long-term rough sleepers face, if, eventually, they are offered stable housing:

> J: I met a guy five years homeless. Now, they've put him into a home and he's scared. He doesn't know how to sort the bills, he doesn't know how to use his cooker. He won't put the electric on. He hasn't plugged his fridge in. Along that five years, no one has taught him the things he should be taught for a grown man, no one has maintained them life skills for him to go back out and be placed in society.

> M: They don't know how to live.

> J: So now he's thinking of messing up, and going back on the street, and he's a recovering alcoholic, so, it's alright us getting ourselves together, still society's telling us where we're going. It's out of our hands. If someone says to us we've got a clearing house, I've gotta go. If someone says you've got a hostel that I can stay in all day, I'm gonna go.

Describing the feelings of disempowerment that so regularly colour individuals' experiences of being homeless, Maria and June moved on to consider the ways in which they each personally fought to avoid the stigma attached to homelessness. As two independent single mothers, both with grown up children, each felt that men were less adept at coping with situations of extremis than were women. Maria made it clear that she avoided daytime services provided for homeless people around the city, preferring (when not working) to visit new parts of London, take in the architecture, and visit museums to improve her local knowledge and language skills. For June, meanwhile, the feeling of being made subject to constant scrutiny by professional caregivers rankled. As Maria described her own weekly meetings with council

178

psychologists concerned to understand her particular experience of homelessness, as well as her willingness to change, June became visibly irritated, her voice taking on a hard edge:

> M: One of the women who comes here to talk to us. She is working for the council. A psychologist. I talk to her every week, and she is asking me, do you agree for this situation, which you have. And I say no. I want to go out past, to take my normal life.

> J: Did you find that patronising? When she asked you that question, did you think "How dare you ask me that?" *Whether I like this situation…* None of us are here by choice. Did you think on that level, or did you think, "I'm here, you're here to assess me, you're getting paid at the end of the month, I'm keeping you in a job?" Sometimes you have to think on the same level as these people, because they will hold you down. They will hold you down. I'd never heard of a night shelter before. I'd never heard of a hostel before. And here I am living it.

If, for June, regular conversations with psychologists and other council representatives felt like an affront - a set of plainly superficial dialogues, or box-ticking exercises conducted more to satisfy bureaucratic process than to address her own needs – this is not to say that the outside support provided at the shelter was always so reluctantly received. Natalie, for one, was eager to meet with a counsellor, and expressed frustration that having arrived at the shelter over the weekend, she would have to wait until the following Wednesday to meet with someone. Overwhelmingly, moreover, the people I met and spoke with at the shelter (June included) were grateful for the high level of care and support it provided.

Ultimately, then, the stories I am recounting here stand only as anecdotal evidence of the way particular individuals respond to very different faces of the public systems put in place to manage and care for them, and as such they cannot be thought of as reliable data in and of themselves. This being said, however, even as anecdotes, the stories do suggest the existence of certain trends – the feeling of not being listened to, of not knowing how to speak within and to the system, and of being patronized by those perceived to hold power. And, what is more, these are trends which appear to be confirmed by a weight of recent scholarship exploring lived experiences of interactions between 'street level bureaucrats' (Lipsky [1980] 2010), homeless people, and welfare recipients in neoliberalism, and under conditions of austerity .

Daniel Edmiston's research takes its place in a field of study investigating the effects of what he terms a 'renewed intensification of welfare conditionality [occurring alongside] a new sanctions regime that suspends or reduces benefits if work-related and 'social' obligations are not met' (2017, 317; see also Wacquant 2009; Woolford and Nelund 2013; Watts *et al.* 2014; Wright 2016). Recent decades, Edmiston argues, have seen liberal welfare regimes 'pursue a strategy of welfare reform that has commodified the rights and status of social citizenship' (ibid., 315), leading not only to restrictions on individual freedoms (for example, as welfare recipients are forced to provide evidence of having completed job applications in

exchange for services in theory guaranteed them by virtue of citizenship), but further to 'the conditioning of welfare subjects' (ibid, 317); individuals who, in Woolford and Nelund's terms feel obligated to 'perform neoliberal citizenship' in order to access support (2013, 292).

On the basis of interviews conducted with welfare recipients, Edmiston depicts an environment in which:

> Despite fulfilling newly introduced conditions and requirements, many felt that their entitlements were regularly brought into question by welfare agency staff. This caused a great deal of stress and anxiety for respondents and, at times, undermined their sense of self-worth. […] In order to safeguard their social assistance, some of these individuals regulated their behaviour and reactions whilst engaging with agency staff. These individuals expressed anger and resentment at having to resort to such strategies, but also feared the removal of benefits if they did not conform to a behavioural expectation of deference. (2017, 320)

Approaching this problem from the opposite angle, meanwhile, (from the other side of the bureaucrat's desk, as it were), Edmiston's findings are given credence by research undertaken by Sarah Alden (2015a, 2015b) into frontline decision-making practices in the delivery of welfare services. In surveys and interviews carried out with housing options staff at Local Authority Housing Association Services in North East England, Alden encountered a 'perennially lean service' in which 'the recent austerity agenda and corresponding rise in households at threat of homelessness mean resources are stretched to the limit' (2015b, 2). She suggests that the pressure to operate within restricted budgets has led to staff employing their own discretion in respectively (and contrary to correct procedure) prioritising, delaying, or refusing particular applications for support.

Following Lipsky (1980) Alden's analysis highlights two critical behaviours – 'service rationing' and 'client differentiation' - that can lead to homeless applicants for housing support being wrongly turned away. Alden notes that:

> During the interviews practitioners in many cases saw their role as being to protect limited resources, with a few acknowledging that service users could expect differing treatment due to limited time and budget. (2015a, 8)

> '[A] significant minority' of staff 'readily disclosed that they had resorted to actively impeding homelessness presentations', largely in order to meet internal targets on housing referrals. Thus Alden (ibid., 9) quotes a respondent who conceded that:

In the last authority nobody was allowed to be homeless, it was basically a bit of competition between us, the officers, I remember one officer boasting that she hadn't taken a homeless application for months…

And there was a correlation, Alden found, between those authorities suffering the greatest funding cuts and those in which officers were most likely to reach adverse decisions in individual housing cases. It was in these contexts that processes of differentiation came to the fore. Here:

Stereotypical frames of reference were in evidence in all but a few of the interviews; practitioners admitted that their opinion of particular service users would be based around their own worldview, life experiences, and personal values.

(Ibid.)

Officers interviewed by Alden noted that, often, the likelihood of an individual homeless presentation being accepted could come down to a simple 'difference of opinion' between colleagues. Thus, in one case, where a woman fleeing domestic violence was at first refused housing before months later being offered emergency accommodation, a dispute between two officers' respective interpretations of the situation centred on their willingness to believe the woman's pleas. As she explains:

The interviewee argued that the original officer was incorrect to initially send the service user away:

When I came out of that interview, there is no way that I think that women is lying, I believed she was genuinely genuinely fearful of going back . . . when I came out the worker went to me, the other worker she kind of said: 'right, has she been lying again', and I just thought, I just wouldn't of thought she was lying, I just kind of thought hmmmmm . . .

If Alden's analysis of behavioural patterns among street level bureaucrats appears at times to be rather damning, she nevertheless conveys considerable sympathy for the challenges faced by those charged with delivering services for homeless people. As a counterpoint to the evidence she presents of individual staff overstepping the limits of their formal roles in policing access to state resources, Alden notes that many of her interviewees 'expressed […] a fatalist outlook; policy happened to them, and there was nothing they could do to prevent whichever trajectory the Government chose to pursue' (ibid,, 68).

In this light, focusing on the extent to which officers find their best intentions to provide support frustrated by policy, it is instructive to consider an account given by whistle-blower Joanne Huggins and published by the Guardian in mid-2018, wherein she reflected on her direct experiences of processing housing applications under the auspices of the UK's new 'Universal Credit' welfare payments system (Butler 2018).

Working as an operative in a call centre fielding housing and other welfare enquiries, Huggins described having to 'block or deflect vulnerable claimants', commenting that this was a "heart-breaking" experience:

> It felt like these were not people that you serve, not customers, not important, but people who get in the way of what you are trying to do, which was to hit call targets […] It was more about getting the person off the phone, not helping.

Constrained, in one respect, by a professional culture and political climate that privileged quantity over quality in evaluating service delivery, Huggins suggested that welfare claimants' access to support was otherwise frequently impeded by structural failings that saw individuals passed back and forth between different arms of the welfare system (from Jobcentre, to call centre, to keyworker) as well as by inconsistencies in the ways in which those various agents interpreted the law and their duties within it. There was, as she described it, 'a massive variation in understanding between agents, teams and especially service centres, meaning that claimants can call three times in a row and get three different answers to a query' (ibid.).

One final example I will discuss in this context offers both a striking illustration of the problems I am working to describe here, and, importantly, an example of the way in which socially engaged arts and heritage practice might help to raise awareness of the structural conditions that so often exacerbate problems like homelessness. *Frequently Asked Questions* (see Hudak n.d.) is an on-going project by Anthony Luvera and Gerald Mclaverty, which (drawing on the latter's direct experience of homelessness) explores the situation of vulnerable rough sleepers seeking support from local authorities to address some of their most basic needs. Presented at Tate Liverpool in January 2018, the work comprised a simple office ring-binder stuffed full of (non-)replies received from 61 council authorities in response to an email from Mclaverty, which, having explained that he was homeless and had no money, asked:

Where can I go for something to eat and drink?
Where can I find shelter when it is raining or snowing?
Where can I go to the toilet during the day?
Where can I go to the toilet during the night?
Where can I get a bath or a shower?
Where can I get clothes, footwear and a blanket?
Where can I sleep during the night that is safe?
Where can I go to use a computer?
Where can I go to use a telephone?
Where can I go to see a doctor?
Where can I go to see a dentist?

In undertaking to contact each of the 61 councils surveyed in the project, Luvera and Mclaverty made sure to direct their enquiries to specific departments tasked with providing housing support. Further, when met with an automatic reply stipulating that they would be re-contacted by a member of staff within a defined period of time, they allowed that period to elapse before recording a non-reply. Despite this, however, their combined efforts yielded only five responses.

Figure 11 Visitor's viewing Luvera and Mclaverty's FAQ installation at an MoH State of the Nation event at Tate Liverpool. Courtesy of Anthony Luvera.

Reflecting on the findings of studies carried out by Alden and Edmiston, as well as on the distinctive accounts of bureaucratic incompetence offered by Huggins, Luvera and Mclaverty, the extent to which these resonate with the experiences of Luca, Natalie and June recounted above seems clear to me, as does the case for treating of those experiences within a sonic/auditory heritage framework. In attempting to navigate everyday life, all three individuals find themselves drawn into historically conditioned processes and structures of speaking, listening, and falling silent.

In the context of government-mandated neoliberal austerity, both constraints on local housing and welfare budgets and the propagation of a discourse of responsible citizenship, push street-level bureaucrats to limit service provision and to exercise their own discretion in discerning between the 'deserving' and 'underserving' poor. Labyrinthine communications systems re-route urgent requests for information and support via automated answering systems that build in delays and diminish claimants' agency to pursue or escalate their enquiries. Finally, faced with a system, which, while it may act inconsistently, nevertheless offers the sole, legal route to future stability, those applying for support may come to feel obliged to perform 'good' citizenship in order to enhance their chances of being granted assistance. As such they bite their tongues, they answer politely, and they listen patiently to endless bureaucratic promises and excuses, many

of which they feel unable to believe, and which hence have the quality of meaningless noise. The neoliberal 'welfare subject', then, is one whose voice is strangled, whose body is straightened respectfully, and whose ears must endure the least feeling and most empty of discourses.

6.3   REPRESENTATION: TO WHAT END?

Amid the last months of my time spent volunteering and observing life at the shelter, one of the final formal steps I took to gather data was to conduct interviews both with Toby, the director of the advertisement filmed on site that I referenced earlier, and again with Caroline, who was happy to discuss with me how the filming process came about. As I draw my discussion of *Our Sounds* and my first engagement with homelessness to a close here, those conversations offer a helpful way of reframing and reflecting back on the direction the project took, the value of its end product, and the process it entailed.

For Caroline, granting the film crew access to the shelter had been a decision she had taken only very reluctantly. Unwilling to place guests' lives on public display for the reasons discussed above, her preference was to 'show nothing' she said. Nevertheless, economic reality dictates that the shelter seriously consider any outside proposal that might boost its revenue. A key reason for Caroline abjuring government funding was a wish to avoid the obligations such income brings with it. She described another charity nearby that did receive state funds, and how one condition of that support was a commitment to assist the Home Office in deporting homeless foreign nationals, both by sharing information about individuals with the civil service, and by allowing border control agents to accompany street teams on their tours of rough sleeping hotspots: a form of invasion and surveillance that Caroline would not countenance (see Taylor 2017b). 'You can get money,' she said, 'but then you have to comply with it. You know, he who pays the piper plays the tune'. In this context, while it was unpleasant to have to subject guests to the process of filming and interviews that took place in the shelter, the financial rewards (enough to cover a quarter of annual staff costs) were so significant as to demand compromise.

As with my own research, a fundamental condition placed on the visiting film crew was that the shelter's management would have editorial control over the shape the advertisement took and how it represented homelessness. And immediately, Caroline found, this caused tension. Initially, the agency behind the project had come up with two proposals – one a cartoon of 'a geezer with a dog and knapsack' ('they came with the storyboards and everything', Caroline explained, 'and they were so happy with it. I thought the drawings were shit personally, but anyway…'), and the other a highly romanticised film piece, based on work that Toby had done in Greece; again 'an old guy with a stick and this awful mournful music'. In both cases, however, the representation of homelessness implied by the proposals fell well short of Caroline's hopes and expectations:

> You just think: *Fuck!* You know this notion of this doughty gent of the road, "Gawd blimey, strike a light!". No! No. And they were really non-plussed as to why... and that

was my point to them, was that... "Oh well, we only want to represent it in the light that… in a good light." And I said "Well, with respect, you don't necessarily know what a good light is." […] We were so close to telling them to fuck off with their [money], but it's half of a wage for a year, and maybe someone will see us and give us a bit of money, because, you know… that sort of traffic does….

When it came to my conversation with Toby, of course, he took a different view on the format he had proposed for the advert, and he was candid, too, about the constraints that he faced in working with his multinational client firm. 'There were lots of problems with it… from how the company was viewing the whole thing', he said. Crucially, here, as he put it, 'they kind of didn't want very much misery; they wanted sort of uplifting.' And, indeed, this was a position that Toby felt able to defend, albeit with some qualification concerning how the images of homelessness his client had briefed him to create differed from his own ambitions in documenting the problem:

> The thing about these things is, you know, it is a good thing that these companies do these things. I'd prefer they do this than some meaningless piece of shit with a celebrity in a fake studio, do you know what I mean? If you add it up, the more real projects they can do, the better it is, irrespective of their motives. But generally, if they're gonna do something like this then their motives are not in question. But it's their capability to follow through on the idea, that's the problem, because they're not set up for it. They're set up to do… to make things and to sell things and to tell people how great they are. They're not set up to help homeless people.

Toby told me about other adverts the same client company had filmed about homelessness; examples showcasing miraculous reversals of fortune or instances of easily relatable charity. 'They loved that,' he said…

> because we didn't need to see the kind of the grime and the grittiness and the misery, which is difficult for a big brand to take on board… They don't… That's not what they do, that is not what they sell. They don't sell misery. They sell solutions. And that is their business.

In the end, the advert Toby and his team shot was a thoroughly anodyne affair. Scheduled as per prevailing norms to launch at Christmas, it centred on a series of soundbites provided by Caroline and some of the male guests (women, he explained, had been reluctant to talk to him), and a few cheery shots of volunteers serving food and guests tucking in. Cut to a melancholy piano soundtrack, the snatches of speech excerpted from guests' interviews emphasised their feelings of gratitude towards the shelter and said nothing of their material circumstances or pasts. I asked Toby what light he had wanted to show homelessness in, and what effect he hoped to have on his audience: 'heroic', he said, 'human', and 'beautiful'. And he stressed that,

to him, television commercials required a certain subtlety; a process of 'sneaking some stuff in' via 'accepted channels':

> That's how humans, how we digest information: through accepted channels. Unless you're like me, looking for something you've never seen before, you're actively seeking out experiences where, you know, everything is totally new, the majority of people are incredibly conservative. […] I think there's a way that we teach ourselves to receive information, that means that a lot of people find it very frightening when it's outside of those norms and channels.

To make an impact on general consciousness, he felt, you had to meet the public halfway; in contexts and via media they were familiar with, and with messages that accorded broadly speaking with their pre-existing understanding of and appetite for difficult subjects: poverty, suffering, deprivation. And, in the end, this was what underpinned his faith in the power of advertising. In a context in which, he said, 'some companies are more progressive and more caring than governments'…

> […] that is the most effective way of elevating this sort of thing. These are TV commercials which are going to be seen across Europe, featuring homeless people. Now, you're making people feel warm and fuzzy about homeless people, making people care about homeless people. There's no other way of doing that, unless you do it through the ad agency.

If the conclusions he drew about his work and the ways in which he justified mobilising highly sanitised images of homelessness to boost the sales of a global corporation were to me unconvincing, and if the warmth and fuzziness he aimed to generate in his audience seemed no substitute for critical understanding of the issue, then at least, at the very end of our conversation, Toby succeeded in turning the tables on me. 'You're trying to do exactly the same thing as I'm doing,' he said, 'which is to get an organisation which is not designed or set up to talk about social issues, but which has the resources, to start becoming more socially active.' Here, of course, he was quite correct. Unlike Toby, however, I struggled increasingly to see the links between the process of research I had set in train at the shelter and social change. The group I had drawn together for *Our Sounds* were happy and willing to gather, to drink tea, to chat, and to contribute views on the themes I had proposed. To an extent, and for as long as guests remained at the shelter, the project helped to grow and cement a certain warmth and depth in our relationships. It was a basis for approaching the kitchen, leaning over the countertop, and catching up, and a means of passing time and meeting others in a context of intense social atomisation, and often loneliness and vulnerability.

As a process of counter mapping, the project could be read in varying ways. In one respect, in terms of my own aim to complicate prevalent conceptualisations and treatments of sound as heritage, my time at the shelter raised the important issue of bureaucracy – inviting me to pay closer attention to social processes of

186

listening and neglect, and suggesting new contexts within which, and scales at which to listen to, map, and represent contemporary society. Further, in this regard, for potential audiences within heritage practice and scholarship, the process made visible the kinds of alternative sensory knowledge about homelessness and society more broadly that may be accessible through collaborative work. Substantially, however, as a form of critical cartography, *Our Sounds* responded neither to a clear and relevant audience, nor to a community for whom the project could have any lasting meaning and relevance.

In his writing on counter mapping, Cohen (2017, 10-11) privileges as an objective the development of what he terms the 'cartographic commons'. Equally as important as re-centring marginalised experiences in social and cultural geography, challenging the erasure and decontextualization of structural injustices, and deconstructing normative representations of social life, is the 'creation of a community of mapping practice', and of 'a framework for sustaining [that] practice [...] through [for example] work in schools, youth projects and community centres', based on the elaboration and maintenance of 'a common ground of reflexivity and critical understanding'. At the shelter I found, the natural flow and flux of individuals leading transient lives (the endless reconfiguration of the crowd - an intensified expression of the broader atomisation of social and cultural life in the modern urban everyday), as well as my own prevarication and failure effectively to plan outputs, militated against the creation of a strong or durable community of practice. With each guest that departed the shelter, with each exit from project, I felt a palpable dissipation and squandering of our collective energies. That my research ended with the production of the above – to me it seems very thin - descriptive account reflects what the project had become: largely an extractive process, the most immediate outputs of which are destined only for a sideshow afterlife in the marginal, entropic, multiply fragmented and channelled environment of academic heritage discourse. Noise wrought of noise, finally, was the product of *Our Sounds.*
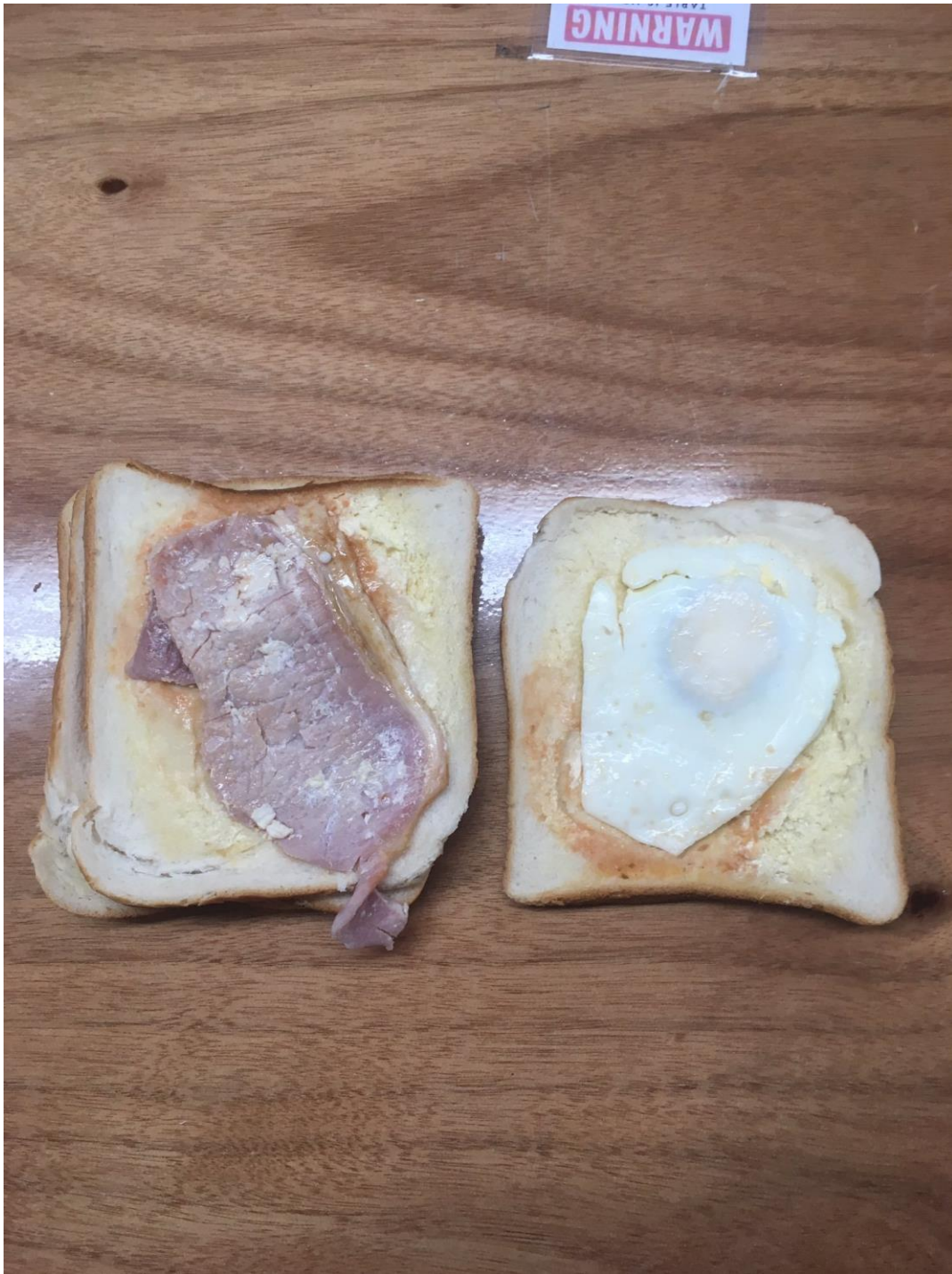
Figure 12 A bacon and egg sandwich, photographed at This Noise Matters. Photograph courtesy of Matt Turtle

7   THIS NOISE MATTERS AT THE MUSEUM OF HOMELESSNESS

Drawing together several of the threads of auditory description and interpretation developed in the previous chapter, I might reflect that, in spite of its documented limitations, the work I undertook at the shelter contributed to the crafting of a partial typology of certain sounds and forms of listening associated with homelessness; or, more accurately, a typology of the kinds of sounds and listening that pervade contemporary urban life generally, but which people experiencing homelessness seem more liable than others to encounter regularly; in Marcus's (2003, 140) above-cited terms, the 'revealed darker side of the everyday life of our own culture'. These are the sounds of displacement, social atomisation and arrhythmia, makeshift architectures, spiritual and technological self-maintenance, and bureaucratic disregard of a form promoted by the logics of entrepreneurial, neoliberal capitalism.

