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„resonant fabrics: listening to the reciprocal relationships between aural architectures, sonic sensations and processes of socialization“

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Thank you…

…to my mum, my dad and my sister: Beatrice, Norbert and Tatjana Heine, for being the most supporting and inspiring family I could ever wish for.

…to Dr. Monika Kurath, for opening up horizons
and to Prof. Reinprecht for his trust.

…to all those sounds and silences and tiny and beautiful wonders of this world.

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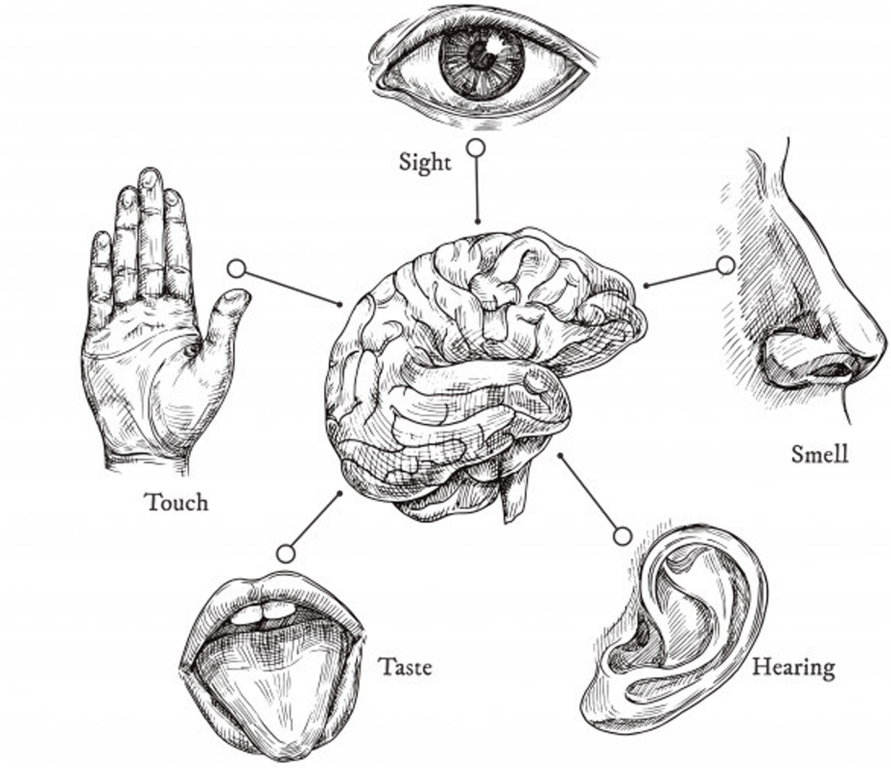
Prologue

„The fish in the water is silent, the animal on the earth is noisy, the bird in the air is singing; but Man has in him the silence of the sea, the noise of the earth and the music of the air" (Rabindranath Tagore 1917, 11).

Pale blue sounds and liquid smells. „Gshshshtsht", declares the air and keeps carrying the light a few steps further. „Pssssst" announces the light and gets cut through in half by the claws of a hissing cat. A comfortable cool breeze caresses my skin and quarrels playfully with the sweating flowers and bushes. My leather-boot's reverberance on the hot asphalt echoes and reflects along the narrow alleyway. Sonorous memories oscillate through this psychogeography of my reptile brain - past, possible or fictions encounters with humans, objects or wild animals, crimson-colored, to the point of being black. A few steps further the space opens up and a siren howls past - the Doppler effect - a ringing, shifting frequency, clarifying that I am not alone in this world with all the little noises and scents and tactile impressions - that these intertwined, constantly transformative places are being put into motion, are propelled into existence by thousands of hands and mouths and noses and feet. Enveloped by a city, baroque and porous, a raindrop splashes suddenly and surprisingly cold on the tip of my nose. Floods of colors intermingle, flicker in neon-green, advertise, synthesize, shout out prize-tags and brandnames. Crying infants, droning traffic, laughter, warnings, tender declarations. All those noisy organisms, processes, voices and signals. One moment this city was an aural postcard full of magnified details, the other my sensing body is sailing through an orange circus orchestration by John Cage, a clamorous cacophony that cries out its stories like an engine that just keeps on running until it burns itself out. Every routine, every railway, river, body, heart, everything that gurgles, laughs, screeches, whispers, reaches the membranes of my skin, oscillates and vibrates through me, through you, through this social body that we are. There are so many, so confusingly beautiful, so abhorrently repellent sensory impressions; so much that is acquired, learnt, or taken for granted, compulsory, unconscious, or repressed; so many idiosyncrasies, rhythms and dissonances; so much noise and violence, so much stench and love. How much ‚sense' does life make? How much life makes ‚sense'? Which senses are we talking about about? Are we even talking at all?



1
INTRODUCTION

Researching the Senses

„The world ceaselessly assails and beleaguers subjectivity as waves wash round a wreck on the shore. All knowledge takes its place within the horizons opened up by perception" (Maurice Merleau-Ponty 2002, 240).

Sensuous experiences of being and moving in the city have been, for a very long time, regarded as automatic, purely physical responses to external stimuli. Therefore, sensory perception has been the sole domain of psychology and neurobiology, whereas the social sciences „assumed, rather than assessed" (Borer 2013, 995) the vital function of the senses for us to make sense of the world. Countless impressions, sensations, emotions sweep over us, organize and signify our everyday urban experience. We are attentive to the meanings and references these sensations entail for us, yet, since sensory perceptions are embedded within the very roots of our existence, we take them for granted, are rarely aware of them, don't question what we sense, even less how we sense - right up until our our habits and routines are disrupted, when we are overwhelmed, feel sick or are confronted with a profound misunderstanding and suddenly awake to a reflexive, embodied consciousness of our own sensual experiences: „In other words, the senses give us the world but absent themselves in the process. (…) Perception is, however, a skill, despite the fact it seems to come so naturally" (Howes 2013, 14). Nevertheless, the still dominant cartesian conception of space in urban theory, the social science's tendency for abstraction and objectivity, as well as the methodological difficulty to pinpoint lived experience empirically are only some of the reasons why the sensuous experience of the city remained a marginal topic for sociology and urban research. Only recently, as the latest development of a long chain of paradigmatic evolutions, a new sensitivity for the dynamic and deeply affective relationship between the sensuous world and the experiencing subject emerged, a growing awareness for the „senses and sensations as the lifeblood of embodied sociality and materiality, as the the very tools and techniques allowing for the transaction between human and non-human agents, and the very condition for the carnal experience of self-hood, society, and culture" (Vannini et al. 2012, 15).

But, to begin with, we have to explore what nurtured this blooming ‚sensorial revolution' (Howes 2013) in the social sciences. If there is a sociology of the senses, it is rooted in the pragmatist works of John Dewey (1934), George Herbert Mead's philosophy

of the act (1938), and in Georg Simmel's classical essays on social aesthetics and the sensuous experiences of city-dwellers. In his seminal work „The Metropolis and the Mental Life" (1950), originally published in 1903, Simmel, by directly witnessing the substantial and far-reaching transition from a predominantly rural society towards the modern city - crowded and overwhelming with sensory stimulation, identified a profound change in the ways people sense and interact with their environments and with each other. By arguing that „the real life of society, provided in experience, could certainly not be constructed from those large objectified structures that constitute the traditional objects of social science" (Simmel 1997, 110), he proposes that a sociology of urban experiences should aim „to pursue the meanings that mutual sensory perception and influencing have for the social life of human being, their coexistence, cooperation, and opposition" (ibid.).

Another stance that strongly influenced contemporary sociological theories and methodologies about the senses can be traced back to the phenomenological school of thought, in particular to Maurice Merleau-Ponty. In his formative work ‚Phenomenology of Perception' from 1945 (2002), Merleau-Ponty proposes a ‚carnal' sociology that considers human perception and social existence to be fully embodied processes and which takes serious the fact that „people are motile, sensate, sensual, suffering, skilled, sedimented, and situated creatures of flesh, blood, nerves and sinews" (Sparkes 2017, 4). The world as we sense it, therefore, is inseparable from our sensuous experiences thereof: "We must return to the social with which we are in contact by the mere fact of existing, and which we carry about inseparably with us before any objectification" (Merleau-Ponty 2002, 421). The following two decades were marked by the ‚linguistic turn' and the idea that culture, society and the individual can be regarded as structured like a text, abstracted, deciphered and generalized. This ‚linguistic turn' was superseded by the ‚pictorial turn', as it was coined by William J. Thomas Mitchell (2005) and decisively characterized by the works of Marshall McLuhan (1967), which changed the focus from a textual analysis of cultural phenomena towards the ways we communicate visually through infinitely reproducible and manipulatable images and to emerging forms of new media such as the television-set and how these act as „extensions of our senses" (McLuhan 2005, 43). As a reaction to the verbocentrism of the ‚linguistic turn' and the ocularcentrism in the case of the ‚pictorial turn', the 1990s were characterized by the ‚corporeal turn' and the ‚material turn', emphasizing the cultural dimension of embodied experience and the reciprocal influence between the perceiving subject and its surrounding objects, architectures and environments. With Michael Taussig's ‚Mimesis and Alterity' (2018), Anthony Synnott's

‚The Body Social' (2002) and Constance Classen's ‚World of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and Across Cultures' (1993), all originally published in the year 1993, a new, holistic and relational approach to the senses and to human experience has been initiated, eventually legitimizing various forms of non-positivist sociology such as the sociology of gender, emotions, the body and in particular the ‚sociology of the senses'.

At the turn of century the groundwork for a ‚sensory revolution' in the social sciences has been laid and from here on forward, cultures are considered in regard to their ‚ways of sensing'. A repulsive odor, the disgust caused by a taste, the noisy din of a modern city - but also the aesthetic pleasure derived from the sight and scent of a rose or the specific way a person tenderly touches another - each sensory experience is affected by a larger ‚consensus', valued and judged alongside the respective cultural patterns of interpretations: „The ways we use our senses, and the ways we create and understand the sensory world, are shaped by culture. (…) Perception is informed not only by the personal meaning a particular sensation has for us, but also by the social values it carries" (Classen & Howes 2014, 1–4). Across cultures as well as within a society there are identifiable and often striking variances in the ways certain smells, tastes, textures or sounds are alloyed, distinguished, judged and valued. The human sensorium, hence, is not simply given, never exists in a natural state. Sensory values reflect social values - sensory hierarchies echoe social hierarchies. The senses are, as is the body, not simply given, but are accomplished: „The forming of the five senses is a labour of the entire history of the world down to the present" (Marx 1988, 109). The fundamental hypothesis surrounding ‚sensory research' implies, therefore, that sensuous perception is, on the one hand, determined by particular sensory regulations, conventions, politics and values, and, on the other, actively participating in a continuous process of sensory re-appropriation, negotiation and reassessment.

Sensory studies, as it is finally emerging as a sociological sub-discipline (e.g. Low 2012; Synnott 1993; Vannini et al. 2012), is an inherently inter- and multidisciplinary endeavor, drawing not only on human geography (e.g. Adams & Guy 2007; Porteous 1990; Rodaway 1994), psychology (e.g. Gibson 1983), communication studies (e.g. Bull & Back 2003; Ong 1982; Finnegan 2002), cultural studies (e.g. Geurts 2002) and history (Jutte 2005; Classen 1993) but, in particular, on anthropological research, a field which, according to Howes (2003), has always expressed a marked interest in the senses (e.g. Levi-Strauss 1966, Geertz 1973, Howes 1991; Pink 2006; Stoller 1997; Feld 1982). The

increasing recognition of sensory studies in the humanities and the social sciences is further demonstrated by the establishment of journals such as the quarterly ‚The Senses and Society' (eds. Bull; Howes, Kahn; Gilroy), edited anthologies such the ‚Sensory Formations Series' published by Berg and the installation of research groups such as the ‚Sensory Ethnography Lab' at Harvard University, the ‚Center for Sensory Studies' at Concordia University or the ‚Centre for research on sound space and urban environment' (CRESSON) in Grenoble. The ‚sensory revolution' sparked excitingly embodied, experimental and self-reflexive investigations and understandings of cultures and practices in everyday life. By blurring disciplinary boundaries and embracing non-positivist methodologies, „a sociology of the senses (…) attempts, in large part, to rediscover humans' sensuous, erotic, and aesthetic transactions with one another and their environment" (Vannini et al. 2012, 13)

Soundstudies

„Auditory space has no favoured focus. It's a sphere without fixed boundaries, space made by the thing itself, not space containing the thing. It is not pictorial space, boxed-in, but dynamic, always in flux, creating its own dimensions moment by moment" (Edmund Carpenter 1973, 35).

A recurring theme throughout literature in the context of this ‚sensory turn' is the hegemony of vision (Stoller 1989; Howes 1991; Bull & Back 2003) and questions surrounding the implications, origins and possible modes of resilience concerning the ocularcentrism that dominates sensory hierarchies throughout western cultures. The most consequential transformation in the employment and significance of the senses, as Marshal McLuhan's ‚great divide' theory states, happened with the progression from pre-literate, ‚oral' societies to the ‚literate' modern society and the resulting shift in ‚sensory ratios' (McLuhan 1967). Whereas pre-modern cultures have been enacted and preserved through all the senses, in particular through the spoken word, the dissemination of print-media and the emerging convention of perspectival painting developed during the Renaissance led to a „vigorous privileging of the vision. (…) Modern men and women opened their eyes and beheld a world unveiled to their eager gaze" (Jay 1993, 56). The proliferation of images in modernity, the advent of television, laptops and smartphones reaffirms our culture's visual dependency and the idea that „the concept of sight, like an object reflected in a room of mirrors, has assumed so many different guises in our culture

that it can provide us with the illusion of a complete sensorium“ (Classen 1998, 143). Seeing, therefore, is believing and the reasoning eye developed into the primary instrument for modern scientific practices. The ‚sensory revolution‘ in the humanities and the social sciences, though, radically re-considered this visual bias within the academia as well as of western societies at large.

Under the assumption that „the reduction of knowledge to the visual has placed serious limitation on our ability to grasp the meanings attached to much social behavior, be it contemporary, historical or comparative“ (Bull & Back 2003, 2), a growing body of literature not only investigates the general interconnectedness of the human sensorium and the ways it differentiates between and within cultures (e.g. Corbin 1995; Stoller 1989; Howes 1991), but, further, focuses on distinct sense-modalities such as smell (Corbin 1986), touch (Classen 2012) or taste (Korsmayer 1999) and their socially specific, enculturated and historically changing application, stigmatization and value. Among these pioneering studies about the senses and their social significance, scholarship concerning the subjectives' and the collectives' relationships with each other, with their socio-political institutions and their material and natural environments through sonic experiences takes up a major role. In relation to the dominating visual mode of perception, research about and through sound and our auditory culture tries „to point to the equally crucial role that sound plays in our experience and understanding of the world (and claims) that a visually-based epistemology is both insufficient and often erroneous in its description, analysis and thus understanding of the social world“ (Bull & Back 2003, 4). Whereas the visual impression offers us the world from a static, objective and distanciated point of view, the world of sound, on the other hand, is dynamic, ubiquitous, a world of „sensations rather than reflections, (…) activities rather than artifacts“ (Schafer 1988, 88). Douglas Pocock, in this regard, adds that „something has to happen for sound to exist. It is therefore temporal, continually and perhaps unpredictably coming and going, but it is also powerful, for it signifies existence, generates a sense of life, and is a special sensory key to interiority—unlike sight which presents surfaces“ (Pocock 1988, 62).

In the humanities and the social sciences, though, sonic perception and the auditory environment are still mostly being denounced as a topic for suitable research since, supposedly, our auditory capacities are prerequisite for any cultural constitution and not in itself socially shaped modalities of existence. Sounds are considered as linguistically (e.g. Mead 1934; Luhmann 1987) or as musically (e.g. Adorno 1989; Blaukopf 1950)

meaningful, whereas the clamorous sonic emissions of a society are but collateral noise. Even Georg Simmel's ‚sociology of the senses' (1997) considers listening and hearing only to emphasize the eye's capacity to grasp the whole and the permanent whereas „one can much more readily deceive the ear of a person" (Simmel 2009, 575). „It is", as Murray Schafer points out, „almost as if the great achievements of western philosophy and science were produced in a huge anechoic chamber" (Schafer 2003, 24). The question arises, if sound in itself can be an object for social-scientific inquiry. Is it possible to think of sound as a significant mediator of cultural formations, as a clue to possibly veiled yet affectively and emotionally meaningful social structures? Can we locate acoustic factors within our built environment which have an impact on our well-being, our modes of communication, our physical and psychical health? Is it possible to determine sonic patterns of inequality, of contestation and communality which are sociologically significant? Martyn Hudson, in this regard, replies, that „sounds are of course structured by the social world and emanate from it. (…) Sound is itself part of complex social discourses and cultures. (…) In this then, sound is very clearly a sociological object. It comes from the social and natural world and can tell us about that world" (Hudson 2019, 365).

Sound's inherent potential to shape social space and behavior as well our cultural, material and socio-economical expression through sound becomes evident in the most recent proliferation of versatile and multidisciplinary publications related to sonic experience that now go under the name of ‚sound studies'. Within this emerging and interdisciplinary area in the humanities and the social sciences, a manifold range of topics and priorities crystallized, such as the cultural histories of sound (e.g. Picker 2003; Smith 2007), sounds in architecture and urban planning (e.g. Bijesterveld 2016; Blesser & Saltner 2007; Thompson 2002), sound and the everyday (e.g. LaBelle 2010), philosophies and phenomenologies of sound (e.g. Voegelin 2010; Erlmann 2011), sonic technologies (e.g. Bull 2000; Sterne 2003; Pinch & Bijesterveld 2004), religious and ritualistic sounds (Hirschkind 2006) or the relationship between sound and violence (e.g. Pieslak 2015; Gilman 2016; Stoever 2016). Furthermore, in addition to a variety of anthologies about sound and auditory culture (e.g. Bull & Back 2003; Sterne 2012;) there is a growing number of academic journals such as „The Journal of Sonic Studies" or „Sound Effects: Interference". Soundstudies, as an essential branch of the ‚sensory turn', therefore, is the „name for the interdisciplinary ferment in the human sciences that takes sound as its analytical point of departure or arrival" (Sterne 2012, 2). The sonic world as it envelopes us, as it penetrates and resonates through every object, organism, environment thus can be

listened to, can be described and analyzed not only in regards to its physical and objective properties, but, furthermore, as expression and condition of social practices, since, as Jean Paul Thibaud points out, „environmental properties and the actor/perceiver activities cannot be disassociated, they shape each other. (…) We do not act in the acoustic environment but within it" (Thibaud 1998, 2-4).

Sonic Assemblages and the City

„Sound exists as a phenomenal presence involved in and determining the shape of the world. It partially defines our perceptual, emotional, spiritual and psychological spaces; and contributes to our understanding of ourselves, our environment, and our relationship to each other" (Brandon LaBelle 2002, 2).

Our sensation of reality, when perceived through sound, is inherently contingent, ambiguous, full of doubt. The sonic world is pure presence, always now, slipping through our fingers as soon as we try to take hold of it. Its objectivity incorporates fragility, for the sonic impression, though intersubjectively shared, is unforeseeable, affective, fluid, ephemeral and always knotted together with the listening subject's culturally, ideologically and aesthetically conditioned ways of listening. In contrast to vision, which offers us a detached, static and apparently truthful image of our surroundings and of ourselves within them, listening happens from a submissive position, with one's whole body as membrane, as a sensible surface upon which internal and external stimuli resonate and render reality ambivalent, processual, debatable: „sound, rather than the image preserves the human subject as a maker of culture, and thereby preserves culture as a dynamic production, rather than concluded artifacts" (Voegelin 2010, 100). Sound as subjective perception as well as social expression is, therefore, never a neutral phenomenon. Each sound is endowed with historically, culturally and individually distinct meanings and symbolisms and thereby emphasizes how environments, societies and subjectivities are sensorially inter-related and actively constructed. The act of listening, therefore, always happens from within the sounding world, with us at the center of it. Similar to the notion of the ‚landscape', which implicitly positions the observer and her sensuous faculty at the heart of the scene, the conception of the ‚soundscape' breaks with traditional, positivst understandings of subjective experience as being separated from and subordinate to physical, objectively measurable ‚facts'. A soundscape, in contrast, „is simultaneously a physical environment and a way of perceiving that environment; it is both a world and a

culture constructed to make sense of that world. (…) A soundscape, like a landscape, ultimately has more to do with civilization than with nature, and as such, it is constantly under construction and always undergoing change“ (Thompson 2002, 2).

Even though we are enculturated by the primacy of the eye and tend to ignore many sounds - in particular what is generally labelled as ‚noise‘, the soundscapes we inhabit profoundly affect us, guide us, generate a sense of belonging or seclusion and, most of all, acutely connect us to our immediate environments. We hear sirens, signals, announcements and react accordingly (or not). We sense the presence of other people, hear them talk, hear them being quiet, listen to their words, to our own voices in reply. We perceive the tin-can rolling and clattering in the wind, are startled by something breaking, follow its sound as it ricochets around facades and city-streets. We hear airplanes, traffic, email-alerts, outcries, mysteriously disembodied sounds from our heating systems, from the flat underneath, from seemingly nowhere as we lay awake in the night. We hear the children playing in our neighborhood, the well-known chiming of bells from the nearby church, the programmed elevator-music or the latest hits filling the spaces inside shops, waiting rooms or office-buildings. Subconsciously or not, we learn to understand and to respond to our acoustic environments, instinctively interpret our footstep’s resonance, seemingly naturally sense our surrounding’s architectural idiosyncrasies and echo-locate ourselves instinctively by interpreting countless minuscule sonic details simultaneously. Listening, then, opens up towards an embodied yet discursive knowledge about the spaces we move through, about ourselves, each other and the wider administrative frameworks that structure our daily lives. The way we employ our sense of hearing is, as is any other sense modality, informed by culture, learnt and internalized as body knowledge. The perception of sound, understood as a social construction and as part of a cultural system, is thus an embodied competency „that situate(s) actors and their agency in particular historical worlds. These competencies contribute to their distinct and shared ways of being human; they contribute to possibilities for and realizations of authority, understanding, reflexivity, compassion, and identity“ (Feld 2003, 226).

Sound mediates and links, overlaps and disrupts. Sociality, subjectivity, the built and the natural environment reverberate as processual, multi-layered and interwoven sonic fabric which connects that which has been held apart by the map and the eye and the ordering rationality of modernity. Soundscapes, as they are continuously created and recreated in time, are relational effects rather than stable and stationary certainties

(Doughty et al. 2019), are metamorphosing and intricate networks of activities that clarify how culture, architecture and perception „are constantly in flux, interacting with each other, and exchanging their properties“ (Farias & Blok 2017, 562). To fathom spaces and the social dynamics within them as being constituted by historically changing, shifting and interconnected layers of sensuous and affective encounters means to recognize their inherently ecological character (Amphoux 2019). Social environments, in this sense, are multiple, giving rise to heterogenous yet patterned and often pre-determined interrelationships between urban landscapes and social behavior, between culturally stipulated norms, governmental regulations, the ambiguous employment of the built and the natural environment and the intersubjective experience of the sensuous qualities of space (Low & Kalekin-Fishman 2018). Listening to these multiple sonic ecologies, to the inevitable acoustic emissions of movements, interactions and oscillations, distributes „experience into a broader understanding of collectivity whereby the self is always implicated within surrounding space“ (LaBelle 2006, 247). From an ecologically motivated position, historical as well as contemporary human environments, so far having been regarded as ordered, structured and disembodied geographies (Karvonen 2011), are theoretically and methodologically reunited with the listening body and the larger sociality they are embedded in (Vannini et al. 2013).

Spaces, reconsidered as relational and affective places which cannot be detached from the individual and collective dynamics that put them to use, therefore, can be perceived as multiple ‚assemblages‘ of sonic, social and environmental qualities in a constant state of progress and exchange (Revill 2016), an understanding which allows us to move away from the idea of ‚spaces as representation‘ to a ‚more-than-representational‘ notion of social environments (Thrift 2008) and how sonic perception has „the potential to reconfigure listeners’ relationship to place, to open up new modes of attention and movement, and in so doing to rework place“ (Gallagher 2015, 468). Not limited to, but in particular useful in the context of the contemporary city, a ‚more-than-representational‘, phenomenologically and ecologically inspired approach to environments, a way of thinking about societies, spaces and the ‚every-day’ as being ‚assembled‘ from innumerable interlaced flows, processes and sensory impacts as it becomes widely acknowledged in the social sciences and in urban theory (McFarlane 2011), attempts to explore „how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions“

(Lorimer 2005, 84). These myriad micro-performances, patterns, and sensations that produce the seemingly ordinary, every-day experience for the subject and the collective are „apprehended not just through the mind or the social, but through the body“ (Lancione & McFarlane 2016, 45), and, consequently, compel us, as urban researchers and as sociologists of the senses, to position the sensuous subject at the center of investigation and to „connect social theory, with its often imperious gaze, back to the lives of the people in all their messiness“ (Thrift 2005a, 345). Soundscapes, therefore, profoundly connect the listener to the places she inhabits or moves through, they encompass and flow through every object, material and event and thereby reveal the affective, embodied and resonant fabrics that lie beneath the delineated spaces of visual representation: „I experience myself in the city, and the city exists through my embodied experience. The city and my body supplement and define each other. I dwell in the city and the city dwells in me“ (Pallasmaa 2012, 40).

Research Question

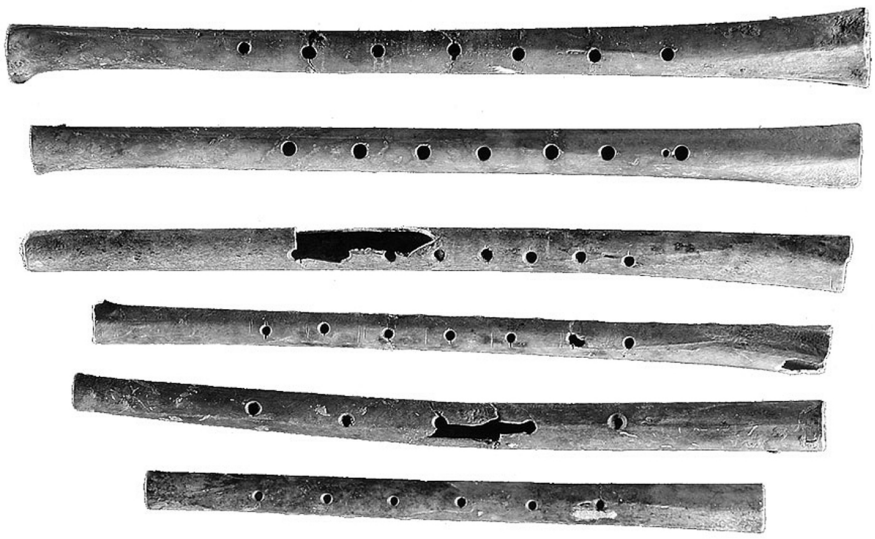
Sound, space and perception, as it was outlined above, belong together, and thereby affect and are affected by the society, culture or community in question. Urban soundscapes exhibit social structures and the omission of these affective correspondences in urban sociology inspired me to conduct the present research. This thesis, therefore, attempts to provide answers in respect to the following research question:

> **To what extent and in what way is the social world shaped by the audible aspects of the natural and artificial environments that frame it?**

From this initially broad question, more defined and specified questions arose:

> **How have soundscapes and the inter-subjective perceptions thereof changed historically?**
>
> **Which social structures, practices and cultural patterns ensure what is heard by whom and how under certain conditions and how does this become relevant?**
>
> **What kind of existing methods and methodologies could be utilized to investigate a particular soundscape?**

The overall Structure of this thesis is threefold: The following two chapters are theoretical in nature and offer insights into the historical construction and transformation of soundscapes on the one hand, and into the countless, overlapping, masking, synchronizing and controlling sonic assemblages that produce the contemporary city as a boundless, processual and profoundly sensorial experience on the other. Throughout the fourth chapter I explore six distinct phenomenologically inspired ethnographic methods and their methodologies which seem particularly capable of making audible the intricate patterns, connections and relations that fabricate our every-day sonic experience in the city. Finally, this thesis will be completed with an empirical investigation into various Viennese soundscapes with the aim to provide an extensive account on the city of Vienna as it is experienced sonically by the people who move in and through its various soundscapes, to highlight distinct urban places and situations that are perceived as troublesome and unhealthy on the one hand, or uniquely comforting and pleasurable on the other, and, finally, to propose suggestions for architectural, political and social improvement and interventions as to make the city a more harmonious, embodied and sensually appealing place.



2

ARCHAEOACOUSTICS

a soundwalk through history

Introduction

Sounds are events of sheer temporality. They engrain themselves in the presence, ephemerally fill the spaces around us and then fade away into nothingness. But the ways in which sounds reverberate within our bodies and how we understand and interpret them are determined and filtered by historically shaped modes of listening: „Just as the entire mode of existence of human collectives changes over long historical periods, so too does their mode of perception" (Benjamin 2008, 104). Soundscapes and the meanings and emotions they entail, therefore, have changed significantly through different eras. „Tornadoes", as Mark M. Smith exemplifies, „cannot sound like trains until trains exist and listeners are accustomed to them" (Smith 2003, 138). So how can we listen to history? How can we unearth sounds that have shaped the every-day life of our ancestors and then dissolved into the past's atmospheres? We could begin by listening to architectural remnants, since „architecture connects us with the dead; through buildings we are able to imagine the bustle of the medieval street, and picture a solemn procession approaching the cathedral" (Pallasmaa 2012, 56); we can listen to the objects and artifacts that shaped previous societies, examine the instruments they utilized in rituals, the tools they used to build and to harvest, the machineries and weapons that evolved in particular times under specific circumstances; and we can read the accounts of actual ear-witnesses and focus on the subjective appreciations of sounds and noises as they were expressed through literature. A history of the performative resonances of the every-day, hence, is „a history of the minuscule" (Corbin 2003, 119), and because historical soundscapes are „both actual environments and abstract constructions, we must treat them as both" (Smith 2003, 138).

Prehistory

„At Lascaux, gazing at these pictures, we sense that something is stirring, something is moving. That something touches us, we are stirred by it, as though in sympathy of the rhythms of a dance" (Georges Bataille 1955, 130).

When we listen closely, when we turn our backs to the the modern city's noisy clamor and enter the dim darkness of clandestine folds in our aural world - cellars, ruins, churches, caves - we might notice echoes, faint sounds from the past, whispered tales about beginnings, about spirits and demons, desires, taboos and magic. The first tale told by modern mankind, the first evidence for „art in which communication between human

minds begins“ (Bataille 1955, 11), is to be found in the clam, labyrinthian cave-system of Lascaux in the Valley of Vézère in France. During the Upper Paleolithic Age, around 40.000 to 20,000 years ago, our ancestors gathered near the entrances of those massive underground echo-chambers to find shelter, to perform rituals and to experiment with the material properties of these semi-enclosed natural auditoriums. Among the first artifacts found in these caves were bone-pipes or flutes, dating back to about 36.000 years ago. The musicologist Iégor Reznikoff was among the first to discover that „wherever a cave sounds most interesting, you are also likely to find the greatest concentration of prehistoric art“ (Hendy 2013, 19). These early humans, at the beginning of human culture as such, oblivious to the scientific properties of their environment, having no idea why the walls were talking back, naturally considered an echo to be, in fact, a new sound, something that must originate from within the rocks and stalactites and the distant mysteries of these long and winding burrows. Caves like these were experienced as gateways to the spiritual realm, where every clap and every cry was answered by the articulate movements of some invisible being. Elisabeth Blake's and Ezra Zubrow's acoustic expeditions in caves all over Europe (2006) have shown that tools, like a simple stone-blade, held between two fingers, produced, when tapped, a high-pitch-flutter, similar to the sound of a bird flying away. By such tapping and clapping, thereby evoking numerous over-lapping echoes, those prehistoric animals painted on the walls came to life and mimicked the sound - and the sound mimicked them. For many millennia, sounds-effects like these were heard as supernatural, experienced as magical encounters with the spiritual world.

During the Neolithic Era, around 6000 to 4000 years ago, humans began to actively design their environment, not only by developing and refining the first village-like dwelling-structures, but, specifically, by designing elaborate, multi-sensual sites for rituals (Cross & Watson 2006). Upon entering the Ring of Bogar, a perfect circle formed by twenty-seven megaliths in the Orkney Islands in Scotland, one finds a sort of theater stage, enclosed, blocking the wide and open sights and sounds of the surrounding landscape. These ceremonial sites, frequently used for rituals, were soundproof, capable of creating carefully assembled spaces of silence, spaces that were distinctly resonant and prone to auditory effects. Inside the stone-circle, standing at the center of it, every sound-emission ricochets in echoes around the inside walls and thereby creates a ‚standing wave of sound', a hypnotic feedback-loop that „can send the human brain into a state roughly halfway between wakefulness and sleep“ (ibid., 181). To be able to control and manipulate the acoustic environment entailed new, more disciplined and intensified

rituals, shaping not only the relation between humans and spirits, but, by allowing only some people inside the circle, further specifying and reinforcing forms of social hierarchies. Since every natural phenomena was considered as being in direct contact with the spiritual world, the soundscapes created during rituals were intended to conciliate, mimic, or even intimidate the spirits: „By imitating natural sounds, humans were beginning to control nature. Humans were becoming godlike" (Kiser & Lubman 2000, 12). Priests, shamans, magicians, mystics - those with the secret knowledge to create and transform such trance-inducing ritual soundscapes were likely to have been powerful figures within society. The desire to control sound, to invoke spirits and gods with the use of mantras, acoustic effects, rhythms and dance, is a common refrain throughout human culture, which echoes through the caves of our earliest ancestors, bounces of the walls inside the stone-circles in Scotland, resonates along the facades of temples in ancient Greece and envelopes the listener during the secret ceremonies of early roman christianity.

Antiquity

„Give science only a hundred more centuries of increase in geometrical progression, and she may be expected to find that the sound waves of Aristotle's voice have somehow recorded themselves" (Charles Sanders Peirce, 383).

For the ancients Greeks, sound was conceptualized as a divine force, contouring and regulating the cosmos and the soul, pervading all existence in the form of heavenly spheres (Burnett 1991). Sounds were signs, abundant with meaning, acting as omens in a carefully elaborated system of prophecy and destiny. With the adoption of the Milesian alphabet by the Greeks in 403 BC, the emerging art of oratory and rhetorics would lay the grounds for public speech, political dialogue and theatre and thereby built environments developed, whose appearances were structured by sound (Vassilantonopoulos & Mourjopoulos 2003). One of the greatest architectural remnants of this time is the ancient theatre of Epidaurus in southern Greece, whose aural architecture employed acoustics in unprecedented ways. This perfectly symmetrical open-air auditorium comfortably allowed an audience of 14,000 people to clearly hear the faintest, smallest sounds, ‚rolling', row by row, upwards, from the center stage towards the outermost corners of the stadium. The limestone materials, arranged like a sloping, vast bowl, diminished interfering

reverberations, absorbed low-frequency rumblings and amplified the higher frequencies of the actor's voices. The remarkable acoustic properties that were designed into the theatre of Epidaurus had, in fact, a more profound intention albeit that of public entertainment and public oratory. The whole structure is part of a sanctuary dedicated to the Greek God of medicine, Asclepius. During this period, manifold healing cults employed songs, sounds and silence „as a key mechanism with which to demarcate space and treat illness. (…) As such, the silence itself constructed the space of healing as much as any physical barrier" (Webster 2019, 119). This site was not only visited for its clear sonority and acoustic purity, it was also therapeutic in its ability to give rise to silence and to calm the rumbling clamor of the organs.

A few centuries later, the ancient metropolis of Rome roamed with exotic sounds, synthesizing Europe's diverse range of cultures and dialects, creating a world of dense social tensions: „Just imagine the whole range of voices that can irritate my ears (…) Imagine a quarrelsome drunk, or sometimes a thief caught in the act, or a man who loves to sing in the bath (…). I could wear myself out just listening to the variety of shouts among people selling drinks, sausages, pastries" (Seneca cited in Toner 2009, 130). Being noisy was condemned as obscene and, for the first time, a city was planned and designed to separate and isolate sounds, so that the rich and the intellectuals like (the not so stoic) Seneca would not be disturbed by the coppersmith's hammering and the street-vendor's cries. The sheer density of people that overflowed the city and the constant danger of full-blown riots prompted Augustus and his successors to canalize the public's mood and energy by building public baths and temples and by endorsing massive festivals and ceremonies. The Colosseum, built as part of those city redevelopments, was „a brilliantly constructed and enclosed world, which packed emperor, elite and subjects together, like sardines in a tin" (Hopkins & Beard 2011, 24). On days like these, when hundreds of thousands of people flocked inside and outside the Colosseum, the atmosphere must have been electrifying and terrifying. The shrieking cries and groans of hundreds of dying animals, the uproars and shouts of gladiators and vendors, the incessant parades and drummers, the aggression and violence, created a sound-scape that vibrated with political and social meaning. During those festivals and parades people could revel about freedom, about being heard: „Sound was its own arena - and, in it, power was delicately poised. In listening to the Roman audience at the Games, we hear both how noise can be used to govern us, and how we, in turn, can use it to resist" (Hendy 2013, 86).

Middle Ages

„I disperse the winds, I put the cloud to flight, I break the thunder, I torment the demons, I put the plague to flight, My voice is the slayer of demons, Through the sign of the Cross let all evil flee" (Inscription on a medieval bronze-bell; Percival Price 1983, 119).

When the enormous socio-political project of the Roman Empire began to fall apart, secret networks branched out underneath the city, hidden catacombs that provided the mysterious new cult of early christianity refuge from duress and prosecution. Contrasting the ordered, subdued soundscapes that were about to come, early christians practiced a rather Dionysian approach to God, whereby the spirit connects with the divine by states of ecstasy. What echoed through those catacombs, was the exotic soundscape of trance, of dance, of weeping, bawling, crying and singing (Toner 2009). Not everyone was excited about such erratic behavior, though, and around the fourth century AD, bishops began to enforce a more quiet and disciplined form of worship: „Let us sing hymns instead of striking drums, have psalms instead of frivolous music and song, modesty instead of laughter, wise contemplation instead of intoxication, seriousness instead of delirium" (Ehrenreich 2009, 74). The assumed power of sound to impact the mortal body as well as to reach out to god would be canalized, rejecting the „shameless dance of the daughter of Herod" in favor of more solemn and ordered rituals. The key ear-con that would become characteristic for christianity was the sound of the bell. Metal breaks magic, and the bell's ringing dispels evil: „The bells were in daily life like good spirits, which by their familiar voices, now called upon the citizens to mourn and now to rejoice, now warned them of danger, now exhorted them to piety" (Huizinga 2018, 2). The christian parish's territory was now framed by the centripetal range of a bell's sound, which unified and connected the community and reinforced divisions between inside and outside. The church bell rendered the Christian village an acoustic territory and „conjured up a space that is, by its nature, slow, prone to conserve what lies within it and redolent of the world in which walking was the chief mode of locomotion. (…) Bells shaped the habitués of a community or, if you will, its culture of the senses" (Corbin 2003, 119). The medieval world was dark, and sickness and death lurked around every corner. The church's influence and power lay in its ability to instrumentalize the all encompassing anxiousness, and every time the demons came, it was the church-bell's magical ringing that frightened away evil spirits. The word ‚bell' itself derives from both the latin word for ‚war' (bellum) and the old-english word ‚bell(e)' - meaning: ‚to make a loud noise', and

thereby emphasizes the implicit interconnection between religion and warfare. The medieval soundscape was, as Thomas Aquinas wrote, „a battlefield between angels and demons“ (Aquinas cited in Connor 2003, 120).

Early churches often had open sides and were built from wood, but by the twelfth century most of Christianity's places of worship dramatized vast and high ceilings and thick, concrete building materials, which resulted in a raw, yet delicate soundscape that balanced between supreme visuality and acoustic intimacy (Rath 2012). Early romanesque churches, and especially the Gothic cathedrals that followed in the 13th century fused the immense reverberation-time of caves with the sublime acoustic distinctness of antique amphitheaters and thereby transformed the structure itself into an enormous instrument. In here, all sounds fused together in dazzling harmonics, where the higher frequencies, gently amplified, blurred and amalgamated with lover frequencies. These pristine discoveries in regard to the ‚catacoustics' (Rath 2014) of a place - the skillful manipulation, projection, dissipation and reflection of sounds once they have been produced, gave rise to various forms of ritualistic music, like the Gregorian chants and later the polyphonic chorals: the awe-inducing effect of pure resonance, when the incantation of the nuns and the sounding body of the church-structure merged into one. Throughout human history it was by the means of sounds that people experienced the divine - after all it was only when Mary heard God's speech that she conceived Jesus. The built-in acoustics of christian architecture, which resonated with the hypnotic stereophonic harmonies of the choir and reverberated with the employment of multiple organs placed on opposite sides of the cathedral, were, and often still are, experienced as signs, as wonders, as ‚heavenly spheres'. Finally, with the invention of the mechanical clock in fourteenth-century and its subsequent implementation in the church-tower, time became audible: „Time is always running out in the Christian system and the clock bell punctuates this fact. Its chimes are acoustic signals, but even at a subliminal level the incessant rhythm of its ticking forms a keynote of unavoidable significance in the life of Western Man. Clocks reach into the recesses of night to remind man of his mortality“ (Schafer 1977, 56).

Modernity

„I denounce (the cracking of whips) as making a peaceful life impossible; it puts an end to all quiet thought (…). No one with anything like an idea in his head can avoid a feeling of

actual pain at this sudden, sharp crack, which paralyzes the brain, rends the thread of reflection, and murders thought" (Arthur Schopenhauer 1964, 63).

By the 18th century, everyday life in western Europe was marked by the transition from the tranquility of rural soundscapes to the dirty, overcrowded confusion of urbanity. Where once one's own footsteps were muffled in the fields and the loudest sound was the grinding of the nearby mill, the flapping of storks in their chimney nests, or the punctual lucidity of the church clock, the roads, from now on, would be cobbled and paved, vibrating with pounding hooves, rolling barrels, and the determined, hard-soled tread of thousands of people trying to make their way through the countless narrow alleyways within the emerging din of the modern city. Even though it was yet many years until the hissing of the steam-engines conquered the world, the streets of those cities, with their ever growing populations, were already rattling with iron-rimmed carts and carriages, the smith's rhythmic hammering, and the clattering pattens - metal overshoes - of the working-class. Bells were still omnipresent, resounding from dozens of churches, indicating a variety of carefully tuned information such as religious events, curfews, emergencies, fires etc., however, amidst the rising level of redundant sounds, „if no one knew for whom the bells were tolling, much of their value as information was lost" (Garrioch 2003, 22), and over time the symbolic and semantic significance of the church-bells was relocated all together and would be replaced by other acoustic signals such as the factory- or town-hall-bell. As the sound-level of the city steadily increased and traffic as well as workshops drowned out almost everything else, street-vendors or buskers had to fight with their voices for attention: „only those will succeed who cry their merchandise in a loud and shrill tone" (ibid., 21). The day-time soundscape of cities such as Edinburgh, Paris, or Naples, with their constant sonic hubbub, would collapse into silence as soon as the town criers announced the curfew: „a fateful moment that set into motion a ritual ceremony of fortification" (Vickery 2019, 67). The wealthier residents would lock their doors all over town and the urban night-time soundscape would now give rise to a clarity which amplified every footstep, every whisper and rustle.

Whereas for the poor and the homeless, the night-time soundscape was filled with possible threats and fear, the emerging middle-class sought refuge and privacy from the uncontrollable city-scape and thereby developed a new form of domesticity, which functioned „as an elaborated ‚sonorous envelope', keeping safe, or functioning to replicate, an imaginary or primal aural warmth" (LaBelle 2010, 52). Inevitably, this

impossible quest for silence entailed intense controversies, and among the bourgeoisie, the intellectuals and upper-class, tolerance of external sounds steadily declined. The middle-class's home, with its neatly separated corridors and hushed rooms, self-evidently brought out into the foreground the faintest murmurs or squeaking doors, and, hence, drove the urban elite into desperation: „It is absolutely indispensable, for most people, especially for the like of me, so thin-skinned and so confused a being, to get into perfect seclusion of mind from time to time and to be well let alone" (Carlyle 1999, 387). Now, with the looming imperative of separation and the cultivation of privacy, every intruding sound, may it be from the kitchen-maid or the street-musician, was condemned as noise, as unwanted, and the city's rich and powerful engaged in rigorous noise-abatement campaigns and full-scale racial profiling of buskers and street-vendors (Picker 2003). Not for long, though, and at the end of the 19th century almost everyone who had the resources left the city-centre and moved into the separated, ordered and tidy suburbs, thereby reinforcing and intensifying class-differences, xenophobia, and a general anxiety in the face of the ‚other'.

Industrialization

„A clattering of clogs upon the pavement; a rapid ringing of bells; and all the melancholy mad elephants, polished and oiled up for the day's monotony, were at their heavy exercise again" (Charles Dickens 1994, 69).

The mechanization of society during the industrial revolution epitomized the ‚Promethean' project of conquering and taming nature and introduced a soundscape which was split, fragmented, drowning out the cityscape in the hissing, rattling, pumping noise of the machine. During the Industrial Revolution, as Hugh Miller proclaimed, „a new kind of humanity (was) being forged" (Miller 2015, 156). With the invention of coal and steam engines, and the further development of production-line assemblies, the sound of a new age was born, where, on the factory-floor, the rhythms of the working body were subjugated to the non-stop metallic cacophony of countless engines and hydraulic presses: „Blast-furnaces were roaring like the voice of many whirlwinds all around; the fiery metal was hissing thro' its moulds, or sparkling and spitting under hammers of monstrous size, which fell like so many little earthquakes" (Carlyle 1999, 165). Daily labor-time increased to sixteen hours a day or more and for the workers, usually living in quarters next to the factory, this time summoned not by the church-bell but by the factory-whistle, life was

literally deafening. The ever increasing efficiency of industrial production, with utter disregard of the human factor involved, correlated with new, faster means of transportation - the vastly expanding railroad-system, and led to, as Marx stated, „the annihilation of space by time“ (Marx 1973, 538). The throbbing noise of the locomotive steadily advanced and soon infiltrated every part of the country with its ideology of movement, power and commerce: „with a shriek, and a roar, and a rattle, from the town, burrowing among the dwellings of men and making the streets hum, flashing out into the meadows for a moment, mining in through the damp earth, booming on in darkness and heavy air, bursting out again into the sunny day so bright and wide“ (Dickens 2002, 219). Noise turned into a sign of progress, of masculinity and toughness, and soon silence was heard as unnatural, as suspicious. The paradigm of industry, growth and expansion, causes and demands for an increase in noise. The all-encompassing influence and success of industrialization wouldn't have been possible, if, as Schafer suspects, silent machinery would have been developed: „The association of noise and power has never really been broken in the human imagination. It descends from God, to the priest, to the industrialist“ (Schafer 1977, 76). The sounds of technology became part of the ‚natural' soundscape of city-dwellers, who had no choice but to accept it - and soon they absorbed this clamorous new environment, made it their own and „sang and played in concerts and festivals in order to fight factory noise with sounds of their own“ (Miller 2015, 156).

While on the one hand the soundscapes of everyday life in the city became more and more chaotic, flattened and violent, science and technology also advanced into the other direction, striving for new ways to listen and to communicate, to advertise and manipulate, to diagnose and heal, via the means of electromechanical mediation. One peculiar discovery of the mid 19th. century with far-reaching consequences not only for medical diagnosis but for the ‚global village' (McLuhan 1967) itself, was the stethoscope. Medical practitioners so far relied on visible signs and the patient's articulation of symptoms, yet wouldn't demean themselves by pressing their ears on someone's chest - nor would they know about the benefits. From now on, though, doctors were able to keep their distance to the sick person, and yet „perceive the action of the heart in a manner much more clear and distinct than I had ever been able to do by the immediate application of the ear“ (Sterne 2001, 119). A few decades later, based on such a „rudimentary, non-electric amplifier of sounds“, the microphone was invented: „I have heard myself the tramp of a fly across a box with a tread almost as loud as that of a horse across a wooden bridge“ (Picker 2003, 3). Shortly after, in the year 1877, one year after

Bell's Invention of the telephone, Thomas Edison invented the phonograph - ‚voice-writer' - and now, for the very first time in the history of human kind, a sound could live detached from its source, could be preserved and stored: „Centuries after you have crumbled to dust, (the phonograph) will repeat again and again to a generation that will never know you, every idle thought, every fond fancy, every vain word that you choose to whisper against this thin iron diaphragm" (Edison cited in Douglas 1999, 46).

The 20th. and 21st. century

"There will come a time when in our individualistic harmonious state all work will consist of thinking and crystallizing thought into sound or directionable spheres which will set in motion machinery or controlled fourth dimensional design" (Buckminster Fuller 1999, 106).

The modern city at the turn of the 20th century was acoustically cacophonous, teeming with the screeching and roaring of cars, replete with the distorted blaring of gramophones and deafeningly alive with the busy, energetic soundscape of the promising, commercialized and technologically mediated society of the 20th. century. In the years after 1900 „both the nature of sound and the culture of listening were unlike anything that had come before" (Thompson 2014, 118). Even though the development of telegraphs, phones, or primitive signal transmitters strongly impacted the first two decades of the last century both socially and politically, the nascent possibility to broadcast sounds from one studio to millions of radio-receivers all over the nation at the same instant, entailed unparalleled and extraordinary possibilities of communication and manipulation. By 1925 radio-receivers were produced on a larger scale, now simple and cheap enough to be appropriated by every-one, and by 1932 it was already common to gather in bars or cafés and listen collectively to the latest hits, football games, the news or to political speeches: „The community, which had previously been defined by its bell or temple gong, was now defined by its local transmitter" (Schafer 1977, 93). From here on forward, every citizen all over the country was within „ear-shot" of the radio. The comfortable feeling of being part of an audience, to be part of this new acoustic community, to be on the same ‚wavelength', corresponded explosively with the general emotional disposition of the people during this period in time, the abstract melancholy of post-industrial confusion. Whereas John Reith, the founder of the BBC wanted to use the radio's potential „to educate people, (…) to make them fit for a democracy" (Hendy 2013, 240), the Germans,

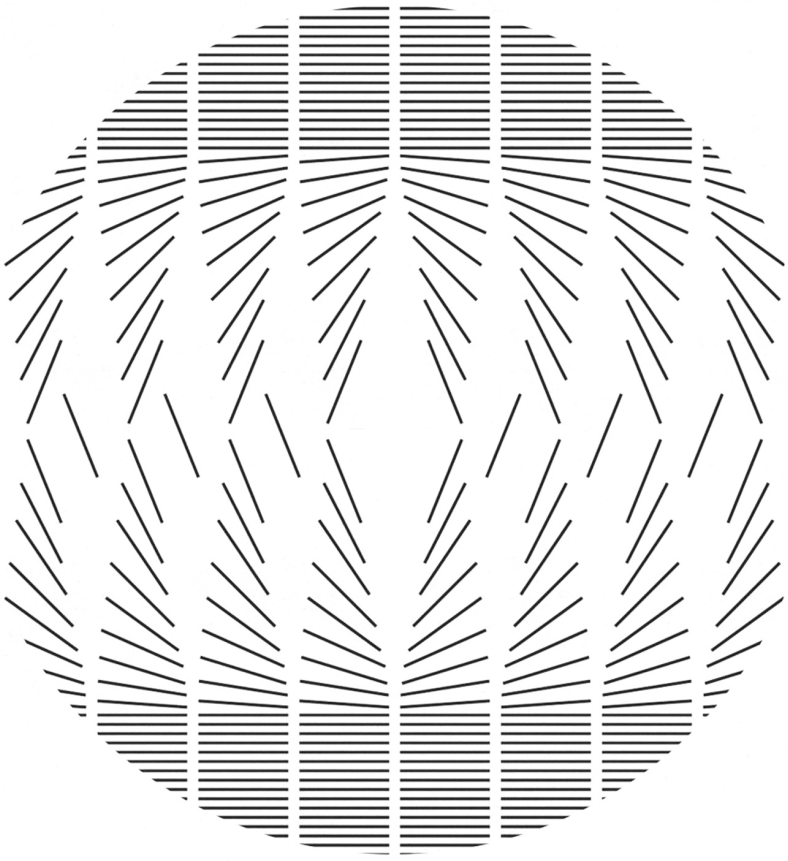
on the other hand, regarded the radio, the ‚Volksempfänger', as the perfect instrument to unify the nation: „The radio belongs to us, to no one else! And we will place the radio at the service of our idea, and no other idea shall be expressed through it" (Goebbels cited in Reuth 1993, 177). Each citizen was obligated to listen to endless streams of political propaganda, and when Hitler himself spoke it was a national duty to tune in. Many mistakes were made in the utilization of the radio's power, but as soon as the balance between reassuring and relaxing forms entertainment as well as political and economic propaganda was reached, radio turned into a „great sonic homogeniser" (Hendy 2013, 241, offering its audience simulacra of we-ness, an imaginative sense of community, as well as cooking-tips, weather-forecasts and product-advertisements disguised as news-segments. By 1969 almost every citizen - 268 million people - of America owned an active radio-set. The radio has „become the bird-song of modern life, the ‚natural' soundscape, excluding the inimical forces from outside" (Schafer 1977, 93).

From here on forward time has been propelling us deeper and deeper into a globalized, networked and digitalized world of sound where invisible signals and transmitted waveforms are as much part of our every-day sonic experience as the sound of our voices and the beating of our hearts. The road's roaring, the televised simulacrum of experience, the anesthetizing background music of consumerism, the ‚bleeping', ‚twittering', ‚pinging' sounds of gadgetry and technologically mediated communication: the volume and confusion of urbanity progressively increased. The 20th and the 21st centuries introduced us to a range of now all-encompassing auditory technologies such as smart-phones, voice-mails, MP3 players and portable laptops; even maps have been replaced by a friendly generic vocalization telling us where we are and where to go next. The sounds and meanings of our urban environments are more and more „experienced through the products of the culture industry (…) as a form of privatized and largely fictionalized cosmopolitanism" (Bull 2019, xxiv). Shopping malls and infinite highways produce, as Schafer (1977) argues, the new keynote-sounds of western societies, punctuated and controlled by sirens, news podcasts and standardized advertisements. Above ground, aeroplanes roam the skies, down below loudspeakers color the air in every shop, and in-between a hectic rattling of trains or the incessant hammering accompanying the erection of skyscrapers envelopes the modern metropolis of the 21st century. Our cities themselves are now ‚smart' cities, algorithmically monitored and efficiently designed as to coordinate an increasingly complicated web of humans, infrastructure and economic actors, thereby creating, as some declare, a desensitized and homogenized spectacle, void

of auditory markers and nuances. It could be argued that the overstimulating ‚noise' of our century, be it the clamor of traffic, construction and consumption, or ‚noise' as a „metaphor for the excessive quantities of information that we are faced on a daily basis" (Hendy 2013, 258) is coped, on the one hand, with an acquired indifference, or, as Georg Simmel called it, a „blasé attitude" (Simmel 1950, 415), and, on the other hand, by seeking refuge in what Baudrillard (1983) called the ‚hyperreality', wherein „everyday sensuous experience is increasingly mediated by synthetic sensuous media" (Rodaway 1994, 176).

Conclusion

And yet it would be foolish to judge and to condemn this new world of sound, to dream of the long lost purity of rural and natural soundscapes as so many cultural critics have done. As we have seen/heard: Seneca, Schopenhauer, Marx - they all harshly disapproved of their respective soundscapes, but were nevertheless entwined with and were actively partaking in change, in revolution, in transformation and progress - and thereby in the creation of novel and unprecedented ways of listening and of making sound. It may feel as if our soundscapes are getting noisier, amidst the labyrinthine spectacles of our current consumer culture even more uniform and standardized, but there are also so many new and fascinating sounds and soundscapes, sonic possibilities of connection and creation that could have only been dreamt of a hundred years earlier. Anti-urban and anti-modern thoughts on contemporary sense-scapes tend to split the world in ‚good' and ‚bad', in ‚noise' and silence', in ‚beautiful' and ‚ugly', and thereby deliberately forget the ecological co-evolution of soundscapes, environments and societies. Our perception and judgement of sound, therefore, is changing as society changes, giving us, at every moment, the possibility to disrupt, hijack and re-negotiate our sonic world: „noise is a specific historic phenomenon that can signify more than outrage. It is an expressive and communicative resource that registers collective and individual identities, including those of nation, race and ethnicity (…); it is a ready form of social energy, with the power to appropriate, reconfigure or transgress boundaries; it converts space into territory, often against the social odds" (Bailey 2004, 34).



3

PALIMPSEST

the contemporary city's intersecting sonic layers

Introduction

„Urban space can be thought of as a kind of hive, with a cellular social and physical ecology, that creates complex outcomes in terms of cyclical and spatially organized sonic geographies that flow, modulate, and change as the chronology of days and seasons pass" (Rowland Atkinson 2011, 25).

Sounds slip into and stick to the city's fabric like dust. This invisible city, the translucent energy of the metropolis ghostly permeates the air, infectiously pervades our skin, exposes us to the unpredictable, the diffuse collateral effects of our collective movements, transactions, emotions. The reality of space is affirmed by the energetic co-production of it as place, as a vibratory field of energy, achieved by living it, by its usage, its conflicts, dramas and messiness. The contemporary city, easily comprehensible when visualized from above, when delineated as a grid, turns into an avant-guardian composition á la Stockhausen when experienced from within. The electrified self is swept away by a current of bodies, enveloped by the intricate sound of change, of routine, of busy bees buzzing around their hives. In the park or courtyard, framed by trees and islands of leisure and rest, the droning of tyres and engines quiets down and the city's rhythms separate out, become distinguishable, amplify the crumbled newspaper rolling around in the wind and open up a space of intimacy and exchange. Lowered voices and sudden silences accentuate and contrast the metallic reverberation of planes and subway-systems, underneath and above, closing in the networked body into the finest webs of infrastructures, near and far connections, automations, regulations and echoes. Everyday life in the modern city, with all its clamorous confusion, its bylaws and conflicts, is metabolic, constituted and re-produced by the intense encounter of humans and non-humans, of technology, nature, noise and matter.

Traditional Urbanism vs. Urban Assemblages

And yet, amidst all this fragile complexity, there is a surprising absence of chaos. The city endures. In what ways can ‚it' be grasped and theorized, not to mention planned and improved - and for whom and why? Traditionally, sociologists, historians, economists and urban planners attempted to understand the city from the distance, gazing upon it from far above, mapping it in highly stable and bounded ways. These reductionist approaches „argue that a city is no more than a lattice of physical enclosures, apertures,

planes, intersections bound together by the regulatory force of the Cartesian grid“ (Arkette 2004, 159). Even though thoughts and practices concerning the city have been and still are diverse, the idea that every city-scape can be understood in its totality and therefore be described and designed based on assumptions of elementary principles, prevails and still forms the basis of urban planning today. There are at least three important approaches towards urban studies that could be mentioned in this regard (Farias 2009). The first apperception, in its principles ascribed to the Chicago School of the 1920s, understood cities as spatially delimited units and considered urbanities to result from the natural formation of different ‚mosaic-like' zones (Collins 2021), within which humans settle down and link together in socio-economically discernible patterns. The second one, most famously developed by Max Weber (1986), is rather structuralist and symbolic in nature, wherein the focus is not on the city as spatial, but as an economic unit. This city, in this regard, is itself an economic and political actor and can be understood as an existential condition for the socio-political development of civilization itself. Finally, a concept strongly influenced by Georg Simmel's essay on ‚the mental life of city dwellers' (1950) and Louis Wirth's ‚urbanity as a way of life' (1938), the city is conceived of „as culture - anonymous, vertiginous, public. (…). Looking at cities as culture raises the same type of dilemmas we observe above for spatial and economic understandings of cities. The problem lies in the stability of the object“ (Farias 2009, 12). In each of these concepts, the urban is compressed, flattened and resembles an abstractable unity, wherein the ambiguity of space and of lived experience is mostly sidelined, dependent either on physical concepts of space, or the product of cultural, economic and political conditions.