As well as enriching my own indirect understanding of certain aspects of particular experiences of being homeless, my developing grasp on that strange yet ordinary repertoire of sounds also reinforced my understanding both of the limits of prevailing archival approaches to creating sonic and auditory heritage (the need to wrest narrative from the noise of everyday life; to value the relational as much as the material in apprehending the auditory world; and to enliven straight recordings of the sonic with commentary, feeling, an account of sounds' social resonance); and of the possibilities of listening, broadly, as a potentially disruptive method and form of knowledge production. For all that many of the logistical and notionally democratising aspects of my shelter research had gone awry, still, the thoughts of Maria's imperfect library forecourt silence, June's anger in the face of well-meaning counsellors' interrogation and advice, and even Jim's endured / imagined prison screams would linger with me, possessing a potency that perhaps unsettles familiar images and tropes of homelessness.

In mid-2017, looking to build on the lessons I had learned from *Our Sounds*, I embarked upon the process of planning a further response to the issue of homelessness, this time determining both to connect more robustly with existing communities of practice, and to take on greater responsibility for the form the work would take, and the products it would generate. In terms of trying to fulfil the first of those two objectives, I made enquiries in two different directions simultaneously, in each case looking in effect to find shelter and a home for my own research within organisations already seeking independently to develop and mobilise forms of cultural activism in response to the issue of homelessness – to mitigate to whatever extent possible the noise of communicative capitalism by yoking my own efforts to others'.

The first such organisation was Cardboard Citizens (CC), a theatre company that has been working with people with lived experience of homelessness since 1991, deploying Augusto Boal's (2001 [1979]) practice of the 'Theatre of the Oppressed' to retell and make public their stories. After lodging an initial enquiry about collaborating with CC, I was invited to work with staff to develop a project. Given constraints on the organisation's programme and scheduling, however, it was suggested initially that I might most productively partner with another researcher, Reynaldo Young, whose work also engaged with sound. For

a number of years Rey had been organising free improvisation workshops for CC members under the banner 'Noise of the Oppressed' (see Young 2014), and for several weeks I attended his sessions, participating in rehearsals leading up to the development of a public show.

These were fascinating meetings, with a dozen or more group members gathering together to experiment with a variegated array of percussion instruments, saws and bows; exercises in mass improvisation shaped by Rey's thoughtful interventions; invocations to listen and respond more consciously and deliberately to one another, and to embrace the possibility of silencing our own instruments, the better to make space for others'. In the course of one particularly notable evening, he stopped the group mid-swing to deliver a far sharper lesson. As one group member hammering a steady 4/4 beat out of a bass drum succeeded in drawing the rest of us into his rhythm, Rey intervened. The desire to synchronise in this way, to come together, he said, was understandable; but we ought to be careful (and here I paraphrase) – for, to his ears, the sound of such a persuasive and dominating rhythm could equally well be understood as an expression of community, ritual and togetherness, or, no less, as the very sound of totalitarianism made musical; the thrill of collective action counterpoised against the danger of a herd mentality (see also Grass 2009 [1959], ch. 9 - 'The Grandstand').

In the end, although lessons of this kind would help me further to problematise notions of participation, community, dialogue and listening as these applied in my own work and in heritage practice more broadly, a partnership with Rey proved to be impractical. While he had proposed that the use of field recordings added to the improvised mix might add valuable other textures to the overall composition being developed by the group, for my purposes I felt that the notion of literally instrumentalising everyday sounds in a musical context ran against the grain of my own intent to foreground verbal interpretations of auditory experience. As such, Rey and I went our separate ways on good terms, and, as noted earlier, I launched instead into a collaboration of a different kind with the Museum of Homelessness (henceforth MoH).

Through the remainder of this chapter, leading into some concluding remarks in the next, my purpose will to be discuss the form my work with MoH took (in particular in terms of how it responded to the failings of *Our Sounds*), the outcomes of that phase of my research, and again what can be learned from it both in terms of my overarching concern with questions of heritage, participation and social justice, and as a form of counter mapping. In addition to that discussion, and in lieu of any further ethnographic or thick description by my own hand, I will also present - as an audio component in the thesis - the recording that, as I noted above, was the project's main material output, and which now exists as a part of MoH's online archive and collection. In taking that step, as well as heeding the calls of scholars including Feld (1987, and see Feld and Brenneis 2004), Gallagher and Prior (2014) and Waldock (2016) who have argued for greater experimentation with sonic methods of research production and dissemination in addressing the auditory (a limited turn away from the ultimately silencing conventions of textual reporting), I aim also to make space for workshop participants' voices to be heard directly through my research.

7.1   THE MUSEUM OF HOMELESSNESS

Founded by Jess and Matt Turtle in mid-2015, MoH describes itself as a 'community driven social justice museum, created and run by people with direct experience of homelessness' (Museum of Homelessness 2019a). The Museum, again in its own words, 'tackles homelessness and housing inequality by amplifying the voices of its community through research, events, workshops, campaigns and exhibitions' (ibid.). Guided by a small and organically evolving "core group" of members, most of whom have lived experience of being homeless, it aims to 'collect and share the art, history and culture of homelessness and housing inequality to change society for the better'. As Matt put it to me in the course of an interview I conducted with him around the fringes of my research there, MoH has 'always been a museum which has taken a stance on things'. For, he added, 'I don't think you can be a museum of homelessness and not have a strong emphasis on social justice'.

With a small team and as yet no permanent site of its own, MoH relies extensively on partnership working, and accordingly the museum's first four years have seen its outputs take a markedly diverse range of forms, always adhering and responding to an internally-defined three-part 'Theory of Change' directed to (i) empowering individuals; (ii) influencing institutions, and (iii) increasing public awareness and understanding of homelessness (see Museum of Homelessness 2018, 8-10). The first main tangible product of this approach was a co-created exhibition funded by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation to mark the twentieth anniversary of the homelessness charity and lived experience advocacy group Groundswell. Subsequent exhibitions have included two 'State of the Nation' shows, hosted respectively by the Tate Modern and Tate Liverpool galleries (mixed format endeavours combining elements of installation with public talks, workshops and discussions[42]), two further co-curated archival displays, both entitled 'This Stuff Matters' - held at Islington Central Library and in the crypt beneath St Martin in the Fields church off Trafalgar Square, and 'Objectified' – an interactive exhibition designed to explore the cognitive science behind processes of dehumanisation, part-funded by and developed in collaboration with the Wellcome Trust, and hosted at Manchester Art Gallery. Since April 2019, firmly underscoring the activist nature of its work, MoH has taken on stewardship of the 'Dying Homeless' project – an initiative begun by the non-profit Bureau of Investigative Journalism to collect data, share stories about, and commemorate the more than 800 people who have died whilst homeless in the UK since October 2017 (Museum of Homelessness 2019b). Further, meanwhile, in early 2018 – having begun to engage in more direct forms of protest (e.g. organising a vigil at Downing Street to highlight the issue of deaths on the streets), the Museum launched its 'Catalyst' programme; a month-long training initiative designed to support the individuals involved to develop their skills as creative campaigners.

---

[42] Thus, the Tate Liverpool edition of State of the Nation which I was fortunate to be able to visit comprised varying exhibits, including the aforementioned works produced by Gerald McLaverty, Anthony Luvera, and David Tovey, but also featured workshops run by groups including a Manchester-based squatters' collective.

Figure 13: Displays at MoH's second This Stuff Matters exhibition at St Martin in the Fields church. Author's photograph.

In terms of the progression of my own research, I was exceptionally fortunate to find in Matt, Jess, and the MoH community more broadly, a team that was not only prepared to take on and invest time in the risk of an experimental collaboration with me at a critical point in my studies, but which, moreover, on the strength of its own extensive research, had already devised and begun to build a practice and network dedicated to exploring and communicating homelessness in terms of social justice, and through a museological framework. In the first of its two 'This Stuff Matters' exhibitions at Islington Central Library, the MoH core group had worked with materials related to homelessness collected in the archive of the Simon Community, a grassroots 'live and work' community for people affected by homelessness founded in 1963. Through a supported research process, members worked to select from the archive various documents (press clippings, photographs, reports, poems and so on) related to homelessness that they considered to be

of particular personal or contemporary social relevance, and to add to these their own interpretations, contributing to the creation of a polyvocal community display. Taking this format as a rough model, it was agreed that MoH and I might work together to achieve a somewhat similar outcome. Instead of delving into a formal pre-existing archive, however, *This Noise Matters* (as the project came to be known) would echo my earlier research in adopting everyday soundscapes as a form of ambient archival resource awaiting exploration and participant interpretation. Prior to beginning any detailed planning, this proposal was presented by Matt to the Museum's core group for consideration at one of its monthly meetings. Subsequently, once the idea of pursuing the project had been approved by the group, Matt, Jess and I began the process of collectively refining its aims, defining an appropriate format, and settling on logistics.

7.2   PROCESS: OUTLINE

To begin again by explaining *This Noise Matters* in the simplest possible terms, the project took the form of a half-day long group workshop with twelve attendees. Of these, several of the group including Jess and Matt were members of the MoH core group. The remaining attendees were members of the public who had responded to materials circulated online to publicise the event. Straddling the Saturday morning and early afternoon of the Spring bank holiday weekend, the workshop was divided into four sections. Following an initial explanation of the day's programme, the circulation, discussion and signing of consent forms, and a round of introductions, I then led the group in a series of preparatory exercises designed to ground and open up discussion about the themes of sound and listening, and to explain and demonstrate an analytical framework for describing and thinking about particular sounds (see 7.3.2).

This session led into a silent listening walk, tracing a circular route centred on the Old Diorama Theatre in Central London – an organisation MoH has worked with previously and which was generous in providing us free of charge a large rehearsal space in which to work for the day. Here, as well as providing a means of escaping the windowless indoor space, getting some air and re-energising the group part way through the day, the walk also served the purpose of situating our developing discussion relative to a collective experience of an exemplar urban soundscape. Working within the limits of the local (i.e. walkable) environment, I planned our path to cut through housing estates and courtyards (cloistered, resonant with bird song and the sounds of DIY and cleaning on that sleepy Saturday), a nearby supermarket (filled again with the voices of self-service automata), main roads and backstreets, the underpass at Euston Square underground station (ticket gates slamming, travellers hurrying off to their varied destinations), and certain of the potted green spaces – squares and gardens – that dot Bloomsbury, over to the west of Tottenham Court Road.

In the final and longest portion of the workshop, following a break, the group split into smaller clusters of three, with each attendee then given the opportunity to donate a sound of their choosing to the museum. These donations took the form of verbal descriptions and reflections on a particular sound, guided by the above-mentioned framework, with participants taking it in turns to record each other's contributions. At

the conclusion of the workshop, I collected those recordings, reviewed their content, and then – over a period of several weeks - used the opensource editing package Audacity to organise excerpts of participants' contributions into a short audio piece. As well as attempting to shape the collected fragments of conversation produced through the workshop into a loosely coherent narrative form (grouping contributions to the greatest extent possible by theme), I also worked through this process to mix into the piece and layer a selection of relevant sound effects. Several of the recordings used here I produced myself; others were sourced either directly from workshop participants after the event, or from open access archives of the kind typically used and populated by radio and television producers and musicians – namely freesound.org, and the recently digitised BBC Sound Effects archive.

Having completed production of the *This Noise Matters* recording by mid-summer, the next stage in the project process was to circulate the piece to those who had been present at the workshop. Here, aiming again after Feld to facilitate a process of dialogic editing, attendees were given three months in all to raise comments or concerns about the piece, or to make suggestions for edits; and they were also asked to consent to the recording being placed online as a part of the MoH collection and archive. Following standard procedures in place at the Museum, this consent was given in each case on an object loan basis. At any point in the future, individuals featured in the recording can exercise the right to withdraw their contribution from it. In this – so far, it would seem - unlikely event, the piece will be edited to remove specific sections, or alternately discarded altogether.

7.3   PROCESS: ADAPTATIONS

As noted above, the formal design of my collaboration with MoH responded in part to what I had come to understand as the main conceptual weaknesses and logistical challenges that had dogged the earlier *Our Sounds* project. The most basic differences here concerned the compression of the research timeframe, and the external imposition of a fixed, material project output in the form of a recording, running counter to my earlier desire absolutely to devolve and socialise decision making processes in my research. While to a certain extent the choice to condense *This Noise Matters* into a single workshop was one imposed by demands on the Museum's team and the relatively limited (but generously given) time and resources they could put into supporting the project, my previous experience of attempting to manage an extended research process in a context of extreme social fragmentation also argued in favour of a shorter format.

In terms of fixing in advance the end goal of the project meanwhile, I responded both pragmatically to the narrow time constraints placed on the project, and, too, to the challenge of aimlessness that had beset my work at the shelter. Discussing *This Noise Matters* with Matt, it became clear that he well understood both my concern to democratise (specific, bounded) research and curatorial processes, and the countervailing fear of proceeding without clear purpose. At MoH, he suggested:

[…] you're constantly trying to devolve power; you're constantly trying to not make decisions in a way, and sort of just seeing what comes up. And, of course you have to provide some kind of framework and template for people, otherwise you're in a sense - that can also be unethical - but there's this sort of tension there, you're working in that kind of space really.

For the purposes of *This Noise Matters,* with only limited time available to work in, the most logical approach to ensuring a productive and meaningful session appeared to me to be to offer participants a strong steer from the outset, highlighting the potentials of what to many is an unfamiliar combination of medium and method in sound and listening, and taking responsibility myself for demonstrating one tangible way in which auditory materials might prospectively be produced and shared. Contra Marwood and Johnston, then, for whom, as we have seen in Chapter 5, tangible outputs were considered a secondary and almost incidental product of research, I felt that committing to invite attendees to share knowledge about their lives required on my part an equal commitment to valuing and mobilising that knowledge as effectively as possible within project constraints.

Beyond the relatively straightforward, practical adjustments required by my shift to a condensed and more product-oriented model of participatory practice, two further changes to my research process at MoH were subtler in nature and warrant somewhat more detailed exploration at this stage. They concerned, first, the staging of the workshop as a public event, open also to those without lived experience of homelessness; and second the decision to develop and seek to share and apply a common research framework to guide participants' interpretation of sounds and everyday life more broadly. In addressing those two points in turn now, I will also unpack in greater depth the way in which the *This Noise Matters* workshop as a whole unfolded.

7.3.1   THE PUBLIC: A PROBLEM SHARED

Central both to the varied challenges I discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to participatory heritage practices, and to a good deal of the frustration I felt personally with regard to the *Our Sounds* project with which my enquiry into homelessness had begun, are questions of community, and by extension, of noise. How ought one to define the boundary lines of a given community to be engaged or represented through heritage practices? To what ends is community constructed, and how and with what force are members of specific, marginalised communities expected to act to improve their own situations? Finally, to what kinds of audience and with what aim in mind ought the outputs of any prospective community action be targeted?

Over each of these questions, the informational shadow of noise looms large. To define too narrowly a particular constituency is to veil the noise of the possible, to risk obscuring a view of the wider social

relations within which small groups and individuals are embedded[43]. Equally, to squander the energies of marginalised people by routing their stories through multiply fragmented, highly specialised and monetised, and often dead-end communications channels (a real possibility within critical heritage discourse, for example, wherein the articulation of 'alternative heritages' appears to have become a self-promulgating cottage industry – a talking shop, which legitimises and insulates 'official' heritage narratives against internal reform even as it contests them – see Chapter 3) is to risk succumbing to the noise of communicative capitalism.

Further, in the context of homelessness (as I had found at the shelter) to go looking for and expect to find community among people who have been serially displaced – solely on the strength of an externally developed and imposed understanding of a particular group's shared grievance, suffering, and identity, could easily be to misrecognise community, to invent community where none exists, and ultimately as such, to invest undue and unfair hope in community action arising from a context of severe social atomisation. In essence, expecting 'homeless people' brought together for the purposes of participatory practice spontaneously to arrive together at a cohesive and exclusive group identity and divert the sum of their energies to collective action - to ask them to stand alone in a shared act of representation solely by virtue of mutual hardship – is to replicate and promulgate a part of the founding logic of entrepreneurial neoliberalism: that the poor and the marginalised must serve themselves, be their own voice, and fight their own battles.

By this understanding, finally, I came to feel that working exclusively with people with lived experience of homelessness to represent the issue was a highly limited, if not also a regressive strategy. Over-reliance on homeless people themselves to generate the materials that speak to and resist the conditions of their marginalisation becomes a way of relieving non-, less- (or at least, differently) marginalised others from shouldering a part of the burden of representation and action. As such, and in attempting, quite simply, to articulate homelessness as a shared problem - an aspect and product of our common everyday life writ large - *This Noise Matters* would be a public event. It would invite responses to the issue from all those who wanted or felt able to speak to homelessness, regardless the extent and nature of their experience of it. And it would reflect the aspiration to develop a representation and interpretation of homelessness that synthesised (to the greatest extent possible) traces of the vulnerability, complicity, care, ambivalence,

---

[43] Thus, in their analysis of the photographic portrayal of people experiencing homelessness in charitable advertising campaigns, Johan Andersson and Gill Valentine (2015, 71) note the prevalence of a carefully framed and tightly cropped portraiture style: lone individuals shot against white backdrops or bare brick. This 'emphasis on individualised stories and individual suffering is not coincidental,' they write, 'but rather a necessity in material produced […] to appeal to the maximum number of potential donors', constraints which dictate, for example, that '[pictures] of families being evicted from their homes […] could not be shown in coffee-table books in the offices of banks or on the walls of an upmarket estate agent.' Overall, individualised portrayals of homelessness present those affected by the issue as being 'devoid of any political or economic context':

> The white walls, which uniformly function as background […] work as a blank canvas in which a specific social problem is dehistoricised and decontextualised. Furthermore, even when the pictures are benign and appeal to the viewer's compassion, the persistent detachment of homeless people's lives from labour and housing markets feeds the broader notion of unproductive homeless people as a threat to the wealth of society.

helplessness (etc.) experienced and exhibited by those who are not directly affected by homelessness (but who are entangled inevitably in the society that produces it) with testimonies of those who do know homelessness personally and have lived through it.

In concrete terms, of course, it is one thing to aspire to create a context for a polyvocal, multi-perspectival discussion of homelessness engaging the whole of the shared substance of everyday life, and quite another to achieve the feat in practice. Though I might have speculated as to the possible benefits of bringing together, for example, welfare officers, land-banking property traders, politicians and police officers, all to discuss the sounds of homelessness (their experiences of, responses to, and agency in reproducing homeless soundscapes), the reality of the *This Noise Matters* workshop was shaped and constrained – as had been the British Library/National Trust project *Sounds of our Shores* in its own way – by the tangible limits of my own and MoH's communications networks, and by the limited appeal of the event.

Free to book and attend, the workshop was publicised initially via an email sent out to the Museum's existing mass of friends and supporters, and to those who have registered for updates on its website. After that initial call had prompted only a handful of sign ups, however, and with time before the day of the event running short, I was forced into a second effort to drum up interest, resorting in this regard – rather ironically - to that noisiest of all social media platforms: Twitter. Tweets requesting retweets, dispatched to homelessness charities, to sound archives, to individual radio producers, and museum and heritage junkies; in short to those people and organisations, whom I suspected would already be sympathetic and receptive to the project, and crucially with whom I already shared some personal or professional interest or connection (however tenuous). In the realm of Twitter the radical possibility of communicating directly with any of its 126 million users spread worldwide is undermined both by the difficulty of knowing to whom one might most productively address a targeted appeal, and – contrastingly – by the futility of firing off general broadcast messages, fully aware of the odds against them ever meeting with interested eyes amid a torrent of other information.

Figure 14: Personal tweets advertising This Noise Matters, screenshot from source

On the one hand, then, that *This Noise Matters* assembled a group of highly energised strangers with varying degrees of direct experience of homelessness (from none, to all too much) to exchange perspectives on

197

sound and social marginalisation represented a successful evolution of my practice as I understood it. On the other hand, however, that that group was comprised almost entirely of politically active, left-leaning sound recordists, radio and heritage professionals, and members of the MoH core group, reflected a truism recently articulated by archaeologist John Carman (2011, 499-500). Namely:

> […] that in conducting [in Carman's context] public archaeology (whether we call it 'outreach' or 'community participation' or 'democratic archaeology' […]) we are always and inevitably - and despite any desire to the contrary - dealing with people like ourselves. This of course is neither what we imagine we are doing nor what we would prefer to do: what we intend is to 'reach out' to those who otherwise do not have access to us and our work. But in the end all we can do it talk to those who already speak in our language and share our values. Moreover, and equally inevitably, the process by which we create the community with which we engage is grounded not in processes of inclusion (which we would like) but in processes of exclusion.