Within contemporary cities, with their multilayered dynamism, their exponential growth and interconnectedness, the failure of traditional, holistic definitions becomes more and more apparent. „The city is everywhere and in everything“ (Amin & Thrift 2002, 1). There are no insides and outsides, no borders or maps that allow for deduction and synecdoche. Space and time is enacted, performed, shaped and assembled simultaneously in multiple ways, on the spot, fleeting, ephemeral and corporeal. The city is fluid, constantly in flux, it is a „universe in which there is real uncertainty and contingency, a world which is not all in, and never will be, a world which in some respect is incomplete and in the making, and which in these respects may be made this way or that according as men judge, prize, love, and labor“ (Dewey 1993, 44). To withdraw from the modernist quest to capture the whole, to simplify and rigidly frame the world into generalizing meta-narratives, means to acknowledge - and to dive into the fragmented, the overlooked, the

atmospheric, invisible, corporeal and sensual aspects of every day life. A new kind of urbanism, one that accounts for the recurrent phenomenological patterns, one that describes the city not as a stable object, but as a process, is, in parts, provided by the conceptual tools of the Actor Network Theory (ANT) and related concepts such as ‚assemblage urbanism' or ‚urban political ecology' (UPE) as they were developed by STS authors such as Bruno Latour (2005), Donna Harraway (1985) or John Law (2004).

There are three main principles to approach the city from an ANT perspective. First, the analysis focuses on how the city's components are constructed in the ‚here-and-now', how they are made, unmade, and reconstructed concretely, on the spot. Secondly, it is not sociality that constructs the city, but it is the ongoing performative enactment of it into being, into fleeting networks of bodies, objects, materials and natures, thereby explicitly ascribing certain degrees of agency, not just to humans, but to every material involved. The third major point is that the city is multiple in the sense of ambivalent, that „different realities are being enacted here and there, now and then" (Farias & Bender 2009, 13). The emerging and highly influential terrain of the so-called ‚urban political economy' seeks to understand processes of socio-natural entanglements. By taking into account social histories, power structures and capitalist dynamics, UPE proposes that „the city, society and nature, representation and being are inseparable, integral to each other, infinitely bound-up, yet simultaneously this hybrid socio-natural 'thing' called the city is full of contradictions, tensions and conflicts" (Swyngedouw 1996, 65). From this perspective, all of the city's components, human and nonhuman, are interacting with each other, in a constant state of correspondence and exchange, involving „a perpetual passing through deterritorialized materials" (Kaika 2005, 27). Finally, the idea of ‚urban assemblages', a term that derived from the Deleuzian ‚agencement' - the arrangement of, or fitting together of different elements - goes even further and focuses not only on the exteriority of materials, humans and their agency, but elucidates indeterminacy, turbulence and the multiplicity of temporalities and socio-material configurations. Here, the processual and potential itself carries agency. Assemblage thinking is a powerful tool to grasp the city as de-centered, relational practice, wherein the object of study is relentlessly assembled and re-assembled at concrete sites and thereby allows to grasp the always emerging potential of disruption, encounter and new becomings: „The brilliance of the concept of assemblages is that it describes an entity that has both consistency and fuzzy borders, (it) has some coherence in what it says and what it does, but it continually dissolves and morphs into something new" (Tampio 2009, 394).

All of these paths count upon constructivists philosophies of becoming, upon the assumption, that „the city is made up of potential and actual entities/associations/ togethernesses which there is no going beyond to find anything ‚more real', (and) when put together they produce something more than when apart" (Amin & Thrift 2002, 27). The contribution of these approaches lies, inherently, not in the deliverance of bounded theories, but, rather, in inspiring alternative urban ontologies, in attempting to delineate and to burst open traditional understandings of ‚the' city. The ecology that arises, this metabolism of encounter, of uncertainty and potentiality, allows us to think the urban as fluid, to embrace how space is enlivened through use. The metropolis of the 21st century is a palimpsest of overlapping scripts and densely layered physical and bodily processes. We leave our traces and footprints all over the place, always swaying in-between contingent appropriations and regulated bio-politics. The city, it is said, consumes us, and yet every urban moment carries a promise of change and improvisation, of unpredictable encounters and transformation. To engage with the city through apperceptions like these, to grasp the experiential impact and exposure city-live can have on the senses, situates the individual and intersubjective modes of experience as points of departure for detailed ethnographic descriptions, theoretical observations and subsequent analysis.

It is the elusiveness of aural perception, the intrusive yet un-objectifiable nature of sounds that stands in direct contrast to ‚modernity's fracturing eye' (Ong 1982). Even though every urban moment radiates with a proliferating array of sensorial imprints, it is precisely the uncontrollable, defiantly undisciplined quality of uncoded and hazy sounds that constrains cultural analysis, which „attempts to locate every-day experience in a form of visual silence, thereby ignoring the specific relational qualities attached to aural experience" (Bull 2003, 360). Our culture itself is increasingly defined by the ocular-centric, detached modalities of visuality. A city's aurality is merely tolerated, though mostly ignored or concealed. The cool detachment and distance of visual culture correlates with classic approaches in urban studies, with their aim to categorize and structure the city accordingly: „Not to listen in the city makes space smaller, tamer, more predictable" (Tonkiss 2003, 305). Considerations of urban soundscapes based on objectifying, spatial terms, implicitly turns a deaf ear towards underlying socio-political, economic and cultural factors. The modern metropolis, unbounded, networked and multicultural, obstructs attempts to totalize it and it is through sound that we are confronted with the unbounded and ephemeral ambience that constitutes the reality of

urban experience. The urban soundscape, inevitably, touches on the body of the listener, renders sociality sensual and corporeal, immerses us in our environment, shatters spatial certainty and gives us the city as fluid and relational process. Sociological listening, as Les Back wrote, „is needed today in order to admit the excluded, the looked past, to allow the ‚out of place' a sense of belonging" (Back 2007, 22). Through the movements of sound in space, the city proves to be generative, created by interaction and reciprocity and thereby tests the false stability of the visual. Sound casts doubt on the city as spatial fact, on whether the apartment building, the public square, the sidewalk or the shopping mall exists as solid, permanent truth. The city-space is accomplished and realized as place by the dynamic and vital sonority of its inhabitants, of the collective, fleeting resonance of humans, non-humans, stone and flesh in interaction. Objective only through its intersubjective appropriation, the city in sound „should be celebrated as the most liquid of spaces, offering a model for the kind of fluidity that a whole range of other disciplines aspire to" (Arkette 2004, 167).

Listening From the Sidewalk

„[This] story begins on ground level, with footsteps. They are myriad, but do not compose a series. They cannot be counted because each unit has a qualitative character: a style of tactile apprehension and kinesthetic appropriation. (…) Their intertwined paths give shape to their spaces. They weave places together, (…) they are not localized; it is rather that they spatialize" (Michel de Certeau 1984, 97).

When the entrance door of the apartment building squeaks open, and the filtered, muffled soundscape of the stairwell is left behind, the acoustic environment expands away, gains perspective and opens up towards the city's dynamic aggregation of sonority, towards the sounds and rhythms of public interaction, mobility and collective energy on the move. To take the first step, to feel the foot hit the ground and perceive the audible vibration rippling through - and its concentric expansion away from the body, assures and reaffirms one's connective reverberance within the greater public realm, for „it is the vibratory essence that puts the world of sound in motion and reminds us, as individuals, that we are alive, sentient and experiencing" (Shepard 1991, 90). The slow acceleration which follows, the rhythmic choreography of steps, weaves together the inner, private self with the greater ebbs and flows of public life. Murray Schafer, in this regard, wrote that the pulse of a society should be measured not by its heartbeat, but by its footsteps (Schafer

1977, 164). The walking body unconsciously aligns with its environmental properties, with the ‚pace' of its specific urban milieu, and, at the same time, imprints on it with its own rhythmic individuality. Such sonorous, rhythmic interlocking, as a form of ‚entrainment' with urbanity, „gives itself out not only as structures, figures, but also configuration, structuration, that is to say, deformation of the built world such as it was conceived and re-creation of space through feeling and motor function" (Augoyard 2007, 128). Within the city, the sidewalk is a place for continual negotiation and repetition, resounding with, and mediating between fleeting and democratic forms of self-expression and formal scriptures. The sidewalk embeds and immerses the pedestrian in an envelope of voices, signals and sirens, all contoured by the street structure, by buildings and administrative systems, as to regulate and shape the collective movements and trajectories of urbanity. At the same time, individuals appropriate the sidewalk, reconfigure and interpret public space with their own acoustic agency, filling it with laughter and music, outbursts and sudden noisy encounters with one another, hereby producing „a second, ghostly mapping of the city, one that confounded the official city of the planners and architects - at least for a time" (Bassett 2003, 344).

Cities love to make noise. When we walk through it, we experience the air being soaked with acoustic stimuli. Sound is a social glue, encoded as cacophony. A saxophone's melody dripping the ear, guitarists playing, beggars begging, bad-tempered crows and barking dogs. Musik from boutiques, impromptu concerts in the entrance of subway-stations, people hurrying around, talking on their phones, shuffling their feet, the roaring turbines of distant planes. People make themselves noticeable by honking their horns, shoutings someone's name, whistling, chatting, laughing, complaining, screaming. The rumble of industrial machines, noisy pneumatic hammers, metal on metal. Unexpected, familiar, caressing, shrill, sharp, dark, mysterious noises, which intensify and then diminish, which approach and then move away, noises that rise like gas, others that affect the stomach and ears. The arrogant baritone of limousines disputing the hegemony of the street with picky mopeds, with the brute sound of a motor-bike, with the hum of electric cars and the ignorant holler of buses. A city, listened to from the sidewalk, sounds like a giant bell. While walking through it, people create and compose their own local vocabulary of the city, an idiomatic and often poetic appropriation of urbanity. The existing syntax of the urban topography is being written and rewritten by sonic emissions as they are articulated by machines, animals, humans and infrastructure in a resonant state of exchange: „Following these intensities, and the movements between formal scripts and

informal pedestrian rewriting, the sidewalk provides a line to the flows and counterflows, the signals and beats, which lay claim onto the urban system“ (LaBelle 2010, 93).

Over the course of many centuries, architecture, the ‚mother of all arts‘, built and rebuilt the walls on which our lives so vivaciously reverberate. From a building’s design to its realization, architects, in an almost exclusive way, are guided solely by visual aspects of the structure. Inspired by cultural trends, utilitarian aspirations, as well as by specific artistic standpoints, the combination and manipulation of materials and shapes results in a distinct sensual perception of the urban environment, with consequences that exceed, albeit unintentionally, the visual and symbolic. Human beings are neurologically wired to sense space acoustically, to perceive, in a form of echo-location, their distance to an object, their position in a room, the height of the walls. Unable as we are to grasp our environment consciously in its totality, we „build our worlds through intuitions of time and space“ (Steintrager 2016, xxiv). The walking body instinctively senses what kind of physical environment surrounds it, by subconsciously analyzing the delay of an echo, the enveloping frequency, or the intensity with which it arrives. Every environment, every room, building, street or square has, in this sense, a distinct sonic manifestation. In the city, where there are generally no discrete sounds to be heard, where acoustic events are volatile and multilayered, the human ear builds blueprints and fluid maps out of subtle environmental clues. This spatial awareness, internalized as body knowledge, is what Steven Feld called ‚acoustemology‘, a union of epistemology and acoustics. „Sound“, he writes, „both emanates from and penetrates bodies; this reciprocity of reflection and absorption is a creative means of orientation - one that tunes bodies to places and times through their sounding potential“ (Feld 2003, 226).

Even though sound cannot be heard isolated from its physical propagation, it also depends on the psychology, the culture, or the attitude of the listening subject. Architecture, in its manifest and mute stability, becomes alive and dynamic according the the various ways it is used. Every urban site pervades, therefore, an ‚ambience‘ or ‚atmosphere‘, which hovers between the perceiving subject and the built structure. This atmospheric energy acts as a form of dialogue between the visible and the invisible and thereby ambiguously compliments or interrupts architecture. The atmosphere, or as Jean-Paul Thibaud calls it, the ‚ambience‘ of a place, „involves a specific mood expressed in the material presence of things and embodied in the way of being city dwellers. Thus, ambience is both subjective and objective: it involves the lived experience of people as

well the built environment of the place“ (Thibaud 2011, 46). We may find ourselves in a visually stunning part of the city, surrounded by mellow curves and soft colors, and yet, the amplified clatter and reverberant voices of nearby shops and restaurants generate a sense of tension, isolation and anxiety. In a different setting, apparently cold and neglected, we may find peace and a sense of intimacy in the muffled and tranquil sounds around us. Sometimes, the visual and aural align, reinforce their meaning, and with it a sense of belonging and fulfillment. Urbanity, therefore, is assembled by various aural ambiences that are experienced on an unconscious or emotional level and affect our moods, associations and behavior: a kind of ‚weather' which determines if we feel stressed or calm, warm or cold, in - or out of place. Questions regarding the aural and atmospheric characteristics of architecture are generally not recognized or appreciated as worthy topics for consideration. The dynamics that play out between the built and the perceived are, hence, usually the result of incidental and unrelated sociocultural forces. It is the sensing subject, the people who put the city to use, therefore, who function as ‚aural architects', by either being oblivious towards the urban soundscape, and thereby reproducing unhealthy and anxiety-inducing patters, or by listening, by contemplating and actively positioning the self within, and fighting for spaces and places that encourage and give strength to personal health, wellbeing, participation and democratic intervention.

Sonic Communities

„As sonic subjectivities we meet not in reason but in affection, and that meeting is not dialectical, it does not progress towards an ideal community, but produces simultaneity and coincidence. The sonic meeting is agonistic rather than antagonistic: it generates the community, as contingency, in the playful chance of exchange“ (Salome Voegelin 2010, 190).

The processual composition of relationalities between socio-material properties of an urban site, the emerging and fluid potentialities of appropriation and encounter, as well as the culture-specific ways of sensing, produce an acoustic community - not in the sense of a spatially limited formation, nor as a detached and boundless fluidity, but as an assemblage of highly complex, yet tendentially patterned and repetitious phenomena. As a de-centered object, the city implies a multitude of interacting, yet to some extend ordered milieus, defined by ethnic, economic, cultural or religious criteria, and, consequently, produces distinct sets of sound-marks, acoustic profiles and atmospheres which are,

despite of their inherent morphology, recognizable and representative. Rowland Atkinson, in this regard, argues, that „the spatial and temporal ordering of the urban soundscape, its ebb and flow, is often programmed, regularized or ordered in ways that can rarely be defined as random“ (Atkinson 2007, 1906). These site-specific urban soundscapes make audible the rhythms, activities and habits of its inhabitants. They change, often radically, according to the time of day and they signify and reinforce social and political guidelines: „Sound plays a significant role in defining the community spatially, temporally in terms of daily and seasonal cycles, as well as socially and culturally in terms of shared activities, rituals and dominant institutions. The community is linked and defined by its sound. To an outsider they may appear exotic or go unnoticed, but to the inhabitants they convey useful information about both individual and community life“ (Truax 1984, 58). Traditionally, an acoustic community was defined by the range of the voice, the church bell, or the sounds of manual labour.

The sounds of a society change, though, as society changes, and the secularized and networked city of the 21st. century incorporates a wide variety of sound-marks, signals, languages and electro-acoustic emissions which have unequal exposure effects on different groups, thereby shaping acoustically identifiable territories, marked by their social, economic, cultural, political or educational status. Noisy urban environments, for instance, such as districts that are situated close to airports and highways usually correlate with lower-class neighborhoods, cheaper rental-prizes and, subsequently, with stress, sickness and an overall sense of disempowerment (Schafer 1977). And yet, the natural sounds of vitality, creativity and contestation are often to be heard in poorer districts, environments in which community is composed by encounters, by the sonorous utilization of the street, by teenagers with ghetto-blasters, playing children, chess-playing, quarreling, laughing, singing men and women. Silence, on the other hand, became a luxury of high value for those who can afford it. Quietude is of symbolic value, acting as a social ordering principle - for it is interwoven with greater discourses about ownership, social status and individualization. Noise, ever since the emergence of the bourgeoisie in the 18th century, was experienced by the wealthier inhabitants as violation and intrusion into one’s privacy. The emergence of gated communities and middle-class suburbs created acoustic communities defined by sameness and homogenization, by quiet environments where sounds didn’t have to be loud to cause problems. The whole history of noise-abatement bylaws is characterized by the utter contempt for sounds made by the foreigner, busker, beggar, teenager, bar-owner, by ‚the other‘ in general (LaBelle 2010).

The acoustic community within the city, which has been and still is generally characterized by distinctive ambiences, sound-marks, aural architectures, administrative signals, and the histories and activities of the people who enliven the space, „has now become extended to refer to distant groups of people bound together through a technological mediator. The mark of the passage of time is suppressed through the transfer of sound waves to electrical carriers of data silently traversing continents“ (Arkette 2004, 164). Beyond the city and the community as spatial formation, as it was envisioned by traditional urban studies, even beyond the more fluid and phenomenological approaches of the city, deconstructed and re-assembled as boundless but networked, there is another city to be found, close-knit communities, always in aural reach, invisibly connected by innumerable sonic bridges: „Today the streets are full of virtual doorways, opening into other places, countless ways through, ways out and ways into the city space, constructed and reconstructed by a myriad of mobile phone owners, who transform as they use“ (Bassett 2003, 345). The aural space created by the mobile phone, by video-conferences and chat-rooms, detaches the body from its physical environment and produces another one, a more intimate and symbolic space, one which excludes external impulses and erases the responsibility of the face-to-face encounter. With headphones already plugged into the ear-canal, either listening to music or having a conversation, the contemporary smart-phone user „navigates through several worlds at once, the one in which he hears and the one in which he walks“ (Thibaud 2003, 331).

While listening to music, urban space in its audio-visual experience turns into a controllable fiction, where the natural acoustics are masked and substituted by an atmospheric, electrifying, mood-enhancing soundtrack that allows the technologically mediated listener to create her own narrative of the city. Michael Bull, in his studies on personal stereos, observes that this „aesthetic colonization of urban space becomes an integral part of an urban tale whereby experience is synonymous with technological experience“ (Bull 2012, 198). Where Lefebvre's rhythm-analyst or Benjamin's flaneur embrace external impulses and seeks to understand the city through receptive immersion in - and interaction with the environment, the iPod or smartphone, on the contrary, draws the subject into a privatized, imaginary realm, where the visual is hyper-aestheticized by a solipsistic auditory attentiveness. As an inevitable consequence of a highly visualized culture, the harsh and confusing noises of the modern metropolis often drive the city-dweller, who seeks to block out and escape the city-soundscape, into a state of sound-

isolation. Consequently, the dynamics and potentialities of an acoustic community are substituted by an individualized and aestheticized subjective aural space, where every-day life in the city is experienced from within an auditory bubble and where „the contingent nature of urban space and the ‚other' is denied" (ibid., 207).

Transportation

„This new species of city is not an accretion of streets and squares that can be comprehended by the pedestrian, but instead manifests its shape from the air, the car, or the mass transit railway" (Deyan Sudjik 1992, 297).

Sounds and rhythms accentuate, punctuate and sometimes contest the flows and routines of every-day life within the city. We find security in the controllable acoustics of our homes and comfort in the organic soundscapes of our neighborhoods, parks, and city-squares. The closer we get to those places in-between, the trembling seams that connect us with our workplace, our markets and places of consumption, the more intense we sense the „repetitions and regularities that become the tracks to negotiate urban life" (Amin & Thrift 2002, 17). Systems of transport symbolize the interconnectedness and fluidity of the networked metropolis in the 21st. century. We feel their vibrations through our bones, sense their demanding omnipresence, hear the efficient machinery of urban life, its tracks and tyres constantly emitting a standing wave of sound, day and night, sounding out a city that never sleeps. When we leave the sidewalk to go underground, sounds and signals take over and direct our movements as we are surrendering our individual agency to the raw and efficient trans-human metabolism of urban public transport systems. The underground subway-system provides a key geographical coordinate for this kind of mobility between near and far places, a rhizomatic necessity charged with echoes, creeks and murmurs, a submerged cave-system reverberating with the sounds of hundred thousand people every day.

Underground, the appearance of things changes, the references to social reality, their cultural framework (LaBelle 2010, 22). We cannot hear the cars anymore, the supermarkets, the sing-song from the coffeeshops. The rhythms that lay hidden above, now impose themselves upon our senses. In those quiet minutes, while we wait on the platform, every voice, every rustling of paper is amplified. Acousmatic echoes ghostly envelope us until we sense slowly intensifying vibrations, rising air-pressure, and finally

hear the deafening noise of metal and steel as the train arrives. Sharp signals pulsate, followed by the sounds of abruptly click-shutting doors. Inside, the soundscape is infused with an anonymous, impersonal, yet deeply vital sociality. The moving subway oscillates as a shadow, a mirror of the terrestrial, a ‚heterotopia' that has „the curious property of being connected to all the other emplacements, but in such a way that they suspend, neutralize, or reverse the set of relations that are designated, reflected, or represented by them" (Foucault 1998, 178). Despite its generative and ordering capacity, the subway, with its tunnels, passages and caves, is also a place of defiance, shelter and fantasy. With its particular geometry, the underground incorporates exceptionally reverberant spaces that bring together „the inherent potentiality of sound to echo, expand, and disorient while being interwoven with forces of struggle, hope, and resistance" (LaBelle 2010, 4). Underneath, we hear a busker's song passing through the burrows, a performance that is abundant with histories and narratives of marginalization and political non-compliance. Here we are confronted with a raw sensuality, with prayers and beggars, with fear and criminality. The acoustics of the modern city's subway system evokes disorienting uncertainty, sounds and voices that seem to come from nowhere and everywhere, a vagueness that, much alike to the experience our ancestors in the caves of Lascaux must have had, gives rise to spirits, protection, and rituals.

Above ground, a never ending stream of cars growls and roams through the city's veins. Amidst the deafening traffic the only distinct sounds that stand out from the white noise are the choleric signals of horns and sirens, which are approximately as loud as jet engines (Kaplan 2010, 164). In Germany and Austria, at least every second inhabitant owns a car, in the US almost everyone. Worldwide, there are an estimated 1,4 billion vehicles actively in use today. Inevitably, the automobile's omnipresence has come to constitute an integral part of our perceptual and sensorial life-world. Even though the resultant acoustic impacts of traffic noise on the health and well-being of city-dwellers have been subjected to various noise-abatement by-laws and practices, efforts to reduce sound-levels and to re-design urban structures have been largely unsuccessful. Theoretical future scenarios to reduce urban noise pollution include full enclosure by shifting streets underground, fleets of electric cars, speed-limits and sound-barriers. However, these solutions are either un-affordable, or have been proven to be of minimal impact: „No simple technical solution exists for solving the traffic noise problem – neither at the source nor for preventing noise from reaching ears. In order to achieve improvements, concerted actions from everyone involved are required, but such coordination of actions is lacking

today“ (Chalmers University of Technology 2014, 1). To stop noise-pollution within the city, to actually fight against mental and physiological illnesses that evidently arise from it, and design a healthier city-soundscape, „a more complex multi-agency and interdisciplinary effort would be required, along with societal change“ (Pink et al. 2019, 234).

Even though traffic noise is vastly connoted as negative, annoying and unwanted, the cultural symbolism the car entails, the aestheticization of engines, the authoritarian masculinity of its sound, the stylization of privacy - so far interferes with an active and concerted transformation towards a more ecologically oriented approach, not only in regards to noise pollution and public health, but also referring to the acute and imminent consequences of man-made climate change. The car, similar to the walkman and the smartphone, shields the driver, creates an isolated world, while, at the same time, being public: „The aural privacy of the automobile is gained precisely through the exorcizing of the random sounds of the environment by the mediated sounds of the cassette or radio“ (Bull 2003, 359). The car is an individualized realm, a mobile living room, giving the user full agency over the direct environment. The development of the automobile happened alongside the flowering of the middle-class and the privatization of experience in the 20th. century. It separates, encloses, constructs modules that safeguard the car-owner from the unpredictable and uncontrollable aspects of direct contact. It is as much a mental place as it is a physical space; it is in here, encapsulated but on the move, where innumerable ritualized journeys to and from work happen, where there is room for introspection and daydreaming. The car acts as second skin, it cocoons the driver, it is, as Marshall McLuhan elaborated, a „space that we don't get into, but which, as it varies, we put on. The (…) car is worn like shoes or pants“ (McLuhan 2005, 48).

Acoustic Manipulation

„The effects (of electroacoustic technology) on the soundscape as a ‚community‘ may range from a simple extension through to complete transformation in definition and behavior. From a communicational perspective, the collectivity of listeners functioning as consumers changes from a community to a market“ (Barry Truax 1984, 179).

So far we attended to the contingent and often unpredictable interplay of materiality, sound and its intersubjective enactment within the city. We listened to

acoustics of comfort and exclusion and eavesdropped on privatized realms of augmentation and isolation. Sensations of sonic beauty, belonging or anxiety have been considered as the result of patterned yet mostly unintentional results of architectural shapes, socio-economic circumstances and subjective as well as culturally specific listening habits. And yet, there are urban environments whose aural ambiences are deliberately calculated and, in regards of their sensual impact, carefully controlled. The idea to condition and stimulate the behavior of bodies within distinct spatial environments with the help of acoustics is as old as the first rituals that our ancestors conducted. The power of sound to propel the human mind into states of relaxation, hypnosis, ecstasy and collectively concerted actions has been put to use by shamans, religious leaders, dictators and the mass-media alike. In particular, the structuring and soothing of production and work activities with the aid of songs and rhythms is a universally prevalent feature of human culture. During pre-industrial periods, a song being sung paced and synchronized the rhythm of bodies and movements, coordinated and eased the work on hand. As the noise of steam engines and heavy machinery began to roar throughout the cities after the industrialization, the rhythm of the worker's song was soon to be drowned out by machine's in-organic metallic discharge. When it became possible to detach sound from its source and reproduce it technologically in the first half of the 20th century, though, acoustic work environments changed drastically. The first serious attempt to utilize recorded sound for economic purposes were audible within the industrious, raucous soundscapes of the factory floor.

‚Muzak' - or, as the BBC later labelled its own radio-show, ‚Musik while you work', soon was incorporated as an essential feature for countless occupations, listened to by seamstresses in the sewing workshop, heard from the mechanic's garage and joyfully anticipated by industrial workers in the factory. This kind of music, specifically developed to be over-heard and sculpted to control the mood and efficiency of the listeners takes advantage of the psychological effects of ‚stimulus progression', a principle that can be traced back to early military research, „showing that vigilance and recognition tasks were significantly aided by musical programming which rose in ascending tempo" (Atkinson 2007, 1911). This period in time, vibrant with technological and scientific developments, has been deeply entwined with a mechanistic objectification of the human body and the assembly-line mode of production and, subsequently, „Muzak became a variable to be added and subtracted in the complex of technical, economic, and social relations that constituted Fordism" (Jones & Schumacher 1992, 159). Music, thus, was researched and

employed not for its power to yield human interaction nor for its pleasurable content, but for its practical effectiveness as merely another tool in the production process. One of these studies, carried out in 1927 by the industrial psychologist Donald Laird (1927), analyzed the influence of noise on the productivity of typists, and concluded, by measuring the heart rate activity, the number of exhalations, the calories burned and the mistakes being made, that „energy consumption increased by 19 percent when typists worked under noisy conditions and that very loud noises had a ‚profound effect on involuntary muscle activities of the stomach,' an effect equivalent to the primal fear reaction" (Thompson 2014, 156).

The implementation of noise-insulation techniques, as well as softening background music in the work environment, was, therefore, an inevitable and necessary course of action as to counteract the worker's physical wear-out and the related loss of profits. Many downtown offices, such as the BBC White City in London skipped the music in Muzak altogether and went even further by integrating white-noise and background ‚mutter' into the building's ambient design as to disguise and mask conversations. The proven effectiveness of functional soundscapes, their noise-masking proficiency and the heightened physiological and emotional condition of the working body under the influence of methodically programmed soundscapes, led to a widespread distribution and franchise system of the ‚Muzak' company and similar suppliers, extending from the factory workshop towards non-manual white-color workplaces and finally into places of leisure, coffee-houses, hotel-lobbies and shopping-centers. From now on, recorded sound and music was employed in the service of capitalism, used to control the emotional and physical state of employees and consumers alike.

Public spaces in the modern metropolis, by nature open to unanticipated encounters and deviant forms of appropriation, are being increasingly repressed in favor of meticulously managed places of consumption - downtown promenades in abundance of opulent and overflowing shopping centers and adventure restaurants, all of whom promise an extraordinary experience, persuading potential customers with subtle sensual clues. Amidst the shrill chromatics of an experience that synthesizes culture and commodity, the consumer, by taking the „ideology of consumption for consumption itself" (Baudrillard 1981, 72), has to be kept sensually entertained, reassured, as to prevent visual exhaustion: „Marketers and designers now hold ‚body-storming' focus groups in an effort to define the most potent sensory channel, and within each channel the most potent sensory signal,

through which to distinguish their products from those of their competitors and capture the attention of potential customers“ (Howes 2005, 288). Sound, as we have seen, has always been a powerful vehicle to mark territories and to spark subliminal emotive associations. When the acousmatic echo reverberated through neolithic caves, and later through the thick cathedrals of Christianity our ancestors assumed to be in contact with supernatural powers. When the bell rang out or the voice of the emperor was heard, sound was of ultimate authority. Strolling through the shopping mall, where hundreds of loudspeakers are hidden in the walls, the soundscape reveals a new kind of ritual and worship. In here, acoustic spaces thicken and contract, demarcate, fade and circulate vertiginously through the air.