7.3.2   A COMMON FRAME: CODING THE ARCHIVE

Turning to the second significant evolution *This Noise Matters* marked in my research process relative to *Our Sounds* (and holding in check for now both a further discussion of issues pertaining to community, and a response to Carman's seeming pessimism), I come to the question of framing. Here, briefly, I sought to respond to two distinct practical and ethical challenges and concerns. The first related to the largely extractive nature of my work at the shelter, posing the problem of how (beyond offering a limited opportunity for relaxation, and creating material outputs destined to fight meekly for purchase in the chaos of the attention economy) my work at MoH could benefit and contribute to its community in the medium and long term.

The second, again touching upon the problem of noise, concerned the ways in which information is structured in archives (architecture and metadata), and how and what a prospective *This Noise Matters* archive might communicate to its audiences. Through my case study analysis of *Sounds of our Shores* above, I suggested that the specific socio-political content of the myriad, individual recordings submitted by contributors tended to be overridden by and instrumentalised within the overarching logic and discourse of the national map: scraps rendered subaltern to, and lent a kind of false coherence by, an imposed grand narrative. How might *This Noise Matters*, then, incorporating the positive lessons *SooS* had to offer in this regard, give a larger aggregate meaning and resonance to otherwise hegemonic fragments?

Writ large, my approach to confronting both of these challenges was to attempt to structure both the MoH workshop itself, and its resulting recording/archive, in terms of (i) a common critical framework, and (ii) a common object: the future. In the *Our Sounds* project, whilst my selection of tools and prompts to deploy in group meetings had been derived from a Lefebvrian understanding of space, time, the everyday, and the

possible, this was an understanding and a toolkit that I had, in its most abstract form, kept to myself; reserving it for the private labour of my own on-site observation, post-fieldwork analysis, and reporting. By contrast, in *This Noise Matters*, I determined to make explicit and share with participants and potential audiences alike something of my own specific critical perspective and analytical method. To this end, and side-lining Lefebvre in favour of a comparable writer whose ideas might be more easily digested within the constraints of a heavily time-restricted workshop, I turned to the work of his contemporary and sometime collaborator – the author, puzzle-maker, and crossword setter Georges Perec.

In his classic short essay *Approaches to What?* (2008 [1973], 209-11), Perec sets out an agenda for studying everyday life, anchored ultimately in a concern to understand and contest social inequality and injustice. Here - for alongside Lefebvre's output that one short paper has exerted a disproportionately large influence on my own approach to the everyday - I will quote at length:

> In our haste to measure the historic, significant and revelatory, [Perec writes] let's not leave aside the essential, the truly intolerable, the truly inadmissible. What is scandalous isn't the pit explosion, it's working in coalmines. 'Social problems' aren't 'a matter of concern' when there's a strike, they are intolerable twenty-four hours out of twenty-four, three hundred and sixty-five days a year. […]

> What's really going on, what we're experiencing, the rest, all the rest, where is it? How should we take account of, question, describe what happens every day and recurs every day: the banal, the quotidian, the obvious, the common, the ordinary, the infraordinary, the background noise, the habitual?'

> To question the habitual. But that's just it, we're habituated to it. We don't question it, it doesn't question us, it doesn't seem to pose a problem, we live it without thinking, as if it carried within it neither questions nor answers, as if it weren't the bearer of any information. This is no longer even conditioning, it's anaesthesia. We sleep through our lives in a dreamless sleep. But where is our life? Where is our body? Where is our space?

> How are we to speak of these 'common things', how to track them down rather, flush them out, wrest them from the dross in which they remain mired, how to give them a meaning, a tongue, to let them, finally, speak of what is, of what we are.

Coiled tightly into a few dense paragraphs, Perec's impassioned appeal offers a near mirror of Lefebvre's own concerns (albeit one which lacks the latter's explicit antipathy toward capitalist logics): a frustration and fascination with the varied forms of alienation that grip everyday consciousness, with daily rhythms, and the manifold contortions and humiliations they demand of and impose upon ordinary bodies.

Substantially, too, as an 'endotic' anthropology addressed to the familiar, Perec's method echoes Lefebvre's. Just as the latter finds whole worlds, power structures, systems of oppression and domination bound up, as we have seen, in the simple act of purchasing a bag of sugar, Perec fixes on the mundane detritus of quotidian existence and beseeches us to regard it all slowly, searchingly: 'Question your teaspoons.'; 'What is there under your wallpaper?'. If there is a truth to the everyday ('our truth'), he suggests, it will not be found in the exceptional, in history books alone, or in tabloid sensations, but in 'bricks, concrete, glass, our table manners, our utensils, our tools, the way we spend our time'.

In terms of applying Perec's thought in practice through the *This Noise Matters* workshop, I took several steps. The first was to begin the day with a brief discussion of his work, sharing with the group the quotations excerpted above, explaining how my own research and political convictions stemmed from and related to them, and using this as a basis for discussing together how one might encounter and work with everyday sounds as a resource in research and, potentially, in struggles for social justice.

Next, I extracted from Perec's essay a key passage summarising the mode of enquiry I proposed to adopt in the workshop:

> Make an inventory of your pockets, of your bag. Ask yourself about the provenance, the
> use, what will become of each of the objects you take out.

Within this modest instruction, I found, lay a neat summary of the impulses that underpin not only the aforementioned Lefebvrian logics of regression-progression and defamiliarisation, but also the counter cartographic project of presencing and elaborating other possible worlds, and, moreover, the work of heritage designation and management; investigating the past, and designing into the future. In addressing the everyday, but investing it consciously with a past, a present, a future, and a subject – a 'question of opening the everyday onto history' in Blanchot's (1987, 12) terms – Perec's work is profoundly utopian. It privileges imagination and favours the open question. To shape it to the interrogation of auditory experience, I proceeded simply by breaking down the three elements listed above in Perec's instruction – provenance, use, and becoming – and re-casting these as a set of eight short questions for the group to ask of the sounds we would discuss throughout the day (see fig. 15).
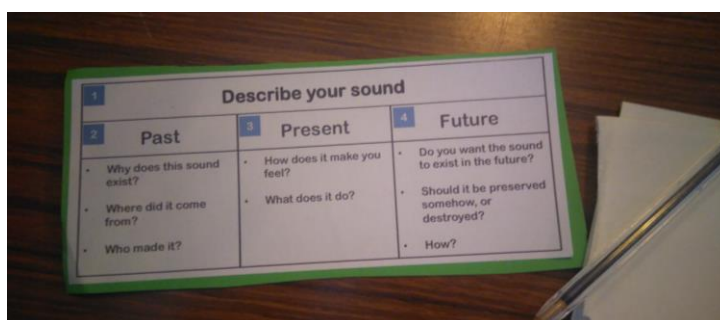

Figure 15: Primer for exploring sounds. Author's photographer.

When it came to the afternoon session of the workshop and the task of 'donating' sounds to the MoH archive, this was the schema that I proposed attendees adopt in describing and explaining their various contributions. Prior to that concluding part of the day, meanwhile – aiming both to put flesh on the bones of that rather abstract model, and to seed a range of different ideas about the potentially vast scope of an enquiry into the auditory – I used the framework as a means of analysing a series of exemplar sounds in two phases.

Firstly, individually, I presented a sound drawn from my own experience (a smoker's cough) to demonstrate the range of different connections and designs for a future society that might be drawn out from that sound and from my own desire not to have to listen to or produce it anymore (see fig. 16). To begin with, what was the history of such a cough? How did it come into being? The growth of tobacco? The greed of corporations that foist their noxious product on consumers regardless the known ill-effects? Personal weakness? Cursed Sir Walter Raleigh? Second, what did the cough do? What feelings did it evoke? Shame, guilt, fear for one's lungs and blood, an equal fear of being discovered by family members hitherto unaware of one's vice. Finally, how could the cough be destroyed? And would the task of destruction entail individual or collective action?

Albeit the example it departed from was arguably somewhat frivolous, the purpose of this exercise was to foreground the question of how the future could be re-made, and whose responsibility it was to see to it that change occurred. Most pressingly here, though it began from an essentially banal phenomenon, the example also suggested, on the one hand, that behind every event/object/phenomenon one might care to devote one's attention to lies a complex, multi-scalar history; and, on the other, that behind every individual step taken to remedy a given present found to be unfavourable lies the question of how far larger social structures might need to be navigated or reworked in order to achieve personal and collective goals.

Figure 16: Image assemblage visualising the past, present and future of a smoker's cough at This Noise Matter's workshop. Author's photograph.

In the second phase of this preliminary discussion, workshop attendees worked in small groups analysing a series of video clips I had selected in order to focus attention on the range of ways in which sounds and varied processes of listening might be bound up with and contribute to experiences of home and belonging, exchanges and flows of power, the production of social space, and so on.

Here, with time again in short supply, we spent the majority of a plenary discussion analysing three clips: (i) a recording of the two minute silence held regularly at the Cenotaph on Armistice Day; (ii) a video of the then Speaker of the UK House of Commons, John Bercow, bellowing at his colleagues for silence during Prime Minister's Questions, struggling to overcome the braying, hooting, and howling of members intent on drowning out one another's speech; and (iii) an excerpt from director Ken Loach's 2016 film *I, Daniel Blake* (a film grounded in Daniel Edmiston's and others' abovementioned research into welfare subjectivities, and loosely illustrative of a range of personal stories recounted to me during *Our Sounds*), in which a young woman struggles to communicate effectively with a series of welfare officers, who seem determined not to listen to her; either to her requests for help, or to her explanations for arriving late to an appointment – a misdemeanour for which she faces financial sanctions. Although regrettably I opted not to document fully this early stage of the workshop (limiting audio recording to the afternoon, and treating the morning as a prelude to group work, rather than a part of my own formal research process), the image opposite – capturing notes jotted down by a participant during the video session – gives a strong sense of the flavour and content of our discussion.
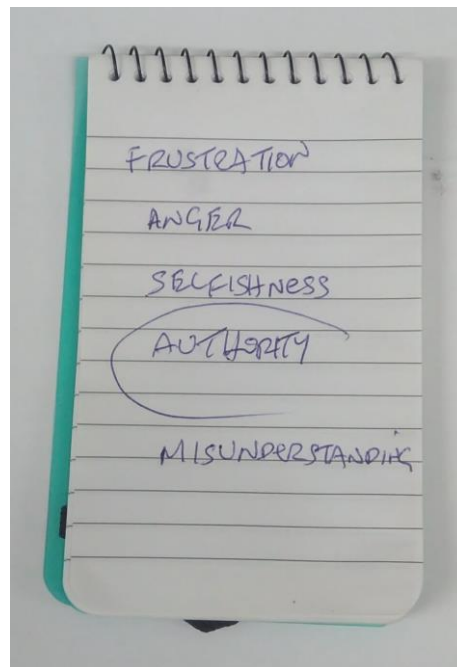

Figure 17 Workshop notes. Author's photograph.

Overall, as will become clear when a reader listens back to the *This Noise Matters* recording in a moment, my attempt to route the group's joint exploration of sound through the Perecian framework described above met with only a limited degree of success - and I shall have more to say about the outcomes of the process below. To conclude on this point, however, it seems important to make clear the rationale that led me to try to code a critical concern with the past, present and future – the origins, efficacies and destinies of everyday objects and experiences - *into the archive, into the recording itself* in this way. For by asking participants to structure their archival donations according to that same schema, my objective was clear: to seed and promulgate a series of questions, and a mode of perception, as much as to share a selection of sounds.

In *Sounds of our Shores*, as in my own earlier work in Stamford Hill, there appeared to me to be a grave risk that the re-presentation of traces of auditory life as heritage could lead to their being framed primarily

as anticipated memories; disorganised fragments and snippets of place and personal biography whose primary future lay in informing subsequent generations of historical researchers, or in fuelling a vague nostalgia to come. By contrast, in the making of *This Noise Matters,* I strived to find a way of presenting sounds that would position them as more than memories, and more than representations of homelessness. In the third volume of his *Critique of Everyday Life*, Lefebvre (2008b, 29) defines the goal of his sociology, and of his efforts towards revolution more broadly, in terms of the 'creation of a different everydayness'. For my purposes, sharing this goal, working with MoH, and structuring the workshop so as to foreground sounds' prospective futures (or the futures of the conditions of their production and reception) as much as their pasts and varying social resonances, I aimed precisely at training listeners in a specific mode of attention to the acoustic environment; a listening, that is, that would recognise the possibility of that environment's reshaping, and prompt reflection on the best means of achieving desired change. By design, then, *This Noise Matters* was intended to be a call to critical consideration, and ultimately to action, in the present for the future.

7.4   THIS NOISE MATTERS: AUDIO ESSAY

Having set out the essential process through which the recording was produced, I want to invite you now as a reader to take a brief moment (twenty-four minutes in all) to listen to *This Noise Matters*. The recording can be accessed in one of two ways; either via the pen drive enclosed with the printed thesis, or by navigating to the URL below, which links to the TNM project page as presented under the umbrella of MoH's online collection. At the bottom of the webpage can be found an embedded digital media player that allows a user to play back the recording: https://museumofhomelessness.org/collection-and-archive/noise-matters/ (see fig. 18, below).

Fundamentally here my purpose in sharing the recording rather than providing a written précis and analysis of its content is to provide a way into a world of sound as described directly by attendees at the MoH workshop. From a technical standpoint, as you will hear, the piece lacks a degree of refinement. Background buzzes and hisses born of recording in a variety of uncontrolled environments (different 'break out' spaces around the Old Diorama Theatre) drift in and out; and certainly, the work puts on display the limits to my skills as an editor. Notwithstanding these flaws, however, I consider that the recording offers more to a listener than my own mute description could to a reader. What it offers above all else, I would suggest, is access to a suite of voices.

As David Panagia (2009, 49, cf. Barthes 1981) writes, reflecting on what he terms 'the political life of sensation', 'a word is sound and sense. There is no neutral voice'. When we hear a voice, we are equally moved and informed by its weight or its lightness, and, as Lingis suggests, by its 'weariness and vulnerability' (1994, 32), its 'stammerings, mispronunciations, […] accents, [and] dysphonias' (ibid., 69). Staying with Lingis briefly, meanwhile, and returning again to the problem and promise of noise, I would suggest that what one is confronted most immediately by in the voice is *difference*. Wrestling with the

problem of informational noise in processes of communication – a metaphorical puzzle returned to time and again by so many of the thinkers that inform this research – a key challenge Lingis poses to his readers is to question the possibility, desirability, and furthermore the very nature of a perfect (i.e. unimpeded, unambiguous, noiseless) transferal of information:

> Entering into communication means extracting the message from its background noise and from *the noise that is internal to its message*. Communication is a struggle against interference and confusion. It is a struggle against the irrelevant and ambiguous signals which must be pushed back into the background, and against *the cacophony in the signals the interlocutors address to one another*.
>
> (Ibid., 70, my emphases).

The voice, then, in terms of the communication of meaning via language, might easily be construed as a form or source of noise: messy; impassioned, ambiguous; inconsistent; unreliable. Crucially, however - and repeating a key refrain throughout this thesis - the desire to eliminate noise tends always to obscure as much as it clarifies. And for Lingis, indeed, in a statement I take to be pointedly negative and cautionary:

> The maximal elimination of noise would produce successful communication among interlocutors themselves maximally interchangeable.
>
> (Ibid., 78)

While the desire for clarity is a familiar and an understandable one, it entails necessarily a certain lust for closure and uniformity. Perfect, noiseless communication between two indistinguishable human subjects can, in this sense perhaps, scarcely be considered communication at all, since it implies a lack of consequence; an *indifference* in reception; a flow of data, rather than a negotiation of meaning. Critically, then, because *This Noise Matters* was a workshop and a process dragged into life by its participants - individuals themselves very far from being interchangeable - I prefer to let their voices resonate through this research to the greatest extent possible.

Finally, on this point, in presenting the recording in full here, I also take into account the views of the *This Noise Matters* group members themselves. During the workshop, as we approached the afternoon recording session, the group discussed at length how best to balance a shared desire to preserve individuals' anonymity in the recording with the act of speaking. To anyone who personally knows or has encountered the attendees heard describing their experiences for the MoH archive, the tell-tale grain of the voice will, in all likelihood, immediately reveal their identities. This was a risk that collectively we considered mitigating in two ways, either by using actors to re-record individuals' statements, or by disguising participants' voices through the post-production process. Ultimately, however, the group agreed unanimously that the experience contained in their individual voices was too significant a resource, too

potent and resonant a form of evidence, to strip away or deny. Together, then, albeit anonymously, we wished to speak for and as ourselves, and so here I preserve that possibility.

Figure 18 This Noise Matters project page on the Museum of Homelessness website. Screenshot from source.

7.5 REFLECTIONS: NOISE, NARRATIVE & THE CARTOGRAPHIC COMMONS

With the last fading moments of the *This Noise Matters* recording – footsteps disturbing the creaking floorboards of a long-desired and finally secured social tenancy home (an original recording of the flat in question, produced and shared with me by the workshop participant whose voice we hear describing the scene, and who had endured spells of homelessness in former times) – the formal data reporting phase of this thesis reaches its end. Now, to draw to a close this penultimate chapter, all that remains is to reflect on the material product, other outcomes and broader significance of the work I undertook with MoH.

Having invested substantially in the project, it is difficult of course to offer an objective appraisal of its merits. Significantly (and mirroring perhaps the affection for particular collections assiduously assembled, or the pride in specific subject specialisms diligently mastered that so many museum professionals must feel, and that surely militate against rapid, far-reaching change in the heritage sector) I have grown peculiarly attached to *This Noise Matters*: somewhat too satisfied with its successes, and too protective of its faults. Nevertheless, and placing on record that awareness of my own bias, it is necessary to confront the task of evaluation. This I will undertake with a dual perspective, looking to reflect on the project firstly, more pragmatically, as an event, and secondly, somewhat more critically, as a form of heritage activism and counter mapping. In so doing, in addition to reflecting on the content of the final *This Noise Matters* recording, I am also able to draw upon further comments provided by Matt, as well as on a very limited amount of participant feedback collected at the end of the MoH workshop in written form, and presented in the table below.

Albeit the latter is the product of a highly limited review process – one that took place only in the squeezed final minutes of the workshop - nonetheless it does help minimally to give an impression of how the project unfolded, and how it was received by those involved.

	This Noise Matters – Post-Event Feedback
a.	SEEING THE HEARING. PERFECT WAY OF SPENDING THE BANK HOLIDAY. THOUGHTS & SOUNDS OF A CITY CAN INSPIRE CHANGE.
b.	A really special day full of respect, space to talk, space to listen and space to think. Fantastic group of people. Very interesting to re-consider heritage, to think and discuss sounds in past, present, future framework. Be great to hear the audio results of today's work. If possible to bring everyone together for a listening afternoon and conversation.

c.	This was a wonderful workshop. I'm not sure that I contributed much, but it was great to be able to hear the stories I've heard. I feel like it gave me some time to reflect on the topic and be mindful of my place in these issues.
d.	GREAT DAY, INSPIRATIONAL AND FRIENDLY
e.	Interesting – makes you think about sound(s) and dialogue and their place in history and how (if any) it affects other event(s).
f.	I enjoyed the variety within the workshop. It would be nice to do something to expand the soundwalk. Thank you.
g.	Thanks for the opportunity. Very refreshing and therapeutic to express ourselves with such a good group full of life experiences. Sounds of life!

7.5.1 PROCESS / EVENT

Firstly, then, to the simple mechanics of the research. While, to be sure there were elements of the workshop and post-production process that could have been improved upon, the limited feedback provided by participants and relayed above supports my own impression that *This Noise Matters* functioned largely as planned, as an enjoyable, supportive and coherent event. This is a point evidenced further by the fact that eleven of the twelve participants felt comfortable to donate a sound to the MoH archive (and, equally, that one remaining participant felt comfortable not to), as well as by the consent all attendees granted individually, subsequent to the workshop, to allow the day's product to be made public.

That participants widely reported feeling at ease in the workshop setting and derived some marginal benefit from it in terms of feeling welcome and supported to share their stories represents a positive outcome. Further, in terms of the aims I brought personally to the event, a number of the comments left by attendees suggest that the workshop succeeded – at least partially – in delivering its key message (one I would summarise as follows: that sounds are products of socio-historical processes, and as such, to contemplate changing them is also to contemplate changing society). For Matt, the day was a success. In his words: 'Most people really enjoyed it, I think across the board, and as an activity, almost everyone really got a lot of value out of it.' At a very basic level, then, for heritage professionals and researchers looking to adopt this or a similar research process in their own practice, and as an alternative means of documenting 'auditory heritage', I can say that the model deployed through *This Noise Matters* has clear potential, and may warrant further refinement.

One of the more experimental elements of the workshop format I adopted, and that I want to focus briefly upon here, was my reliance on attendees to themselves document the contributions they each made –

handling the recording process in groups of three following a short introduction during which I gave instructions as to how to use the digital recording devices provided. Listening back to the recording as a whole, albeit my own editing has smoothed over some of the inconsistencies, interruptions and stylistic idiosyncrasies this process of delegation spawned and preserved, it is nevertheless possible to identify both particular advantages and disadvantages that that approach offered.

Beginning with the latter, a very clear challenge I encountered by ceding / abdicating responsibility for the recording process was a relative loss of control over the shape of contributions, and of the ability, on the one hand, to offer clarification and guidance to participants, and, on the other, to ask follow up questions in line with my original analytical framework. To me, most frustrating in this respect was that I could not be present to prompt further, deeper reflection on the question of the future; of the possible; of social change, and how to achieve it. While in certain of the contributions, it is evident that participants are responding loosely to the framework I provided (thus, from 02m59s – 04m40s, traffic noise is considered to some extent in terms of its past [corporate greed], present [environmental and health impacts], and future [a reference to the potency of 'Critical Mass' style collective actions in which cyclists converge to disrupt traffic), elsewhere participants either struggled to adapt to the imposed format or abandoned it altogether. At 11m50s for example, we hear an older male participant describe the contrasting feelings of depression and relaxation he associates with hearing the sound of a coffee machine. Though, to my ear, this brief testimony still carries a particular force; nevertheless I struggle to hear it without also remembering the several minutes of confusion, stripped away in post-production, during which the participant in question struggled to come to terms with the framing questions being foisted upon him: 'What do you mean - the future of coffee? It's coffee', he responded when prompted by a fellow group member, making it clear that to some extent I had failed sufficiently to explain or justify my use of the past-present-future framework as an analytical tool. One consequence of that failure is that it tended to stymie my aim of provoking sustained discussion about the actions required in the present to promote desired social change.

In terms of addressing that particular problem (notwithstanding the above-mentioned difficulties attendant to longer term group project formats), one solution would have been to stage the project over a series of days or weeks, thus allowing more time for participants to formulate responses to specific questions, and equally accommodating the possibility of undertaking supported research directed specifically to unravelling the respective pasts and possible futures of sounds to be donated to the archive. Arguing against that adaptation, however, and coming to the benefits of the recording process *as was* are the relative informality and spontaneity that I feel was achieved within and promoted by both the single-day workshop format, and by my deployment of a delegated recording process.