The mall, acting as the representative locus of contemporary consumer culture within the city, produces an elaborate atmosphere of desire by appealing to psychological and physiological aspects of listening. Such acoustic spaces, compositions of echoes, voices and background music, generate a sense of vitality, activity, and public gathering: „The mall in this sense is deeply scripted and predetermined while relying on an architectural vocabulary of atmospheres and ambiences to which music and sound play a vital role“ (LaBelle 2010, 168). Supermarkets casually envelope the subjects in bubbles of commercial music, selected, un-troublesome news and product advertisement. Dance music is being heard from shops that specialize on youth-culture and sport equipment and classical music perfumes the air in high-prize boutiques and jewelry-stores. In such palaces of consumption, sound and music is employed to acoustically ‚brand' space, to target and captivate consumers, to „fill uncomfortable conversational gaps but also to amplify purchasing behavior through subtle uses of tempo and the tastes of desired lifestyle groups“ (Atkinson 2007, 1911).

The sonic architecture of consumerism favors the periphery of perception. In an indistinct and subdued manner the soundscape of the shopping-centre intends to contour and soften one's shopping experience, to affect the way we perceive the products on display, gently masking the prearranged and programmed customer-flows, industrial noises and human voices in a similar way warm light may arouse a sense of comfort and safety. Furthermore, the rhythm and symbolism of certain background music provides „a resource for the performance of consumptive identities, as well as a sense of form, timing and pace for the consumptive and service practices“ (Prichard 2007, 12). The scripted consumer soundscapes of the mall produces, in this sense, a feedback-loop, embedding the

shopping body within an aural atmosphere of social warmth and material plenitude on the one hand, and of anonymity and the production of lack on the other. The resulting effect of this feed-backing between subjective uncertainties and shimmering store-atmospheres is an amplification of „one's own image as on the verge of collapse" (LaBelle 2010, 176), a crisis that can be immediately resolved by purchasing a distinct and individual selection of commodities as to stabilize one's own self-image.

The faculties and potentialities of listening, of overhearing and acoustic appropriation entail numerous risks for the homogenizing project of contemporary consumer culture. The artificial control of the public soundscape thereby acts as a form of ‚disciplinary technology' (Foucault, 1979, 136) which „operates directly on the body, its physiological processes and sensations, with the aim of forging a ‚docile body' that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Jones & Schumacher 1992, 156). Functional music plays an important part in the privatization and commodification of public space; it represses ambiguity, delineates territories and excludes the sounds of deviance by drowning the urban soundscape in an indifferent and monotonous carpet of sonic sameness: „It slips into the growing spaces of activity void of meaning and relations, into the organization of our everyday life: in all of the world's hotels, all of the elevators, all of the factories and offices, all of the airplanes, all of the cars, everywhere, it signifies the presence of a power that needs no flag or symbol: musical repetition confirms the presence of repetitive consumption, of the flow of noises as ersatz sociality" (Attali 1985, 111).

Natural Soundscapes

„The natural world's collective voice represents the oldest and most beautiful music on the planet. But wild soundscapes aren't delivered in an instant - and if we're to hear them at all, they require careful attention and reverence" (Bernie Krause 2012, 330).

To be immersed in, to be washed away by this steady stream of sounds in the city, by the fluid and fugitive acoustics of our urban environment, conjures up the idea of a stream, of depth and submersion. Enclaved within apartments blocks and major streets we often find lacunas, green atolls, not particularly silent, yet calming, for the electrifying city hum merges with the opening resonance of thousands of leaves rustling in the wind, with the manifold repertoire of songs sung by birds, and the countless tiny voices of the

fountains and water-walls in the city: „Theorists and practitioners have continued to embrace the ambivalence of urban nature. They understand that cities do not represent a material liberation from biological necessity but rather that nature is a persistent and ever-changing presence in the built environment. In other words, cities are built in nature, with nature, through nature" (Karvonen 2011, 25). When asked, which soundscape evokes feelings of comfort and relaxation, the urban dweller's answer is often in reference to nature. The creaking, bending of trees, the quiet hush of the wind, the almost imperceptible sound of the rain, the streaming, tickling, dribbling, splashing sounds of water, these are sonic archetypes, inherited blueprints of experience, reaching the deeper part of our brain, collectively and involuntarily affecting our raw emotions. Hearing these natural soundscapes, these „geophonies" and „biophonies" (Krause 2012, 77), connects us with our origins, makes us happy, opens up an aural portal and confronts us with a diversity and complexity of life which so often is concealed underneath the rationality and objectivity of our times: "It is likely that buried deep within the human limbic brain is ancient wiring that springs to life every time we reconnect with these delicate webs of acoustic finery" (ibid., 105).

The sound of water in cities is proven to be therapeutic, to reduce stress and to mask background noise, which is, after ultra-fine particulate matter, the second-worst environmental cause of ill-health (European Environment Agency 2014, 14). One of the origins of the word ‚sound' as ‚fathoming' is to be found in In the old English word ‚sund', meaning ‚water', ‚sea', or ‚the act of swimming'. The human body itself is, considering, that ninety percent of its weight stems from it, nothing but a body of water. The fetus in its mother's womb swims in amniotic fluid, chemically related to seawater. The majority of cities have been originally built around rivers and lakes, as means for agriculture, transportation and trade-routes. Our biology, culture and infrastructure needs water to sustain itself, and thus the sonic perception of it aligns us with our essential human needs, resonating within our body and our psyche: „The roads of man all lead to water. It is the fundamental of the original soundscape and the sound which above all others gives us the most delight in its myriad transformations" (Schafer 1977, 16). A diverse biosphere within the city's fabric not only reduces the subjective perception of noise and thereby creates a more organic, healthier soundscape, but also contributes to the preservation and recovery of natural habitats for an extensive and manifold range non-human inhabitants. The modern metropolis might seem so dissociated from nature, so utterly self-reliant, and yet, on a warm day in late summer, we are cloaked by the humming of countless insects, are

frivolously irritated by the buzzing sound of mosquitos or pleasurably calmed by the rhythmic chirping of undetectable yet omnipresent crickets. And bumblebees, for instance, with their droning busyness, are healthier, better fed, survive longer and are less prone to diseases in the city than in the countryside, since, as research has shown, „urban areas provide a refuge for pollinator populations in an otherwise barren agricultural landscape“ (Samuelson et al. 2018, 1). The whirring movements of routine, duty and repair, not only in the city but in every ecological system, is often compared with a beehive and the humming noise of vitality: „The Earth itself is affective, it can be imagined as dynamic globe humming with potential, out of which all biotic and abiotic entities emerge in a process of creative evolution“ (Lacey 2016, 50).

Other animals which fill the city-air with their voices and sounds are those various species of birds. When the sun rises over the city, the sheer magnitude and complexity of the bird's dawn chorus unmistakably sounds out urbanity's embeddedness in nature. For centuries human beings marveled over the enigmatic beauty of the bird's songs: „no sound in nature has attached itself so affectionately to the human imagination as bird vocalizations. (…) Some men may puzzle over their codes, but most will be content merely to listen to the extravagant and astonishing symphony of their voices. Birds, like poems, should not mean, but be“ (Schafer 1977, 29). Within the constant clamor of the modern city, though, birds are not only forced to sing louder to communicate, they also have adapt to a profusion of different architectural and material acoustic properties. Hard surfaces reflect and disperse high frequencies more than low frequencies, but, on the other hand, the low-frequency rumbling of traffic drowns out every signal which isn't of a higher pitch. Birds, therefore, are coerced to a constant adjustment to specific temporal and spatial circumstances. Many social and technological developments give rise a multitude of alarming consequences for our ecosystems, and yet, birds are astonishingly resilient and flexible. It would be too simple to condemn the contemporary city's condition and argue for a restoration to pre-modern conditions.

Nature, as well, is full of noise, and this is exactly the reason why birds and many other species are so adaptable to different soundscapes. There are a few species, bees and birds, mice, rats, foxes, that are able to use the urban environment to their advantage. But, besides the sounds of domesticated animals, unowned animals are considered an anomaly, and with their ousted and usually invisible position on the urban margins one of the only ways left for them to make themselves known is through sound: „Non-domestic

animals do not dwell in the city, so much as haunt it, and their disembodied cries and whispers are a sign of this haunting“ (Connor 2014, 8). Animals and their soundscapes decenter humans and their communicative systems of noise and signal. They listen and reply to themselves and when they hear us approach, they often fall silent and wait patiently until we move on. Animals will always find a way to adapt to the city, to recolonize and to saturate the urban soundscapes with their haunting yet hopeful sonic signs of life.

The tendency of the past centuries unfortunately advanced towards a human environment which hermetically seals itself off, self-positions itself on the outside of nature. Our species erects the most colossal structures, is linked and connected in intricate webs of transportation and global networks of communication; we submerge the sewers, tame the rivers, ward of the winds and provide for our physical necessities without ever having to leave the city. Human kind's promethean project, its liberation from the forces and threats of nature, cumulated with the ascendency of the modern metropolis, with the creation of our own artificial ‚second nature' and with the design of tightly enclosed and autonomous ‚space envelopes': „The contemporary city has a tendency to loosen the bonds that connect its inhabitants with nature and to transform, eliminate, or replace its earth-bound aspects, covering the natural site with an artificial environment that enhances the dominance of man and encourages an illusion of complete independence from nature“ (Mumford 1956, 386). What is being forgotten, or willfully ignored, is that life in the city is deeply entwined with, and impossible without its dialectical relation to nature. In fact, there is nothing unnatural about the contemporary metropolis: „Cities are dense networks of interwoven socio-spatial processes that are simultaneously human, material, natural, discursive, cultural, and organic“ (Kaika 2005, 23).

The city represents a highly complex socio-ecological continuum, mixing and mingling natural elements and human artifacts in a constant state of exchange. A healthy urban ecology implies the harmonious co-habitation of humans, non-humans and vegetation alike, since, as Michel Serres repeatedly pointed out, „we depend on what depends on us“ (Serres cited in Connor 2014, 14). When we listen closely, we hear the wind, the trees, the rivers and fountains, the music of so many different birds, squirrels, mice, insects and humans alike - and these are the acoustics of a city which doesn't seclude itself within brick walls and heavy machinery, but of one that understands that nature is inseparable from culture: „A rational environmental movement cannot be built

on the demand to save the environment, which, in any case, does not exist. Rather, we must decide what kind of world we want to live in and then try to manage the process of change as best we can approximate it“ (Lewontin & Levins 2008, 234)

Silence

„So there will soon be a need - perhaps there already is a need - for something that may seem a contradiction in terms: an ethnology of solitude“ (Marc Augé 2009, 120).

Since the very beginning there was movement, a continuously expanding force-field, vibrational energy encompassing every particle in the universe. In the beginning there was sound, and silence is its shadow. An absolute absence of vibration and therefore of sound is an impossibility, as impossible as it is for us to grasp this mysterious state of singularity that precedes this initial, thunderous creation of time and space. But the search for it, the hope, the mystery and the despair that the idea of silence, in all its ambiguity, entails, accelerates scientific as well as spiritualistic thought and constantly keeps pushing sensuous awareness to its limits. „Silence“, as Maurice Blanchot writes, „is impossible. That is why we desire it“ (1986, 11). The paradoxical relation between silence as an unattainable object and silence as an opening, a state of mind, is methodically clarified by the composer John Cage and his piece „4’33’’“. At its premiere in 1952, the pianist, besides opening and closing the piano three times during the performance, did not touch any key for four minutes and thirty-three seconds. The audience, consequently, interpreted this as a period of silence. But, as Cage commented, the audience „missed the point. There's no such thing as silence. What they thought was silence, because they didn't know how to listen, was full of accidental sounds. You could hear the wind stirring outside during the first movement. During the second, raindrops began pattering the roof, and during the third the people themselves made all kinds of interesting sounds as they talked or walked out“ (Cage cited in Kostelanetz 1988, 65). Silence, in this regard, is the liberation of sound, a question of consciousness, the background keynote at the foundation of any listening experience itself. It is sound’s ultimate point of reference, its „horizon“ (Ihde 2012, 26).

The silenced experience of nature is often used to highlight the other extreme of the city’s clamorous din: „The forest is like a great reservoir of silence out of which the silence trickles in a thin, slow stream and fills the air with its brightness. The mountain, the lake, the fields, the sky - they all seem to be waiting for a sign to empty their silence onto the

things of noise in the cities of men“ (Picard 1952, 139). Silence, here, is not the absence of sound, but the crystal clear tone of our desire to partake in the „original beginnings of all things“ (ibid., 22). But there is also the stillness of the night, when silence can become heavy, when our perception of sound is heightened, amplified and doubtful. Every sound appears, without recognizable origin, suddenly in our ears: „Night has no outlines; it is pure depth without foreground or background, without surfaces and without any distance separating it from me“ (Merleau-Ponty 2002, 330). The silence of the night confronts the listener with invisible, almost hallucinatory sensations of acousmatic ghosts, conjured up by microscopic sounds, magnified and almost tangible in the dark. In her stunning book ‚Listening to Noise and Silence‘ (2010), Salome Voegelin writes about these doubtful silences, these ghost as they are conjured up when she is laying in bed in a hut out in the snow: „At night however when sleep will not come worldly burglars and more abstract monsters start to inhabit the silence unsettling my listening self. Since, what I produce in this nightly stillness is not tied to recognition. Instead, what I hear are internal demons; freed from the noise of a busier soundscape they jump at me in this silent solitude“ (ibid., 86).

And here we are, suddenly scared, left alone with the uncertainty of our own fragile subjectivity. Silenced we wait and anxiously anticipate the manageable visual referent, the noisy tumult of a sociality in progress, listen outwards to detect a sign of belonging and location but all we hear are the echoes of our own ‚internal demons‘. This is the burden of silence, the solitary sensation of loneliness and isolation. Our culture of commodification seems to protects us from this silence, and, in some way, may even be built around the suppression of silence. We awake from our blurred dreamscapes, switch on the radio or Spotify-playlist and let our ears and minds be filled with the screaming superficiality of terrifying news-podcasts. We step onto the street with its never-ending rumble of tires against asphalt, plug in our headphones and cocoon ourselves blissfully with our own, individualized soundtrack. This ubiquitous presence of commodified background music, not only through our mobile listening devices but furthermore emanating from countless loudspeakers hidden in public and commercial spaces, „makes it possible for us to have a romanticized image of silence, without having to go through the ‚experience‘ of silence“ (Westerkamp 1988, 92). Even imperatives of peace and quiet in many public spaces are violently enforced sonically, as it is the case with the ‚Mosquito‘, a ‚youth-deterrent’ device that discharges high-pitched frequencies which go unnoticed for most, but are painful and disturbing for teenagers‘ ears (LaBelle 2010, 187).

The modern city is not significantly louder than it was in the past, but the intensities and contingencies of an organic urban soundscape are increasingly being changed towards a flatline of sonic sameness, where sudden silences as well as spontaneous outcries are regarded as threatening deviations from the norm. Silence, not as an emptiness, but as a communicative difference, exists in relation to sounds and their rhythms and pauses. Yet, when every standstill, every interruption to the flow of a society under the axiom of inexorable movement is regarded as a danger to progress, the silent pauses in-between lessen until most of what is audible is white noise: „Homogenization, standardization, repetition, normalization and a continuous stream of noise and music (…) create the condition for neutralizing the expressive power of sounds. Neither noisy nor silent, the sonic environment becomes mute" (Amphoux & Thibaud 2013, 66). Such cultural and technological developments dominate and regulate the individual's and collective's experience of silence, oppress improvised modes of communication and fragment the social body into secluded, solitary units. Actual silence signifies inefficiency, inactivity, an unprofitable and irrelevant interruption of our culture's utilitarian principles. Constantly in-between and deprived of its desire to listen inwards, the atomized individual is benumbed and desensitized by the homogenizing forces of a strictly regulated and standardized acoustic norm. Neoliberal ideology and its according form of urban planning silences us with its noise, silences human interaction and public discourse, silences the necessary and astonishing silence within us.

The extend of this condition becomes dramatically apparent when, without a warning, our social life comes to a full-stop, when we are brutally deprived of the distracting humdrum of public life and when the fear we feel in the dark turns on us invisibly, yet all-embracingly at every time of the day in the form of a global pandemic as it has been the case since the first lockdowns concerning the Covid-19 virus. The modern metropolis, already long before the pandemic, has been filled, or rather, been emptied, by transitional sites, in-between spaces, lacking the organic, social characteristics of human interaction. But now we have, all over the world, experienced how it feels when our public spaces, our theaters, restaurants, cafés or sport-venues fall silent, when formerly bustling places turn into non-places, when whole districts suddenly sound like airport lounges, waiting rooms or hotel lobbies: „If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined (like this) will be a non-place. (…) These subject the individual consciousness to entirely new experiences and ordeals of solitude" (Augé 2009, 119).

The silence of the Covid-19 city-lockdowns all over the world epitomized modernity's spectacular avoidance of introspection. No-one was prepared for this unbearable isolation since almost every aspect of urban everyday life has been designed to avoid and supplement silence. Already in 1654, at a time when another pandemic swept over Europe, the philosopher Blaise Pascal wrote that „all of humanity's problems stem from man's inability to sit quietly in a room alone" (Pascal 2003, 61). And then, four centuries later, cut off from public life and anxiously sitting in our homes, the psychological impact of our incapability to cope with the silence of solitude is frighteningly evident in the escalating cases of mental illnesses, aggression and suicides all over the world. This virus silenced the noisy opiates of our times, confronts us with our own existential doubts and leaves us alone with our ‚inner demons' and our darkest fears. Our cultural convictions rest upon the credo of self-governed performance and productivity, upon protestant ideals according to which work and leisure have to be usefully exploited either in terms of individual or economic gain. Being silenced by a pandemic and by the suspended state of waiting in the in-between limbo of lockdown and enforced isolation underscores our society's negative conception of silence as a vacuum akin to the notion of death, as a loss of identity and the overwhelming sensation of alienation from one's environment.

Even though moments and developments like these might seem insurmountable, they are trembling with movement, with individual and social transformation. This temporary alienation from our environment and even our corporeality „can be thought of and determined only in terms of a possible disalienation (and) both are conceived of in movement" (Lefebvre 2002, 207). Encouraged and amplified by the media, disquieting states of uneasiness and fear affect the urban unconsciousness, sediment into our collective emotions and make us too easily forget how collaborative, strong and fiercely resilient the city and the people who enliven it can be. Even though oppressive silences, especially when imposed on us, can seem hopeless, they contain the often unsettling but powerful spark of potential and change. The realization of our inaptitude to cope with silence, not only during lockdown, but also in ‚normal' times, might trigger a new consciousness and awareness for the more profound issues our society has to address in the future. And silence, not in the sense of emptiness and despair, but ‚silencing' as ‚centering', as attentiveness, as „radical openness that brings conviviality alive (and) makes a nonsense of closed, fixed and reified identity" (Gilroy 2004, xi), might prove to be a

revolutionary tool to overcome the picturesque, yet homogenizing and isolating indifference of neo-liberal doctrines and institutions.

There are countless paths towards one's silence within, and the vastness one encounters is terrifying, yes, but also liberating. If we choose to seek out and to master our inner silence, we can neutralize the commanding and confusing noises and voices of power, and give us a chance to hear our own voices, to hear ourselves listening, to understand our surroundings from ourselves within them, centered, attuned and vulnerable to the details of our environment. Once the culturally prescribed stigmata of silence and solitude are vanquished and the murmur of discourse is suspended, the silencing subject does not withdraw into a solipsistic darkness but, on the contrary, unties itself from the self-centered stream of consciousness and truly and attentively listens outwards. This turns silence and solitude into a creative and passionate game of possibilities, into a condition of self-forgetfulness abundant with desire for the presence and hope for the future. From such a listening position it is possible to reconcile the prime dichotomies of our society, to bring together mind and body, the beautiful and the ugly, the loud and the quiet. In ‚doing silence' we can attune empathically to our neighbors, to strangers and the general presence of the ‚other'; we can listen gratefully not only to the sweet sounds of nature but also to the pneumatic drills and the general clamor of urban maintenance and repair. By embracing and celebrating the potentials of silenced listening and creative solitude we can triumph over the muted sounds of fear and despair and instead be awed and inspired by the often uncomfortable but unceasing urge to understand each other and humbly appreciate the collective and noisy efforts to recover from major crises such as the Covid-19 pandemic. „Silence is the beginning of listening", „the space at the basis of all sound", it is the still and centered „place of the ‚I'" (Voegelin 2010, 83-98). If we try, we can find these silent solitudes almost everywhere: „Silence is the shadow of a city, a shadow city. Silence is the total of the sounds, voices, noises heard. It is the whole audible experience, the contemplated listening practice. Silence lies in a separation which is connecting as a whole" (Karataş 2016, 20).

Conclusion

„These small examples point to what is perhaps the most important distinguishing feature of auditory experience, namely its capacity to disintegrate and reconfigure space. (…)

Where auditory experience is dominant, we may say, singular, perspectival gives way to plural, permeated space" (Steven Connor 1996, 206).

Sound's evanescence builds and rebuilds the city as amorphous multiplicity. Thinking and theorizing the urban as continuously unfolding process of sonic encounters, exchanges and ecologies, allows us to venture beyond the facades, to go below the surface where the textures and layers that compose the city are intimately linked in infinite configurations, where materials, technologies and life-forms, perceptions, spaces and meanings come into being through interlaced assemblages of interaction. The acoustic city cannot be deciphered and visualized like a coherent text. To grasp the city through sound we have to embrace processes of erasure, masking and re-inscription and acknowledge that objects, natures, people and places persistently inscribe themselves on each other sonically. These dense and interconnected layers of urban sonic experience, to stick with the textual metaphor, resemble a palimpsest, „a constant becoming, where the text is never stagnant and is constantly in flux, (…) mirroring the constant writing and erasure of sound across our auditory space" (Nataraj 2019, 262-265). By reading and listening to the city's sonic assemblages palimpsestuously we embrace the thick, multiply situated, interconnected and discursive fabric of human experience with all of its polyphonous narratives, contradictions and transformations. The city as assembled from personal memories and local histories and from social conventions and coincidences as they resonate through the presence and sound forth into the future, is held together by a moving scaffolding of countless sonic layers as they are emitted, perceived and interpreted by each subject in her own particular manner. These sonic layers and rhythms are sometimes inaudible, or barely audible, silenced and displaced by more dominant sonic scriptures, but they are never fully lost, always echoe through the background of everyday urban experience: „The palimpsest's structure of interlocking, competing narratives has the advantage of preventing the dominant voice from completely silencing the others" (Alarcón 1988, 35). Through urban soundscapes, therefore, we are confronted with the inevitable rupture of traditional forms of urban theory. We cannot, with good conscience, judge the city by its cover anymore, since the myriad of micro-epistemologies underneath are inextricably interwoven, overlapping, and thereby „produce something more than when apart" (Amin & Thrift 2002, 27).

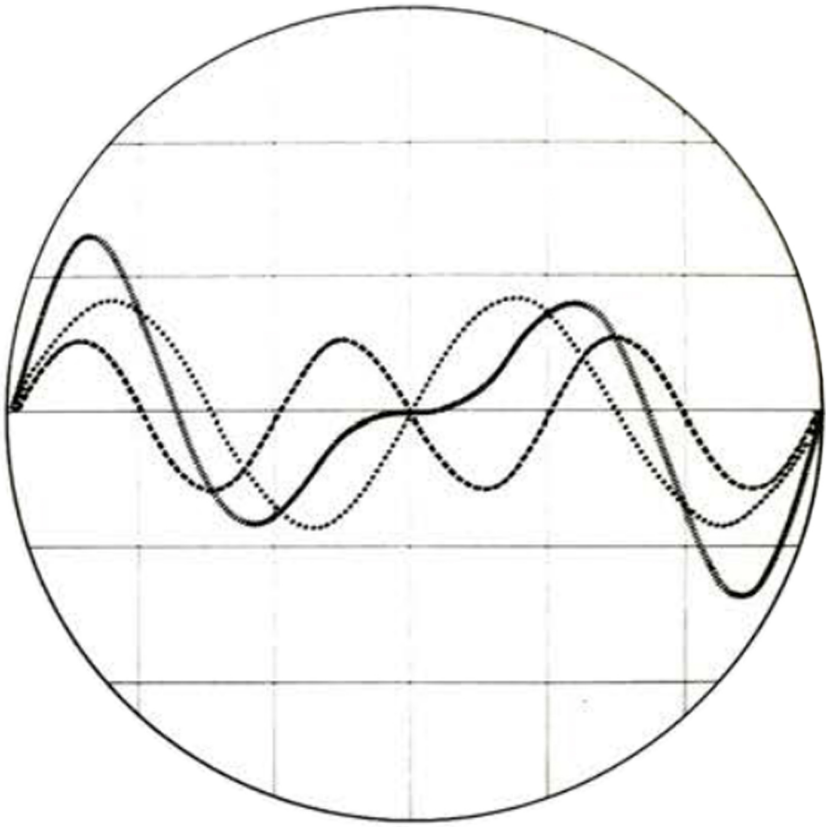
Throughout this chapter we examined social, corporeal, natural and material relations in and through urban soundscapes from various points of audition. Like a sonic kaleidoscope, or collage, the city has been listened to fragmentarily, foregrounding

particular elements of the every-day and how these shape and are shaped by sonic experience. We started out with our feet on the ground. Through walking we became the authors, the protagonists, and the recipients of the sonic city simultaneously; we entered into a full-body dialogue with our environment and with our fellow human beings, and positioned ourselves within a wider acoustic territory of potential encounters, appropriations and becomings. We found ourselves enveloped by distinct yet fleeting sonic atmospheres that arise from the different uses of and practices in the built environment, from architecture's experiential ambivalence and its complex mesh of social, geographical and intersubjectively negotiated significations. The sonic subject within the city, therefore, constantly slips in and out of acoustic communities and milieus, some of them with well-known sonic signatures that produce a sense of belonging, others that sound impersonal and confusing and still others that correspond to a completely new species of community, the sonic virtuality, wherein notions of sonic localities are overwritten by the globally interconnected soundscape of Spotify-playlists or long-distance phone-calls. We tuned into the sounds of transportation and mobility, into the crammed clamor of the train-carriage and the personalized acoustic cocoons of one's car - soundscapes that are simultaneously intimate and utterly public, and whose acoustics belong to the most dominant characteristics of the modern city. We entered the artificial soundscapes of the workplace and the shopping-center and passively let ourselves be swept away by the subtle and manipulative melodies of efficiency and consumerism. From here we tried to escape into nature, to be calmed by the sound of water, the hissing wind and the bird-songs; but we also had to embrace the fact that modernity's ‚promethean project' is an ecologically destructive tale that drowns out and represses non-human's sonic habitats. Finally we sought silence from all this, tried to find a blank, unmarked space. We realized, though, that silence doesn't really exist, that, instead, „silence is the beginning of listening" (Voegelin 2010, 83), and that it is not easy to listen to ourselves listening. Full circle, we went back home. In this silence our ears are still ringing. Our emotions and memories colored what we heard and what we heard re-inscribed itself on our bodies. Our subjectivities are parts of larger socialities, and those, in turn, are embedded within natures. Sound permeates and connects it all.

Through sonic experience we become one with the city as it is enacted in the here and now. Its sonorous activity pours into our ears and minds and thereby reveals the multi-layered complexity of existence. Where our eyes separate us from the seen, position us in a secure distance to our environment, to our actions, to the ‚other', our auditory capacities

lack this sort of shielding objectivity and situate us vulnerably in the midst of experience. Unable to grasp the outside world in its totality, listening embraces the insides of things, the multi-layered and intricate fabrics and patterns that reveal the urban as fragile yet flexible and resilient product of interaction. Sound, therefore, is subversive in regards to classical Cartesian notions of space, it makes us reconsider our simplifying prejudices by making audible the multiple, ambivalent and often contradictory uses of the environment: "Sound is arousing and dangerous because it can so easily penetrate and permeate, so effortlessly become the soft catastrophe of space" (Connor 2005, 52). Listening to the city, hence, is an intimate encounter, full of potentialities, unpredictabilities and possible moments of rupture. The flows and tides of urban soundscapes weave us into the larger social fabric, put us into a close relationship to our culture and our history and acutely confront us with alterity, with the presence of the ‚other', with the continuous creation of conflict and the shared desire to overcome it.

A certain sonic sensibility allows us to endure, to welcome disorder and difference, for it is through diversity, heterogeneity and respect for otherness that a healthy community can continue to thrive. The sonorous encounter between humans, non-humans, institutions and the built environment, therefore, „voices an ongoing poetic dialogue, a dialogue where emplacement and displacement embody geographies of local and global differences" (Feld 2003, 237). The urban realm, deeply affective and assembled from shifting patterns of interaction and differences, resounds with the struggles, hopes and fears of a society in a constant state of progress, resonates with the various ways power-structures are programmed and enforced, vibrates with the steady flows and routes our current economy demands, undulates the sounds of leisure and rest and sometimes trembles defiantly with the acoustics of protest and re-appropriation. When we immerse ourselves in and actively engage with the acoustics of the city, we gain a new, empowering and compassionate understanding of our environment and the life-forms within. When we listen beyond the sole appearance of things, and acknowledge and celebrate the interwoven, hidden and ambiguous texture underneath, we might instill an attentive and respectful awareness into the urban and generate spaces that „would be known in new sensory registers, through haptic maps of affective localities, and not least as geographies of kindness and compassion, geographies that might then leak out into the wider world" (Thrift 2005b, 147).