One of the participants whom a listener encounters several times through the course of *This Noise Matters* (notably as he describes the bacon and egg sandwich he had brought along to the workshop to be

photographed – see above) is John[44]. Where two of the four groups that split off to document their donations to the archive opted for a more individualistic approach – taking it in turns to record each other in isolation, John's group and one other adopted a different approach, setting the recording rolling and capturing the full duration of a round table conversation. And it was this wholly unplanned, organic deviation from the process I had charted from the beginning of the project that yielded what to me stands among its most important outputs: John's reflection (at 15m05s, cutting away from talk of fireside circles) on the power dynamics involved in focus groups and circle-seated listening exercises of the kind I myself had devised. Whichever way one chooses to interpret or take on that particular contribution (and to me it speaks powerfully to and resists the logics of instrumentalisation and museocentrism broached in Chapter 3), what is certain from a practical perspective is that it would have been far less likely to have emerged either through a more rigid process, or via the mechanism of a one-to-one interview. Perversely then, in the context of a workshop format that I had worked so hard to control, it was precisely at the moment that externally-imposed structures gave way to relatively more natural conversation that some of the most resonant materials and opportunities for learning surfaced and were able to be documented.

7.5.2   COUNTER MAPPING HOMELESSNESS

As a process and tangible expression of counter mapping, there are numerous ways of apprehending and evaluating *This Noise Matters*. Here I want to adopt three principal perspectives, considering the project variously as an investigation into and attempt to represent homelessness, as an example of heritage activism, and as a contribution to the tradition and practice of critical and community cartography targeted to the pursuit of social justice. In regard to each of these aspects of the project Cohen's discussion of counter mapping logics – his aforementioned notion of the cartographic commons and privileging of the possible - will again serve as useful reference points.

Beginning with the recording as a representation, then, there are three points I would make with regard to the portrayal of homelessness arrived at through *This Noise Matters*. The first, and perhaps the most urgent concerns the failure of the project to foreground an explicit critical understanding or questioning of the causes of homelessness, and hence, too, its failure (in large part) to broach the questions of the future and the possible on the basis of a concrete and substantially far-reaching understanding of the past and present. By imposing the above-described Perecian framework throughout the workshop, my intent had been in part to encourage, and create space for, individuals to speak in depth about the origins of (their experiences of) social inequality and marginalisation. At certain moments, the logic of this design can be heard at work – in the context of brief discussion of the passing of the Vagrancy Act at the conclusion of the Napoleonic War amid rapid urbanisation, for example (10m30s – 11m30s), or in my own contribution to the tape (20m00s – 21m40s), in which I can be heard floundering to position the silence of pedestrians passing by 'rough sleepers' as heritage – vaguely, and rather unconvincingly, evoking the demanding rhythms of

---

[44] Again, this is a pseudonym.

capitalist production and the feelings of powerlessness that haunt my own experience of representative democracy.

Part of the explanation for this absence in the recording lies, I think, in the power and almost mechanical familiarity and flow of personal narrative: it seems far easier to tell and re-tell our own well digested and rehearsed stories than to try account for social conditions more broadly – at least in the context of a public workshop, where time and opportunities for slow reflection are scarce. In part, too, of course, as discussed in Chapter 5, that absence stems both from the near impossibility of accounting for homelessness as a single phenomenon, and in Lefebvrian terms from the equal impossibility of exhausting the everyday through knowledge. Finally, and equally unavoidably in my research context, this limit of the recording seems to be born of the unusual emphasis on sound and auditory experience upon which it is founded. Ultimately, I feel, there is only so far that listening to the everyday can take us towards a critical understanding of the world in all its complexity.

The second point I would make about the recording as a representation of homelessness concerns doubt, and here I find far more cause for encouragement. Already above I have made reference to the noisiness of the voice – its encoding of a certain irreducible excess of meaning. In *This Noise Matters*, I would argue, two of the strengths of the finished piece are the doubt it generates as to the identity of its contributors and the degree of their experience of homelessness, and by extension, the questions it leads a listener to ask about individuals based on the primary evidence available to them: narrative and voice. Throughout the workshop, as part of creating a supported environment in which to work, it was agreed that participants need not disclose anything of their personal history that they did not wish to. As such, even having led the day's events, I remain uncertain as to who among the group had or had not experienced homelessness, either in the sense of rooflessness or in any other form. Consequently, unless individual participants chose to discuss their experiences through their contributions (some did, and others did not), we cannot be entirely certain as listeners who is or has been 'homeless' and who is or has not. Within the recording there are many different voices, and many different variations of tone, timbre, and rhythm born of class, gender, regional accent and so on - and it feels natural to draw conclusions about those voices; whom they belong to; class status; wealth, relative privilege, etc. Doubt, however, remains – a doubt that to my mind invites curiosity, and which functions, perhaps, to suspend judgement for a moment long enough to seed the question: who or what is a homeless person; where do my assumptions lead me; can I be certain that they are valid?

A third and final observation here concerns the success of the project in creating a multi-perspectival portrayal of homelessness, and in invoking a sense of shared ownership of and responsibility for the issue. To begin with in this regard, and restating the summary of *Our Sounds* I gave at the opening of this chapter, an important point to stress about the sounds featured in *This Noise Matters* is their essential ubiquity and banality – wind, soup, silence, near silence, traffic, coffee, keys, locks, fire, television. With the exception of the fender sounds and other canal noises discussed at 10m00s, the auditory artefacts deposited by

contributors to the MoH archive will be familiar to most listeners – a part of a shared everyday life and set of cultural references. When at the conclusion of the recording, for example, we hear the final speaker associate the peace and quiet of her newly acquired home with the freedom simply *to be*; or when we hear a member of the MoH core team describe her experience of the sounds of soup bubbling in terms of collective care, what we hear are not the sounds of homelessness *per se*, but rather the sounds of what it is to be human: basic - I would venture to say universal – experiences and widely relatable aspirations that can underpin, and give tangible expression to, shared efforts to found a new everydayness. In Frances Dyson's *The Tone of Our Times* – a reflection on the sonorities of economic and ecological crisis in late capitalism – the author foregrounds the critical and pedagogical challenge of promoting and 'mov[ing] toward a shared sensibility' from which to build 'sense, the common, and common sense simultaneously' (2014, 149, cited in LaBelle 2018, 3). Taking on that task, I want to argue, one of the principal appeals *This Noise Matters* makes to its listeners is to attend to the world sensuously and in solidarity with others: to hear the wind, and to recall and share another's suffering as a precursor to action; to affix to one's own experience of peace, quiet, and rest, a shadow appreciation of another's lack thereof: indeed, to design and build the commons via the elaboration of a renewed common sense.

Extending this point, and considering further the question of social change, at 17m25s in the recording we hear a younger female participant in the workshop – her voice faltering and discomfort palpable; an 'outsider' in her own terms - offer a listening silence as her own contribution to the MoH archive. Without knowing more about this particular attendee's own history (and I do not), it is impossible to judge the candour of her statement. (Have 'life paths', as she suggests, truly sheltered her from homelessness? Is it possible to live in London and avoid the constant dreadful scene of people sleeping in doorways? What degree of evasion does this innocence involve?) What seems so valuable to me about this contribution, however, is, on the one hand, the attention it draws to "outsiders'" own vulnerability and uncertainty faced with others' suffering, and on the other, equally, the value it attributes so eloquently to listening as a prerequisite for solidarity.

Returning to the notion of counter mapping, a critical task Cohen designates as part of the practice is that of providing opportunities for dialogue: a space and framework 'for negotiating differences of standpoint and experience', a process which enables the charting of one's own self and experience, but which also 'explores dis/identifications with the Other – the other class, other ethnicity, other race, other generation.' While to be sure, in this respect, *This Noise Matters* represents only a beginning, the effect of contributions like the one just discussed is both to document dialogue in action, and - more importantly perhaps – to reaffirm the point that solutions to issues like homelessness should be sought not only in the therapeutic rehabilitation of those affected most intimately by them, but also elsewhere, in the inclusion, education and more broadly support of those outsiders who may care for and wish to act with and on behalf of marginalised constituencies (and here I include myself), but who do not necessarily possess an understanding of *how to act*.

This brings me finally back both to the concept of the cartographic commons, and to the question of what a critical or activist heritage practice can achieve. Already above, and at some length, I have expressed my concern as to the value of cultural projects that unfurl without an audience proper to them, their product destined to be lost without trace amid the noise of communicative capitalism. This is the same anxiety that animates John Carman's above-cited concerns about the limits of public archaeology. To me, it begs the question of what a counter mapping of homelessness can do, and what it does do, when the groups and individuals that most vigorously promote and defend the social contract and conditions that give rise to inequality and injustice are so insulated against, and so unmoved by, its outputs?

Overall, I think, it is impossible to extract wholly satisfying answers to such a large question from the scant evidence provided by so small a project as my own. Certainly, in its present guise, as an isolated, digitally compressed and stored representation of homelessness, holed up in a neglected back alley of the World Wide Web, *This Noise Matters* is unlikely to reach a wide public audience. That is not to say, however, that it was entirely futile as a process. Among the outcomes of the workshop not captured in the recording itself are the development of a series of new relations that attest to the capacity of heritage projects like my own to promote the formation and dissemination of communities and shared logics of critical practice. Long after my research had drawn to a close, Matt contacted me to inform me that one of the workshop's attendees was experimenting with adding sonic elements into a one man theatre show he was touring to raise awareness of homelessness – a direct outcome of his participation in *This Noise Matters.* The Museum team for its own part, he said, would be interested in working further with sound – adding to the conceptual resources it has at its disposal to try to influence public attitudes to homelessness. And similarly, Lynn, whom we hear at the conclusion of the recorded piece, and whose professional life in London combines elements of local heritage research with the development of radio production and listening workshops for schools, wrote to me later in 2018 to ask if I would be happy to share, and for her to adopt, the future-oriented Perecian framework around which I had shaped my own exploration of sound.

Taken together, of course, these kinds of outcomes represent only the most marginal of gains: the highly localised transmission and sharing of an idea, feeding into practices no doubt as likely to be stifled and compromised by communicative noise as I have found my own work to be. Critically for me, however, such minor successes do at least partially resist and invert the extractive logic that I felt had characterised both *Sounds of our Shores* and my own work in *Sounding Stamford Hill* and *Our Sounds.* Conducting research that enables others to ask different questions; and making my own perspective on heritage available to others to critique, question and re-apply, rather than simply using it as a frame / devise for harvesting, repackaging and trading off others' experiences within yet another over-specialised academic niche. For Cohen (2017, 11, cf. Mills 2000), a core purpose of the cartographic commons is to cultivate 'the sociological imagination' – its aim is not merely to trace new geographies, but to share the tools and seed the varieties of thought that animate and advance critical sociology, and as such to promote a sustained questioning of the relations between self, society, past, present and future. Similarly, I believe, any future attempts to harness heritage practices for social justice must proceed not only by tracing alternative forms

and uses of heritage, but by using and making public the question – the problem – of what heritage is, to prompt reflection on how people live together, how their lives and social relations have come to take such forms, and how those relations might be redesigned to the benefit of all in the future.

8   CONCLUSION

In the preceding two chapters I worked to provide a detailed account of my participatory research into homelessness across the past three years, of the findings that research yielded about particular aspects of the auditory experience of being homeless, and of the methodological challenges and ethical quandaries that phase of my studies presented me with. Now that that task has been brought to its close, I find myself at the end of an unexpected journey, having followed a trajectory through my research quite different from the one that I originally imagined.

That I came to study homelessness at all and to work with people with lived experience of being homeless represented an initially unplanned but essentially organic shift in my research programme. Attending to the making and representational idiosyncrasies of crowd sourced soundmaps led me into both a questioning of the social significance of sound and listening, and a confrontation with logics of diversification, democratisation and participation operative in contemporary heritage practice. Subsequently, through my research in Stamford Hill, and via recourse to a range of twentieth century theorists of everyday life (most notably, Henri Lefebvre) I developed a simple methodological protocol that allowed to me to surface and begin to scrutinise people's relationships with the sonic environments they inhabit.

Among the key consequences of my listening to the National Trust and British Library's *Sounds of our Shores* archive, and of the walks I took with strangers in Stamford Hill were, on the one hand, a sharpening of my attention to and interest in auditory experiences of home, and, on the other, an intensification of my doubts regarding the social impact of heritage practices predicated jointly, often blindly, on promoting diversity in archives and on notionally improving individual wellbeing through processes of inclusion and recognition.

Increasingly unconvinced, in Helen Graham's (2012) terms, by the impossible, 'museo-centric' project of reforming heritage institutions and collections in order to make them wholly representative and inclusive of all people, and responding, too, to developments around me in London where homelessness was increasing rapidly, I subsequently attempted to re-orient my own research practice, searching for ways in which novel forms of critical listening and heritage-making could be harnessed to advocate for marginalised groups and individuals, and to support them on their own terms, within their own everyday lives.

In essence, in this way, my research became a hybrid product of myriad influences and impulses. Equally, and as much in its moments of confusion and disconnection, as in the more productive links it makes between quite disparate phenomena (between the social atomization I witnessed in my time at the shelter, for instance, and the fragmented monolith form taken by soundmaps), this thesis speaks to the possibilities and pitfalls of dwelling and working in the spaces between multiple disciplines and their respective priorities.

To think with and through, and do justice to, the complex social valences of sound and listening. To try to understand and simultaneously seek to act on homelessness. To develop and mobilise new forms of heritage representation with a view to promoting progressive social change, whilst at the same time – as a critical heritage researcher – finding myself more naturally inclined to exploring the limits and frequently extractive effects of heritage practice within the machine of communicative capitalism. At times, in balancing those priorities, it has been difficult to discern sense from nonsense, and a challenge to find a signal in the noise.

8.1   ROADS NOT TAKEN

Among the other shortcomings that the eclecticism and slightly meandering impulsiveness just described have given rise to in my research is a failure to engage substantively with certain key traditions of thought and practice that could be expected to have informed a work of this nature, and which – had I embraced and learned from them earlier in the process – might have improved it: roads not taken. Here, there are two such traditions that I would highlight, each of which has insights to offer that could enrich future studies along the lines charted above.

8.1.1   LISTENING AS A PRACTICE

The first main limitation of the present work to note in this regard is a relatively narrow discussion of the ways in which listening has been taken up and theorised by practitioners in a range of fields and disciplines as a method of critical enquiry, both in contexts of dialogue with research participants, and in addressing the wider sonic environment. Above, my varying engagements with listening are framed theoretically in terms of a concern with aurality, with the normative grammars that shape and constrain archival listening, and with a certain wariness as regards the power dynamics that listening entails and constructs. Necessarily if regrettably fleeting mention is made of the likes of Michael Gallagher and Les Back who remind us of the violence latent in the act of surveillance listening, and of Jennifer Stoever – whose work on the 'sonic colour line' has problematised the othering and silencing of black sounds in areas of US documentary culture; a process through which aspects of auditory life (in particular black voices and black music) are recirculated through various media having been 'already listened to' and rearticulated by a governing white ear (Chapter 1.3) . Elsewhere, however, when it comes to the real mechanics of listening, I have had less to say. Though, on the one hand, I have been influenced by Brandon LaBelle's attention to the process of acoustic territorialization (Chapter 6.2.4), and I have been also guided – to a degree – in how to think the auditory dimension of social encounters through my reading of Alphonso Lingis; on the other, the major components of my methodological toolkit are adopted from writers on the everyday and on space – walkers and cartographers of various stripe – rather than from those who deal with sound, the oral and the aural as their primary media.

For subsequent studies that might strive, as I have argued above is necessary, to encounter the sonic on its own terms, attending to the subtle sonorities of everyday life, or who seek to make conversation about listening with others a part of their practice, there are, however, beyond those discussed above, numerous

theorists who might offer practical guidance in how to listen to the world and to people, and what to listen for.

In the writings of the activist sound art collective Ultra-red (2013, 33), for example, one finds an invitation to listen especially 'for what is left out and why' – a tactic which might be as useful in analysing verbal testimony and discourse, as it is in surveying any given soundscape: to listen for absences – of peace, silence, or conversation; of variety, difference or continuity. Equally in the work of ethnomusicologist Veit Erlmann (2004) one may discover further means of elaborating and extending a critical listening practice. Provoked by a question posed by James Clifford in his critical exploration of anthropological writing practices – 'But what of the ethnographic ear?' –, Erlmann's enquiries into auditory life have led him to foreground further helpful questions: 'What life cycles can a sound go through? Does it have a biography? What role does the body play as a storage device for sounds?' (ibid., 17). On the whole, as it appears to me, these more formally specialised approaches to listening take us scarcely further than do – carefully applied - Georges Perec's methods for scrutinising daily life writ large. Yet it is certain that, for heritage scholars and practitioners seeking to more firmly ground and articulate a listening practice of their own, both Erlmann's own research and the work of other similarly reflexive musicologists and auditory ethnographers (see, e.g. Voegelin 2010, Carlyle and Lane 2013, Cardoso 2019) would provide a helpful resource.

And, there are many more such useful sources further afield, beyond the disciplinary borderlines that constrain this thesis. In the context of his exploration of participatory methods in counter mapping, Cohen (2020, 42) points to child psychologist Rachel Pinney's work on 'creative' and 'structured listening': a set of tools for undertaking interviews that focus special attention on non-verbal aspects of communication. Not only might such tools have helped me - for example in the course of my shelter ethnography – to presence and thus problematise the tripping, stifling qualities of the difficult conversations that I held with guests in trying to discuss sound, but further, they may offer a useful series of frames to offer to research participants in a far wider array of contexts; a language for describing those dimensions of auditory life that, so often, go felt but unsaid.

Finally here – and this, perhaps, is a particularly striking omission in the literature I have surveyed above – there is the field of oral history to consider. Wishing consciously to avoid a research process that might have placed (further) undue pressure on participants to share any more of their private lives than they would do so, as it were, spontaneously – in the course of discussing other things - I have largely avoided taking up oral history (the practice, the tradition, its scholarly foundations) either as a conceptual frame for my work or as a source of critical inspiration. Yet, in so doing, I have unwittingly deprived myself of an opportunity to learn from scholars and practitioners who spend much of their working lives dwelling upon and grappling with the subtleties of voice and its valences, with silence and its place in dialogue, and, of course, with the position and practice of the listener. Though intended more specifically as cautionary guidance to anthropologists conducting oral history interviews in non-Western settings, Slim and Thomson's (1998, 114) advice to spend time learning to understand the communicative repertoires of

interviewees, and to avoid imposing unacknowledged norms in interview settings – assuming the suitability of turn-based question-answer type formats, for example – highlights an area of my own practice to which I paid insufficient attention, and gives an indication of the delicacy of thought applied to the acts of listening to and speaking with others by seasoned oral historians. In future research settings, and again – for others in the heritage field who wish to make it their business to listen – there is doubtless much to be gained from a close engagement with such works.

8.1.2   PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

Turning to the second key omission in this thesis that I consider requires comment, it is notable that in all my lengthy discussion of participation and participatory practices above, I failed to make any reference to the field of Participatory Action Research (PAR). How, then, did I miss it? Given predominant framings of PAR – within an extensive literature, the diversity and subtleties of which I will be unable to do full justice to here – as an approach which 'seeks to understand and improve the world by changing it' (Baum *et al.* 2006, 854), which prioritises collective, mutual education in the service of social justice (Kapoor and Jordan 2009), which aims to conduct research 'with' rather than 'for' or 'on' people (Bradbury-Huang 2015, 2), which grounds itself in the everyday and sees its products as belonging ideally to all those involved, rather than - in a more extractive sense – as purely academic 'outputs' (ibid.), and which refuses any concept of the 'objective' or 'disinterested' researcher - favouring instead a model of 'critical self-reflection' in which the researcher(s) 'are profoundly interested in their practices, in whether they understand their practices and the consequences of their practices, and in whether the conditions under which they practice are appropriate' (Kemmis *et al.* 2014, 6) , there is a great deal of common ground that can be identified between that tradition and my own version and applications of collective enquiry.

Indeed, in broad terms, reflecting upon my adoption of Cohen's 'cartographic commons' as a model on which to base my work with the Museum of Homelessness, and equally upon the ways in which, increasingly – as documented – I sought to deploy listening as a method for outing structural injustices (using sound as a way into critiquing the conditions of everyday life, rather than the opposite) – I feel comfortable positioning my work as being largely of a piece with PAR. Why, then, my silence on the tradition thus far? The first of two reasons for this is a certain resistance to post-rationalisation. In those areas above in which I discuss my particular methods and approach, I have sought to stay true both to the processes I embarked upon and to the thinking that led me to them – conscious, but resigned to the fact, that this might leave me open to accusations of narrowness or naivete. Even as I find myself now noting certain symmetries between my research logics and those favoured by proponents of PAR, it would be misleading to suggest that the latter exerted any great influence on me at the time I carried out the research represented here. The authentic origins of this thesis can be found instead, as described above, in the fields of critical cartography, auditory culture studies, and in approaches to urban geography and everyday life that have been developed by the likes of Georges Perec, Maurice Blanchot, and – most especially of course Henri Lefebvre.

The second reason for omitting to mention PAR earlier is one that may afford more productive reflection here: namely, that when I did look to the tradition for guidance in designing a research methodology, I found not only that there was (at that time, seemingly) a key irreconcilable difference between its recommendations and my own work, but that – more depressingly – I wished there were a way (but could not find one) to make the latter more like the former. Put plainly, a central tenet in all of the literature I consulted on PAR was that well designed, genuinely collaborative research should begin with the collective definition of (shared) problems to be addressed, and – subsequently – with the collective agreement of the methods best suited to investigating and responding to those problems (see, e.g. Bradbury-Huang 2015, 2). By this reasoning (which, retrospectively, I would wholly subscribe to), it would be both an error and an unhelpful imposition to arrive in a new environment with, and to seek to form a research community around, a predefined object of enquiry (sound), as well as – again, in broad terms – a predefined means of investigating it (listening). As I describe in Chapter 6, a key feature of my experience of conducting research at the shelter was a failure – despite repeated, floundering attempts to that end – to develop any coherent sense either of shared purpose or of common cause. Very straightforwardly (and this is a point I will return to again below), throughout this research I took my lead not from the concerns, needs, desires or interests of the communities of practice I sought to construct or collaborate within, but rather, from the soundmapping projects whose limits I had initially set out to test and reveal.

Ultimately, then, I can concede that it was in part an awareness of the inadequacy of my approach in the research context that led me away from PAR. Rigidly predisposed to studying sound from the outset, I found myself consequently – paradoxically - unable effectively *to listen* and respond to participants' needs and interests when later I began to investigate homelessness. To make one final point in connection to PAR – a logical extension of this discussion so far – it is clear to me now that there is much that could be gained from following that tradition in building in wider consultation with groups and individuals concerned, *prior* to beginning research. Of course, none of this is to say that sound and listening are without relevance as methods to be shared, discussed and adopted in different settings. Nor is it the case that structured attempts to find common cause with prospective participants at the beginning of a given research project will necessarily succeed in contexts like a homeless shelter, where, as we have seen, residents may have (or consider themselves to have) little by way of common experience or shared interest with those they live with and alongside. Nevertheless, it is certainly the case that the practice of co-designing research questions and methods is one that I will strive to take forward with me in future research.

8.2   A RETURN TO ORIGINS

This thesis, then, has its clear limits. Yet the process of enquiry that it captures and reproduces stands all the same. So, what insights can be drawn out of that process, and what lessons for the future? Again, in a project of this kind that has explored several very distinctive phenomena in one package, that task is a

difficult one to address. Perhaps one way of doing so, however, is to return to my original, framing research questions and to ask what answers I have to them now.

At the beginning of the thesis, I set out to explore the operational and theoretical implications of recent work in cultural institutions to crowd source and preserve large collections of everyday sounds as cultural heritage. Here, the arguments I present above are limited in as much as they respond primarily to only a single case study, *SooS*; and it is possible that by attempting a more elaborate comparative study of several maps I would have been able to generate deeper, more wide reaching and generalisable insights about contemporary sound archiving practices. That being said, I feel happy to stand by my judgements of that project, and comfortable too with the way in which I deployed my analysis: as a point of departure and prompt to pursue my own participatory practice. In *SooS*, what one encounters, I have suggested, is a monumentalisation of fragments of everyday life, which, on the one hand, does little justice to the sounds and auditory cultures the project sought to document, and, on the other, speaks powerfully to the difficulty of sourcing useful, meaningful collections – sourcing sense – from anonymous crowds.

In promoting forms of listening hemmed in by the objective of creating a future material resource, by pursuing the study of auditory culture through the single, inflexible and unquestioned frame of nation, and by prioritising scale – mass public reach – over interpretative depth in driving public engagement with sound, *SooS* missed an opportunity to stage a more critical investigation of sounds and their social resonance. Aiming ostensibly to learn from everyday people, it seemed at the same time to signal its indifference to those people: firstly, by imposing upon them a form of technologized listening that tended to silence social relations, and secondly, by harnessing and re-presenting their contributions at a scale, and within a visual apparatus, the map, that recognized and made difference legible only in terms of geographical distribution.

Now, to be sure, these are highly specific critiques of a very particular project; nevertheless, I find that within them are two key lessons that all heritage practitioners can learn from. Firstly, while attempts to collect 'the everyday' may appear radical – suggesting an expansion and diversification of heritage apt to make the sector more representative – at the same time, it appears inevitable that when carried out on such a grand scale such attempts will quickly lose their subversive edge. To engage the everyday effectively, as on Lefebvre's model, requires also engaging its complexities: dwelling with, delighting in, and learning from the connections that can be drawn between the micro and the macro, rather than sweeping up ephemera at random and making of them a mass monument. Secondly, and more straightforwardly, mass crowd sourcing is not democratic. Though it may create a semblance of polyvocality, it does nothing to promote the dialogue and deliberation necessary in effective democratic structures. In simulating diversity, it nullifies difference.

Moving on now, the second task I set myself through the research was to define the kinds of knowledge that a 'critical' auditory heritage practice would aim to produce, as well as the forms of knowledge-making

that it would entail. In some senses here, one useful way to evaluate my findings in that regard is to look to the insights I was able to derive from my two primary research projects, *Our Sounds* and *This Noise Matters* (projects, of course, which also responded to my third and final overarching research question: 'What roles do sound and listening play in shaping individual experiences of homelessness and how can these inform an understanding of contemporary society more broadly?').

Overall in this regard, I would suggest, the clearest contributions those two investigations make – equally, in terms of the aims of heritage studies, auditory culture studies and homelessness studies – is to show how listening might be used as tool and frame for studying and problematising the relationships both between people in their social relations, and between people and places. Rather than fixating on the need to materially preserve sounds, or limiting myself to a distanced description of 'soundscapes', the very broad sociological and spatial approach I took in my research enabled me to engage themes of bureaucratic listening and silencing, rhythms and their interruptions, voices and their tactile effect, the will people experience to control certain environments, and the challenges that accompany the loss of control.

In terms of providing insights into the experience of homelessness, and in building on the forms of unruly, sensuous homelessness scholarship developed and advocated by the likes of Farrugia and Gerrard (2016), Desjarlais (1997) and Robinson (2011), it is those themes, and those findings that, to me, mark this study as useful. It was in hearing John's comments about the frustrations of finding himself sat interminably in focus group circles, and in witnessing the spectacle of a shelter full of people buried in private earphone listening, rather than in discussing the sounds of bedsprings and snoring, that I came to appreciate and expose, I think, something of the deeper, qualitative reality of homelessness. Equally, it was in experiencing those same phenomena, too, that I began to comprehend the ways in which homelessness – far from being a condition apart from my own everyday life – could, on the contrary be understood as an expression of the darkest aspects of that very same, familiar everyday; a life that many in advanced capitalist societies share in common, only amplified and condensed.

Of course, it is also the case that by giving such primacy to sound and listening as medium and method in this research, there is much that I missed. My decision to focus on the auditory, was, as I discussed in both Chapters 4 and 6, one driven by the impulse to counter and complicate the forms of listening developed by contemporary sound mappers – particularly those working in heritage institutions. In other words, it was not a selection made in response either to the particular conditions I found myself living in in Stamford Hill, or – more pressingly – to the needs and circumstances of those I worked with either at the shelter or at the MoH. Though, I would propose, listening functioned in the latter contexts in particular as an effective means of defamiliarizing the problems and environments at hand, it is also true that my exclusive privileging of sound worked at times to undermine the research; alienating potential participants, who found the subject matter sometimes irrelevant or difficult to engage with, and causing no end of personal frustration for me as a researcher. That is, there were innumerable occasions – discussing access to food and the price of coffee with workshop participants at the MoH, for example, or experiencing Natalie's

distress outside of the shelter following her assault, when it felt that the tools I had opted to use were futile ones; that my listening to homelessness came at the cost not only of excluding a broader range of sensory data (not to mention their rich mutual entanglement), but also of marginalising substantially a discussion of the very tangible structural issues – poverty, inequality, reduced access to legal support, ineffective governance, and more besides – that contribute so plainly to causing and intensifying the hardships brought on by homelessness.

One clear set of recommendations I would make on the basis of this research, then, is that heritage professionals looking to investigate and weave stories from sound in a critical manner do so, at first at least, without a recorder in hand, by talking to people seriously about how they listen and how that listening effects them, by starting from the everyday, its rhythms, spaces, and the bodies that inhabit and live through it, and by striving always to perceive sounds and sounding and listening practices alike within the social relations they produce and that produce them. Listening has much to offer as part of a multisensory toolkit, and within the context of a wide-ranging study flexible enough also to account for less obviously (though still profoundly) sensuous content – form filling, or the cold tedium of closed bureaucratic loops. But the pursuit of sound for sound's sake, and the fragmentation of specialisms, archives, and audiences this can entail – poses significant risks in the form of narrowness and irrelevance to people's lives.

These recommendations, however, speak only directly to one aspect of the challenge I set myself: the part concerned with sound. To truly conceive of a 'critical' auditory heritage practice, meanwhile, requires far more patience, and an ability to think clearly and compassionately about what it is that heritage practices writ large can and should do in society, regardless their particular sensory preoccupation. How, then, can one understand or define the work of a critical heritage practitioner? What role should they play in society, and with whom should they work? How should they seek to influence their audiences? How should they balance the contemporary imperative to work with other people outside of institutions democratically, with the need to make and share clear and compelling narratives in a world beset by informational noise?

In answering such large and sweeping questions I should begin by insisting that in such matters, I can, only speak for myself: for the way in which, through this research, I have come to understand my personal responsibilities within the sector, and for how I would ideally bid others approach theirs. Furthermore, as a prelude to setting out my case, it seems important to reflect upon the degree of adaptability, reflexivity and experimentation required in any given setting to fix upon effective ways of working. In my own research, first at the shelter, and later in collaboration with the Museum of Homelessness, I found myself (as documented above) struggling continually both to navigate different practical barriers to conducting participatory research, and to recognise and then respond to ethical and methodological challenges on the ground. To pretend, then, that there is one simple formula for critical work in heritage (or worse still, to imply that I have discovered it) would be both misleading and foolhardy.

That being said, there are a handful of points that have either emerged from or strongly informed my research that it feels valuable to reiterate here. First, and above all, heritage is a political process. This is unavoidable, and it ought to be a fact which drives heritage professionals to confront and seek to shape the political efficacy of their work in line with their individual values. Second, following my reading of Helen Graham in Chapter 3, although heritage is political and exerts a certain political agency, it should not (as a field of practice) be considered monolithic, nor as a totalising structure, preferably not as a democracy in itself, and certainly not as a proxy or direct analogue for state democracy. It follows that efforts to 'democratise' heritage which take no account of the effects of that work relative to larger democratic structures, or to the ways in which power shapes and impacts people's everyday lives, will tend to misunderstand, and in different ways both over- and underestimate their own real efficacy.

And from this, for me, a fourth point flows: critical heritage practice should begin in the everyday and seek to improve it. While the goal of conducting institutional reforms (promoting wider participation or improving representational equality in collections) might well emerge from an understanding of the challenges people face in the everyday, such reforms are not a prerequisite for institutions and individual practitioners to take action beyond their sector. The goal of diversifying and perfecting collections can and will never end. Rather than working, then, from a position of distance to capture and represent the noise of the everyday, in its fullness, in microcosm, it is far better to be in and a part of that noise, and to forge practical alliances within it.

The fifth and final general point I would make here concerns the everyday itself, and the ways in which a critical heritage practice, in looking to reshape social and political life, might in turn approach, collect, represent and interpret elements of, and objects pertaining to, everyday experience. If in one respect my research has been characterised by an attempt to read dialectically between everyday life and the social structures it generates and is constrained by, then, in another, it is marked, too, by a no less dialectical movement between the light and the heavy; the grave (homelessness) and the apparently frivolous (soundmapping). This is an awkward – but on the whole not regrettable - feature of my research. Indeed, from a certain perspective it is one that speaks directly to the contradictory qualities of everyday life; a realm in which, as Lefebvre (2008a, 66) observes, 'platitude and profundity […] fight bitterly'. By taking up everyday sounds and listening as frames through which to explore homelessness, I have insisted consistently on the political, contestable nature of sounds themselves, and on the potential of a social project that, from the starting point of wishing to change certain sounds, from an exploration of the possible, would necessarily broaden its scope to focus on altering social structures and relations within the far grander realms of economy, democracy and so on. By attending critically to apparently trivial things, one can identify opportunities to make changes that are far from trivial in their effects.

To this point, for example, a project for social change that begins with the spectacle of commuters walking by rough sleepers in silence would not seek (at least not in the long term) to fill that same scene with lively conversation, and empathetic listening. Instead, it might seek to transform economic relations, strengthen

the social contract and redistribute wealth, such that the scene could never again exist in the same way. Fundamentally, then, this is a critical imagination, which, all the while it scours the everyday in search of things that could and must change, nevertheless recognises that, very often, the greatest obstacles to desired change cannot themselves be located within everyday life. (Though the roots of their contestation may be developed there: through organising, persuading, and educating.)

Here, returning to her theory of communicative capitalism discussed in Chapter 4, Jodi Dean offers good advice. Two key products of the acceleration, intensification and diversification of communications in the Internet age, she argues, of the successful spread of individualising neoliberal ideology, and likewise of the assault on grand narratives and rationality witnessed in postmodernity (of the age of noise, in sum), are a proliferation and fragmentation of politics, and a growth in individuals' willingness and capacity to problematise, relativise and isolate for analysis increasingly broad swathes, and increasingly minute details, of the fabric of our lives. Politics, in this sense is diffused throughout the everyday and radically pluralised. It comes to be understood, as Dean (2005, 57) writes, 'not [as] confined to specific institutional fields, but as a characteristic of all life.'

This is to the good, I feel. Indeed, it speaks to the very substance of this thesis. If the only product of that shift, however, is multiplication (a piling up of grievances, of competing interpretations, of fragmentary commentaries on, and collections of, the most trifling ephemera), then any prospect of achieving lasting change will, necessarily, be stifled and stymied by noise. Though for Dean, then, our present era is one defined by 'an attunement […] to a micropolitics of the everyday', the challenging reality, the informational and communicative bind we must face and contend with, is, she argues, that that 'very attunement forecloses the conflict and opposition necessary for politics' (ibid.).

How, then, to narrow the question further, should a critical heritage practice in and of the everyday proceed? In all, there are three dimensions I wish highlight. Firstly, a dialectical attention to, and willingness to foreground, the connections between the small and the large, between power, its excesses, and their humblest everyday manifestations. Any analysis of the sounds of daily life aimed at changing them, for example, will be impotent unless it can make legible and connect with the grand movements of history and the structural organisation of social life, that bring those sounds into being.

Second, in terms of the interpretative strategies it would deploy, a critical heritage practice in and of the everyday would seek to further the diffusion of critical modes of questioning among its audiences and participants. It is not enough to put the world in its tiniest details on display. Instead, cultural institutions must encourage us, and give us the tools to ask: Why? How is this so? What else is possible? Through *This Noise Matters*, I developed and tested one method of questioning everyday sounds grounded in the writings of Georges Perec. Though it was far from perfect, as is discussed above, this method lends itself to further adaptation and refinement, and can be used as the basis for investigating a wide range of everyday phenomena.

Third, and finally, a critical practice should take account take account of social injustices and seek to act in dialogue and partnership with those affected by them. Crucially, however, it should not limit itself, or overburden those individuals directly impacted by injustice, by working solely with them. In the age of noise, a key challenge is to articulate injustice as a shared problem, to encourage others to recognise and give voice to their places in and experiences of the systems that produce it, and thus to help build communities and movements for change out of quite disparate groups, the respective members of which may feel that they have little or nothing in common with one another.

One small way to work towards that end, I would suggest, is to open up participatory research projects about themes like homelessness to people who may know, or feel that they know, relatively little about them: to create opportunities for dialogue and for individuals to be supported recognise their own agency in contexts that may be hugely unfamiliar to them. Another way, echoing Stuart Hall (1999, 10) – now twenty years on – is to work to insert narratives about injustice into the heart of all of the work that cultural institutions do, all of the collections they build, all of the exhibitions they develop: displacing cultural diversity as a criteria by which to judge a given organisation's outputs, and centring justice in its place.

That task, of course, is much more difficult to achieve. What can be observed at present within the heritage industry, on the contrary, is a proliferation of small projects like my own and temporary exhibitions in large institutions that are fated most likely to reach only highly engaged and already sympathetic audiences. The increasing segmentation and isolation of different visitor, viewer, listener, and more broadly, different interest groups across the media and cultural industries affords a greater range of opportunities than ever before for the marginalised and others to give voice to injustice; at the same time, however, it reduces in equal proportion the size and diversity of the audiences liable to hear those voices.

Still, however, in this context, there are grounds for optimism. That today, groups like the Museum of Homelessness, whom it was my great privilege to work with, exist in increasing number and make it a part of their work to partner with and influence mainstream institutions is a promising sign. And it points, too, to a helpful direction for future research and collaboration. One of the clearest opportunities Matt Turtle identified when I spoke with him about *This Noise Matters*, was for scholars and practitioners to play their part in connecting diverse groups and individuals within the heritage industry, who are united by the goal of achieving social justice, but who – atomised and siloed within our noisy, multiply fragmented society – lack the means or knowledge necessary to act on their good intentions:

> One of the things that the MoH does badly (and it's a resources issue really for the organisation) is that I think there's a real - this a good thing about the museums world - I think there is an appetite for people who are in the field, who know about housing and homelessness or want to do something about it, to know where they can go to get information. So, this might be a great project, and we've been contacted by museums

about our collection… So you know, "Where can I find things?", through to, 'If I want to partner with a homelessness charity, how would I go about that?'. A lot of museums haven't worked with the voluntary, charitable sector before. For us, it's sort of… We have to work with tons of partners because we're so small. But for a lot of museums that's not really a possibility, or it's new. So I think there's lots of appetite out there and that piece of work hasn't happened yet.

In the end, then, there is hope to cling to, and concrete work to be done.

Now, finally, in drawing this long process to a close, I want to conclude by returning to the pair of epigraphs, as yet untouched, with which I opened this document, and which have contained in embryo, from the very beginning, the fundaments of my argument (p. 13).

In Roland Barthes' meditation on the language and syntax of love, he alights on the topic of failed listening. One lover's story is met with seeming indifference by another. The former, after prompting by the latter, is persuaded to resume a tale in which, having been slighted, he or she no longer believes. Friendship, Barthes suggests consequently, may be defined as 'a space with total sonority'. And the challenge he thus sets for us is a twofold one. First, to attend to sounds and silences and to their social resonance. And second, to listen with intent, and to respond; to listen, that is, as one would to an individual, rather than to a crowd.

In his short poem, *A Bed for the Night*, meanwhile, Bertolt Brecht considers the charitable act of helping homeless people off of the streets, and into temporary shelter. 'For a night the wind is kept from them,' he writes; 'The snow meant for them falls on the roadway. / But it won't change the world / It won't improve relations among men / It will not shorten the age of exploitation.'

Good intentions towards those who are marginalised in our society, are then, of only limited value, unless they are matched by actions to challenge the structures that bring about marginalisation in the first place. When heritage professionals and institutions work on an individual basis with people impacted by structural, social injustice – to improve their confidence, their health, their happiness, or their employability – they do so with only the very best intent, often achieving profoundly positive outcomes. To maximise their potential in bringing about change in society, however, and if they are to fulfil the commitment to social justice that so many of them express, those individuals and organisations must do more. By working to raise the critical literacy of their mainstream audiences, forging and nourishing solidarities between disparate interest groups, centring and unpacking unjust social and political settlements in their archives, collections and exhibitions, and appealing always, to the possible, they can and must play their part, in founding a new everyday.

9   BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abu Hamdan, L., 2014. Contract: Forensic Listening and the Reorganisation of the Speaking Subject. *Cesura//Acceso*, 1, 200–225.

Adell, N., Bendix, R., Bortolotto, C., and Tauschek, M., eds., 2015. *Between imagined communities and communities of practice: participation, territory and the making of heritage*. Göttingen: Univ.-Verl. Göttingen.

Agamben, G., 2000. *Means without end: notes on politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Alden, S., 2015a. Discretion on the Frontline: The Street Level Bureaucrat in English Statutory Homelessness Services. *Social Policy and Society*, 14 (01), 63–77.

Alden, S.L., 2015b. Welfare reform and the street level bureaucrat in homelessness services. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 35 (5/6), 359–374.

Alonso González, P., 2014. The heritage machine: the neoliberal order and the individualisation of identity in Maragatería (Spain). *Identities*, 0 (0), 1–19.

Ames, M.M., 2006. Counterfeit museology. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 21 (3), 171–186.

Amster, R., 2003. Patterns of exclusion: Sanitizing space, criminalizing homelessness. *Social Justice; San Francisco*, 30 (1), 195.

Anderson, B., 2002. A Principle of Hope: Recorded Music, Listening Practices and the Immanence of Utopia. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 84 (3–4), 211–227.

Anderson, I., 2016. Soundmapping Beyond The Grid: alternative cartographies of sound. *Journal of Sonic Studies*, 11.

Anderson, J., 2004. Talking whilst walking: a geographical archaeology of knowledge, 36 (3), 254–261.

Andersson, J. and Valentine, G., 2015. Picturing the poor: fundraising and the depoliticisation of homelessness. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 16 (1), 58–74.

Anonymous, 2017. The Invisible Man: Diary of a Rough Sleeper [online]. *Facebook*. Available from: https://m.facebook.com/The-Invisible-Man-Diary-of-a-Rough-Sleeper-1836006426716156/ [Accessed 4 Sep 2017].

Appadurai, A., 2003. Archive and Aspiration. *In*: J. Brouwer and Mulder, eds. *Information is Alive: Art and Theory on Archiving and Retrieving Data*. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 14–25.

Arendt, H., 2006. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: a report on the banality of evil*. New York, N.Y: Penguin Books.

Augoyard, J.F., McCartney, A., Torgue, H., and Paquette, D., eds., 2006. *Sonic experience: a guide to everyday sounds*. Montreal ; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Aumond, P., 2017. Sound Cartography [online]. *Sound Cartography*. Available from: https://soundcartography.wordpress.com/ [Accessed 23 Jun 2019].

Australia ICOMOS, 1979. The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, 2013.

Aykan, B., 2014. Whose Tradition, Whose Identity? The politics of constructing 'Nevruz' as intangble heritage in Turkey. *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, (19).

Baird, M.F., 2014. Heritage, Human Rights, and Social Justice. *Heritage & Society*, 7 (2), 139–155.

Bakker, K., 2011. Heritage as Transmission. *Heritage & Society*, 4 (2), 239–252.

Barney, D., Coleman, G., Ross, C., Sterne, J., and Tembeck, T., eds., 2016. *The participatory condition in the digital age*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Barthes, R., 1977. *A lover's discourse: fragments*. London: Vintage.

Barthes, R., 1981. *The grain of the voice*. London: Vintage Classic.

Baum, F., MacDougall, C., and Smith, D., 2006. Participatory action research. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 60 (10), 854–857.

Bauman, Z., 1987. The Philosopher in the Age of Noise: a Reading of Richard J. Bernstein's Philosophical Profiles. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 4, 157–165.

Bauman, Z., 2007. *Consuming life*. Cambridge ; Malden, MA: Polity Press.

BBC, 2015. Countryfile achieves record ratings in 2015 and announces BBC One Daytime seasonal spin-off Countryfile Diaries [online]. *BBC Media Centre*. Available from: https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2015/countryfile-diaries [Accessed 27 Dec 2019].

Beer, D. and Burrows, R., 2010. Consumption, Prosumption and Participatory Web Cultures: An introduction. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 10 (1), 3–12.

Beer, D. and Burrows, R., 2013. Popular Culture, Digital Archives and the New Social Life of Data. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 30 (4), 47–71.

Belcher, J.R. and DeForge, B.R., 2012a. Social Stigma and Homelessness: The Limits of Social Change. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 22 (8), 929–946.

Belcher, J.R. and DeForge, B.R., 2012b. Social Stigma and Homelessness: The Limits of Social Change. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 22 (8), 929–946.

Benjamin, J., 2014a. The Industrial Sonifact and the Soundscape of the Anthropocene. *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology*, 1 (1), 119–123.