4

INTO SOUND

methods and methodologies

Introduction

„Bodies are always already engaged in multi-sensory analyses as part of our/their becoming with/in the world. They affect and are affected by processes, bodies, objects, feelings, ideas, and ecologies. Sensation is meta/physical and social learning. As such, neither ontology and epistemology, nor sensation and signification can be separated" (Stephanie Daza & Walter S. Gershon 2015, 640).

There are countless ways into sound, countless paths along the thresholds of sonic experience. While listening, the respective sounds are compared with hearing experiences that we have already taken for granted. The socialization of the individual initiates infinitely complex, yet culturally pattered and intersubjectively habitualized ways of listening. Methodologically, acoustic perception functions as a constructive access into „the paradox of human experience—utterly individualistic and inescapably socio-cultural in their interpretation" (Gershon 2013, 258). Thus, the act of perceiving sound-waves is always tinted, always already mingled and mixed with internalized experiences and embedded within cultural and historical conditions that give them social significance and sensual conciseness. In our contemporary culture of the senses, though, researchers from a wide range of disciplines shied away from a deeper reflection of acoustic phenomena which aren't comprehended as language or incorporated into music. The nature of sound, to be immanently transient, to escape traditional means of clear ‚observation' and positivist description, nurtured a general doubt in, and skepticism of the role that soundscapes might have for the expression, production and perception of social structures. In the social sciences, especially in qualitative research, the focus persisted in being on the ocular, the observable, the generalizable, with the consequence that sounds as phenomena of empirical inquiry have been, for the most part, overheard, since an emphasis on the sensual perception of our environment conflicted with the quest for an unaffected notion of ‚truth'. An embodied approach to empirical urban research, on the other hand, allows the researcher to grasp how technological developments, economic forces, racisms, sexisms and class distinctions within the modern city „are distinguished, valued, or reconfigured through time in the sensory experience of everyday life (…) and their implications of various mechanism of power for shaping the sensory environment" (Kalekin-Fishman & Low 2018, 218).

Up until recently, soundscapes in the city have been approached, to a large extend, in terms of noise control and management, dealt with by the „traditional, objectifying energy-based model of the acoustic environment“ (Brown et al. 2016, 12). From this perspective, the city's acoustics are examined in regards to their negative effect. Since the impact of noise on the health and the well-being of inhabitants and the consequential economic damage is undeniable, „sound is conceived as a waste product (…) - a waste to be reduced and managed“ (ibid.). Traditional methods to detect, manage and control ‚noise' within the city rely on the development of noise maps and objective measurements of sound-pressure levels. The former approach, the calculation and easily interpretable visual representation of calculated sound-pressure levels is cost-efficient, independent from actual in-situ measurements and useful in the planning stage for a new area, when actual noise sources are yet inexistent. Since such mappings are based on mathematical models which don't account for an unpredictably high variety of influencing factors such as weather and topography, and further, do not distinguish between quiet yet irritating, or possibly loud yet pleasant sound-sources, the results may deviate unpredictably from how the acoustic environment is experienced in reality. The other above-mentioned technique relies on measurements concerning the actual sound-pressure levels at a given time and space. That, very costly and labour intensive process, which usually aims to complement calculated noise maps, is incapable to separate out different sound-sources and, hence, „these values do not provide an accurate representation of how people perceive the acoustic environment, not even with regard to loudness. Sound provides a lot more information to human beings than magnitude“ (European Environment Agency 2014, 22). Conclusively, the aim to reduce sound levels with traditional methods does not correspond with the reality of every-day life as it is experienced acoustically by urban dwellers. What is needed are methods that engage with social, cultural and psychological factors that cannot be measured exclusively physically, from the distance, disembodied from lived reality; methods that allow the researcher to trace „nuanced associations between sensory input and performances of interaction, developments in social relationships, formations of groups, as well as behaviors that are pertinent to the explication of norms, statuses and roles, assessments of values, as of different kinds of engagement with social institutions, the types of social processes that indicate realizations of the ‚big questions'“ (Kalekin-Fishman & Low 2018, 223).

How do people relate to each other through the sense of hearing? Is there a connection between the individual behavior and the surrounding acoustic environment

within the city? Why do people avoid certain places, hurry through them, how come they come together, chat and rest in others? Which sounds cause stress and anxiety, which ones are perceived as calming and relaxing? Are there group-specific reactions to a soundscape based on the habitus, the culturalization, the social status of the listeners? To tackle those questions, the researcher in sound can choose from a variety of qualitative methods and methodologies from different disciplines, arrange and combine them according to the research question and, sufficiently equipped with theoretical and empirical tools, attempt to understand how „the relevance of sensory experiences, categories and meanings in people's lives (…) are known in practice within contexts of specific socialities and materialities" (Pink 2009, 37). The fieldwork method in particular, its insistence on reflexivity, participant observation and in-depth interviews offers, through its emphasis on the contextual and the particular, critical insights into „processes of place-making, the spatialization of culture, and the relation between locality and community" (Kallimopoulou 2013, 24). The following sections endeavor to illustrate possible methods and methodologies into the sound of the city, with their common element being the qualitative analysis of urban soundscapes as they are socially expressed, fabricated and experienced by the city's inhabitants. At first the focus will be on the World Soundscape Project (WSP) and how, first and foremost by the initiative of Murray Schafer, the methodological conceptualization of the ‚soundscape ecology' came into being. The second point of entrance into the 'sensuous interrelationship of body-mind-environment' (Howes 2005a, 7) has been developed by Jean-François Augoyard and his colleagues at the CRESSON (Research Centre on Sonic Space and the Urban Environment in Grenoble) and explores, alongside eighty-two meticulously elaborated „sound effects", the reciprocal influence between the individual listener, the physical environment, and the socio-cultural milieu. The third methodological model which will be described here was also developed at CRESSON, this time by the architect and geologist Pascal Amphoux, who established a profound and extremely detailed methodological instrument which deals with the concept of the ‚The Sonic Identity of European Cities', an ensemble of characteristics specific to a place, a district, or an entire city. The final section will shed light on those rather un-dogmatic, constructivist, fluid conceptualizations of every-day life in the city, such as Lefebvre's ‚Rhythmanalysis', Benjamin's ‚Flâneurism' and Stoller's ‚Sensuous Scholarship' and how these can frame and guide a critical, reflexive and compassionate research into the city in sound.

Soundscape Ecology

„The sounds of the environment were changing rapidly and it seemed that no one was documenting the changes. Where were the museums for disappearing sounds? What was the effect of new sounds on human behavior and health? So many questions could be asked for which there were no answers in 1970" (R. Murray Schafer 2012, 120).

The social sciences, anthropology and the whole western culture have been profoundly affected by the events and the Zeitgeist of those crucial years between 1965 and the early 1970s. The monumental struggles of the civil right movements, the rise of feminist activism, a growing awareness for the destructive impact of modernization on the natural environment, and the war in Vietnam led to an all-encompassing atmosphere of change, and especially among students, to a fiery consciousness of the political and ethical failings of the human sciences, which, until the mid-1960s, were predominantly conceived as objective and positivist. Academic structures began to be unravelled and the curricula were filled with critical and political courses on racism, imperialism, gender theory and environmentalism. Amidst these turbulent years the Canadian composer R. Murray Schafer and his colleagues founded the World Soundscape Project (WSP) as part of the Center for the Communications and the Arts at the brand-new Simon Fraser University in Vancouver.

Schafer insisted on an interdisciplinary, educational and subject-centered approach and, as the sonic equivalent to the Bauhaus revolution, sought to bring together scientists, sound designers, engineers and artists alike: „The home territory of soundscape studies will be the middle ground between science, society and the arts. From acoustics and psychoacoustics we will learn about the physical properties of sound and the way sound is interpreted by the human brain. From society we will learn how man behaves with sounds and how sounds affect and change his behavior. From the arts, particularly music, we will learn how man creates ideal soundscapes for that other life, the life of the imagination and psychic reflection. From these studies we will begin to lay the foundations of a new inter-discipline - acoustic design" (Schafer 1977, 3). As part of a new wave of ecological movements, responding to the contemporary environmental problems caused by mass culture and technological innovations, the unprecedented goal of the WSP was to raise public awareness to noise pollution and to develop alternative approaches to study and elucidate the impact it has on our lives and, on the basis of these findings, to design and propose healthier and more attractive acoustic environments: „The project's ultimate aim

is to find solutions for an ecologically balanced soundscape where the relationship between the human community and its sonic environment is in harmony“ (Truax et. al 2006, 1).

Based on the research and results achieved by the World Soundscape Project, Murray Schafer published ‚The Tuning of The World‘ (1977) - with its profound theoretical and methodological insights regarded as a milestone in the development of soundscape studies. The book starts out by tracing the relations between humans and the sounds of their natural and artificial environment and how they changed over the centuries. Schafer's analysis and juxtaposition of pre-industrial, rural soundscapes and those of the industrial and electric revolutions, cumulates in a harsh differentiation between the acoustic clarity and depth of ‚hi-fi‘ (high fidelity) soundscapes, and flat, over-dense and ‚polluted‘ ‚lo-fi' soundscapes of modernity. Schafer, in this regard, introduced the term ‚schizophonia‘, an intentionally provocative expression: "I want very much to suggest to you the same sense of aberration and drama that this word ‚schizophonia' evokes, for the developments of which we are speaking have had profound effects on our lives" (ibid., 139-40). The descriptive terminology used by Schafer and WSP is indicative for an approach towards the sonic environment which is, with such language as ‚aberrational‘, ‚vulgar‘, ‚beauty‘ and ‚form‘, far from traditional, positivist conventions, as it implies aesthetic judgments and the artistic assumption that our environment is, for better or worse, a composition: „The final question will be: is the soundscape of the world an indeterminate composition over which we have no control, or are *we* its composers and performers, responsible for giving it form and beauty?“ (ibid., 5).

Alongside the research done by the WSP and through Schafer's ‚The Tuning of the World‘ in particular, ‚soundscape ecology‘ acquired its first full, though broad, methodological conceptualization. Following the definition of ‚Landscape‘ - „an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors“ (Brown 2016, 8), the term ‚soundscape' is defined „as the relationship of man and sonic environments of every kind (…) in the sense that any change in man or his environment is reflected in the soundscape. They are inextricably related, just as sound itself is influenced by every nuance of the character of its source, its medium of propagation and the nature of any receiver“ (Truax 1974, 37). The soundscape is, therefore, a perceptual construct, wherein the listening subject perceives her acoustic environment contingent on a wide spectrum of contextual influences such as demographics, culture, personal attitudes and preferences, as well as the identity of,

previous experiences with, and current activity in the place. The experience of a soundscape, thus defined, elicits particular responses in the listening subject - pleasure, excitement, fear - emotional outcomes that determine if a place is experienced as peaceful and tranquil, lively and varied, or as appalling, harmful and unhealthy. Schafer's and the WSP's methodological and epistemological approach, therefore, emphasizes the complex, immanently ecological dynamic between subjective perception, culture and the environment: „The Soundscape ideology recognizes that when humans enter an environment, they have an immediate effect on the sounds; the soundscape is human-made and in that sense, composed" (ibid.).

Confronted with the challenge to develop a terminology, a syntax and a system of classification that allows for a systematical research of this fluid and complex mode of every-day acoustic experience, Murray Schafer and his associates at the WSP borrowed largely from concepts as they were already in use in many different disciplines, in particular from the visual arts and psychology: „The psychologist of visual perception speaks of ‚figure' and ‚ground', the figure being that which is looked at while the ground exists only to give the figure its outline and mass. But the figure cannot exist without its ground; subtract it and the figure become shapeless, non existent" (Schafer 1977, 9). From primitives such as ‚foreground', ‚background', ‚contour', ‚density' or ‚volume' the WSP derived a basic conceptual repertoire by which it is possible to describe and analyze these „already complex but distinct mental strategies for understanding that seem to be common between individuals and widely separated cultures as well" (Truax 1974, 37). The main characteristics of every soundscape, according to Schafer and the WSP, consist of ‚keynote sounds', ‚signals' and ‚soundmarks'. The ‚keynote', in recourse to the tonality of a musical composition, refers to the fundamental, ubiquitous and prevailing features in the soundscape. Usually in the ‚background' of perception, the ‚keynote' sound, especially because it is seldom listened to distinctly but rather experienced unconsciously, has a „deep and pervasive influence on our behavior and moods" (Schafer 1977, 29). The keynote of a soundscape predominantly results from its geography and the climate: the constant murmuring of the nearby ocean, the river, the wind in the forest, echoing mountains, birds, insects, plants, etc. In recent history, though, keynote sounds underwent drastic changes in the urban realm. Along highways, in the shopping center, even at home, the keynote of the soundscape is created by the constant white noise of transportation, the ubiquitous background music emanating from thousands of loudspeakers, the refrigerator's muttering or the always-on babble from the television. These ‚keynote' sounds, natural or

human-made, are the sonic background for the behavior and life-style of a society and give rise to a specific ‚ambience' or ‚atmosphere' of a place. Signals, on the other hand, are ‚foreground' sounds, listened to consciously and are meant to be perceived attentively. Even though every sound can be considered a ‚signal' if it is listened to as such (chirping birds as ringtone), generally they are acoustic warning signals emitted by sirens, bells or horns, phones etc. and carry a specific semantic information. Finally, in resemblance to a landmark, there are ‚soundmarks' which are specific to a certain place or community. It is, for example, the distinct sound of the great bell in the clock tower of the Palace of Westminster, the ‚Big Ben', whose distinct chime sequence is directly associated with the City of London und the United Kingdom. A soundmark is symbolic in nature, often affectionately regarded by the public and therefore „deserves to be protected, for soundmarks make the acoustic life of the community unique" (ibid., 19).

Based on these key concepts, Schafer and the WSP developed a provisional, yet detailed methodology, not only for the description and analysis of every given soundscape, be it real or historical, but also in regards to the ‚acoustic design' of a soundscape. In order to counteract the growing confusion and complexity of the modern soundscape, Schafer argues for a new discipline capable of designing the acoustic environment and suggests a few principles: „(1). a respect for the ear and the voice—when the ear suffers a threshold shift or the voice cannot be heard, the environment is harmful; (2). an awareness of sound symbolism—which is always more than functional signaling; (3). a knowledge of the rhythms and tempi of the natural landscape; (4). an understanding of the balancing mechanisms by which an eccentric soundscape may be turned back on itself" (ibid., 238). After an in-depth description and analysis of a soundscape it will be possible to make proposals for its improvement, hold workshops and community meetings to raise awareness, and finally, alongside musicians, architects, urban planners and the people that are directly affected, to take action and create a desirable, relaxing, healthy soundscape. Acoustic design, in this sense, is not meant as a controlling force from above, but rather as „a matter of the retrieval of a significant aural culture, and that is a task for everyone" (ibid., 205).

Even though the research group around R. Murray Schafer at the WSP never developed explicit methodical guidelines for an empirical inquiry into the soundscape of a given field, they carried out numerous exemplary research projects. By examining their few publication - in particular the ‚Five Village Soundscapes' (1975), an empirical project aimed at comparing the soundscapes of Bissingen in Germany, Dollar in Scotland, Skruv

in Sweden, Cembra in Italy and Lesconil in France - it is possible to trace their empirical field-work method, including objective, quantitative measurement-techniques such as 24-hour field recordings, sound counts and sound level measurements, archival inquiries concerning legal and historical issues, as well as ethnographic research methods - participant observation, ‚sound-walks' and interviews. In regards to the measurement of objective, physical properties of the soundscape, the researchers obtained and catalogued data concerning decibel levels of the overall ambience and of specific sound sources at different times of the day, identified patterns and rhythms and attempted to map relations between dominant sounds and social, political, or economic activities. Furthermore, the group studied local and regional historical archives for references to significant sounds (town crier, post horns, sirens etc.), noise by-laws, infrastructural developments, the shifting importance or symbolism of soundmarks, and the corresponding societal changes within the community. To put their own measurements and evaluations into perspective, Schafer and his colleagues conducted ‚sound preference tests', a simple questionnaire to examine the most favorite or disliked sounds as they are experienced by the villages' children. Additionally, to gather contextual, first-hand information about the every-day acoustic experience within the community, several in situ interviews were conducted with local ‚earwitnesses' and „citizens with a special interest to their acoustic environment" (Schafer 1977, 67). Finally, throughout all the research projects conducted by the WSP, personal journals were kept by the researchers which reflected their own personal experiences, emotions and thoughts on their sonic experience.

In regards to the evaluation and analysis of the obtained empirical material, Schafer and his colleagues developed a detailed model for the classification and cataloguing of the soundscape which distinguishes between physical, referential and aesthetic characteristics. The first classification is concerned with the measurable and observable qualities of acoustic events and their corresponding sound sources. In general this involves the distance of the sound to the observer and the sound's intensity. Further, it will be assessed if the sound is clearly isolated or part of a larger acoustic structure and whether the physical conditions of the environment creates specific effects, such as reverberation, delay or echo. Finally, the sound itself will be scrutinized in terms of its physical properties, such as its envelope curve (attack-, sustain-, and decay-time), its frequency and its internal fluctuation.

The second classification deals with the function and meaning sounds have for the individual listener and the community. Instead of analyzing the acoustic properties of the

sound, this classification is concerned with sound objects themselves. When we perceive a sound, we consciously or unconsciously link it with our knowledge about its source. This may refer to voices and bodily sounds, the sounds of clothings and shoes, the distinct sound of a coffee-machine, an animal or a machine as well as to well-known soundmarks such as church-bells or foghorns. Furthermore, this category includes the general feeling for the environment one is in - if it is a rural area, a train-station, or a lively square in the city. Yet, the attempt to catalogue „such a vast number of designations will be arbitrary, for no sound has objective meaning, and the observer will have specific cultural attitudes toward the subject“ (ibid., 137).

The third, and most complicated classification examines the aesthetic sensation of, and emotional reaction to a particular sound or the sonic ambience in general. Since every sonic perception is profoundly influenced by one's personal history and attitude as well as by the specific ‚culture of the senses' and the social value attributed to certain sounds, an evaluation of sound-related subjective reactions is inherently difficult, but, precisely because these reactions affect humans so deeply, the analysis thereof carries immense potential. To catalogue and classify sounds or ambiences that are perceived as pleasing or displeasing by a larger number of people will provide an extensive understanding of culturally shared sound-symbolisms, phobias and romanticisms and will be of great informative value for urban planning and design, especially when compared to contemporary noise abatement campaigns and by-laws. To inquire qualitatively into the subjective and emotional responses to features of the soundscape might elucidate how and why different social groups have different reaction to sounds and if these differences are of cultural or individual origin. The urban soundscape, as it is evaluated and classified with Schafer's and the WSP's methodological instruments, is produced by the continuous interaction between various physical, psychological, and cultural factors and a fruitful, ecologically oriented research thereof „cannot be accomplished by remaining in the laboratory. It can only be accomplished by considering on location the effects of the acoustic environment on the creatures living in it“ (ibid., 205).

R. Murray Schafer and the World Soundscape Project triggered an unavoidable, yet bold change of paradigm within a variety of disciplines and thereby brought together and inspired traditionally separated fields, ranging from the natural sciences to sociology, psychology, architecture and the arts. Their epistemological approach was founded on the assumption that the listened-to world, precisely because it is increasingly pushed into the background of perception, is of great importance to the social dynamics that unfold within

it. Every soundscape consists of patterned, yet highly complex relations between the listening subject, her acculturation and the physical environment's intertwined sonic components. It is „a field of interaction, even when particularized into its component sound events. To determine the way sounds affect and change one another (and us) in field situations is the important and novel theme now lying before the soundscape researcher" (ibid., 131). Soundscape ecology as a methodology, therefore, is the „study of the effects of the acoustic environment on the physical responses or behavior of those living in it" (Truax 1984, 127). Research-techniques and subsequent systems of classification and analysis, as they were proposed by Schafer and his colleagues build on a case-specific synthesis and triangulation of quantitative as well qualitative methods and methodologies from a variety of different disciplines. Based on extensive field-recordings and in situ measurements it is possible to examine, to preserve and to communicate particular elements of a soundscape. Archival analysis, historical artifacts, and further evidences of social, political and legal circumstances are used to contextualize the dominant meaning and signification of these findings. Furthermore, classic ethnographic field-methods such as participant observation, strategies of ‚methodical alienation', expert interviews, questionnaire surveys and field-notes are being utilized not only to provide insights into the semantics and functions certain sounds and ambiences have for the acoustic community, but also to elucidate how these soundscapes emotionally and aesthetically affect the psyche and the well-being of the individual subject and the society at large. Soundscape ecology, therefore, cannot be summarized as a singular, independent methodology, but, rather, resembles a heterogeneous complex of methods and techniques by which it is possible to investigate acoustic manifestations within a specific environment on the one hand, and the affective interactions between those environments, the culture and the subjective experience on the other. Eventually though, to create a prosperous inter-disciplinary platform upon which it is possible to inquire and analyze the mind-body-environment interlacement in sound, and, further, to be able to design and to build a sonorously stimulating and healthy urban soundscape, it is, as Murray Schafer attests, necessary „to discover the missing interfaces and unite hitherto isolated studies in a bold new synergy. This task will not be accomplished by any one individual or group. It will only be accomplished by a new generation of artist-scientists trained in acoustic ecology and acoustic design" (Schafer 1977, 134).

Sonic Effects

„To hear this noise as we do, we must hear the parts which make up this whole, that is the noise of each wave, although each of these little noises makes itself known only when combined confusedly with all the others, and would not be noticed if the wave which made it were by itself" (Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz 1981, 5).

The catalyzing force of those ideas Murray Schafer and the WSP introduced and how these were able to spark and to give meaning to an entire new discourse on acoustic perception - how the key concepts of the ‚soundscape-studies' managed to set in motion an awareness in the natural and social sciences for the role sound inhabits in the coordination and production of sociality, health and ecology, is undoubtedly outstanding. Auditory perception, thus far having been regarded from an artistic or phenomenological point of view on the one hand, or from a purely objective, physical on the other, was given a connecting language and a methodology, a new conceptualization of sound as „the solitary edge of the relationship between phenomenology and semiotics (…) the world as dynamic, as process, rather than as outline of existence" (Voegelin 2010, 27 - 37). A humane perspective on sound has been manifested, one that acknowledges the subject's body and culture as well as the physicality and materiality necessary for the transmission of sound. And yet, as the logical and welcomed consequence of an idea's impact, the World Soundscape Project's framing of the ‚soundscape', as well as their theoretical and methodological practices, have been put under increasing scrutiny.

The vocabulary Schafer and the WSP provided was so enhancing because of its simplicity, and yet, this simplicity implies vagueness and certain limitations. Paul Rodaway argues in ‚sensuous geographies' that Schafer's use of the term ‚soundscape' suggests a „detached observer" and a „linear perspective", whereas „auditory experience is far more dynamic and the sentient participates within the sonic environment" (Rodaway 1994, 86). Jonathan Sterne's critique is also directed at the soundscape's alleged stability, „one from which the entire world is available to be heard" (Sterne 2013, 79). The undisguised aestheticism that underlies Schafer's and the World Soundscapes Project's ideology right from the start - the imprecise subdivision into ‚high fidelity' and ‚low fidelity' soundscapes is, though attractive, misleading: „And although Schafer's politics are clearly both anti-modernist and anti-consumerist, he makes use of the same language of escape. The very definition of the hi-fi soundscape borrows its morphology from the aesthetics of the hi-fi

record and hi-fi system in the bourgeois living room“ (ibid., 76). Three decades after Schafer’s ‚The Tuning of the World‘, Jean-François Augoyard and his fellow researchers at the CRESSON (Research Center for on Sonic Space and the Urban Environment) in Grenoble, France, argued that „the concept of the soundscape seems too broad and blurred (…) to allow us to work comfortably at the scale of everyday behavior and at the scale of architectural and urban spaces“ (Augoyard & Torgue 2005, 7). To counteract this imbalance between the transformational and progressive nature of the city’s soundscapes and the methodologies for analysis available, they developed a theory of ‚sonic effects‘, an inventory of lexical tools to bridge the gap between the physical environment, culture, and the individual listener.

The built environment in the city breaks and divides sounds as they are deflected along corners, resonate on facades, echoe in alleyways, reverberate through squares and muffle under the trees and bushes in the park. As ordinary and mundane as terms like ‚echo‘ and ‚reverb‘ might seem, as crucial they are for our sense of orientation in, and familiarity with the spaces we inhabit. Every sound-event depends on a sound source and its physical means of propagation, as well as the individual capacity of the listening subject. Each specific environment incorporates a multitude of such variables that influence how, if at all, sounds are perceived. Furthermore, the psychology of perception allows us, unconsciously or consciously, instinctively or as part of our culturalization, to emphasize, ignore, blur, relish or dread certain sounds. The city, in this sense, if full of sonic possibilities, emerging qualities of the body-mind-environment interrelationship that gives shape to the everyday experience of urbanity and substance to human relations. To study the dynamic between the physical environment, the socio-cultural milieu, and the perceptual awareness of the listener, Jean-François Augoyard introduced the concept of ‚sonic effects‘: „As soon as it is perceived contextually, sound is inseparable from an effect, as subtle as it can be, a particular colouration due to collective attitudes and representations or to individual traits“ (ibid., 11). These ‚sonic effects‘, as they were collected and analyzed by the researchers at CRESSON in a ten-year interdisciplinary collaboration between sociologists, engineers, architects, town planners, philosophers, geographers and musicologists attempts, in a paradigmatic fashion, to supplement the lack of a suitable, interdisciplinary terminology for the description of phenomena as they happen between the primary origin of a sound and the specific listening attitudes of the individual. The ‚effect‘, not exclusively objective, nor simply a subjective conception, both

contextual and to some extend quantifiable, offers guidance with regard to the organization and subsequent perception of a distinct acoustic event.

There are several disciplines concerned with the analysis of the sonic environment, such as those who focus on the acoustic properties of materials, those who plan and design urban space, or fields of study which are concerned with human and cultural modes of sonic expression and perception. Unfortunately their concepts and vocabulary rarely overlap, leaving them only too often in a state of unnecessary separation. The notion of the ‚sonic effect' aims to provide a effective, interdisciplinary applicable tool for three fields in particular: the social sciences, urban studies, and applied acoustics. Firstly, in regards to the social sciences, Augoyard and his associates revealed four psycho-sociological processes for every kind of acoustic environment: „Soundmarking of inhabited or frequented space; sound encoding of interpersonal relations; symbolic meaning and value linked to everyday sound perceptions and actions; and interaction between heard sounds and produced sounds" (ibid., 8). From the socially shaped individual's and collective's point of audition, acoustic perception is neither a mere physical reaction to a stimulus, nor a purely subjective phenomenon. Instead, sonic experience is part of a performative, intercommunicative interaction between the particular local configuration of the material environment, the subject's individual agency and the culturally dominant listening values. Secondly, considering the manifest, built structure of the city, a realm for architecture and urban planning, the focus is on the physical conditions of a sound emission. A particular organization of space, its road systems and the socio-economic activities within generate, in disregard of subjective perception and interpretation, unique effects, such the natural filtration, distortion or reverberance of sound. Finally, the ‚sound effect' considers immediate, quantifiable acoustic characteristics of the material through which sounds are propagated, as well as the physical conditions of the human sense of hearing. The continuously unravelling urban soundscape, considered from the acoustician's perspective, can be measured, quantified and, to some extent, predicted. In sum, Augoyard & Torgue reflect, that „the sonic effect, sometimes measurable and generally linked to the physical characteristics of a specific context, was not reducible either objectively or subjectively. The concept of the sonic effect seemed to describe this interaction between the physical sound environment, the sound milieu of a socio-cultural community, and the ‚internal soundscape' of every individual" (ibid., 9).

The current edition of Augoyard & Torgue's „guide to everyday sounds" elaborates in detail on sixteen ‚major' effects and additionally provides a brief but precise explication of sixty-six ‚minor' effects. The ‚major' effects are then described and discussed in regards to five domains of reference: ‚physical and applied acoustics', ‚architecture and urbanism', ‚psychology and physiology of perception', ‚sociology and everyday culture', ‚musical and electroacoustic aesthetics' and ‚textual and media expressions' (ibid., 16). Each effect provides a reference to a related or opposite effect and, even though the effects are listed in alphabetical order, the book provides a further classification of several effects into six thematic categories (ibid., 17): ‚elementary effects', which are all quantifiable and related to the sounding material itself; ‚compositional effects', which are concerned with sound arrangements and their context; ‚mnemo-perceptive effects', that refer to the individual's organization of perception as it occurs in a concrete situation and is developed throughout one's own history, culture and biology; ‚psychomotor effect', which occurs when perception and motor function interact; and ‚semantic effects', when sounds transport significant meanings. Such thematic subdivisions emphasize that this ‚guide to sonic experience' is addressed not only at researchers from many different disciplines but also at non-specialized readers who are eager to find a language and an explanation for the ‚effect' sound has on us, how it moves (us), how the instrumentarium of the city in sound composes our everyday urban experiences.