Benjamin, J., 2014b. Sound as Artefact. *In*: H. Orange, ed. *Reanimating industrial spaces: conducting memory work in post-industrial societies*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 108–124.

Benjamin, J., 2015. Listening to Industrial Silence: Sound as artefact. *In*: H. Orange, ed. *Reanimating industrial spaces: conducting memory work in post-industrial societies*. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc.

Benjamin, W., 1999. *The arcades project*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press.

Bennett, T., 1988. The Exhibitionary Complex. *New Formations*, 4, 73–102.

Bennett, T., 1995. *The birth of the museum: history, theory, politics*. London ; New York: Routledge.

Bennett, T., 1998. Pedagogic Objects, Clean Eyes, and Popular Instruction: On Sensory Regimes and Museum Didactics. *Configurations*, 6 (3), 345–371.

Bennett, T., 2006. Exhibition, Difference and the Logic of Culture. *In*: I. Karp, C. Krantz, L. Szwaja, and T. Ybarra-Frausto, eds. *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations, Durham and London*. Duke University Press, 46–69.

Bennett, T., Cameron, F., Dias, N., Dibley, B., Harrison, R., Jacknis, I., and McCarthy, C., 2017. *Collecting, ordering, governing: anthropology, museums, and liberal government*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Bennett, T., Dibley, B., and Harrison, R., 2014. Introduction: Anthropology, Collecting and Colonial Governmentalities. *History and Anthropology*, 25 (2), 137–149.

Berger, J., 2005. *and our faces, my heart, brief as photos*. London, New Delhi, New York and Sydney: Bloomsbury.

Bibbings, J., 2018. So what is priority need - and why do we want to get rid of it? *Shelter Cymru*.

Bieletto-Bueno, N., 2017. Noise, soundscape and heritage: Sound cartographies and urban segregation in twenty-first-century Mexico City. *Journal of Urban Cultural Studies*, 4 (1), 107–126.

Bijsterveld, K. and Dijck, J. van, eds., 2009. *Sound souvenirs: audio technologies, memory and cultural practices*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Billig, M.S., 2010. *Banal nationalism*. Repr. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Birdsall, C., 2009. Earwitnessing: Sound Memories of the Nazi Period. *In*: K. Bijsterveld and J. van Dijck, eds. *Sound souvenirs: audio technologies, memory and cultural practices*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 169–181.

Bishop, C., 2012. *Artificial hells: participatory art and the politics of spectatorship*. London ; New York: Verso Books.

Black, J., 1997. *Maps and politics*. Rathbone Place, London: Reaktion Books.

Blanchot, M., 1987. Everyday Speech. *Yale French Studies*, (73), 12.

Bloch, E., 1986. *The principle of hope*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Boal, A., 2001. *Theatre of the oppressed*. New York, NY: Theatre Communications Group.

Bookchin, M., 2005. *The ecology of freedom: the emergence and dissolution of hierarchy*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.

Boon, T., 2014. Music for Spaces: Music for Space - An argument for sound as a component of museum experience. *Journal of Sonic Studies*, (8).

Bradbury-Huang, H., 2015. *The SAGE Handbook of Action Research*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: SAGE Publications.

Bramley, G., 1988. The definition and measurement of homelessness. *Homelessness and the London Housing Market, Occasional Paper*.

Bramley, G., 2017. *Homelessness projections: Core homelessness in Great Britain*. Crisis; Heriot Watt University, Summary Report.

Bramley, G. and Fitzpatrick, S., 2018. Homelessness in the UK: who is most at risk? *Housing Studies*, 33 (1), 96–116.

Brecht, B., 1976. *Poems*. London: Eyre Methuen Ltd.

Breitsameter, S., 2017. Soundscape as a System and an Auditory Gestalt. *In*: B. Herzogenrath, ed. *sonic thinking: a media philosophical approach*. Bloomsbury Publishing Inc, 51–64.

Bretherton, J., Hunter, C., and Johnsen, S., 2013. 'You can judge them on how they look…': Homelessness Officers, Medical Evidence and Decision-Making in England. *European Journal of Homelessness*, 7 (1), 69–92.

British Library, 2015a. Sounds of our Shores: Sounds of our Shores [online]. Available from: http://www.bl.uk/sounds-of-our-shores [Accessed 14 Dec 2015].

British Library, 2015b. Sounds of our Shores: About the project [online]. Available from: http://www.bl.uk/sounds-of-our-shores/about [Accessed 8 Jun 2016].

British Library, 2019. Wildlife and environmental sounds [online]. *The British Library*. Available from: https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/wildlife-and-environmental-sounds [Accessed 30 Aug 2019].

Brown, W., 2010. We Are All Democrats Now...*. *Theory & Event*, 13 (2).

Bubaris, N., 2014. Sound in museums – museums in sound. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 29 (4), 391–402.

Buchli, V., Lucas, G., and Cox, M., 2001. *Archaeologies of the contemporary past*. London ; New York: Routledge.

Bull, M., 2007. *Sound moves: iPod culture and urban experience*. London ; New York: Routledge.

Bull, M., 2011. iPod Culture: The Toxic Pleasures of Audiotopia. *The Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies*.

Bull, M., 2013. iPod use: an urban aesthetics of sonic ubiquity. *Continuum*, 27 (4), 495–504.

Bull, M. and Back, L., 2003. *The auditory culture reader*. Oxford, UK; New York: Berg.

Bull, M., Gilroy, P., Howes, D., and Kahn, D., 2006. Introducing Sensory Studies. *The Senses and Society*, 1 (1), 5–7.

Bull, M. and Howes, D., 2016. Editorial: The Expanding Field of Sensory Studies. *The Senses and Society*, 11 (1), 1–2.

Bunis, W.K., Yancik, A., and Snow, D.A., 1996. The Cultural Patterning of Sympathy toward the Homeless and Other Victims of Misfortune. *Social Problems*, 43 (4), 387–402.

Burström, M., 2014. More than a Sensitive Ear: What to Expect of a Professional Expert. *In*: J. Schofield, ed. *Who needs experts?: counter-mapping cultural heritage*. Farnham, Surry, UK ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 101–112.

Butler, B., 2006. Heritage and the Present Past. *In*: C.Y. Tilley, ed. *Handbook of Material Culture*. Sage Publications Ltd, 464–478.

Butler, B., 2007. *Return to Alexandria: an ethnography of cultural heritage, revivalism, and museum memory*. Walnut Creek, Calif: Left Coast Press.

Butler, B., 2009. 'Othering' the archive—from exile to inclusion and heritage dignity: the case of Palestinian archival memory. *Archival Science*, 9 (1–2), 57–69.

Butler, B., 2012. Heritage as Pharmakon and the Muses as deconstruction: problematising curative museologies and heritage healing. *In*: S.H. Dudley and S.M. Pearce, eds. *The thing about museums objects and experience, representation and contestation: essays in honour of professor Susan M. Pearce*. London; New York, NY: Routledge, 354–371.

Butler, J., 2004. *Precarious life: the powers of mourning and violence*. London ; New York: Verso.

Butler, P., 2018. Universal credit staff: 'It was more about getting them off the phone'. *The Guardian*, 22 Jul.

Byrne, D., 1991. Western hegemony in archaeological heritage management. *History and Anthropology*, 5 (2), 269–276.

Byrne, D., 2013. Couter-mapping and Migrancy on the Georges River. *In*: J. Schofield, ed. *Who needs experts?: counter-mapping cultural heritage*. Farnham, Surry, UK ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 77–92.

Byrne, D., Nugent, M., New South Wales, and Department of Environment and Conservation, 2004. *Mapping attachment: a spatial approach to Aboriginal post-contact heritage*. Hurstville N.S.W.: Dept. of Environment and Conservation (NSW).

CanadaSound, 2017. CanadaSound Stream. *CanadaSound*.

Cardoso, L., 2019. Introduction: hearing like a state. *Sound Studies*, 5 (1), 1–3.

Carlyle, A., 2014. The God's Eye and The Buffalo's Breath: Seeing and Hearing Web-Based Sound Maps. *In*: R. Castro and M. Carvalhais, eds. *Proceedings of Invisible Places / Sounding Cities. Sound Urbanism and Sense of Place*. Viseu.

Carlyle, A., 2017. Memories of Memories of Memories of Memories: Remembering and Recording on the Silent Mountain. *In*: *Sonic thinking: a media philosophical approach*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing, Inc, 65–98.

Carlyle, A. and Lane, C., eds., 2013. *On listening*. Axminster, Devon: Uniformbooks.

Carman, J., 2011. Stories We Tell: Myths at the Heart of 'Community Archaeology'. *Archaeologies*, 7 (3), 490–501.

Carpentier, N., 2011. *Media and participation: a site of ideological-democratic struggle*. Bristol: Intellect.

Ceraso, S., 2010. The Sight of Sound: Mapping Audio. *HASTAC*.

de Certeau, M., 1984. *The practice of everyday life. [1]: [...]*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Chambliss, W.J., 1964. A Sociological Analysis of the Law of Vagrancy. *Social Problems*, 12 (1), 67–77.

Chatterjee, H., 2016. *Museums, Health and Well-Being*. 1st ed. Routledge.

Chauhan, A. and Foster, J., 2014. Representations of Poverty in British Newspapers: A Case of 'Othering' the Threat?: Representations of poverty. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 24 (5), 390–405.

Clapham, D., Kemp, P., and Smith, S.J., 1990. Housing Management and Social Policy. *In*: D. Clapham, P. Kemp, and S.J. Smith, eds. *Housing and Social Policy*. London: Macmillan Education UK, 200–223.

Cleere, H., 1996. The concept of 'outstanding universal value' in the World Heritage Convention. *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 1 (4), 227–233.

Cloke, P., Milbourne, P., and Widdowfield, R., 2001. Making the homeless count? Enumerating rough sleepers and the distortion of homelessness. *Policy & Politics*, 29 (3), 259–279.

Coghlan, R., 2018. 'My voice counts because I'm handsome.' Democratising the museum: the power of museum participation. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24 (7), 795–809.

Cohen, P., 2016. Our Kind of Town. *Livingmaps Review*, 1 (1).

Cohen, P., 2017a. Our Kind of Town (2). *Livingmaps Review*, 0 (2).

Cohen, P., 2017b. *London 2012 and the post-Olympics city: a hollow legacy?*

Cohen, P., 2020. There Must Be Some Way Out of Here: Mapping the Pandemic from the Left Field.

Cohen, P. and Watt, P., eds., 2014. *On the wrong side of the track?: East London and the post-Olympics*.

Colebrook, C., 2002. The politics and potential of everyday life. *New Literary History*, 33 (4), 687–706.

Colourful Heritage, 2010. Colourful Heritage – Capture | Celebrate | Inspire.

Connor, S., 2014. Sadistic Listening. Presented at the Hearing Modernity, Harvard University.

Conradson, D., 2003. Spaces of care in the city: the place of a community drop-in centre. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 4 (4), 507–525.

Cooke, F.M., 2003. Maps and Counter-Maps: Globalised Imaginings and Local Realities of Sarawak's Plantation Agriculture. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 34 (2), 265–284.

Coombe, R.J. and Weiss, L.M., 2015. Neoliberalism, Heritage Regimes, and Cultural Rights. *In*: L. Meskell, ed. *Global heritage: a reader*. Chichester, UK ; Malden, MA: WILEY Blackwell, 43–69.

Corbin, A., 1999. *Village bells: sound and meaning in the 19th century French countryside*. London: Papermac.

Cornwall, A. and Coelho, V.S.P., eds., 2007. *Spaces for change? the politics of citizen participation in new democratic arenas*. London: Zed Books.

Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, 2005.

Countryfile, 2015. Cornwall, BBC1. Jul 5.

Cox, T.J., 2014. *Sonic wonderland: a scientific odyssey of sound*.

Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, 1994.

Cromarty, H. and Strickland, P., 2018. Rough Sleepers and Anti-Social Behaviour (England).

Cronley, C., 2010. Unraveling the Social Construction of Homelessness. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 20 (2), 319–333.

Daston, L., 2008. On Scientific Observation. *Isis*, 99 (1), 97–110.

Datta, A., 2005. 'Homed' in Arizona: The Architecture of Emergency Shelters. *Urban Geography*, 26 (6), 536–557.

Davies, A., 2013. 'Right to Buy': The Development of a Conservative Housing Policy, 1945–1980. *Contemporary British History*, 27 (4), 421–444.

Davies, C.A., 2008. *Reflexive ethnography: a guide to researching selves and others*. 2nd ed. London ; New York: Routledge.

Davis, M., 1991. Afterword - A Logic like Hell's: Being Homeless in Los Angeles. *UCLA Law Review*, 39, 325.

Davis, M., 2006. *City of quartz: excavating the future in Los Angeles*. New ed. London ; New York: Verso.

De Cesari, C., 2010. World Heritage and mosaic universalism: A view from Palestine. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 10 (3), 299–324.

De Cesari, C. and Herzfeld, M., 2015. Urban Heritage and Social Movements. *In*: L. Meskell, ed. *Global heritage: a reader*. Chichester, UK ; Malden, MA: WILEY Blackwell, 171–195.

Dean, J., 2005. Communicative Capitalism: Circulation and the Foreclosure of Politics. *Cultural Politics*, 1 (1), 51–74.

Debord, G., 1967. *The society of the spectacle*. Reprint. Detroit, Mich: Black & Red [u.a.].

DeNora, T., 2000. *Music in everyday life*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Derrida, J., 1981. *Dissemination*. London: Athlone.

Derrida, J., 1995. Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression. *Diacritics*, 25 (2), 9–63.

DeSilvey, C., 2012. Making sense of transience: an anticipatory history. *Cultural Geographies*, 19 (1), 31–54.

DeSilvey, C., 2017. *Curated Decay: Heritage Beyond Saving*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Desjarlais, R.R., 1997. *Shelter blues: sanity and selfhood among the homeless*. Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania.

Devereux, P., 2008. The association of prehistoric rock-art and rock selection with acoustically significant landscape locations. *In*: G. Nash and G. Children, eds. *The archaeology of semiotics and the social order of things*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 19–29.

DeVerteuil, G., May, J., and von Mahs, J., 2009. Complexity not collapse: recasting the geographies of homelessness in a 'punitive' age. *Progress in Human Geography*, 33 (5), 646–666.

Di Croce, N., 2017. Sonic territorialisation in motion. Reporting from the homeless occupation of public space in Grenoble. *Ambiances. Environnement sensible, architecture et espace urbain*, (3).

Dibley, B., 2005. The museum's redemption: Contact zones, government and the limits of reform. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 8 (1), 5–27.

Dixon, J., 2011. Archaeology, politics and politicians, or: Small p in a big p world. 111–124.

Dodd, J., O'Riain, H., Hooper-Greenhill, E., and Sandell, R., 2002. *A catalyst for change: the social impact of the Open Museum*. Leicester: Research Centre for Museums and Galleries.

Dodge, M., Kitchin, R., and Perkins, C., eds., 2011. *The Map Reader: Theories of Mapping Practice and Cartographic Representation*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Dolezal, C. and Gudka, J., 2019. London's 'Unseen Tours': Slumming or Social Tourism? *In*: A. Smith and A. Graham, eds. *Destination London: The Expansion of the Visitor Economy*. University of Westminster Press, 141–163.

Dover Express, 2015. VIDEO: English Defence League march in Dover turns nasty [online]. *Dover Express*. Available from: http://www.dover-express.co.uk/VIDEO-English-Defence-League-march-Dover-turns/story-27741931-detail/story.html [Accessed 15 Sep 2015].

Drever, J.L., 2007. Nostophonics: approaches to grasping everyday sounds from a British perspective. *In*: R. Bandt, M. Duffy, and D. MacKinnon, eds. *Hearing Places*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 161–173.

Drever, J.L., 2009. Soundwalking: Aural Excursions into the Everyday. *In*: J. Saunders, ed. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Experimental Music*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 163–192.

Drinkwater, C., Wildman, J., and Moffatt, S., 2019. Social prescribing. *BMJ*, 364, l1285.

Droumeva, M., 2017. Soundmapping as critical cartography: Engaging publics in listening to the environment. *Communication and the Public*, 2 (4), 335–351.

Duncan, C., 1995. *Civilizing rituals: inside public art museums*. London ; New York: Routledge.

Dyson, F., 2014. *The tone of our times: sound, sense, economy, and ecology*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Easthope, H., 2004. A place called home. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 21 (3), 128–138.

Edmiston, D., 2017. 'How the Other Half Live': Poor and Rich Citizenship in Austere Welfare Regimes. *Social Policy and Society*, 16 (02), 315–325.

Elden, S., 2004. *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: theory and the possible*. London ; New York: Continuum.

Elwood, S. and Lawson, V., 2017. Neutralizing Homelessness: Federal Policy and the Depoliticization of Poverty. *Urban Geography*, 38 (3), 329–331.

Erlmann, V., ed., 2004. *Hearing cultures: essays on sound, listening, and modernity*. English ed. Oxford ; New York: Berg.

Erlmann, V., 2010. *Reason and resonance: a history of modern aurality*. New York : Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books ; Distributed by MIT Press.

Evolve, 2018. *Through My Eyes: Perceptions of Homelessness*.

Fairclough, G., 2012. Others: a prologue. *In*: E. Giaccardi, ed. *Heritage and social media: understanding heritage in a participatory culture*. New York, NY: Routledge, xiv–xvii.

Fairclough, G., Šešić, M.D.-, Mijatović, L.R.-, Auclair, E., and Soini, K., 2014. The Faro Convention, a new paradigm for socially - and culturally - sustainable heritage action? *Культура/Culture*, (8), 9–19.

Farrugia, D., 2011. The symbolic burden of homelessness Towards a theory of youth homelessness as embodied subjectivity. *Journal of Sociology*, 47 (1), 71–87.

Farrugia, D. and Gerrard, J., 2016. Academic Knowledge and Contemporary Poverty: The Politics of Homelessness Research. *Sociology*, 50 (2), 267–284.

Featherstone, M., 2006. Archive. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 23 (2–3), 591–596.

Feld, S., 1987. Dialogic Editing: Interpreting How Kaluli Read Sound and Sentiment. *Cultural Anthropology*, 2 (2), 190–210.

Feld, S. and Brenneis, D., 2004. Doing anthropology in sound. *American Ethnologist*, 31 (4), 461–474.

Felski, R., 2002. Introduction. *New Literary History*, 33 (4), 607.

Fisher, M., 2009. *Capitalist realism: is there no alternative?* Winchester: O Books.

Fitzpatrick, S., Kemp, P., and Klinker, S., 2000. *Single homelessness: an overview of research in Britain*. Bristol: Policy.

Fitzpatrick, S. and Watts, B., 2017. Competing visions: security of tenure and the welfarisation of English social housing. *Housing Studies*, 32 (8), 1021–1038.

Fleming, M., 2015. Assembling Alternative Futures for Heritage Project Summary [online]. *Assembling Alternative Futures for Heritage*. Available from: http://alternativeheritagefutures.org/2015/08/ [Accessed 20 Oct 2015].

Flinn, A., 2010. An Attack on Professionalism and Scholarship? Democratising Archives and the Production of Knowledge. *Ariadne*, (62).

Flint, J., 2004. The responsible tenant: housing governance and the politics of behaviour. *Housing Studies*, 19 (6), 893–909.

Ford, D., 2017. *Education and the production of space: political pedagogy, geography, and urban revolution*. New York: Routledge.

Ford, F., 2010. The domestic soundscape and beyond: presenting everyday sounds to audiences. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Foucault, M., 1982. The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry*, 8 (4), 777–795.

Foucault, M., 1991. Governmentality. *In*: M. Foucault, G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller, eds. *The Foucault effect: studies in governmentality: with two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 87–104.

Foucault, M., 2002. *Archaeology of knowledge*. London ; New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M., Martin, L.H., Gutman, H., and Hutton, P.H., eds., 1988. *Technologies of the self: a seminar with Michel Foucault*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Fraser, N., 1996. *Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, and Participation*.

Fraser, N., 2000. Rethinking Recognition. *New Left Review*, (3), 107–120.

Fredheim, L.H., 2018. Endangerment-driven heritage volunteering: democratisation or 'Changeless Change'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24 (6), 619–633.

Fredheim, L.H., Macdonald, S., and Morgan, J., 2018. *Profusion in Museums: A Report on Contemporary Collecting and Disposal*. York: AHRC/University of York.

Frey, B.S., 1998. Superstar Museums: An Economic Analysis. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 22 (2), 113–125.

Gallagher, M. and Prior, J., 2014. Sonic geographies: Exploring phonographic methods. *Progress in Human Geography*, 38 (2), 267–284.

Gardiner, M., 2004. Everyday utopianism: Lefebvre and his critics. *Cultural Studies*, 18 (2–3), 228–254.

Gardner, J., 2017. The archaeology and heritage of mega events in London, 1851 - 2012 / Jonathan William Gardner.

Giddens, A., 1984. *The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Polity Press.

Giddens, A., 1991. *The consequences of modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gilliland, A.J. and Caswell, M., 2016. Records and their imaginaries: imagining the impossible, making possible the imagined. *Archival Science*, 16 (1), 53–75.

Goffman, E., 1961. *Asylums*. Garden City, NJ: Double Day.

Goh, A., 2017. Sounding Situated Knowledges: Echo in Archaeoacoustics. *Parallax*, 23 (3), 283–304.

González-Ruibal, A., González, P.A., and Criado-Boado, F., 2018. Against reactionary populism: towards a new public archaeology. *Antiquity*, 92 (362), 507–515.

Goodchild, M.F., 2011. Citizens as Sensors: The World of Volunteered Geography. *In*: M. Dodge, R. Kitchin, and C. Perkins, eds. *The Map Reader*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 370–378.

Goonewardena, K., Kipler, S., Milgrom, R., and Schmid, C., eds., 2008. *Space, difference, everyday life: reading Henri Lefebvre*. New York: Routledge.

Gowan, T., 2010. *Hobos, hustlers, and backsliders: homeless in San Francisco*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Graham, H., 2012. SCALING GOVERNMENTALITY: Museums, co-production and re-calibrations of the 'logic of culture'. *Cultural Studies*, 26 (4), 565–592.

Graham, H., 2017. Horizontality: Tactical Politics for Participation and Museums. *In*: P.G. Stone, P. Davis, and C. Whitehead, eds. *Engaging Heritage, Engaging Communities*. Boydell and Brewer, 73–88.

Grass, G., 2009. *The tin drum*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Graves-Brown, P., 2013. Old Bag's Way: Space and Power in Contemporary Heritage. *In*: J. Schofield, ed. *Who needs experts?: counter-mapping cultural heritage*. Farnham, Surry, UK ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 55–76.

Graves-Brown, P. and Kiddey, R., 2015. Reclaiming the streets. The role of archaeology in deconstructing the myths of contemporary society. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 135–147.

Grubbs, D., 2014. *Records ruin the landscape: John Cage, the sixties, and sound recording*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Grunberg, J. and Eagle, P.F., 1990. Shelterization: how the homeless adapt to shelter living. *Hospital & Community Psychiatry*, 41 (5), 521–525.

Guarino, K.M., 2014. Trauma-Informed Care for Families Experiencing Homelessness. *In*: M.E. Haskett, S. Perlman, and B.A. Cowan, eds. *Supporting Families Experiencing Homelessness: Current Practices and Future Directions*. New York, NY: Springer New York, 121–143.

Gura, T., 2013. Citizen science: Amateur experts. *Nature*, 496 (7444), 259–261.

Gurney, C., 1990. *The meaning of the home in the decade of owner occupation: towards an experiential research agenda*. Bristol: Bristol University, School for Advanced Urban Studies Working Paper No. 88.

Hacking, I., 2006. Making Up People. *London Review of Books*, 17 Aug, pp. 23–26.

Hage, G., 2000. *White nation: fantasies of white supremacy in a multicultural society*. New York, NY; Annandale, NSW: Routledge ; Pluto Press.

Hall, S., 1997. Raphael Samuel: 1934-96. *New Left Review; London*, 0 (221), 119–127.

Hall, S., 1999. Whose heritage?: Un-settling 'the heritage', re-imagining the post-nation. *Third Text*, 13 (49), 3–13.

Hamilakis, Y., 2017. Sensorial Assemblages: Affect, Memory and Temporality in Assemblage Thinking. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 27 (01), 169–182.

Hamilakis, Y. and Duke, P.G., eds., 2007. *Archaeology and capitalism: from ethics to politics*. Walnut Creek, Calif: Left Coast Press.

Hamilton, S., Whitehouse, R., Brown, K., Combes, P., Herring, E., and Thomas, M.S., 2006. Phenomenology in Practice: Towards a p Methodology for a `Subjective' Approach. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 9 (1), 31–71.

Harley, J.B., 2011. Deconstructing the Map. *In*: M. Dodge, R. Kitchin, and C. Perkins, eds. *The Map Reader: Theories of Mapping Practice and Cartographic Representation*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 56–65.

Harrison, R., 2010. Exorcising the 'plague of fantasies': mass media and archaeology's role in the present; or, why we need an archaeology of 'now'. *World Archaeology*, 42 (3), 328–340.

Harrison, R., 2011a. Counter-mapping' heritage, communities and places in Australia and the UK. *In*: J. Schofield and R. Szymanski, eds. *Local Heritage, Global Context: Cultural Perspectives on Sense of Place. Heritage, Culture and Identity*. Ashgate, 79–98.

Harrison, R., 2011b. Surface assemblages. Towards an archaeology in and of the present. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 18 (02), 141–161.

Harrison, R., 2013a. Forgetting to remember, remembering to forget: late modern heritage practices, sustainability and the 'crisis' of accumulation of the past. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19 (6), 579–595.

Harrison, R., 2013b. *Heritage: critical approaches*. Milton Park, Abingdon ; New York: Routledge.

Harrison, R., 2014. Observing, Collecting and Governing "Ourselves" and "Others": Mass-Observation's Fieldwork Agencements. *History and Anthropology*, 25 (2), 227–245.

Harrison, R., 2015. Beyond "Natural" and "Cultural" Heritage: Toward an Ontological Politics of Heritage in the Age of Anthropocene. *Heritage & Society*, 8 (1), 24–42.

Harrison, R., 2017. Freezing Seeds and Making Futures: Endangerment, Hope, Security, and Time in Agrobiodiversity Conservation Practices. *Culture, Agriculture, Food and Environment*, 39 (2), 80–89.

Harrison, R., Bartolini, N., DeSilvey, C., Holtorf, C., Lyons, A., Macdonald, S., May, S., Morgan, J., and Penrose, S., 2016. Heritage Futures. *Archaeology International*, 19 (0), 68–72.

Harvey, D., 1974. Class-monopoly rent, finance capital and the urban revolution. *Regional Studies*, 8 (3–4), 239–255.

Harvey, D., 2001a. *Spaces of capital: towards a critical geography*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press.

Harvey, D.C., 2001b. Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7 (4), 319–338.

Harvey, D.C., 2015. Heritage and scale: settings, boundaries and relations. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21 (6), 577–593.

Heller, A., 1984. *Everyday life*. London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Hennigan, B., 2017. House broken: homelessness, housing first, and neoliberal poverty governance. *Urban Geography*, 38 (9), 1418–1440.

Heuson, J., 2015. Sounding Western: Frontier Aurality, Tourism, and Heritage Production in South Dakota's Black Hills. New York University, New York.

Hewison, R., 1987. *The heritage industry: Britain in a climate of decline*. London: Methuen London.

Highmore, B., 2002. *Everyday life and cultural theory: an introduction*. London ; New York: Routledge.

Hirschkind, C., 2006. *The ethical soundscape: cassette sermons and Islamic counterpublics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hiscock, R., Kearns, A., MacIntyre, S., and Ellaway, A., 2001. Ontological Security and Psycho-Social Benefits from the Home: Qualitative Evidence on Issues of Tenure. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 18 (1–2), 50–66.

Historic England, 2010. *Heritage Counts 2010: Economic Impact of the Historic Environment*.

Historic England, 2017. *Heritage Counts 2017: 50 Years of Conservation Areas*.

Historic England, 2019a. Historic England - Championing England's heritage | Historic England [online]. Available from: https://historicengland.org.uk/ [Accessed 2 Jun 2019].

Historic England, 2019b. Heritage Conservation Defined [online]. Available from: https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/hpg/generalintro/heritage-conservation-defined/ [Accessed 2 Jun 2019].

Historic England, 2019c. Pride of Place: England's LGBTQ Heritage | Historic England [online]. Available from: http://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/lgbtq-heritage-project/ [Accessed 30 Jul 2019].

HM Land Registry, 2019. UK House Price Index.

Hobsbawm, E.J. and Ranger, T.O., eds., 2012. *The Invention of tradition*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press.

Hoelscher, S., 2006. Heritage. *In*: S. Macdonald, ed. *A companion to museum studies*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 198–218.

Hogeveen, B. and Freistadt, J., 2013. Hospitality and the Homeless: Jacques Derrida in the Neoliberal City. *Journal of Theoretical & Philosophical Criminology; Indianapolis*, 5 (1), 39–63.

Holtorf, C., 2011. On the Future Significance of Heritage. *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 44 (1), 64–66.

Holtorf, C., 2014. Preservation Paradigm in Heritage Management. *In*: C. Smith, ed. *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*. Springer, 6128–6131.

Holtorf, C., 2015. Averting loss aversion in cultural heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21 (4), 405–421.

Holtorf, C. and Fairclough, G., 2013. The New Heritage and re-shapings of the past. *In*: *Reclaiming Archaeology*. Routledge.

Homeless Link, 2017. An introduction to Psychologically Informed Environments and Trauma Informed Care - Briefing for homelessness services.

Horning, A., 2013. Politics, Publics and Professional Pragmatics: *In*: C. DALGLISH, ed. *Archaeology, the Public and the Recent Past*. Boydell and Brewer, 95–110.

Hoskins, A., 2011. Media, Memory, Metaphor: Remembering and the Connective Turn. *Parallax*, 17 (4), 19–31.

Howes, D. and Classen, C., 2014. *Ways of sensing: understanding the senses in society*. New York: Routledge.

Hudak, T., n.d. Frequently Asked Questions. *Museum of Homelessness*.

Humphreys, R., 1999. *No fixed abode: a history of responses to the roofless and the rootless in Britain*. Houndmills, Balsingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave.

ICOMOS, 1994. The Nara Document on Authenticity.

Jacobson, K., 2012. Philosophical Perspectives on Home. *In*: S.J. Smith, M. Elsinga, L.F. O'Mahony, O.S. Eng, S. Wachter, and R. Dowling, eds. *International Encyclopedia of Housing and Home, Vol. 5*. Elsevier, 178–182.

Jay, M., 1993. *Downcast eyes the denigration of vision in twentieth-century French thought*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jay, M., 2011. In the Realm of the Senses: An IntroductionMartin JayIn the Realm of the Senses. *The American Historical Review*, 116 (2), 307–315.

Johnsen, S., Cloke, P., and May, J., 2005. Day centres for homeless people: spaces of care or fear? *Social & Cultural Geography*, 6 (6), 787–811.

Johnsen, S. and Teixeira, L., 2010. *Staircases, Elevators and Cycles of Change: 'Housing First' and Other Housing Models for Homeless People with Complex Support Needs*. Crisis; University of York.

Johnston, R. and Marwood, K., 2017. Action heritage: research, communities, social justice. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23 (9), 816–831.

Jones, K., 2005. Music in factories: a twentieth-century technique for control of the productive self. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 6 (5), 723–744.

Jones, S., 2006. 'They made it a living thing didn't they...' The Growth of Things and the Fossilisation of Heritage. *In*: R. Layton and P. Ucko, eds. *A future for archaeology: the past in the present*. London: UCL Press.

Jones, S.C. and Schumacher, T.G., 1992. Muzak: On functional music and power. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 9 (2), 156–169.

de Jong, S., 2018. Sentimental Education. Sound and Silence at History Museums. *Museum and Society*, 16 (1).

Jordan, L., 2012. Spaces of trauma: Young people, homelessness and violence. *Youth Studies Australia*, 31 (4), 11.

K. Hopper, E., L. Bassuk, E., and Olivet, J., 2010. Shelter from the Storm: Trauma-Informed Care in Homelessness Services Settings. *The Open Health Services and Policy Journal*, 3 (1).

Kahn, D., 1997. John Cage: Silence and Silencing. *The Musical Quarterly*, 81 (4), 556–598.

Kahn, D., 1999. *Noise, water, meat: a history of sound in the arts*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Kahneman, D., Knetsch, J.L., and Thaler, R., 1991. Anomalies: The Endowment Effect, Loss Aversion, and Status Quo Bias. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5 (1), 193–206.

Kane, B., 2015. Sound studies without auditory culture: a critique of the ontological turn. *Sound Studies*, 1 (1), 2–21.

Kannenberg, J., 2016. Listening to Museums: Sound Mapping towards a Sonically Inclusive Museology. *Museological Review*, The Global Microphone (20), 6–17.

Kapoor, D. and Jordan, S., 2009. Introduction: International Perspectives on Education, PAR, and Social Change. *In*: D. Kapoor and S. Jordan, eds. *Education, Participatory Action Research, and Social Change: International Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 1–11.

Kautonen, O. and Koivumäki, A., 2010. Soundscape stories and routes in Pirkanmaa.

Kemmis, S., McTaggart, R., and Nixon, R., 2014. *The action research planner: doing critical participatory action research*. Singapore Heidelberg New York Dordrecht London: Springer.

Keys, R.B., 2013. Developing the New Zealand Soundmap: An exploration of soundmap practice, site listening, locative media and the sound environment.

Kidd, J., 2018. *Public Heritage and the Promise of the Digital*. Oxford University Press.

Kiddey, B., 2014a. Punks and Drunks: Counter-mapping Homelessness in Bristol and York. *In*: J. Schofield, ed. *Who needs experts?: counter-mapping cultural heritage*. Farnham, Surry, UK ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 165–180.

Kiddey, R., 2014b. Homeless Heritage: collaborative social archaeology as therapeutic practice. University of York, York.

Kiddey, R., 2017a. From the ground up: cultural heritage practices as tools for empowerment in the Homeless Heritage project. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 0 (0), 1–15.

Kiddey, R., 2017b. *Homeless heritage: collaborative social archaeology as therapeutic practice*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kiddey, R., Daffnis, A., Hallam, J., and Brate, M., 2016. Journeys in the City: Homeless Archaeologists or Archaeologies of Homelessness. *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology*, 2 (2), 235–244.

Kinsley, R.P., 2016. Inclusion in museums: a matter of social justice. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 31 (5), 474–490.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B., 2004. Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production. *Museum International*, 56 (1–2), 52–65.

Kofman, E. and Lebas, E., 1996. Lost in Transposition - Time, Space and the City. *In*: *Writings on cities*. Cambridge, Mass, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 3–62.

Komen, L. and Oomen, J., 2013. Sound of the Netherlands: Towards a Pan-European Collection of Sounds. *In*: Ł. Bolikowski, V. Casarosa, P. Goodale, N. Houssos, P. Manghi, and J. Schirrwagen, eds. *Theory and Practice of Digital Libraries -- TPDL 2013 Selected Workshops*. Springer International Publishing, 180–183.

Krause, B.L., 2015. *Voices of the wild: animal songs, human din, and the call to save natural soundscapes*. New Haven ; London: Yale University Press.

Kropotkin, P.A., 2015. *The conquest of bread*. This edition, using the 1913 text, first published in Penguin Classics in 2015. London: Penguin Classics.

Kytö, M., Remy, N., and Uimonen, H., eds., 2012. *European Acoustic Heritage*. Tampere: Tampere Univ. of Applied Sciecnes [u.a.].

Labadi, S., 2013. *UNESCO, cultural heritage, and outstanding universal value: value-based analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions*. Lanham, Md: AltaMira Press.

Labadi, S. and Long, C., eds., 2010. *Heritage and globalisation*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, England ; New York, NY: Routledge.

LaBelle, B., 2006. *Background noise: perspectives on sound art*. New York: Continuum International.

LaBelle, B., 2010. *Acoustic territories: sound culture and everyday life*. New York: Continuum.

LaBelle, B., 2018. *Sonic agency: sound and emergent forms of resistance*. London: Goldsmiths Press.

Lancione, M., 2013. How is Homelessness? *European Journal of Homelessness*, 7 (2), 237–247.

Landsberg, A., 2004. *Prosthetic memory: the transformation of American remembrance in the age of mass culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Landzelius, M., 2003. Commemorative dis(re)membering: erasing heritage, spatializing disinheritance? *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21 (2), 195–221.

Lane, C. and Parry, N., 2005. The Memory Machine: sound and memory at the British Museum. *Organised Sound*, 10 (02), 141–148.

Langbauer, L., 1992. Cultural Studies and the Politics of the Everyday. *Diacritics*, 22 (1), 47–65.

Lebas, E., 2003. Introduction. *In*: S. Elden, E. Lebas, and E. Kofman, eds. *Henri Lefebvre: key writings*. New York: Continuum, 69–70.

Lefebvre, H., 1971. *Everyday Life in the Modern World*. New York: Harper Torchbooks.

Lefebvre, H., 1988. Towards a Leftist Cultural Politics: Remarks Occasioned by the Centenary of Marx's Death. *In*: C. Nelson and L. Grossberg, eds., D. Reifman, tran. *Marxism and the interpretation of culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 75–88.

Lefebvre, H., 1991. *Critique of everyday life*. London ; New York: Verso.

Lefebvre, H., 1995. Notes on a new town. *In*: *Introduction to modernity: twelve preludes, September 1959-May 1961*. London ; New York: Verso, 116–126.

Lefebvre, H., 2004. *Rhythmanalysis: space, time, and everyday life*. London ; New York: Continuum.

Lefebvre, H., 2008a. *Critique of Everyday Life, Vol. 2: Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday*. Special ed. London ; New York: Verso.

Lefebvre, H., 2008b. *Critique of everyday life*. Special ed. London ; New York: Verso.

Lefebvre, H., 2011. *The production of space*. Nachdr. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. and Régulier, C., 1999. The Rhythmanalytical Project. *Rethinking Marxism*, 11 (1), 5–13.

Lewis-Smith, V., 2019. Funny Old World. *Private Eye*, (No. 1505).

Lindqvist, S., 1979. Dig Where You Stand. *Oral History*, 7 (2), 24–30.

Lingis, A., 1994. *The community of those who have nothing in common*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Linklater, A., 2014. *Owning the Earth: the transforming history of land ownership*.

Lipsky, M., 1980. *Street-level bureaucracy: dilemmas of the individual in public services*. 30th anniversary expanded ed. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Little, C., 2015. The 'Mosquito' and the transformation of British public space. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 18 (2), 167–182.

Lorey, I., 2015. *State of insecurity: government of the precarious*. London ; New York: Verso.

Lovenduski, J., 2012. Prime Minister's questions as political ritual. *British Politics*, 7 (4), 314–340.

Lowenthal, D., 1985. *The past is a foreign country*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lynch, B., 2011. *Whose cake is it anyway? A collaborative investigation into engagement and participation in 12 museums and galleries in the UK*. Paul Hamlyn Foundation.

Lynch, B., 2016. "Good for you, but I don't care!": critical museum pedagogy in educational and curatorial practice. Presented at the DIFFERENCES Symposium, University of the Arts, ZHdK, Zürich.

Lynch, R., 2017. Why You Can't Visit The Museum Of Portable Sound | Londonist [online]. *Londonist*. Available from: https://londonist.com/london/museums-and-galleries/museum-of-portable-sound [Accessed 8 Sep 2017].

Lyon-Callo, V., 2001. Making Sense of NIMBY poverty, power and community opposition to homeless shelters. *City & Society*, 13 (2), 183–209.

Macdonald, S., 2016. New Constellations of Difference in Europe's 21st-Century Museumscape. *Museum Anthropology*, 39 (1), 4–19.

Madrid, A.L., 2016. Landscapes and gimmicks from the "sounded city": listening for the nation at the sound archive. *Sound Studies*, 2 (2), 119–136.

Manovich, L., 1999. Database as Symbolic Form. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 5 (2), 80–99.

Mansary, A. and Munday, R., 2016. Noise complaints won't stop bagpipe music to drive homeless - The Breaker - Bournemouth University. *The Breaker*.

Mansell, D.J., 2017. Chamber of noise horrors. *Science Museum Group Journal*, 7 (07).

Mansell, J.G., 2016. *The age of noise in Britain: hearing modernity*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Marcus, A., 2003. Shelterization Revisited: Some Methodological Dangers of Institutional Studies of Homelessness. *Human Organization*, 62 (2), 134–141.

Marcuse, P., 1988. Neutralizing homelessness. *Socialist Review*, 18 (1), 69-96.

Marcuse, P., 2017. After Exposing the Roots of Homelessness – What? *Urban Geography*, 38 (3), 357–359.

Marquardt, N., 2016. Learning to feel at home. Governing homelessness and the politics of affect. *Emotion, Space and Society*, 19, 29–36.

Marx, K., 1843. Letters from the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher [online]. *Marxists.org*. Available from: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/letters/43_09.htm [Accessed 2 Aug 2019].

Marx, K., 1969. Theses on Feuerbach. *In*: W. Lough, tran. *Marx/Engels Selected Works*. Progress Publishers, Moscow, USSR, 13–15.

Massey, D., 1991. A Global Sense Of Place. *Marxism Today*, June, 24–29.

Massey, D.B., 2005. *For space*. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE.

Matarasso, F., 1998. *Use or ornament?: the social impact of participation in the arts*. Stroud (Gloucester): Comedia.

May, J., Cloke, P., and Johnsen, S., 2007. Alternative Cartographies of Homelessness: Rendering visible British women's experiences of 'visible' homelessness. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 14 (2), 121–140.

May, S., 2019. Heritage, endangerment and participation: alternative futures in the Lake District. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 0 (0), 1–16.

McLaren, P., 1998. Revolutionary Pedagogy in Post-Revolutionary Times: Rethinking the Political Economy of Critical Education. *Educational Theory*, 48 (4), 431–462.

McLuhan, M., 2010. *Understanding media: the extensions of man*. Repr. London: Routledge.

Mechtley, B., 2013. List of Web Sound Map Projects [online]. Available from: http://www.bmechtley.me/maps/index.html [Accessed 23 Jun 2019].

Meert, H., Maurel, E., and Cabrera, P., 2006. Homelessness as a socio-spatial phenomenon. A discourse analysis of articles in the European written press. H. Meert, P. Cabrera and E. Maurel - 2006. Presented at the ENHR conference, Slovenia (Ljubljana).

Merrifield, A., 2002. Henri Lefebvre: A socialist in space. *In*: M. Crang and N. Thrift, eds. *Thinking Space*. Routledge, 167–182.

Merriman, N., 2008. Museum collections and sustainability. *Cultural Trends*, 17 (1), 3–21.

Meskell, L., 2002. Negative Heritage and Past Mastering in Archaeology. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 75 (3), 557–574.

Meskell, L., 2012. The rush to inscribe: Reflections on the 35th Session of the World Heritage Committee, UNESCO Paris, 2011. *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 37 (2), 145–151.

Metropolis, 1927. Kino International, New York.

Middleton, S., 2017. Henri Lefebvre on education: Critique and pedagogy. *Policy Futures in Education*, 15 (4), 410–426.

Miller, D., 2010. *Stuff*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Mills, C.W., 2000. *The sociological imagination*. Oxford [England] New York: Oxford University Press.

Mitchell, T., 1992. Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order. *In*: N.B. Dirks, ed. *Colonialism and culture*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 289–317.

Morgan, J. and Macdonald, S., 2018. De-growing museum collections for new heritage futures. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 1–15.

Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, 2019. Culture Segments [online]. Available from: https://mhminsight.com/culture-segments [Accessed 26 Dec 2019].

Morse, N. and Munro, E., 2018. Museums' community engagement schemes, austerity and practices of care in two local museum services. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 19 (3), 357–378.

Morton, T., 2013. *Hyperobjects: philosophy and ecology after the end of the world*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Mullin, G., 2016. Far-right protesters burn EU flag at Dover march chanting 'no more refugees' [online]. *mirror*. Available from: http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/refugeeswelcome-projected-onto-white-cliffs-7675454 [Accessed 7 Apr 2016].

Munro, E., 2013. "People just need to feel important, like someone is listening": Recognising museums' community engagement programmes as spaces of care. *Geoforum*, 48, 54–62.

Museum of Homelessness, 2018. *Annual Review July 2017 - June 2018*.

Museum of Homelessness, 2019a. About Us. *Museum of Homelessness*.

Museum of Homelessness, 2019b. Dying Homeless Project. *Museum of Homelessness*.

n.a., 2015. National Trust: Sounds of the Sea on the London Underground [online]. *Chloe Nelkin Consulting*. Available from: http://www.chloenelkinconsulting.com/news/national-trust-sounds-of-the-sea-on-the-london-underground [Accessed 6 Sep 2016].

Naidoo, R., 2010. Diversity after Diversity. *In*: *Beyond Cultural Diversity: The Case for Creativity*. London: Third Text Publications, 71–80.

Naidoo, R., 2016. All that we are – heritage inside out and upside down. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 22 (7), 504–514.