The first ‚major' effect, alphabetically the second one in the list, is ‚anamnesis'. ‚Anamnesis' in the context of sonic experience occurs when a sound suddenly evokes past memories and related feelings. When it comes to our psychology of perception, anamnesis provokes and restores forgotten moments from our life, including all associated sensations: „At the perceptive level, sound acts as a key, opening doors to reunite us with the past; it stimulates images that all of us have hidden at various depths of our psyche" (ibid., 22). The effect of anamnesis can also arise in a more subtle way through the perception of ‚sonic archetypes', such as flowing water, forest sounds, the crackling of fire or the sounds of cars and industrial machines. In a similar way how breaking waves or singing birds evoke a certain effect in a film, our (un)consciousness associates certain sounds with distinct, culturally shared ‚images'. Anamnesis is a synesthetic effect, since the association conjured by a specific sound (or ambience) is rarely just acoustic, but also visual, spatial, tactile or olfactory. The multilayered manifestations of the city through its various architectural histories evoke reminiscences of ‚before' and ‚after' (e.g. the erection of a office building, a soundproof wall, etc.): „In this sense, space is also an organization of

potential anamnesis, through its faculty to maintain the presence of different eras“ (ibid., 25).

The ‚cut-out‘ effect, on the other hand, depends on the composition and physical characteristics of the built environment. The effect appears as a „sudden drop in intensity associated with an abrupt change in the spectral envelope of a sound or a modification of reverberance“ (ibid., 29). Therefore, the ‚cut-out‘ effect plays a major role in the perceptive organization of spatial and temporal coordinates within the city. When the listening subject, walking on a busy street, suddenly turns into a narrow alleyway, the intensity of the overall acoustic environment drops, diffuses and deflects, thereby indicating a delimitation of space and a progression into a new sound milieu. Every district is ‚marked‘ by a particular soundscape which will be subjectively experienced, thereby giving rise to personal relations or memories of that place. The movement from one such places into another, acoustically perceived as a ‚cut out‘ effect, delineates social, cultural and economic relations and territories.

Another ‚major‘ effect is concerned with sound and its ability to ‚mask‘ other sounds. The fountain, for example, with its broad-frequency range, masks the ubiquitous urban drone. The urban ‚drone‘ - another ‚effect‘: the „presence of a constant layer of stable pitch“ (ibid., 40) - on the other hand, is capable of ‚masking‘ sounds which would be considered irritating and unwanted in a quiet environment. The music played in department stores, hotel lobbies, or office buildings „masks the strictly functional sound events of the building by creating a constant, minimal sound ambience“ (ibid., 68). Another common example is the masking of bodily sounds, when, for instance, the toilet is being flushed before using it. In the context of contemporary everyday culture, background sounds from the radio and the television are „covering the ‚acoustic nothingness‘ within which the individual and his or her solitude is immersed“ (ibid., 71).

Finally, this short list of exemplary effects as they were analyzed in Augoyard & Torgue’s ‚guide to everyday sonic experience‘ includes the ‚Sharawadji‘ effect: the sensation of awe and beauty induced by the „the sublime of the everyday, the invisible but present exception of the ordinary. And it is in this sense that we designate sounds - strangely discordant in relation to their context, a brouhaha, a sonic muddle - that magically and suddenly transports us elsewhere“ (ibid., 119). The name Sharawadji has been introduced by travelers returning from china, who couldn’t understand the language

and the meaning of many sounds, but who nevertheless regarded the „brutally present confusion“ (ibid., 117) as admirable. The cacophonous diversity and unpredictable quality of many urban soundscapes, the „din or racket of carnivals, demonstrations, or children's games (...) become Sharawadji less by their excessiveness than by their implausibility“ (ibid., 119). Sharawadji is the subjective, baffling sensation of aesthetic pleasure. And, even though we are often more receptive when we are traveling, this dynamic and acute awareness of profound beauty in the face of the unexpected can happen everywhere, under any circumstances, we just have to listen to the overheard, the disruptions, step out of the safety-net of routine and expose us the startling sublimity of the everyday.

Augoyard & Torgue's ‚sonic effects' are extremely useful instruments for those who want to engage with the city through sound. They reveal the urban soundscape from a unique perspective, not as a fixed and stable material condition, nor as an exclusively subjective impression, but as a performative assemblage of contextually specific ‚sonic effects', which are intimately tied to a circumstantial cause. Not located in the sound source, the medium or the listener, the ‚effect' can be said to ‚occupy' space, to encompass „a surface that enfolds the listener, the source, the context, medium, form and matter; and on which these relations ‚make sense' as sound“ (Stevenson 2015, 34). Rather then reproducing static and confined predications and definitions of sonic phenomena considered as objects or entities, Augoyard traces the multi-dimensional dynamics and the permanent transformations that are inherent to the interrelated and emerging nature of urban soundscapes. The ‚effect' is universal as well as singular, with the listener always at the center of consideration and thereby avoids possible pitfalls of an integral view upon the city. This repertoire of ‚sonic effects' as it was meticulously drafted up in the publication of ‚sonic experience - a guide to everyday sounds' (Augoyard & Torgue 2005) explicitly dismisses to be comprehended as a full concept. The WSP's vague conceptualization of the ‚soundscape', and how it deceivingly cloaked itself as an all-encompassing model was a cautionary example: „This eagerness to approach sound like any other object and to use a key word, which in fact masks a deficiency in our knowledge about sound, is largely responsible for the loss of focus and unlikely relevance of a term endowed with a particular and precise meaning“ (ibid., 9). Instead, the ‚sonic effects' should be considered as an open field of investigation, universal in its suitable employment for a general discourse about sound by social scientists, urban planners and architects alike and singular, since it doesn't provide a closed framework and framing

analytical model but works alongside specific examples: “Rather than defining things in a closed way, it opens the field to a new class of phenomena by giving some indication of their nature and their status“ (ibid.).

Acoustic Identity of Cities

„Sound operates by forming links, groupings, and conjunctions that accentuate individual identity as a relational project. The flows of surrounding sonority can be heard to weave an individual into a larger social fabric, filling relations with local sound, sonic culture, auditory memories, and the noises that movements between, contributing to the making of shared spaces“ (Brandon LaBelle 2010, xxi).

The acoustic environment of the city substantially affects and is affected by the physical and behavioral actions of those living in it. Sounds touch, envelope, make audible and enact everyday experience through the reciprocal relationships between humans, objects, animals and natures. Sound is immanently processual, a relation, a spatio-temporal event. Sounds, their cyclic repetition in time as well as their spatial organisation in the city, therefore, form fugitive and fragile, yet crucial and efficacious ecologies: „Soundscapes reflect many ecological processes and are ecological patterns in themselves“ (Pijanowski 2010, 1215). From this perspective, every moment of acoustic propagation, transmission and reception is ecological material, influencing and facilitating relationships between individuals, their culture, and the physicality of the environment. The processual capacity of the audible, not abstractable into objective classifications, always operating in and through other materials, „is a central component in imagining and remembering time and place, has distinctive material qualities yet at the same time demands an active practice or performance in order to bring it into presence“ (Revill 2017, 2).

The architect and geographer Pascal Amphoux, a research colleague of the before-mentioned Jean-Françoise Augoyard at the CRESSON in Grenoble, spent two decades trying to understand and to define the ecology of sound and how such a perspective might „improve the sonic quality of a city, promote the sonic publicness of a space or forge the sonic identity of a territory“ (Amphoux 2019, 129). His initial precept of an urban ecology of sound brings forward a disintegration of classic, dualistic representations of acoustic space into quiet/loud, noise/silence, nuisance/beauty, in favor of a more elastic understanding of the acoustic environment that embraces „the paradoxical, complex and

multi-layered meanings of the numerous and intertwined sounds of the city“ (ibid.). Traditional analysis of urban soundscapes was either motivated by objective measurements and subsequent noise abatement campaigns, or by aesthetic differentiations into polluted ‚lo-fi' soundscapes on the one hand, and clear, silent ‚hi-fi' environments on the other. But the subjective judgement of a soundscape as noisy signifies a choice, a personal selection, and an analysis of noise - and to act upon it - has to happen under the consideration of the culture which one addresses. Accordingly, the dominant, ‚defensive' attitude among urban planners and politicians to noise in the city has to be replaced by an ‚offensive' approach, one that encompasses the physical, symbolic, and social processes of sounds, their movements and interactions between emitter and perceiver, their fundamentally anthropological nature and their capacity to vitalize and generate the publicness of an urban space, in short: by „one that aims at enriching the dynamic equilibria that constitute sound ecology“ (ibid., 130).

Since the apparent fluidity and intangible nature of the sonic environment is profoundly inter-dependent with contemporary culture, politics, technologies and power regimes, it is, as Amphoux outlines, possible to determine and characterize spatial and temporal rhythms, recurrent acoustic patterns as well as conventionalized and shared assumptions of what constitutes acoustic comfort or nuisance within the specific city in question. For an analytical in-depth understanding of those site and time-specific sonic articulations, as they are known and regularly experienced by city-dwellers, Amphoux introduces the concept of ‚identity': „markets, pubs, public squares, churches, lively boulevards, belvederes, playgrounds, the atmosphere generated by a grocer round the corner, a ringing bell, the rumble oft the first tram in the morning (…). Each of these sounds characterizes or typifies a space, a moment or an activity, so long as it is specific to the city under consideration, and gives it a certain identity“ (ibid., 131). In the realm of environmental psychology and urbanism the concept of ‚identity', however fuzzy and difficult to pin down, „attains its symbolic meaning as a substrate of social, emotional and action-related conceptions primarily through (…) concrete relations“ (Lalli 1988, 303).

Amphoux's approach takes up this tripartite conceptualization and distinguishes between three discreet, yet practically coalescing characteristics of the sonic identity of space: recognition, belonging and autonomy. The first notion signifies objective, collectively ‚recognizable' acoustic indicators for a particular space or city. These include ‚sound signatures' like the Big Ben in London or the individual character of transportation signals and thereby make it possible to identify the specific city and to differentiate it from

others. Next, the sonic identity of a city depends on a certain sense of ‚belonging', an individual relationship of the listening subject with her environment. This is a deeply subjective characteristic, shaped by the city-dweller's interaction with, memories of and emotions towards her surrounding. Finally, every city and every particular space within is resonating with a specific soundscape that gives „the impression that the city remains constant and itself, (…) and is heard like a coherent and ‚autonomous' whole" (Amphoux 2019, 131). We perceive the city's distinct soundscape as both a physical, independent phenomenon, and as a culturally shaped, subjectively experienced perceptual construct. In other words, the apparent ‚autonomy' of a city's soundscape arises through a historically and collectively shared, yet always personally felt ‚sentiment' of the city. Alongside this threefold characterization that constitutes the sonic identity of a city, it is possible to overcome binary and inadequate classifications of good and bad, noise and silence, ‚hi-fi' or ‚lo-fi', and instead embrace the manifold sonic characteristics that influence our experience of the sonic environment and allow us to identify a location, a district or a city as consistent and identifiable. Hence, „to fight noise amounts to fighting sonic identity. A space that ‚sounds good' is not necessarily a silent or quiet space (…). A new definition arises: sonic identity designates the relation of appropriateness that establishes itself culturally between the sonic characteristics of a place and the social representations of the same place" (ibid., 132). Throughout Amphoux's methodological guideline, classic dualistic representations are replaced by ternary models that account for relations, meanings and interactions between traditional antipodes such as subjectivity and objectivity, physicality and symbolism, stimulus and response. To specify these concepts through an epistemological framework, Amphoux proposes the differentiation of the research object into the ‚sonic environment', the ‚sonic milieu' and the ‚sonic landscape'. Furthermore, as to render these dimensions applicable for methodological fieldwork, Amphoux introduces an empirical control instrument congruent to the preceding tripartite models: The three polar model of CVS (*connu* – known, *vècu* – lived and *sensible* – sensed).

First, corresponding to the notion of ‚recognition', the objective acoustic qualities of the ‚sonic environment' are listened to as something external, measurable and controllable. Here, professionals as well as ordinary citizens usually refer to alongside spatio-temporal, semantic or physical representations of the soundscape. To some extend, the listener is removed from her ‚environment', perceiving objectively assembled, manipulable sonic orders. ‚Environmental listening', therefore, is analytical and descriptive

and is concerned with specific signals, soundmarks and the city's particular, yet objectively measurable physical, social and cultural idiosyncrasies. This mode of listening corresponds with the ‚known' dimension (C), which signifies the symbolic representation of the city through representational sonic symbols as they are characteristic for a city (e.g. foghorns, church-bells, cable-cars) but also to distinct ambiences and reverberations (ocean, mountains, etc.) as they are generally recognized by a great number of people.

Secondly, the subject has a distinct relationship with her ‚sonic milieu'. Resembling the criteria of ‚belonging', the sonic milieu is „a set of intense, natural and vivid relations that a social actor has with the sonic world" (ibid., 134). Expressed through practices, customs and usages, the subject experiences a certain degree of sonic comfort or discomfort with the places she inhabits. The sonic milieu, listened to in an ordinary ‚free-floating' way, appertains to soundscapes of interaction, the nearby park, pub or market or the behavior and voices of neighbors and friends in a specific location. This mode of perception can be described objectively, yet is always experienced contextually, embraces often intersubjectively shared assumption of a place, yet is always qualified, valued and judged by the individual in accordance to her involvement with it. Correspondingly, the ‚lived' dimension (V) deals with the subjective experience of the individual's practice in, and the particular relationship with her personal environment. Through such sonic indica the subject obtains knowledge about the expression of a place and can semiotically identify and discern peculiarities of her neighborhood, the nearby park or garden where one lives.

Finally, coinciding with the apparent acoustic ‚autonomy' of a space, the third mode of listening refers to an aesthetic and sensitive appreciation of the ‚sonic landscape' of a city, correspondingly expressed through the ‚sensed' (S) dimension. The city, in this sense, embodies a certain atmosphere, its sonic ‚soul' and overall ambience, which is contemplated attentively, not for its distinct soundmarks or the district's particular expression, but for its affective and emotive ‚aura' or ‚mood'. The subject meditates over the sonic landscape attentively, is absorbed by the ‚phonic beauty', as if the city speaks to her. The sensation of a city's ‚sonic landscape' is „by nature subjective, but nevertheless universal (…), objectively open to all but always subjectively actualized (ibid., 125). The object here is not identifiable anymore as in the case of well-known sonic symbols, nor is it characteristic for the expression of, and relationship with a district or neighborhood. Rather, this dimension is concerned with sounds in-and-of themselves, detached from references to real locations, designating a particular sonic climate and giving rise to a

specific sensation of the city. This may include the vivacious clangor of a parade, the bustling voices and noises of a marketplace, or the unintelligible voices and the clatter of a café.

These three universal dimensions of sonic experience are intimately connected and always simultaneously present. As we move within the city, as we are enveloped by the sounds that surround us in ordinary every-day experience, the physical acoustic qualities of our ‚sonic environment' as it is ‚known' (C), the embodied participation in, and qualification of our immediate ‚sonic milieu' as it is ‚lived' (V), as well as our ‚sensed' (S), contemplative and fleeting appreciation of the ‚sonic landscape' are intertwined, mixed, overlapping and consolidate in our sensation of the soundscape as one, coherent whole. Nevertheless, to differentiate them conceptually allows us to approach, analyze and design our sonic environment in more grounded, appropriate ways.

Based on these above-mentioned epistemological insights, Pascal Amphoux developed throughout two volumes a profoundly detailed and far reaching empirical instrument, which was published in 1993 under the title ‚The Sonic Identity of European Cities' (Amphoux 1993). Constructed as a manual and as explicit as possible, his work offers a precise guideline for the evaluation, interpretation and analysis of a specific ‚sonic identity' on the one hand, as well as a tool to be used on the operational level in the sense that it can be applied in active processes of soundscape management and creation on the other. Amphoux's comprehensive approach, in a way an attempt to objectify to subjective, embraces a variety of qualitative methods such as questionnaires, interviews and instrumental and perceptual observations. If applied accordingly, the ultimate aim is to asses and describe the common sonic characteristics that represent the acoustic identity of a specific location as they are experienced by local and foreign listeners. The proposed empirical procedure to achieve this goal is divided into three main strategies: ‚sonic memory', ‚sonic perception' and ‚sonic interpretation'. Initially, with the help of ‚sonic mind maps' a selection of representative locations is being made.

Sonic mind maps, drawn up by a heterogeneous group of a few dozen interlocutors, are rough sketches of a district or the whole city, emphasizing specific sound sources, places or streets with remarkable sonic characteristics. These informations are complemented by in-depth interviews with people who have a particular relation to the city and its sonic environment. The ‚experts' will then be asked to propose and to discuss various locations with distinct or extraordinary sonic characteristics, to reflect upon

soundmarks and sonic idiosyncrasies of the city, and to comment on the sonic qualities of the places that were presented in the previously collected ‚sonic mind maps'. Furthermore, the interviewees will be asked to elaborate freely on their own sonic experience within the city, on their perception of noise and sonic comfort, and to suggest „what type of sonic criteria contribute to the situations of the experience of well-being" (Hellström 2002, 6). The resulting information will be synthesized, freed of redundant data, catalogued and codified according to the above mentioned tripartite of the CVS model. After selecting and categorizing the places accordingly, the researcher has three to four ‚representative' places that are ‚known' (C) by most of the interlocutors, three to four ‚expressive' places that are part of the personal, ‚lived' (V) experience of the respondents, and three to four ‚sensed' (S) places, that contribute to a certain sentiment or atmosphere of the city.

The following step incorporates the recording of these selected soundscapes and a subsequent playback of sound-fragments to local, non-specialized listeners as well as to people with an extraordinary relation to the city, its culture and its sonic environment (e.g. urban planners, acousticians, architects, psychologists or sociologists). Following Murray Schafer's and the WSP's approach, these recordings are accompanied by detailed information cards providing contextual material about the locations heard, such as an overall description perceptual sounds, factual background information regarding the time and space, general notes concerning the intention for making the recording as well as various comments made by the interviewees in the first step. Those ‚reactivated listening' sessions evoke a ‚schizophonic' situation, where the distance between the real sonic environment and the audio-recordings played to the listener trigger various emotions, memories and discussions. Amphoux provides precise and exhaustive instructions guiding the process of recording, studio-montage and presentation, yet states that for projects with limited resources it is possible to skip this approach and move directly to the third and final step.

Here, the gathered information will be synthesized and interpreted, so as to produce detailed accounts on the sonic characteristics of each of the locations that amount to the city's distinctive ‚sonic identity'. This final stage of the method, the ‚sonic interpretation', aims at the production of a ‚sonic identity chart' for each of the locations based on the results obtained from the first two steps. Outlined in a tabular form, this chart consists of four categories: the ‚specification of the sequences'; a ‚synthesis of hypothesis and comments'; ‚semantic niche and remarkable expressions'; and ‚objectification of

qualitative criteria‘, whereby the first three assemble the results from the recordings, the interviews, the reactivated listening sessions and the sonic mind maps, including specifications about the temporal, spatial and physical qualities of the recorded sequences, a synthesis and analysis of the interviewees comments, as well as a list of noteworthy quotations that have been stated by the interlocutors. The fourth category, regarding the ‚objectification of qualitative criteria‘, is by far the most exhaustive and substantial aspect of the final evaluation and incorporates descriptive accounts of the ‚qualitative criteria‘ that forge the ‚sonic identity‘ of a certain place. Subsuming and embracing all the information from the previous inquiries and categorizations, these ‚qualitative criteria‘ are subsequently differentiated and expressed along the above mentioned three modalities of ‚environmental listening‘, milieu listening‘ and ‚landscape listening‘, or the tripartite ‚known‘ (connu), ‚lived‘ (vecu) and ‚sensed‘ (sensible) respectively. Along with Amphoux’s ‚repertoire of qualitative criteria‘, a meticulously compiled list of concepts „which help us to describe remarkable atmospheres or ordinary sonic situations, without judging them in positive or negative term“ (Amphoux 2019, 138) and Augoyard & Torgue’s earlier discussed ‚repertory of sonic effects‘, Amphoux’s method and methodology results in a comprehensive description and analysis of „specific relations between sonic emissions, sonic cultures and modes of listening“ and „provides sound ecology with the conceptual means to reintroduce a qualitative dimension into the analysis of phenomena“ (ibid., 139).

Noise and silence are the two poles of sonic experience whose nuances and subtle variations in between are all too often neglected in favor of sensorial homogeneity: „In our cities, where everyday life has been reduced to the fulfillment of certain functions, the soundscape has come to reflect equivalently reductive environmental conditions“ (Lacey 2016, 175). Only recently, deriving from and thriving in a variety of academic fields, new, ecologically inspired and critical approaches to the city and of urban experience developed, whereby the sonic environment comes to be regarded as an existential necessity: „soundscapes are essential for well-being, not only as music but as an integral part of living situation“ (Raimbault & Dubois 2005, 342). Sounds affect every moment of our lives, every part of our bodies and to fight noise, hence, needs to be a self-reflexive, subject-centered endeavor, which embraces the multiplicity of factors that contribute to the sensation of annoyance or pleasure, sickness or well-being. The conceptual and technical fabric of Amphoux’s sound ecology, as it was outlined above, accepts and embraces sound’s implicitly intricate complexity. Directly linked to the tripartite notions of

‚environment/milieu/landscape' and ‚known/lived/sensed', noise pollution is considered from three different perspectives, three distinct, yet interlinked relationships a sensate subject can have to her acoustic environment: acoustic, sonic and phonic pollution.

The first kind of pollution relates to the most common conception of noise, as it is physically intruding the spatio-temporal- and therefore the physio-psychological dimensions of the sonic ecosystem. It is therefore possible to measure, objectify and potentially control ‚acoustic pollution'. Yet, individual perception thereof escapes quantitative evaluations, since the conception of ‚environmental nuisances' results from normative assumptions concerning volume, pitch and duration of the noise source. Over the course of history, social and technological developments brought about changing attitudes as to what is considered disturbing, loud and polluting. Concerning contemporary conceptions of noise, Amphoux hypothesizes a trend to medium values, a disappearance of sonic signatures and an overall tendency towards a homogenization of sonic atmospheres in the city: „Accordingly, acoustic pollution is linked less to the threat of increasingly loud noises than to that of acoustic uniformity in the urban sonic environment. This leads to the following definition: One can speak of acoustic pollution when one no longer hears because one has learnt to hear only noise" (Amphoux 2019, 140). To counteract such a condition, consequently, it is not merely sufficient to limit high intensities, but also necessary to protect relatively quiet areas, to bring forth a broader variety of sonic signatures and to widen previously narrow socially and culturally consolidated normatives on noise.

‚Sonic pollution', on the other hand, is more difficult to objectify, since it belongs to the subject's individually experienced relationship with her milieu. The noises caused by neighbors, by barking dogs, or the teenager's sound-system in the park, for example, are rarely considered as ‚acoustic pollutions' in the traditional sense, but, rather, are experienced as disturbing according to our subjective positions, values and ideals. The increasing number of noise complaints in European and American cities leads to the assumption that those individual and intersubjectively shared degrees of acceptance to ‚the noise of the other' are in decline and instead trend towards a general individualization and a shortfall of behavioral differentiation in the sonic milieu. Pascal Amphoux critically reflects on the dangers that come with such a hyper-vigilance towards the sonic environment and states that „the stigmatization of sonic emission could go as far as to lead to silence, a sign of death of the social milieu and everyday life" (ibid., 141). By enforcing new regulations and legislature, these anxieties about the sounds made by ‚the other' will

only strengthen. What needs to change, according to Amphoux, are the underlying moral values and ideals towards the audibility of one's community. To fight ‚sonic pollution' on the level of the subjectively experienced milieu, thus, aims at triggering and managing an open-minded social discourse about each other's sonic emissions.

Finally, ‚phonic pollution' can become audible by its sheer in-audibility. When the sonic landscape of a city, perceptible only in abstract, aesthetic terms, „no longer speaks to us, when it is separated from the culture that has produced it, when there is no more resonance between the culture and the sonic landscape: when there is a loss of identity" (ibid., 141), then it will be ignored, rendered imperceptible to our sensitivity. To compensate for this general ignorance towards noise, city planners, landscape or sound designers have to initiate creative projects that raise the citizens' cultural and aesthetic sensitivity to the richness of our sonic landscapes, so that, again, they ‚speaks to us'.

By making audible what is overheard, what reverberates underneath and above, by lending an ear to the various city rhythms, to the noises and silences that punctuate everyday urban experience, a sonic ecology of space „does not deny the effect of over-exposure to noise on the health of the ear, the individual or the community. But it argues that if the palliative act is content with a technical reduction of the sound level, it is incomplete and insufficient. One will never know for sure how far noise levels should be reduced, where to place the norm and how to control respect" (ibid., 144). Amphoux's epistemological suppositions, his empirical instruments, and his framing classifications, are reminiscent of Murray Schafer's and the WSP's research-methods, yet, in their comprehensive elaboration and with their sophisticated, instructive value they go far beyond and thereby constitute a reflexive, measured and extensive methodology for any investigation into the sonic ecologies of urban environments. From the first to the last step, the whole process is guided by a substantial use of interviewee's information, with their catalogued and codified comments forming the core of the analytical and interpretive framework. The method of finding representative places, as well as the final evaluation of the sonic identity is, therefore, not only closely linked to traditional ethnographic research-methods, but also to the systematic methodology of the ‚grounded theory' with its emphasis on theoretical sampling, the coding of interview-texts and the theoretically informed integration, association and refinement of the obtained information. Above all, though, this particular approach embraces the immanence of experience, of material, cultural and emotional interconnectedness within the urban realm as it is incessantly negotiated anew. An inquiry into urban sonic ecologies as it presented in Amphoux's

methodological guideline recognizes these manifold and often conflicting modes of interaction, connection and arrangement of material and human bodies alike and, consequently, „breaks with the representational understanding of urban space as something socially constructed or architecturally formed. Rather, urban environments consist of larger ecologies binding the body, perception and material qualities together“ (Groth & Samson 2013, 101).

Auto-Ethnographic Approaches into Sound

„Adrift in a sea of half-lives, (the scholar's body) wants to breathe in the pungent odors of social life, to run its palms over the jagged surface of social reality, to hear the wondrous symphonies of social experience, to see the sensuous shapes and colors that fill windows of consciousness. It wants to awaken the imagination and bring scholarship back to the things themselves“ (Paul Stoller 1997, xii).

The contemplating gaze presents us the world from a vantage point of view. The intimacy of the present, on the other hand, inscribes itself on our bodies through vibratory immediacy. The city, as it makes itself heard, is demanding, insistent, silent or loud; it is comprised of rhythms, routines, dissonances and surprising encounters, of the ordinary, the common yet astonishingly complex and corporeal sonic affordances of every day life. But sound is also an instrument of power, its effects physical and often painful. In what ways, then, is the sonic dimension significant for the creation of meaningful relationships between humans and the spaces they inhabit? Who is excluded, edited out? How does the built environment forge sonic conventions, and what constitutes the acoustic filters of our culture or milieu? To elude the traps of positivist, abstract assumptions of the city in sound, and, instead, to venture critically and compassionately into these sensorial and emotional relationships between humans, nonhumans and institutions as they continuously shape and reshape urbanity, it is necessary to amplify and to supplement the concepts and methods described throughout this chapter with explicitly embodied and self-reflexive methodologies that „grasp a phenomenality that cannot be known through theory or cognition alone“ (Amin & Thrift 2002, 9). This final path, one that takes account of the mundane and fleeting activities and phenomena that constitute the city as it is enlivened and experienced, is to be found in the epistemological and methodological approaches of everyday-urbanism, „which explores urbanity as involving spontaneous choreographies of multiple subtle orders of practice and contestation. Urban culture is recognized here in residual and transient spaces, seen as opposed to ‚the' city made of bounded places, fixed

meanings, and big history“ (Farias & Blok 2017, 555). Among this line of thought, there are three traits that seem particularly capable of unearthing and embracing the seemingly ordinary, repetitious and sublime nuances of sound and its essential capacity to vitalize and organize space: rhythmanalysis, flânerie and sensuous scholarship, situated alongside the writings of Henri Lefebvre, Walter Benjamin and Paul Stoller respectively.

Rhythmanalysis

Conjunctures, squares, street-corners, subway-stations, all the spaces we inhabit, pass through or traverse, possess „no essence but are ceaselessly (re)constituted out of the elements that flow from, to and across them“ (Edensor 2019, 158). These movements in-and-out, the flows and dynamics that animate spaces as places, as contingent and random as they might appear, are to some extent patterned by repetitions, schedules and routines that allow us to safely coordinate in time and space, to have a sense of belonging and of predictable regularity without which there would be structural disarray, collective confusion and individual forlornness. Life in the city, as Henri Lefebvre argues, is composed of multiple, layered and superimposing rhythms, pulsating waves of vitality and organization. But, to begin with, all rhythms center around natural cycles, the seasons, moon-phases, dusk and dawn, the rhythms of growth and decay. Therefore, to understand more complex rhythms, it has to happen with one's own heartbeat, respiration, one's body and senses as reference: „rhythms appear as regulated time, governed by laws, but in contact with what is least rational in human being: the lived, the carnal, the body“ (Lefebvre 2004, 9). The body's aptitude to sense - and to make sense of natural, organic rhythms, opens up to an embodied understanding of external, social rhythms. These regular and measurable temporalities establish themselves through the legally, culturally and conventionally institutionalized rhythms of the market, the ritual, of transportation, work and leisure. In time with these spatio-temporal patterns, urban inhabitants frame and coordinate their urban experience. Everyday rhythms, defined by John Allen as „the regular comings and goings of people about the city to the vast range of activities, sounds and smells that punctuate life in the city“ (Allen 2006, 441), attune, integrate and connect individuals with a given place, thereby creating a sense of rhythmic latching with each other's practices and activities and unreflexively align the body with the place's intersubjectively shared conventions, regulations and expectations. As each place resounds with bundles of such alternating rhythms, different cities contain distinct and often contrasting sonic periodicities. The restless pulse of New York, the tranquil pacing of

Lisbon, or the tumultuous babel of an Indian market - all reflect differing socio-economic scaffoldings, bespeak varying cultural conventions and point to particular modes of power-relations.

In western, post-industrial cities public space is increasingly designed and sensorially controlled by commercial and political interests, wherein „the regular auditory rhythms of place inevitably signify the power of certain people to normalize the sensory qualities of place, to distribute the auditory sensible and instantiate forms of common sense and sensing" (Edensor 2019, 164). Here, in a form of biopolitics or, as Lefebvre calls it, ‚dressage', the body and the senses become subjugated by the state's and the market's ideologies, imprinting, through „repetition pushed to the point of automatism" (Lefebvre 2004, 48), their rhythms on the places we inhabit, as to create more governable subjects. But, upon reversion, it is through the disruption of predominating rhythms that an opening occurs, „a hole in time, to be filled in by an invention, a creation. (…) Interventions are made, or should be made, through rhythms, without brutality" (ibid., 53). Henri Lefebvre, quite intentionally, does not offer a precise method and instead gives us a ‚previsionary portrait' of the rhythmanalysist, a description of an empirical, yet poetic state of mind: „A certain exteriority enables the analytic mind to function. However, to grasp a rhythm it is necessary to have been grasped by it; one must let oneself go, give oneself over, abandon oneself to its duration" (ibid., 27). The rhythmanalysist, immersed in the sense- and especially soundscapes of the everyday, is not a naive, passive stroller, idly wandering the street, for her perception is highly trained, educated and therefore equipped with a methodological understanding of how „to take charge of (…) the gathering together of what gives itself as dispersed, dissociated, separated, and this in the form of simultaneity and encounters" (Lefebvre 1996, 143). The analyst listens closely, most of all to the unnoticed, the neglected or ignored noises, and anticipates meaning where supposedly there is none. She listens to economic flows, infrastructural systems, social regulations, the murmurs and silences in between; she begins to distinguish, to separate out their sources, to place their recurrent rhythms and consistencies, their discords and sudden eruptions into wider historical and social contexts; she will sense „the city, a scene that listens to itself, an image in the present of a discontinuous sum" (Lefebvre 2004, 45). Places, listened to by the analytical mind of the rhythmanalysist, incorporate diverse sonic rhythms that are distinct to it. To take hold of them one has to be physically affected by them. The researcher's body has to be situated in the midst of the environment's sensorial forces, an apprehension that „highlights how our bodies cannot be conceived as detached

from place but are folded into spatial being and knowledge into a relationship with place“ (Edensor 2019, 164).

Flânerie

Everyone knows what everyday life is, what the mundane sounds like. It is taken for granted, seemingly unexceptional, blanked-out background noise. And it is exactly this ordinariness, incorporated physically as embodied knowledge, that discreetly guides us, that sounds out where we are and why, who we are and with whom. How, then, does the social scientist sense, and make sense of the continuous currents and ripples of perceptive banality, of the everyday sonic environment in the city? One answer is: by engaging in it, by committing „to lived experience, but also to explanatory structure and theoretical elaboration“ (Hall et al. 2008, 1023). Cities and their soundscapes are processes, movements, and one appropriate method to study them is, in turn, by attentively moving through them. The action of walking the city, itself a common technique in a wide range of disciplines (Low 2015), opens up to an auto-ethnographic exploration of locations and the social interactions and behaviors within, that doesn't claim detached objectivity, but uses the trained, self-reflexive position of the researcher as an empirical tool. This mode of reflexive assimilation is epitomized by the figure of the ‚flâneur', the sensorially, perceptually and emotionally charged ‚roving empiricist' (Burton 1988, 60), who, by embracing „the rapid interchange between mind, the senses and a constantly shifting environment (is) fuelled by a drive towards a knowledge that cannot be separated from this interactive process“ (Sheringham 1996, 111). The most significant clarifications and methodological implementations of ‚flâneurism' stem from Walter Benjamin's studies on the cities he drifted through. The flâneur, only too often associated with the modern, untouchable gaze, gained perceptual and inter-sensorial depths in Benjamin's descriptions. He acknowledged, following Georg Simmel's ‚sociology of the senses', „a marked preponderance of the activity of the eye over the ear“ (Benjamin 1983, 38), yet had a finely tuned instinct for sounds and rhythms: „The peculiar sounds of transit are the signature tunes of modern cities. These are the sounds that remind us the city is a sort of machine. The diesel stammer of London taxis, the wheeze of its buses. The clatter of the Melbourne tram. The two-stroke sputter of Rome, the note that sounds as the doors shut on the Paris metro, and the flick flick flick of the handles. The many sirens of different cities“ (Benjamin 1997, 82).

Benjamin's flânerie, as it is vibrantly resounding from his autobiographical texts, evokes a profound relationship between sound and memory that functions as mnemonic trigger: „one ought to speak of events that reach us like an echo awakened by a call, a sound that seems to have been heard somewhere in the darkness of past life" (Benjamin 1932, 59). On his wanderings through Marseille, Moscow, Paris and Berlin, Benjamin „souvenired sounds from different places, composed urban vignettes as if they were aural postcards" (Tonkiss 2003, 306). The cityscape, grasped by the flâneur's acute perceptive awareness, reveals itself in its improvised performances, its precarious silences and fragmented outbursts and, especially, in its ‚porosity' to its material and immaterial histories: „Porosity is the inexhaustible law of the life in this city, reappearing everywhere (…) to become a theatre of new, unforeseen constellations. The stamp of the definite is avoided" (Benjamin 1997, 171). Benjamin's transitive, reciprocal relationship with this constantly evolving, indefinite urbanity is further symbolized by his illusive metaphor of the „flaneur who is botanizing on the asphalt" (Benjamin 1973, 106), reminding of Levi-Strauss' ecological conception of the city as belonging „simultaneously to biological procreation, organic evolution and aesthetic creation. It is at one and the same time an object of nature and a subject of culture; an individual and a group; reality and dream" (Lévi-Strauss 1975, 124). The aural flânerie, utilized as a method for sonic inquiry into the city, consists, above all, in a kind of „evenly suspended attention (…) in the face of all that one hears" (Crary 1999, 367). It is the ability of loose, poetic association fused with the skill to connect and interpret an apparently disorganized sonic environment. The flâneur „indulges in the play of pre-cognitive flows of half-formed impression, associations and memory traces. At the same time the flâneur (…) writes down his impressions in a notebook, in a similar way to a detective who does not yet know the case he is meant to solve, but who in principle can see that that everything is, or could be, significant" (Featherstone 1998, 913). This ‚art of walking', then, can provide researchers with methodological inspirations for an ‚aural flânerie', a poetic yet scientifically saturated sensibility for the interrelations, accentuations and restraints within the soundscapes of the city.

Sensuous Scholarship

Where Lefebvre's rhythmanalysist captured the temporal, patterned or syncopated rhythms of the everyday and the flâneur's urban peregrinations exposed the quotidian secrets, contradictions and idiosyncrasies of a place by reading it like a poetic text, Paul

Stoller's ‚sensuous scholar' ruptures traditional divisions between the researcher and the researched, re-thinks conventional modes of ethnographic representation and all-together breaks with the rationalist's „cult of reason" (Stanton 2000, 270). In the first pages of his seminal work ‚Sensuous Scholarship' (Stoller 1997), which begins and ends with a ‚Sufi' tale, Stoller sets out by questioning the social science's quest for objectivity, „an academy where mind has long been separated from the body, sense long severed from sensibility" and whose „bloodless prose (…) saps the body of its sensuousness" (ibid., xii-iii). The sensuous body, since the seventeenth century, is to be distrusted, is deceiving us from objective truth. But the rationalist's silencing of the body and of subjectivity in social theory is in itself an escapist strategy, for the „orderly systems and determinate structures we describe are not mirror images of social reality so much as defenses we build against the unsystematic, unstructured nature of our experiences within that reality" (Jackson 1989, 3). Even those theoretical movements that criticize classical, cartesian rationalism and reevaluate the significance of the body in social thought, namely, feminism and post-structuralism, consider, as Stoller argues, „the body as a text that can be read and analyzed. This analytical tack strips the body of its smells, tastes, textures and pains - its sensuousness" (Stoller 1997, xiv). This abstract, disembodied style of conventional textual representation, furthermore, seems „ironic" and „reinforces the very principle they critique - the separation of mind and body" (ibid., xv).

Paul Stoller's sensuous scholarship attempts to overcome the gulf between the researcher's body and its mind, between detached observation and saturated sensibility. To behold the experiential dynamics of social reality, of the birdsong, the humdrum, the consequences of sound in the city, the researcher has to use her sensible body as an instrument of data collection (Longhurst et al., 2008), has to be fully immersed in the field and at the same time be self-reflexive of her intention and origin. Embedded within the field of research, in a state of embodied co-presence with the patterns, tonalities and reverberations, sensuous awareness and reflexivity can bring the researcher closer to the lives of the people and the relationships with their environment. As a consequence of the interpretive and phenomenological developments in the social sciences, sensuous scholarship refers „to research about the human senses, through the senses, and for the senses" (Vannini et al. 2012, 48). In a mindful and sensitive manner, equipped with a self-reflexive awareness of her enculturation and sensory biases, the researcher develops and practices her sensory intelligence: „The ability to utilize one's senses as skills to manipulate and adept to one's environment. It is the combined emotional, visceral, and

cognitive ability to engage in somatic work“ (ibid., 67). Sensuous research thus insists on a ‚radical empiricism' that differs, by stressing on the unity of the researcher and the researched, of method and object, profoundly from traditional empiricism: The researchers „should feel, should themselves be penetrated by the events in the field“ (Stanton 2000, 271). Aside from the imperative of fully embodied fieldwork, sensuous scholarship is deeply concerned with the crisis of representation, „the challenge of both capturing embodied/sense experience as narrative and analyzing, representing, and even reconstructing storied worlds in embodied ways and as embodied knowers“ (Emerald & Hunter 2016, 29). The dominant textual style in the social sciences is detached, anonymous and formally analytic.

How, then, is it possible to capture, represent and reconstruct sense experience in embodied ways? How can the sensuous scholar convey to the reader a faithful and sensitive account of the realities in the field? Paul Stoller argues for a dialectic of the evocative and the analytic, through which „embodied form as well as disembodied logic constitute scholarly argument“ (Stoller 1997, xv). Sensuous accounts of social reality do not neglect theory and scientific description. Yet, through the use of storied narratives, creative metaphors, private recollections, personal doubts and self-reflection, it is possible to link collective discourses and social histories to the carnal, somatic and subjective layers of everyday experience and thereby produce ethnographic texts „which will then be more, rather than less scientific“ (Stoller 1989, 9). One possible route towards an ethnographic account that includes the reader and allows for a performative and interactive way of ‚coming to know', is through „the sensuous power of ethnopoetics, (which) aims not at reproducing and representing but at producing self-consciously original creations, at evoking the reverberations of possibility, of magic, of emotionality, of storytelling“ (Vannini et al. 2012, 50). It is, for example, the first person narrator, the ‚I' who speaks, that can bring the reader closer to an embodied understanding of the researcher's situatedness in the field. Progressing forward in the ethnographic story, one does not have to insist on finding correlations between sensual accounts and what the may symbolize, but can be content with „describing how sensations and their expressions unfold as events interesting in their own right“ (ibid., 51). Furthermore, instead of positing supposed facts, the author could shed critical light on her research by revealing doubt through the use of subjunctive modes of writing and by indicating that something may as well be interpreted differently. Ethnopoetic writing, assuming that a faithful ethnographic representation has to take into account the multidimensional dramaturgy of the researched

subjects' lived experiences, follows the „logic and pathos of a story, it situates action within a temporal process, and, like a story, it introduces us to multiple characters, their interactions, and their dialogues" (ibid.).

A neglected yet crucial aspect of ethnography is to give the audience an understanding of the actual social worlds and phenomena in the field and how they are experienced by those within, not by abstracting and authoritatively interpreting them, but by enlivening and performing them to the recipients, by opening up scientific representation towards an interactive and sensorially engaging dialogue between researcher, the researched and the audience. There is, as Pink argues, „no fixed model for sensory ethnography - for its research methods, analytical processes, or representational forms" (Pink 2009, 267), and the risk of failure is always present. But through failures it is possible to grow, through experimental forms of representation - and there are countless unexplored possibilities - we might be able to garner, and to impart what we learned in the field in a respectful manner and endeavor on a ‚humble' pursuit of knowledge: „The most important and difficult lesson that a sensuous scholarship provides is that of humility. No matter how learned we may become, no matter how deeply we have mastered a subject, the world, for the sensuous scholar, remains a wondrous place that stirs the imagination and sparks creativity" (Stoller 1997, 136).

Conclusion

„The most profound type of knowledge is not spoken of at all. Indeed, speaking of it transforms its nature, since it is because one is unable to speak of it that it can be used as such a basic guide, with such speed and suppleness. This type of knowledge must be implicit, which is a great nuisance for the ethnographer, since it is precisely knowledge of this sort that anthropological research claims as its subject matter" (Maurice E. Bloch 1998, 46).

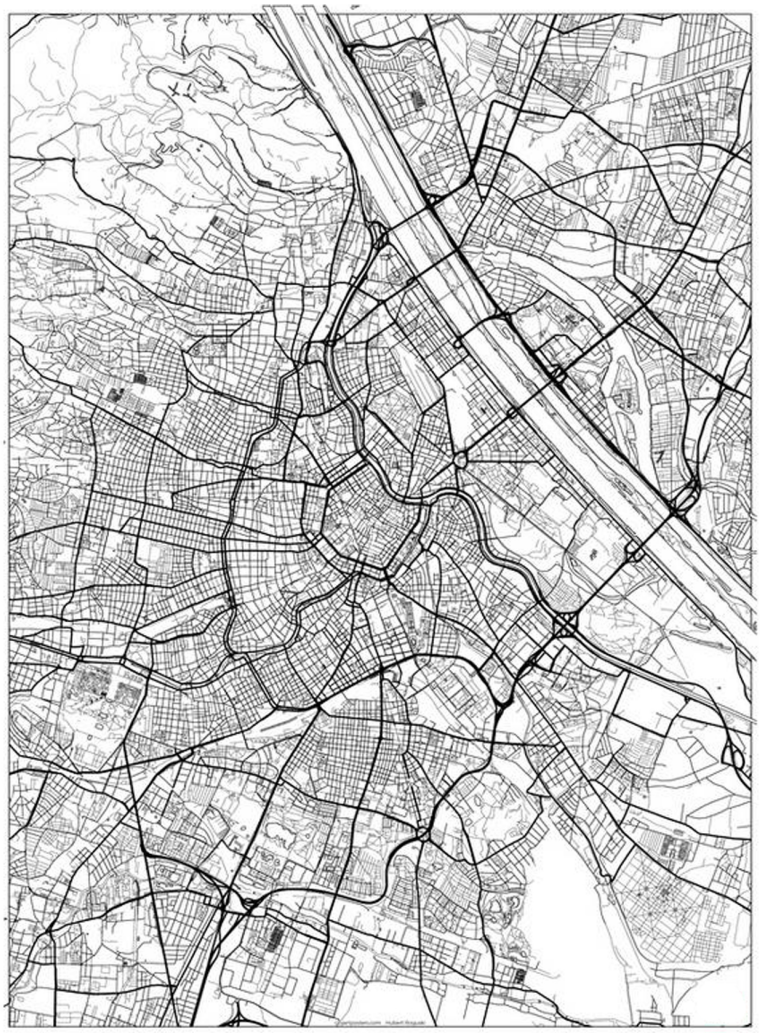
Our perception of the city, of ourselves and each other is mediated by external and internal sensory stimuli, each being full of distinctive meanings and symbolisms for the subject as well as for the society at large. Our eyes, and the particular ways our culture has trained them, offer us a ‚cool', discursive understanding of the world. Sonic perception, on the other hand, invades and envelopes us, resonates through our whole body and invisibly links our being to a dynamic world of constant movement and transformation. The sounding out of the city, our listening to - and our acoustic

participation within it, attunes us to our environment, enables us to make sense of our experiences and allows us to gain an embodied understanding of the world and our place in it. The anthropologist Steven Feld, in this regard, coined the term ‚acoustemology', a merging of ‚acoustics' and ‚epistemology', to emphasize „the primacy of sound as a modality of knowing and being in the world" (Feld 2003, 226). Our engagement with, our orientation in, and experience of the urban soundscape is informed by incorporated knowledge about the spaces we inhabit, about the acoustic norms and values of our society and about our own aural competencies, agencies and responsibilities. The resonant sonic fabric of the city, its ephemeral and shifting aural geography, in turn, significantly shapes and affects our physiological, emotional and social relation to the environment, sometimes causes sensations of displacement and exclusion, sometimes feelings of belonging, empowerment and intimacy. Everything we hear is endowed with information: the sound of sirens may evoke almost instinctive physical reactions; the hushed ambience of a fancy restaurant may resound back to us our social status; the baroque reverberation of an old living quarter echoes with our culture's history; the distinct resonance of foghorns and church-bells, of public squares or parks, of oceans and forests, make audible when we are and where we are. The city, understood as a dynamic field of emergent and fluctuating sonic characteristics, conventions and regulations, constantly impressing upon, and being affected by the individual and the social body, reverberates acoustically. The listener's experience of the urban soundscape, therefore, forms „an avenue of knowing that both organizes social life and contributes towards how social actors relate to urbanity through sensory interpretation" (Low 2015, 296). Auditory experience is about knowledge, about social, geographical and emotional knowledge, and the listening subject, enveloped and immersed in the urban soundscape, conceptualizes herself, her culture, the ‚other' and the continuous movements that make up the city through embodied and internalized forms of sonic understanding.

How, then can the researcher tap into this kind of knowledge? How can she inquire into the everyday sonic realities of urbanity? How can she explore the role of acoustic perception in the habituation and socialization of the built environment and how can she find a language, a syntax to translate the city-dweller's sonic experience into the representative, methodical language of an empirical study in the social sciences? In short: what are the necessary methodological approaches towards an empirical research of the human-sound-environment relationship within the urban realm? Jonathan Sterne, in this regard, notes, that „there is no a priori privileged group of methodologies for

Soundstudies. Instead, sonic imaginations are guided by an orienting curiosity, a figure of practice that reaches into fields of sonic knowledge and practice, and balance them with other questions, problems, fields, spaces and histories. Method matters but it should arise from the questions asked in the knowledge fields engaged, not the other way around" (Sterne 2014, 6). The six models developed throughout this chapter, when conceptually adopted, combined and reappropriated, offer urban researchers and sensuous scholars alike a wide array of possible methodological and analytical strategies to choose from, to synthesize or re-interpret according to one's specific research problem. Murray Schafer has given us the fundamental conceptualization of the ‚soundscape' and a basic methodological framework for a ‚soundscape ecology', provided rudimentary recommendations for an empirical inquiry and developed key-concepts such as the soundscape's division into ‚keynotes', ‚signals' and ‚soundmarks'. To supplement Schafer's methodological vagueness as well as his aesthetic discrimination of the modern soundscape, Jean-Francois Augoyard developed a repertoire of eighty-two ‚sonic effects', a profound, indexical vocabulary for an analysis of the material, social, biological and psychological interdependences within the sonic environment and the specific, contextually dependent ‚effect' these relations have on the listener. Pascal Amphoux's methodological guideline for distinguishing the ‚Sonic Identity' of a city expands Schafer's soundscape ecology, combines it with Augoyard's theory of ‚sonic effects' and thereby offers an extremely rich and diversified set of minuscule and efficient instructions on the evaluation and analysis of the obtained material. Finally, we encountered three unique methodologies whose insistence on an embodied understanding of the everyday positions the researcher's subjective experience at the center of investigation. The ‚rhythmanalysist', equipped with the skill to connect her extended theoretical and contextual knowledge with what she feels, sees and hears, has a keen sensibility for the rhythms, flows and repetitions of the city. Similarly, the ‚flâneur', being in a state of constant movement, constantly aware of the seemingly banal, the micro-performances and interactions that constitute the everyday, acquires knowledge about the city which cannot be separated from lived experience. Paul Stoller's ‚sensuous scholar' concludes this tripartite of reflexive research methodologies with a strong critique of the prevailing ‚bloodlessness' of ethnographic research and, in particular, of ethnographic representation. To communicate truthfully with the people in the field, as well as with the scientific community, the researcher should emphasize her own doubts, her own subjective coloring of the supposed ‚facts', by disrupting traditional, distanciated and objective modes of representation and, instead, experiment with styles, narratives, and even poetry.

There has always been more to qualitative research than meets the eye. The interviewee's silences and agitations are on tape; the children, the church and the traffic can be heard while we take our field-notes; the rain, the wind, the animals that populate the environment resonate through every ethnography ever made, yet these sounds, for the most part, have been erased from the picture, have been overlooked in favor of sight. But to understand the intricate connections, patterns and relations that fabricate our culture's everyday-life experience, it is necessary to go beyond the plain and the ‚obvious', to reflect on one's own visual bias and to „unearth the mechanisms that pattern sensory experience, determine the nature of social situations and shape lived reality" (Kalekin-Fishman & Low 2018, 221). Data about the city's various soundscape ecologies and how they are experienced by the individual listener enables us to reveal how perception and expression, the individual and the collective, the body and the environment are, intertwined; to explain how the human sensorium is interwoven with urban processes, to elucidate how social change, how freedom and restraint, heterogeneity, integration and conflict is made audible through the agency of materials, architecture, humans, nonhumans, infrastructure, technology and political structures alike. This approach to the city, fathomed from within, in its ever-changing aural complexity, implies a kind of urbanity which cannot be abstracted and understood in its totality. Rather, we are confronted with the challenge of „identifying, describing and analyzing these multiple enactments of the city and understanding how they are articulated, concealed, exposed and made present or absent" (Farias & Bender 2010, 14). A new mapping of this deeply affective dimension of urban experience, one that results from embodied methodologies and sensuous ethnographies, one that is drawn up collaboratively by the reflexive researcher and the city-user alike might contribute substantially to a refined and sensible awareness among city-planners, politicians and the social sciences for the nested and invisible sonic layers that organize, disrupt, agitate and confound our everyday lives in the city. „A deeper appreciation of sound", as Paul Stoller emphasizes „could force us to overturn our static, spatialized world and make us consider in a new light the dynamic nature of sound, an open door to the comprehension of cultural sentiment" (Stoller 1984, 561).



5

CASE STUDY

the sonic identities of vienna

Introduction

„Hundreds of sounds were intertwined into a coil of wiry noise, with single barbs projecting, sharp edges running along with it and submerging again, and dear notes splintering off—flying and scattering. Even though the peculiar nature of this noise could not be defined, a man returning after years of absence would have known, with his eyes shut, that he was in that ancient capital and imperial city, Vienna" (Robert Musil 1997, 9).

Sterile, muted spaces enhance into busy lively places first and foremost through movements, encounters, interactions and the consequent sonic dynamics unfolding within. Sight is the sense of the distant, analytical observer, creating limits, horizons, maps, whereas hearing connects us, surprises us, gives us a sense of plasticity, depth and continuity. Even the first silent movies had to compensate for the visual's dimensional flatness with live music and other acoustic effects. Sounds, not as quantifiable and measurable ‚objects' to be regulated or censored, but sounds understood as the causes and effects of delicate, reciprocal relationships between humans, nonhumans, processes and environments, have „the capacity to bring out stabilization or transformation of places no matter how fleeting" (Waitt et al. 2020, 2135). The soundtracks of our every-day lives in the city, all these tiny, sharp, rumbling, monotonous or musical sensations as they fleetingly come into being, linger, overlap and abate again - the sounds produced by our bodies, clothes, conversations and conventions; the sounds of movement, infrastructure, transport and electricity; the echoes, reverberations, sudden silences and amplifications created by the material and the shape of our built and natural environments - all these sonic emissions and the particular ways they are perceived by the individual, the community or the culture at large, add up and congregate into elaborate, patterned and often distinctly discernible sonic assemblages that profoundly influence and affect social associations, personal health and the general ambience of place.

Urban sense-scapes, and, in particular, those enveloping and affective sonic territories are, therefore, both experienced and created simultaneously. They are bound to distinct physiological and material qualities, yet are brought into existence by active motions, movements, stagings and manipulations. Our perception of sound is, to a large extend, constituted by culturally sedimented modes of listening and interpretation, by historically evolved and socially institutionalized architectural norms and their consequent acoustic properties, and, finally, by the actions, interactions and transactions played out on

the urban stage as they are bound up in economic, social and political tensions, regulations and constraints. The urban soundscape, therefore, „is not simply given beforehand, ‚already there' and waiting to be heard by a disengaged listener, it is rather the product, expression and condition of social practices" (Thiebaud 1998, 2-4).

We all know the sensation of exploring an unknown city: a heightened sensibility, the acute desire to capture, and to be captured by the ‚mood' of this new place. I clearly remember the encompassing clattering of the honking mopeds in Rome, the distinct way the clatter and chatter coming from the countless cafés reverberated through the city's narrow alleyways and the blurring chime of church-bells coloring my ‚image' of this city. Or the click-clacking sounds of shoes on cobblestone in Lisbon, resonating alongside low-lying, densely clustered buildings, always being aware of ocean-sounds and seagulls in the background. Many cities we roam through leave a specific impression, and this is not least because of their distinct soundscapes: „Each city may have a rather unique acoustic profile, the composition of specific natural sounds, signals and noise" (Elmqvist 2013, 6). But by listening closer, every city reveals itself as being composed from many different and often contrasting soundscapes, which, in themselves, articulate their own sonic individuality. Places such as a Viennese in-door market, a major junction in the city center, or famous tourist locations in the central district are, day-in, day-out, resounding with a unique mixture of voices, noises and echoes, sonic characteristics that are, despite of all their ambiguity and complexity, ‚typical' for the particular location, and, thereby, give it its specific ‚sonic identity'. But would it be fair to say that any of these soundscapes are representative for the city Vienna? No. There are many Viennas, many districts, communities and sub-cultures that evolved their own characteristic sonic signatures.

The task to inquire, describe and analyze the city in regards to its soundscapes, therefore, requires urban researchers and planners alike to overcome predominating ‚defensive' and generalizing attitudes, to treat sounds and noises not solely as a ‚problem' or as a ‚waste product', but, instead, to acknowledge that „in the same way health cannot be defined as merely the absence of disease, the mere absence of noise is not sufficient to ensure an acoustic environmental quality for our physical and mental health, social well-being, and the environment" (Radicchi et al. 2020, 2). This case study, therefore, tries to approach and to analyze the numerous and manifold ‚sonic identities' of the city of Vienna not ‚defensively', but ‚offensively', from within, with a careful and self-reflexive emphasis on the subjective listening-experience of the people who put the city to use. I am aware that this study, with its limited resources, cannot result in a holistic and definite

representation of one singular, complete acoustic profile of Vienna. All I can do, is to listen closely, to talk to as many city-dwellers as possible, to reflect on my own sonic experiences and, hopefully, to find significant patterns and narratives which will help us to a better understanding of the city and the way it impresses on our bodies and senses. „Inquiring into the urban", as Ignacio Farias stresses, „involves recognizing that we, urban students, often confront radically uncertain situations in which we don't know what we are looking for until we find it" (Farias 2011, 367).

My academic orientation as well as my personality have always tended towards knowledge that can be sensed, felt, experienced with my own body. In regards to urban research, in particular when it comes to city-soundscapes and the question of ‚noise', I acknowledge the importance of objective data, of comparable, physical measurements and statistics. If city administrations or communities emphatically call out for a substantial reevaluation and the subsequent redesign of their soundscapes, such objectifying approaches are indispensable. And yet, it is not as if such techniques need further promotion, since it is exactly the sole reliance on such disembodied, objectified data and the rash negligence of the actual, feeling, sensing subjectivity that strengthened our society's general lack of interest in the sonic dimensions of our everyday lives: „Noise pollution results when man does not listen carefully. Noises are the sounds we have learned to ignore. Noise pollution today is being resisted by noise abatement. This is a negative approach. We must seek a way to make environmental acoustics a positive study program" (Schafer 1977, 4). For this case-study, consequently, I decided that it is not in my power, nor my intention to provide a totalizing ‚overview', but, instead, to situate myself „within real activity as such, that is, in the practical relation to the world (…) through which the world imposes its presence" (Bourdieu 1990, 53). My approach towards the soundscapes of this city, therefore, is hybrid, embodied, guided by a keen ‚sociological imagination' (Mills 2000) and rests almost entirely on my own experiences of listening to the people that talked to me and to the sounds and atmospheres I encountered while I roamed the streets of Vienna.

In order to gain as much primary information as possible about the city-soundscapes and how they are perceived by those living in them, I began my empirical inquiry by asking twenty-five randomly selected Viennese passersby all over the city in short conversations about their acoustic preferences, about places in the city they find particularly pleasant or unpleasant, or about their wishes and hopes for a better city-

design. Furthermore, I took sound-walks and conducted in-depth interviews with three ‚experts' who have a ‚special' relationship with the city of Vienna on the one hand and with soundscapes on the other. In this regard I have met with a blind person, a street musician, and an urban planner and we had long conversations about their experience of the city in sound. Finally, I compiled numerous personal notes concerning my own experience of the city and the various sounding places within. By appropriating and synthesizing the methods and methodologies described in the previous chapter, namely Schafer's ‚soundscape ecology', Augoyard's ‚sonic effects', Amphoux's ‚the sonic identity of European cities', as well as Lefebvre's ‚Rhythmanalysis', Benjamin's ‚Flânerie' and Stoller's ‚Sensuous Scholarship', the obtained material will be described, catalogued, and analyzed according to the distinct ways a sonic environment is ‚known' by a larger group of people, ‚experienced' as a personal milieu by the listening subject, or intersubjectively ‚sensed' in terms of its atmospheric ‚landscape'. The ultimate aim of this case study is to provide an extensive, subject-centered and phenomenologically inspired account on the city of Vienna as it is experienced sonically by the people who move in and through its various soundscapes, to „identify, in meaningful terms and descriptions, a number of specific urban areas that are qualitatively enhanced by characteristic soundscapes or adversely affected by noise" (Raimbaud & Duboise 2005, 349) and, finally, to propose suggestions for architectural, political and social improvement and interventions as to make the city a more harmonious, embodied and sensually appealing place.