Napier, A.D., Ancarno, C., Butler, B., Calabrese, J., Chater, A., Chatterjee, H., Guesnet, F., Horne, R., Jacyna, S., Jadhav, S., Macdonald, A., Neuendorf, U., Parkhurst, A., Reynolds, R., Scambler, G., Shamdasani, S., Smith, S.Z., Stougaard-Nielsen, J., Thomson, L., Tyler, N., Volkmann, A.-M., Walker, T., Watson, J., de C Williams, A.C., Willott, C., Wilson, J., and Woolf, K., 2014. Culture and health. *The Lancet*, 384 (9954), 1607–1639.

National Trust, 2019. Prejudice and Pride: Exploring LGBTQ history [online]. *National Trust*. Available from: https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/prejudice-and-pride-exploring-lgbtq-history [Accessed 30 Jul 2019].

Navaro-Yashin, Y., 2009. Affective spaces, melancholic objects: ruination and the production of anthropological knowledge. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 15 (1), 1–18.

Neale, J., 1997. Homelessness and theory reconsidered. *Housing Studies*, 12 (1), 47–61.

Noakes, L., 2015. A broken silence? Mass Observation, Armistice Day and 'everyday life' in Britain 1937–1941. *Journal of European Studies*, 45 (4), 331–346.

Nora, P., 1989. Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations*, (26), 7–24.

Novak, M., 2000. Defining Social Justice [online]. *First Things*. Available from: https://www.firstthings.com/article/2000/12/defining-social-justice [Accessed 29 Apr 2018].

Novak, M. and Adams, P., 2015. *Social justice isn't what you think it is*. First American edition. New York: Encounter Books.

Ockman, J., 2004. New Politics of the Spectacle: "Bilbao" and the Global Imagination. *In*: D.M. Lasansky and B. McLaren, eds. *Architecture and tourism: perception, performance, and place*. Oxford ; New York: Berg, 227–240.

O'connor, P., 2011. Turning a Deaf Ear: Acoustic Value in the Assessment of Heritage Landscapes. *Landscape Research*, 36 (3), 269–290.

O'Neill, B., 2017. *The Space of Boredom: Homelessness in the Slowing Global Order*. Duke University Press.

O'Neill, M. and Silverman, L.H., 2012. Foreword. *In*: R. Sandell and E. Nightingale, eds. *Museums, equality, and social justice*. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge, xx–xxii.

Owens, T., 2013. Digital Cultural Heritage and the Crowd. *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 56 (1), 121–130.

Pallasmaa, J., 1992. Identity, Intimacy, and Domicile: Notes on the phenomenology of home. Presented at the The Concept of Home: An Interdisciplinary View, University of Trondheim.

Panagia, D., 2009. *The political life of sensation*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Paquette, D. and McCartney, A., 2012. Soundwalking and the Bodily Exploration of Places. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 37 (1).

Passaro, J., 1996. *The unequal homeless: men on the streets, women in their place*. New York: Routledge.

Payer, P., 2007. The Age of Noise: Early Reactions in Vienna, 1870—1914. *Journal of Urban History*, 33 (5), 773–793.

Peake, B., 2014. Noise. *Cultural Studies*, 0 (0), 1–28.

Pearce, S.M., 1995. *On collecting: an investigation into collecting in the European tradition*. London ; New York: Routledge.

Peck, J. and Tickell, A., 2002. Neoliberalizing Space. *Antipode*, 34 (3), 380–404.

Peluso, N.L., 1995. Whose Woods Are These? Counter-Mapping Forest Territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Antipode*, 27 (4), 383–406.

Pennock, M. and Clark, C., 2011. Saving the Sounds of the UK in the UK Sound Map. *Ariadne*, (66).

Perec, G., 2008a. *Species of spaces and other pieces*. London: Penguin Books.

Perec, G., 2008b. *Life, a user's manual*. London: Vintage.

Perec, G., 2010. *An attempt at exhausting a place in Paris*. Cambridge, MA : New York: Wakefield Press ; D.A.P./Distributed Art Publishers [distributor].

Phillips, R., 2018. Georges Perec's experimental fieldwork; Perecquian fieldwork. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 19 (2), 171–191.

Pinch, T. and Bijsterveld, K., eds., 2012. *The Oxford handbook of sound studies*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Plaza, B., 2006. The return on investment of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30 (2), 452–467.

Pleace, N., 2000. The New Consensus, the Old Consensus and the Provision of Services for People Sleeping Rough. *Housing Studies*, 15 (4), 581–594.

Pleace, N., 2016. Researching Homelessness in Europe : Theoretical Perspectives. *European Journal of Homelessness*, 19–44.

Pleace, N., Burrows, R., and Quilgars, D., 1997. Homelessness in contemporary Britiain: conceptualiation and measurement. *In*: R. Burrows, N. Pleace, and D. Quilgars, eds. *Homelessness and Social Policy*. London: Routledge, 1–19.

Purkis, H., 2017. Making digital heritage about people's life stories. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23 (5), 434–444.

Rancière, J., 1999. *Disagreement: politics and philosophy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ravenhill, M., 2008. *The culture of homelessness*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Reeve, K., 2018. Women and homelessness: putting gender back on the agenda. *People, Place and Policy Online*, 11 (3), 165–174.

Reznikoff, I., 2008. Sound resonance in prehistoric times: A study of Paleolithic painted caves and rocks. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 123 (5), 3603.

Reznikoff, I., 2011. On the sound dimension of prehistoric painted caves and rocks. *In*: *Musical Signification: Essays in the Semiotic Theory and Analysis of Music*. 541–558.

Rice, T., 2008. "Beautiful Murmurs": Stethoscopic Listening and Acoustic Objectification. *The Senses and Society*, 3 (3), 293–306.

Rich, J., 2016. Sound, mobility and landscapes of exhibition: radio-guided tours at the Science Museum, London, 1960–1964. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 52, 61–73.

Ridge, M., 2013. From Tagging to Theorizing: Deepening Engagement with Cultural Heritage through Crowdsourcing. *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 56 (4), 435–450.

Ridge, M., ed., 2014. *Crowdsourcing our cultural heritage*. Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate.

Robin, Y.-M., 2019. Chant du coq, odeur du fumier, sonneries des églises… Un député veut protéger le « patrimoine sensoriel » des campagnes. *Ouest-France.fr*, 30 Jul.

Robinson, C., 2009. Homelessness Felt. *Cultural Studies Review*, 15 (1), 167–72–167–72.

Robinson, C., 2010. *Rough living: Surviving violence and homelessness*. UTS e press.

Robinson, C., 2011a. *Beside one's self: homelessness felt and lived*. 1st ed. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press.

Robinson, C., 2011b. *Beside one's self: homelessness felt and lived*. 1st ed. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press.

Ronald, R., 2008. *The ideology of home ownership ; Homeowner societies and the role of housing*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rosas, C. and Luna, S., 2017. Binaural sound map of Malaga. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 141 (5), 3882–3882.

Rose, N., 1999. *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rose, N., 2000. Community, Citizenship, and the third Way. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 43 (9), 1395–1411.

Saeji, C.T., 2017. UNESCO on the Ground: Local Perspective on Intangible Cultural Heritage. *Western Folklore; Chico*, 76 (3), 364.

Samuel, Raphael., 1994. *Theatres of memory*. London; New York: Verso.

Sandell, R., 1998. Museums as Agents of Social Inclusion. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 17 (4), 401–418.

Sandell, R., ed., 2003. *Museums, Society, Inequality*. Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor and Francis.

Sandell, R. and Nightingale, E., eds., 2012. *Museums, equality, and social justice*. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge.

Saunders, P., 1989. The meaning of 'home' in contemporary english culture. *Housing Studies*, 4 (3), 177–192.

Scarry, E., 1985. *The body in pain: the making and unmaking of the world*. First issued as paperback. New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press.

Schafer, R.M., 1973. The Vancouver Soundscape.

Schafer, R.M., 1977. *The tuning of the world*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Schafer, R.M., 2004. The Music of the Environment. *In*: C. Cox and D. Warner, eds. *Audio culture: readings in modern music*. New York: Continuum.

Schafer, R.M., 2012. The Soundscape. *In*: J. Sterne, ed. *The sound studies reader*. New York: Routledge, 95–103.

Schmid, C., 2008. Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space. 27–45.

Schneider, B. and Remillard, C., 2013. Caring about homelessness: how identity work maintains the stigma of homelessness. *Text & Talk*, 33 (1), 95–112.

Schoer, H., 2014. *The Sounding Museum: four worlds: cultural soundscape composition and trans-cultural communication*. Bielefeld; Hanau: Transcript ; Gruenrekorder.

Schofield, J., 2014a. The archaeology of sound and music. *World Archaeology*, 46 (3), 289–291.

Schofield, J., ed., 2014b. *Who needs experts?: counter-mapping cultural heritage*. Farnham, Surry, UK ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Schwartz, H., 2011. *Making noise: from Babel to the big bang & beyond*. Brooklyn, NY : Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books ; Distributed by MIT Press.

Schwarz, B., 1993. History on the Move: Reflections on History Workshop. *Radical History Review*, 1993 (57), 203–220.

Sebald, W.G., 2002. *The rings of Saturn*. London: Vintage.

Seigworth, G. and Gardiner, M., 2004. Rethinking everyday life: And then nothing turns itself inside out. *Cultural Studies*, 18 (2–3), 139–159.

Serres, M., 1995. *Genesis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Sewell, M., 2015. Sounds of our Shores. *Caught by the River*.

Shelter, 2018. Homelessness in Great Britain - The numbers behind the story.

Sheringham, M., 2010. *Everyday life: theories and practices from surrealism to the present*. Repr. New York, NY Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Sholette, G., 2015. Delirium and Resistance after the Social Turn. *Field*, 1, 95–138.

Sibley, D., 1995. *Geographies of exclusion: society and difference in the West*. London ; Routledge: New York.

Silberman, N. and Purser, M., 2012. People-centred cultural heritage in a digital age. *In*: E. Giaccardi, ed. *Heritage and social media: understanding heritage in a participatory culture*. New York, NY: Routledge, 13–29.

Silverman, L.H., 2003. The therapeutic potential of museums as pathways to inclusion. *In*: R. Sandell, ed. *Museums, Society, Inequality*. Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor and Francis, 69–83.

Simmel, G., 1969. The Metropolis and Mental Life. *In*: R. Sennett, ed. *Classic essays on the culture of cities*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 47–60.

Sinclair, I., 2003. *London Orbital*. London: Penguin.

Skippering, 2017, BBC Radio Scotland.

Slim, H. and Thompson, P., 1998. *In*: R. Perks and A. Thomson, eds. *The Oral History Reader*. London ; New York: Routledge, 114–125.

Smelser, N.J., 2003. Pressures for Continuity in the Context of Globalization. *Current Sociology*, 51 (2), 101–112.

Smith, L., 2006. *Uses of heritage*. New York: Routledge.

Smith, L., 2007a. Empty Gestures? Heritage and the Politics of Recognition? *In*: H. SIlverman and D.F. Ruggles, eds. *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*. Springer.

Smith, L., 2012. 2012 Manifesto.

Smith, M.M., 2007b. Producing Sense, Consuming Sense, Making Sense: Perils and Prospects for Sensory History. *Journal of Social History*, 40 (4), 841–858.

Soja, E.W., 2011. *Postmodern geographies: the reassertion of space in critical social theory*. Nachdr. London: Verso.

Solli, B., Burström, M., Domanska, E., Edgeworth, M., González-Ruibal, A., Holtorf, C., Lucas, G., Oestigaard, T., Smith, L., and Witmore, C., 2011. Some Reflections on Heritage and Archaeology in the Anthropocene. *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 44 (1), 40–88.

Somerville, P., 1992. Homelessness and the Meaning of Home: Rooflessness or Rootlessness? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 16 (4), 529–539.

Somerville, P., 2013. Understanding Homelessness. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 30 (4), 384–415.

Sommers, J., 2016. Demonstrators Left Bloodied As Far Right Dover Protest Turns Violent. *The Huffington Post*, 30 Jan.

Sontag, S., 1967. The Aesthetics of Silence. *In*: *Styles of Radical Will*. UK: Penguin Books, 3–34.

Stadler, G., 2015. On Whiteness and Sound Studies. *Sounding Out!*

Steinbeck, J., 1997. *Travels with Charley in search of America*. London: Penguin.

Sterling, C., 2015. Rethinking Heritage and Photography: Comparative Case Studies from Cyprus and Cambodia. University College London, London.

Sterne, J., 2001. A Machine to Hear for Them: On the Very Possibility of Sound's Reproduction. *Cultural Studies*, 15 (2), 259–294.

Sterne, J., 2003. *The audible past: cultural origins of sound reproduction*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Sterne, J., ed., 2012. *The sound studies reader*. New York: Routledge.

Stevens, M., Flinn, A., and Shepherd, E., 2010. New frameworks for community engagement in the archive sector: from handing over to handing on. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16 (1–2), 59–76.

Stoever, J.L., 2016. *The sonic color line: race and the cultural politics of listening*. New York: New York University Press.

Stoler, A.L., 2002. Colonial archives and the arts of governance. *Archival Science*, 2 (1–2), 87–109.

Stoler, A.L., 2009. *Along the archival grain: epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense*. Princeton, NJ Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Suárez, R., Alonso, A., and Sendra, J.J., 2015. Intangible cultural heritage: The sound of the Romanesque cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 16 (2), 239–243.

Suárez, R., Sendra, J.J., Navarro, J., and León, A.L., 2005. The sound of the cathedral-mosque of Córdoba. *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 6 (4), 307–312.

Tausig, B., 2010. Atlas Sound: A Typology of Sound Maps | THIS IS WEIRD VIBRATIONS // the politics of sound. *Weird Vibrations*.

Taylor, D., 2017a. Homeless people demand M&S apology over deterrent alarm. *The Guardian*, 26 Jul.

Taylor, D., 2017b. Charities referring rough sleepers to immigration enforcement teams. *The Guardian*, 7 Mar.

Taylor, J. and Gibson, L.K., 2016. Digitisation, digital interaction and social media: embedded barriers to democratic heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 1–13.

Teixeira, L., 2017. Why We Need to Change the Way We Talk about Homelessness. *European Journal of Homelessness*, 11 (2), 77–91.

Terranova, T., 2000. Free Labor PRODUCING CULTURE FOR THE DIGITAL ECONOMY. *Social Text*, 18 (2 63), 33–58.

Terranova, T., 2004. Communication beyond Meaning ON THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF INFORMATION. *Social Text*, 22 (3 80), 51–73.

Terranova, T., 2012. Attention, Economy and the Brain. *Culture Machine*, 13, 1–19.

Théberge, P., 2005. Chapter 17 Sound maps: Music and sound in cybercartography. *In*: D.R.F. Taylor, ed. *Modern Cartography Series*. Academic Press, 389–410.

Thompson, E.A., 2004. *The soundscape of modernity: architectural acoustics and the culture of listening in America, 1900-1933*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Thompson, E.P., 2013. *The making of the English working class*. New edition. London: Penguin Books.

Thompson, M.S., 2014. Beyond Unwantes Sound: Noise, Affect and Aesthetic Moralism. Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne.

Thomson, L., Camic, P.M., and Chatterjee, H., 2015. *Social prescribing: a review of community referral schemes*. London: University College London, Report.

Thulin, S., 2018. Sound maps matter: expanding cartophony. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 19 (2), 192–210.

Till, R., 2014. Sound archaeology: terminology, Palaeolithic cave art and the soundscape. *World Archaeology*, 46 (3), 292–304.

Tinson, A., Ayrton, C., Barker, K., Born, T.B., Aldridge, H., and Kenway, P., 2016. *Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Tlili, A., 2008. Behind the Policy Mantra of the Inclusive Museum: Receptions of Social Exclusion and Inclusion in Museums and Science Centres. *Cultural Sociology*, 2 (1), 123–147.

Tomas, A. and Dittmar, H., 1995a. The experience of homeless women: An exploration of housing histories and the meaning of home. *Housing Studies*, 10 (4), 493–515.

Tomas, A. and Dittmar, H., 1995b. The experience of homeless women: An exploration of housing histories and the meaning of home. *Housing Studies*, 10 (4), 493–515.

Tosi, A., 2007. Homelessness and the control of public space - Criminalising the poor?, 1, 225–236.

Tourle, P., 2016. White noise: sound, materiality and the crowd in contemporary heritage practice. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 1–14.

Truax, B., 1996. Soundscape, Acoustic Communication and Environmental Sound Composition. *Contemporary Music Review*, 15 (1–2), 49–65.

Truax, B., 2012. Sound, Listening and Place: The aesthetic dilemma. *Organised Sound*, 17 (03), 193–201.

Truax, B. and Broomfield, H., 1974. Commentary: Aural History and the World Soundscape Project. *Sound Heritage Journal*, 3 (4), 4–9.

Tsemberis, S., 2010. Housing first: Ending homelessness, promoting recovery, and costs. *In*: I.G. Ellen and B. O'Flaherty, eds. *How to house the homeless*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 37–56.

Tuck, E. and Yang, K.W., 2012. Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigieneity, Education & Society*, 1 (1), 1–40.

Tuck, F., 2015. *The Economic Impact of Museums in England*. Arts Council England.

Tucker, H. and Carnegie, E., 2014. World heritage and the contradictions of 'universal value'. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 47, 63–76.

Tunbridge, J.E. and Ashworth, G.J., 1996. *Dissonant heritage: the management of the past as a resource in conflict*. Chichester ; New York: J. Wiley.

Tyler, I., 2013. *Revolting subjects social abjection and resistance in neoliberal Britain*. London; New York: Zed Books.

Ultra-red, 2013. Notes on the Protocols for a Listening Session. *In*: A. Carlyle and C. Lane, eds. *On listening*. Axminster, Devon: Uniformbooks, 30–33.

UNESCO, n.d. What is Intangible Cultural Heritage? [online]. Available from: https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003 [Accessed 2 Oct 2018].

UNESCO, 1972. Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage [online]. Available from: http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/ [Accessed 26 Nov 2015].

UNESCO, 2003. Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Vaneigem, R., 1983. *The revolution of everyday life: a new translation, etc.* London: Left Bank Books.

Veall, D., 2017. *Museums on Prescription: A guide to working with older people*.

Vergo, P., ed., 1989. *The New museology*. London: Reaktion Books.

Vinitzky-Seroussi, V. and Teeger, C., 2010. Unpacking the Unspoken: Silence in Collective Memory and Forgetting. *Social Forces*, 88 (3), 1103–1122.

Voegelin, S., 2010. *Listening to noise and silence: towards a philosophy of sound art*. New York: Continuum.

Voegelin, S., 2014. *Sonic possible worlds : hearing the continuum of sound / Salomé Voegelin.* New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Wacquant, L.J.D., 2009. *Punishing the poor: the neoliberal government of social insecurity*. Durham [NC]: Duke University Press.

Wadey, T., 2015. 4,000 tell council: 'Stop using bagpipe music to drive away homeless' (From Bournemouth Echo) [online]. *Bournemouth Echo*. Available from: http://www.bournemouthecho.co.uk/news/14114471.4_000_tell_council_____Stop_using_bagpi pe_music_to_drive_away_homeless___/ [Accessed 4 Sep 2017].

Waldock, 2011. SOUNDMAPPING: Critiques And Reflections On This New Publicly Engaging Medium. *Journal of Sonic Studies*, 1 (1).

Waldock, J., 2016. Crossing the Boundaries: Sonic Composition and the Anthropological Gaze. *The Senses and Society*, 11 (1), 60–67.

Waterton, E. and Smith, L., 2010. The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16 (1–2), 4–15.

Watson, S., 2000. Homelessness revisited: New reflections on old paradigms. *Urban Policy and Research*, 18 (2), 159–170.

Watson, S. and Austerberry, H., 1986. *Housing and homelessness: a feminist perspective*. London ; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Watts, B., Fitzpatrick, S., Bramley, G., and Watkins, D., 2014. *Welfare Sanctions and Conditionality in the UK*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Wellcome Collection, 2016. This is a Voice [online]. *Wellcome Collection*. Available from: https://wellcomecollection.org/exhibitions/W31tHikAACgAP5gi [Accessed 21 Jul 2019].

Westerkamp, H., 1974. Soundwalking. *Sound Heritage Journal*, 3 (4), 18–25.

Westerkamp, H., 2007. Soundwalking. *In*: A. Carlyle, ed. *Autumn Leaves, Sound and the Environment in Artistic Practice*. Paris: Double Entendre, 49.

Williams, J.C., 1996. Geography Of The Homeless Shelter: Staff Surveillance And Resident Resistance. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, 25 (1), 75–113.

Williams, M., 2001. Complexity, Probability and Causation: implications for homelessness research. *Social Issues*, 1 (2).

Wilson, W. and Barton, C., 2019. *Statutory Homelessness in England*. House of Commons Library, Briefing Paper No. 01164.

Winter, T., 2013. Clarifying the critical in critical heritage studies. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19 (6), 532–545.

Winter, T., 2014. Beyond Eurocentrism? Heritage conservation and the politics of difference. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20 (2), 123–137.

Winter, T., 2016. Climate change and our heritage of low carbon comfort. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 22 (5), 382–394.

Woolford, A. and Nelund, A., 2013. The Responsibilities of the Poor: Performing Neoliberal Citizenship within the Bureaucratic Field. *Social Service Review*, 87 (2), 292–318.

Wright, P., 1985. *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain*. Verso.

Wright, S., 2016. Conceptualising the active welfare subject: welfare reform in discourse, policy and lived experience. *Policy & Politics*, 44 (2), 235–252.

Yelmi, P., 2016. Protecting contemporary cultural soundscapes as intangible cultural heritage: sounds of Istanbul. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 22 (4), 302–311.

Young, I.M., 1990. *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Young, I.M., 2011. *Responsibility for Justice*. Oxford University Press.

Young, L., 2003. Rethinking heritage: cultural policy and inclusion. *In*: R. Sandell, ed. *Museums, Society, Inequality*. Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor and Francis, 203–212.

Young, R., 2014. Education avec Noise: Improvisation as musical education by truths. Presented at the Sounding Possibilities: Improvisation and Community Action, Onassis Cultural Centre, Athens.

Zastrow, J., 2014. Crowdsourcing Cultural Heritage: 'Citizen Archivists' for the Future. *Computers in Libraries*, 34 (8), 21–23.

Zetterstrom-Sharp, J., 2015. Heritage as future-making: aspiration and common destiny in Sierra Leone. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21 (6), 609–627.

Zimmerman, L.J., Singleton, C., and Welch, J., 2010. Activism and creating a translational archaeology of homelessness. *World Archaeology*, 42 (3), 443–454.

Zimmerman, L.J. and Welch, J., 2011. Displaced and Barely Visible: Archaeology and the Material Culture of Homelessness. *Historical Archaeology*, 45 (1), 67–85.