Questionnaire and Sound Preference Test

„Architecture and towns are not just objects. Their sensory effects act at the centre of a knot tying together perception and action, form and function, the individual and the collective. How then can architects and planners think about the way a built space is used without knowing how it is 'lived' by the residents who 'reconstruct' it?" (Jean Paul Augoyard 2020, 8)

For the first part of my empirical investigation into the soundscapes and sonic identities of Vienna I spent a few days in the early springtime walking through the sun-drenched city, constantly seeking out possible urban users who would be willing to tell me more about their sonic experience of the city. In order to gain the sonic resemblance of an ‚overview' about the various ways Viennese people listen to their environments and how these are sonically understood by those living within them, I ‚auscultated' a highly

heterogeneous group of twenty-five randomly selected persons (per-sonare: latin for ‚sounding through') from each age band by way of a face-to-face interview conducted over a wide geographical area, including all the inner city districts and some of the outer ones (districts 1-9, 10 and 15). For this empirical element I developed, in accordance with the recommendations made by Schafer (1977) and Amphoux (1993), a semi-structured questionnaire consisting of five open questions with the goal to evaluate a broad range of assessments concerning the subjective and intersubjective listening-experience in general and the various city soundscapes in particular.

Q1: What sounds do you find pleasant/unpleasant in your personal every-day environment?

The first question, regarding the interviewees general sound-preferences, was used on the one hand as an ‚ice-breaker', since it immediately triggered a certain reflecting attitude and sonic sensibility in the interlocutors and, on the other hand, to catalogue geographically and culturally specific ‚sound romances' and ‚sound phobias' which, „read in conjunction with noise abatements legislation (…), would also give a good impression of whether a given by-law fairly reflected contemporary public opinion concerning undesirable sounds" (Schafer 1977, 157). In general, the respondents firmly emphasized the relaxing quality of ‚geophonies' (88%) - sounds created by wind, water, trees and other natural processes, and ‚biophonies' (60%) - sounds produced by animals of every kind. Most of the respondents began their reflection on preferable sounds by describing the soothing effect water, be it from the rain dribbling on the window sill, from the fountain in the park, or from rivers and forest streams. Similarly, the sound of the wind, especially when it blows through trees, is perceived as an archetypical, meditating and healthy sound. Furthermore, almost everyone mentioned, by utilizing a wide array of onomatopoetic linguistic styles, the particular songs sung by birds, or the seasonal-dependent buzzing of various insects. Some of the respondents positively used the term ‚sound-carpet' to describe both natural soundscapes and soundscapes created by ‚anthrophonies' (52%) - sounds produced by human and social activities. In this sense, the ‚organic' quality of of river-sounds or bird-songs is often experienced similarly when one listens to the busy, noisy, animated sounds resulting from movements and interactions of people in urban public spaces. A further significant ‚sound-preference' is the sound of music (32%) - not privately listened-to music from the radio or another playback-device, but the slightly distorted perception of distant street-music mixed with the hubbub of the

city. While a handful of people (7%) highlighted the positive tranquility inside museums, churches or the home, only one out of the twenty-five persons who talked with me emphasized a preference for actual ‚silence'.

When it came to sounds that are perceived as troublesome or annoying, the responses where much more abrupt, not colored by linguistic ornamentations anymore and usually referred not to the sounds themselves, but to the objects or actions that generate them. Sirens and similar alarm-signals are considered by two thirds (72%) of the respondents as annoying, bordering on harmful. The second worst impact on the overall soundscape is, according to this survey, created by road traffic (64%). Yet, even though many mentioned cars, mopeds and the street's rumbling white noise as a disruptive sonic factor, these soundscapes entail a somewhat ambiguous significance, since some interviewees added that they got so used to it, that they sometimes don't hear it anymore, or even find it relaxing if it is not too close. Apart from that, more than half of the ‚sound-phobias' are related to construction-sites (56%), the apparently omnipresent noises of pneumatic drillers and similar noises are perceived as major intrusions in the personal space. Other sounds created by the maintenance and sustainment of the city's infrastructure, such as the sounds created by public transport systems (24%), garbage disposals (12%) or air-travel (8%) are mentioned, yet seem to be much more tolerated than the before-mentioned factors. During the interviews, a variety of additional, rather personal ‚sound-phobias' were mentioned, such as the barking of dogs, crying children, cutlery, microphone feed-back, gadgets and ringtones.

Q2: Name a few places / squares in Vienna that you find particular rich in acoustic atmospheres, positive or negative

Under the ecologically motivated assumption, that we "cooperate with the environment in constructing beliefs at the same time as the environment is shaping what and how (we) know" (Preston 2003, 56), this second question focuses the attention away from the general and towards the specific, in particular to the subjective sonic perception and enactment of distinct soundscape areas in Vienna. Since there was no geographical limit set to this question, the answers varied considerably - and yet, patterns emerged. The one place which was mentioned as a positive example by most of the interlocutors is the ‚Donaukanal' (44%), a branch of the main river, dividing the 1st and the 2nd district, whose promenades on both sides are, when the weather is suitable, abundant with

people, meeting, chatting, working out and drinking at the numerous bars. The canal's acoustics are described as reverberant, wide, resonating with human voices and the sound of water - loud, but comfortable. Similar to the ‚Donaukanal', which is, in fact, not a singular location, but a larger, sonically coherent area, the whole of the 1st district (32%) is referred to, on the one hand, as an environment with pleasant, remarkably intimate and distinctly discernible acoustic features, stemming most notably from the numerous horse-drawn carriages, the wide-spread cobblestone, the discreet resonance of the narrow, baroque architecture and the encompassing mixture of languages and activities, but also as a repellant, commercialized and often impersonal tourist-hotspot on the other. Furthermore, the ‚Yppenplatz' (16%) as a distinct place in the 15th district, is described by many as an exceptionally heterogeneous soundscape, created by dozens of cafés, market-criers and the acoustic humdrum of many different languages, cultures and age-groups resounding in a distinct and harmonious way. Another location within the city, the MQ-Museumsquartier (12%) has, according to this survey, a unique, dense, yet comfortable sonic characteristic, resulting from the architectural enclosure of the open square, the various different materials used, the absence of any trees or plants, and the fact that this place is usually rather crowded with people. Many more soundscapes were mentioned, such as the area around the remodeled ‚Flakturm' (Haus des Meeres), surrounded by a wide park and many bars; the environment around the ‚Servitenkirche' in the 9th district, which sound „like an Italian village"; or the ‚old AKH', which houses parts of the University and is divided by various little and isolated green spaces. Apart from these places, a wide array of city-parks have been highlighted for their pleasant soundscapes, in particular the ‚Stadtpark' (20%), the ‚Schlosspark Schönbrunn' (20%), the ‚Burggarten' (12%) and the ‚Augarten' (12%). Many of these parks have distinct acoustic characteristics. In the ‚Schlosspark Schönbrunn', for example, one can sometimes hear the unconventional cries of exotic animals from the nearby Zoo; or the densely planted ‚Burggarten', located within a large area between the National Library and the Albertina Museum, which has an extraordinary wide and open resonance, even though it is located right next to the heavily used ‚Ringstraße'-Street. When taken together, the Viennese city-parks are considered in one way or another as distinctly pleasurable soundscapes by everyone who took part in this survey.

The most uncomfortable soundscapes within the city of Vienna, according to the interviewees, are heard around the ‚Gürtel' (24%), a highly used city road encompassing the inner-city districts. Besides the substantial and incessant traffic, one of the main train-

lines (line 6) circulates above ground parallel to the street. Additionally, the structure carrying the rail-way incorporates innumerable bars and coffee-shops, thereby rendering the whole ‚belt' a somewhat paradoxical, yet, in comparison to other major cities, not untypical soundscape: urban, industrialized and yet profoundly social. Also located in and around major streets and railway lines, the ‚Matzleinsdorfer Platz' (16%) in the 10th district, is a place where many feel oppressed by the noise, by the impersonal busyness and general clamor and racket. Besides the simple and loveless architecture and the absence of any vegetation, there are, in contrast to the before-mentioned ‚Gürtel', no bars or places to rest. Within the 10th district, known as a working-class area and for its inter-cultural population, there are a few more soundscapes which were described as stressful and appalling, including singular streets such as the ‚Fassangasse', with its traffic and tram-noise, the hard, sound-reflecting concrete buildings and the overall ‚grey-ness' of its ambience. Other places in the 10th district whose soundscapes are described as negatively are the ‚Reumannplatz' as well as the adjacent ‚Quellenstraße' (16%) - even though these places seem to be more ambiguous in character. The ‚Reumannplatz', for example, was known for its drinker-scene and its noise, yet has been renovated and redesigned within the last two years, freed of the crossing tram-line and planted with a high amount of vegetation. The adjacent ‚Quellenstraße', described by some as a noisy, imposing and dense soundscape, is, nevertheless, a highly social, mostly car-free street, housing innumerable shops, markets, cafés and restaurants. Another place whose soundscape seems to evoke irritation is the ‚Naschmarkt' (8%), famous for its weekly flea-market and its long line of food-stalls and located, again, between two major traffic-routes. The interlocutors, though, are mostly irritated by the crowdedness and the noises and voices of the market itself. Apart from these places, many respondents mentioned the main train-stations and consumer-oriented spaces such as the ‚Hauptbahnhof', the ‚Donauzentrum', or the ‚Mariahilferstraße' as distressing, mostly because of the weak resonance, the imposing music from the shops, and the overall, impersonal, busy noise of consumerism and the sound of too many people on the move.

Q3: What sounds are typical or representative for Vienna?

Every environment has its own idiosyncratic sonic qualities and signatures, often so exceptional and memorable as to constitute a ‚soundmark'. A soundmark, like a landmark, is not to be mistaken for a ‚sound object', since context is implied. The ‚Big Ben' in London gains its iconic symbolism not for its specific material and tonal components, but

for its history, its social value and the associations that come with it. A soundmark, therefore, „deserves to make history as surely as a Beethoven symphony. Its memory cannot be erased by months or years. Some soundmarks are monolithic, inscribing their signatures over the whole community" (Schafer 1977, 239). The present survey reveals that Vienna resounds with a number of remarkable soundmarks, powerful sonic events that have the capability to connect the city's numerous areas and communities and thereby contribute to its iconic, internationally acknowledged sonic signature. By far the most well-known and appreciated soundmark in Vienna is heard from the countless city-trams that curl and snake through every corner of the city's fabric. The Vienna tram-way, informally known as the ‚Bim', gets its onomatopoetic nickname from the playful jingling of its warning bell - and it is exactly that sound which is recognized by most of the respondents (68%) as the signature tune of Vienna. The clattering of hooves caused by the ‚Fiaker' - a traditional horse-drawn carriage which is now mostly used in the 1st district as a tourist-attraction, achieves the second place (40%) in this survey's ‚soundmark'-rating. This distinct, rhythmic sound, as it reverberates through the baroque facades of the old inner district, coincides with the third sonic particularity of Vienna's soundscape: the specific resonance of its historic architecture (28%). Recognized as an ‚intangible cultural heritage' by the UNESCO, the ‚Viennese Coffee House Culture' (24%) and the memorably busy yet serene soundscape in and around these countless traditional cafés is described as another important ‚soundmark' within the city. Interestingly, a very private activity seems to have sedimented into the overall tonality of Vienna: The sound of people practicing an instrument in their flats (20%), which is, even with closed windows, heard at street-level. The soundmarks mentioned here are those which are acknowledged and respected by most of the people that talked to me, but, fortunately, the list would include many more: The Viennese dialect - its ‚Grant' (20%), the sound of church-bells, including the one from the famous ‚Pummerin' (20%), street-music (16%), the sonic confusion of the ‚Prater Amusement Park' (16%), as well as the city's ‚quietude' (12%).

Q4: Recall typical Sounds in your neighborhood or community

Every district, neighborhood or community resounds with the specific activities and social relations played out within. One's milieu is a shared space, pulsating with micro-distinctions, kinships and arguments that, articulated sonically, often give rise to feelings of attachment or disassociation, sensations of belonging or alienation. The fourth question, therefore, attempts to inquire into „sound as a medium through which everyday

interactions are enacted“ (Lewis 2020, 96). Unsurprisingly, it is not easy to communicate these findings, since the answers differed as much as the respondents themselves. It becomes clear, though, that Vienna contains a heterogenous, sometimes colorful, often quite ‚unspecific‘ variety of sonic milieus. About half of the interlocutors stated that they cannot think of any sonic originalities among their neighborhood and that most of the sounds they hear in and around their personal environment stem from traffic, the tram-way, sometimes the music from a neighbor's flat, or from one of the numerous church-bells chiming indistinctly in the distance. A few respondents mentioned a specific reverberance within their block, created by the building's structure, resulting in an often uncomfortable amplification of sounds and voices. Others stated that they often hear the obscured conversations of other dwellers in the staircase, which leads to the pleasant feeling of an in-house community. Some positively recall the many sounds coming from nearby parks, bars, or schools, which they instinctively associate with their neighborhood.

A significant number of interviewees emphasized the overall tranquility of their personal environment, even though they live in the inner city districts, which results in the ambiguous sensation of being able to clearly hear the birds and the wind, every squeaking of doors, every movement close-by or every children's laughter. Many respondents pointed out, that they live nearby a park and, consequently, close to one of the many ‚dog-zones‘, resulting in a usually indifferent, yet sometimes annoyed attitude towards the constant ‚barking‘. A few of the city-dwellers, though, expressed a profound fondness towards their specific neighborhood, as, for example, an elderly woman living in the 2nd district near the ‚Karmeliter-Markt', an area shaped in part by its long-standing jewish community, its markets and the many outdoor-activities by the residents. Another peculiarity is pointed out by a young women living in the 7th district in an otherwise rather quiet road, whose flat is situated right above the chapel of a convent, allowing her to hear the choir and the organ-playing right through the walls. Similarly, a theologist living in the 9th district, has a deep affection for the specific ‚Glockenspiel‘ of the nearby ‚Liechtenthaler Church‘, reminding him and his faith-community to pause for a moment and to reflect and pray. A last noteworthy example is described by a young women living not near, but, in a way, inside the ‚Josef-Strauss-Park', since the door to her ground-level flat is only accessible from within the park. This results on the one hand in a very natural soundscape, as long as the children and the other park-goers are absent and in a very noisy, ‚playful‘ soundscape when the park is crowded.

Q5: what are your suggestions and propositions for a better-sounding, more harmonious city-soundscape?

The sound quality of the modern city cannot be determined and improved by simple measurements. It takes the determination and creativity of those, who are actually living and enacting these soundscapes. A human-centered approach to the sonic environments of the city should not only evaluate how these environments and their sonic components are experienced and valued by the city-dwellers themselves, but also actively include them in the future design of the city. Soundscape design, therefore, is a task not only for the social scientist, urban planner or politician, but also for „amateurs, young people - anyone with good ears; for the universal concert is always in progress, and seats in the auditorium are free" (Schafer 1977, 206). Consequently, the final question of this survey was concerned with the interviewees' suggestions and proposals in regards to Vienna's soundscape design. Almost instantly, every single one (100%) of the respondents criticized not the noise caused by cars per se, but the fact that these are even still present in the inner districts. Suggestions in this regard include actions to enforce a car-free city (52%) or to submerge the streets (48%). Further proposals concerning traffic-noise emphasize the quick transition to E-Cars only (12%), a further extension of the public transport system (12%) and a reduction in volume of police- and ambulance-sirens. Whereas these suggestions are mostly concerned with defensive measures, most of the respondents proposed offensive initiatives such as, most of all, the wide-spread planting of trees along-side streets (52%), more vegetation in and around subway and train-stations (28%), and the establishment of more parks and green areas within the city (25%), actions which are assumed not only to dampen the noise caused by traffic and other mechanical sources, but, furthermore, to attract birds and thereby ‚color-up' the overall soundscape. A significant number of interlocutors, moreover, articulated a desire to hear more water-sounds and therefore suggested to implement river-branches and streams that run through parts of the city (32%) and to create much more water-fountains (32%). To improve not only the natural soundscapes in the city, but also the social sounds, the respondents emphasized the shortage of social squares and public places (64%), which are vital for a healthy public life and an organic city-soundscape. Apart from architectural design elements, many interviewees suggested initiatives to improve social respect and community life (48%), to support street-music and sound-art in the public realm (36%), and to foster a more nuanced educational approach towards acoustics in general and the sonic environment in particular (12%).

Expert Interviews

„Throughout interviews, whether sitting, standing or moving, both ethnographers and research participant continue to be active participants in their environments, using their whole bodies, all their senses, available props and the ground under their feet, to narrate, perform, communicate and represent their experiences" (Sarah Pink 2009, 85).

A qualitative understanding of the sensual experiences within our sonic environments, as advised by Amphoux (1993) and Schafer (1977), cannot be achieved solely through a horizontal inquiry, generated by surveys and questionnaires, but should be contextualized by in-depth interviews and soundwalks with ‚ear-wittinesses' who have „a special interest to their acoustic environment" (ibid., 67). The surveys, as they were described above, were combined and supplemented by long conversations and strolls trough the city of Vienna, in which three ‚experts' and me shared and created the soundscapes we walked through, exchanged our listening experiences and talked about their histories, their occupations, struggles and pleasures with sound. The ‚interview', here, was thus more than just a recorded face-to-face conversation, but „a process of movement, through a narrative" (Pink 2009, 86).

Harald

Under a windy, undecided sky on a Wednesday morning I spot Harald, a vital and energetic man with a strong visual impairment, as well as his personal assistant Julia, slowly approaching me from the other side of the ‚Friedensbrücke', connecting the 9th and the 2nd district of Vienna. The bridge is roaring with traffic and underneath us the Danube twinkles and stirs. Harald seems to be high-spirited and when we greet, he mentions that he was already awake since 5am, and that at this time *„when the day wakes up, I often sit there on a bench by the canal, by the Friedensbrücke, and listen to the awakening day."* Together we submerge into the subway station. While moving around in the underground terminal, Harald seems at ease. Even though he is mostly guided by Julia, he describes how *„the station's reverberance and echoes are sometimes confusing, but, since I know these subway-stations well, those sounds can also give me a clear sense of location."* By tapping his white cane on the ground he quickly locates the tactile guidance strip, *„where you can feel your way with the stick and which then maybe leads me*

somewhere I want to go." After joking and chatting inside the carriage we leave the train-station at the Schottentor-Station and walk towards the city-center. He decided beforehand that we should rest and talk in the ‚Schottenstift', a large, open monastery, but when we arrive the noise of construction-work is too loud to talk and to record comfortably.

While Julia explores the environment, Harald tells me that he was born with two eye-diseases, which gradually progress towards full-blindness and that he was now in a state where he can only make out light and darkness. After studying at the business school he eventually began working for the ‚Dialogue in the Dark', an awareness-raising project to teach sighted-people about the world of blindness, and, additionally, co-founded, together with his wife, the ‚Trotz-Dem' company, offering consultation and sensitizing-workshops about visual impairment. He emphasizes, that *„there is the group of visually impaired people and the group of blind people (and) there are many different types of blindness or low vision in each group. I also find being blind is quite normal. You are what you are and some see and some are blind"*. When Julia returns, we move on towards a calm spot in a corner of the ‚Stephansplatz' and sit down on a bench behind the cathedral. Enveloped by the occasional gust of wind, carrying the scent of coffee-beans, the sounds of muffled conversations and the humming of the city in the background, we begin to talk about his sonic experience of Vienna. *„Wind",* as he begins, *„falsifies the sounds as I try to echo-locate myself"*, similar to snow, when *„I cannot make any noise with the stick and the snow absorbs a lot of street-noise."* Visually impaired or blind people are able to extract more information from their acoustic environment (Rychtáriková 2012) and thereby not only consciously perceive the sounds themselves, but the echoes, reverberations and resonances caused by the sound's interaction with the environment - a method which is often referred to as ‚echolocation': *„When I snap my fingers or tap the stick once on the ground, I hear the surroundings and know whether it has a wide reverb, or if there is a wall or an obstacle somewhere."* Consequently, a windy, noisy, crowded soundscape masks other sounds, which can *„disturb my concentration and orientation."* On the other hand, signals or other human-made sounds are *„important for orientation, then I know where I am. (…) Noises can be good or bad."*

When I ask Harald about soundscapes in Vienna he perceives as agreeable and orderly or confusing and bad, he tells me that the *„Stephansplatz"*, where we are sitting, *„is usually an uncomfortable place. When there are a lot of people and when there is no orientation, that's a combination that is somewhat unsuitable for a blind person"*. Or the

whole area around the *„Schottentor, which I would classify under noise pollution because on the one hand there are trams, on the other hand there are lots of cars and buses, so entering the Schottentor alone is frightening for me, because I don't know if I will get out alive."* Other negative soundscapes can be heard in *„large and extensive shopping-malls such as the Donauzentrum. They are the worst-case scenarios for every blind person."* He also describes a time when he lived in a flat in the 10th district close to the busiest road in Austria, the ‚Südost-Tangente': *„Even though cars-noises serve as orientation, (…) the noises of a busy motor-way can be very disconcerting."* Parks and green areas, like the ‚Augarten', the ‚Donaukanal' or the ‚Vogelweiden-Park', on the other hand, are *„feel-good-places"*, *„easily structured"* and *„it is difficult to get lost and to find yourself outside (…). I can just sit there and stretch all fours, so to speak, and can just listen, stress-free and without having to concentrate."* He also praises the many inner-city courtyards like in the ‚Schottenstift' we just left because of the construction noise, which *„usually are so quiet and you are still in the city."* After we talked for about an our, the increasing wind, as well as the chiming bells from inside the ‚Stephansdom' *(„which are very positive sounds for me")* compel us to move on. While walking, he tells me a few of his proposals for a better city-soundscape. First of all he suggests *„installing more acoustic traffic lights and not switching them off at 10pm."* He also proposes *„more trees, because more trees means more birds, which make my favorite sounds. And more pedestrian zones, so less car noise, that you can no longer drive around the city like that. And electric cars should be equipped with a sound that cannot be switched off."* Furthermore, *„as a blind person, I would like sighted people in the public realm to be open and helpful. Not imposing, but helpful."* We arrive at a small, quiet park next to the ‚Minoritenkirche', sit on a bench in the sun and then say our good-byes.

Michael

Two years ago, at the square in the center of the ‚Maria-Theresien-Platz', a young man with bright blue eyes was creating music and atmospheres with a violin, a microphone and an amplifier. It was an enthralling experience to listen and to see how he managed so fluently to incorporate the sounds of his environment and the mood of the people into those warm, connecting melodies and rhythms of his performance. Now, two years later, inside the the crowded courtyard of the ‚Museumsquartier', I see Michael again, loaded with various pieces of equipment and a wide smile on his face, walking towards the stairs by the ‚Mumok'-Museum where I sit. After we said hello, he turns

around and faces the wall of the grey, ‚brutalistic' facade of the ‚Mumok' and slaps against one of the little brick-stones. It turns out: the whole outer architecture is assembled from countless pieces of basalt-lava-stone and each one, when tapped, releases a distinct sound. Amazed we play this architectural instrument for a while and seamlessly enter a conversation about the phenomenology and philosophy of sound. Like so many of us, Michael is drawn towards the *„pleasure and health"* derived from natural soundscapes, which *„is probably simply the absence of noises that you don't notice in everyday life but are nevertheless stressful, like the traffic or the subway; you are no longer aware of it, but the city is never really quiet."* The sound-preferences of a culture, in terms of everyday sounds as well as in music, are, as Michael suggests, *„both naturally and culturally shaped,"* and in every culture you are enculturated by a *„particular musical language. (…) So the ears are, like so much of us, definitely conditioned."* He elaborates further on our common distinction between ‚unnatural' and ‚natural sounds': *„So I say, for example, that I prefer natural sounds, but then you hear this bicycle-stand over there and you want to describe it as an unnatural sound, but it can't actually be unnatural because it happens, because it is here on earth."* Ultimately, though, *„whether you perceive something as disturbing or not - the important factor is your own condition, your ability to perceive, where you are at the moment, if you are stressed or tense."* He mentions typical shopping streets or malls: *„some people totally enjoy it, but many people probably don't find it pleasant, so why is that? I go there and after five minutes I feel sucked out, completely exhausted. Sound is omnipresent, a sensory overload, (…) but at the same time it's also a meeting point and a social center for others."* Then he reflects on our current location, the ‚Museumsquartier', where *„a lot of sound can stay inside because it's so enclosed. It's not like an open field, where the noises will disappear quickly, it also reflects from the walls."* And yet, the MQ is very *„lively. You are exposed to the moods of other people and the sounds they produce in this state."* At the ‚Maria-Theresien-Platz', where we met two years ago, by contrast, *„you have the feeling that you are somehow protected, as if you were on a small island. Lots of bushes, a touch of nature, even though you have the street right next to you, but you just don't notice it, it's muffled."*

This leads our conversation towards Michael's street-performances and that, at places such as the ‚Maria-Theresien-Platz', *„there is somehow the space to interact. It was always so nice when people started to sit, enjoyed the evening atmosphere, maybe drank a beer, chat with each other and listened to my music at the same time. (…) There was such an interaction between me and the people, together, to create an atmosphere."*

Performing street-music, as Michael stresses, is an interaction with the environment and the people within, and therefore *„a tight-rope act"*, since *„you have to bring a certain sensibility, so you don't force anything on anyone. But, on the other hand, you have take the risk, because street-music just makes the place livelier."* Another location he frequents for his performances is the under-pass at the subway-station ‚Neue Donau' right by the river and the adjacent ‚Donauinsel': *„There you hear the train rolling over the bridge above you, the subway riding up and down and right next to it is the freeway. It's an acoustic overload, but still a cool place to play because people are relaxed and go swimming. Acoustically it's exciting, because you have the bridge over it, and the station in the neck, and it all works like an amplifier, so that you can sound very loud, despite of these terrible background sounds."* But then, on the other hand, there are spots such as *„the ‚Bahnhof Meidling', which is a terrible place. It's rough, you have the drug addicts next to you, the alcoholics and the working class and mostly people who just run past and are stressed. And yet I liked to play there, because when someone stopped, then you saw it in their faces, that they've never heard anything like it, had never noticed it and don't have such things in their every-day life, and they were just genuinely grateful."* Apart from this, Michael emphasizes that being a street-musician is a hard job, especially in Vienna: *„You need permissions, and they don't provide for much. If you want to make a living from it, you will be forced to act illegally and you will be treated accordingly, like a criminal."* Ultimately, music, and in particular music in the public realm is, as Michael stresses, *„something incredibly essential. (…) Something which is unplanned and not required but which has a strong impact on the city-life, because when that is gone, a part of us us is dead. It's a basic need for humans to listen to music, to express it, learn it, dance to it."* A better-sounding city, therefore, implies definitely *„as much green spaces as possible, more possibilities to sit down and relax, small oasis that are inviting to hang out and shield the city-noise a little bit"*, but also serious socio-political changes: *„You can see the importance of street-art, how it is completely screwed. Urban planning is irrelevant here, the social aspect is important. (…) Art in public spaces is a social mission. It's not just entertainment. You can really change consciousnesses with it."* Before the sun goes down, we move towards the nearby ‚Maria-Theresien-Platz' where Michael unpacks his violin and begins to improvise, to listen and to sample his environment and thereby to make people pause, to create something beautiful, to color this place with his music.

Tamara

As soon as I arrive at the refurbished brick-stone building complex at the Quellenstraße in the 10th district, the rain begins to pour down heavily and densely. An interesting soundscape to meet with an urban planner for an interview and a soundwalk. Inside the courtyard, at a large table in front of the entrance to her office, Tamara offers me a seat underneath a half-transparent plastic-roof, onto which the raindrops pelt and clatter vibrantly. When we both sit, she tells me that she normally is not a ‚nature-type' and usually prefers *„urban sounds, the noise of the motorway for example. I find it calming"*, and that this courtyard *„somehow, is not quiet, it's lively and typical for the 10th district. You can hear everything, the tram, the people, the rain."* One year ago, in September, she was suddenly confronted with a rather intense form of tinnitus, and ever since she developed a heightened sensibility to her acoustic environment in general and a liking to the sounds of rain and water in particular: *„That's great for masking, then I really don't hear my tinnitus so much."* This shifts our conversation towards her job at the ‚Gebietsbetreuung' and how acoustic standards and guidelines *„include the perception of a great number of people, but for those who are excluded from these values, it is too loud or too quiet."* Furthermore, *„depending on the location and the topology of the place, there are specific location-based suggestions on how loud something can be, which are then regulated by different laws."* This conditions often makes it unclear if the problem is really about ‚noise', or about certain behaviors and usages in and of public spaces: *„There is this saying in Vienna that the best urban space is the one you don't use. This is why there are no more swimming pools, less seats and playgrounds in municipal housing, because all of this leads to too much use and excitement and noise."* The same problematic is to be found in public parks. Tamara emphasizes the vagueness of the term ‚noise', and that noise-complaints often disguise a deeper-seated conflict: *„Many then complain about noise, but often it depends on which language is spoken and what people look like and what they are doing in the park. For example, drinking in the park is not particularly loud, but people complain: They drink and are loud! Now the question is, is drinking the problem or the noise."* Often, such problematics are the decisive factor for a refurbishment of public spaces, implying, though unspoken, an inherent form of ‚social design', *„which does not basically mean more life, integration and diversity, but can and is often used for exclusion and segregation. ‚Renovation' therefore means the presence of police and the desire to bring another user-group to the location."*

In comparison to other major cities, Vienna not only pushes climate-protection agendas and various ‚smart-city' concepts', but also preserves its traditional ‚social pillar', including active citizen-participation regarding architectural changes. And yet, sound-design and the active production and creation of sonic environments generally play no significant role in discussions and decisions regarding the design and regulation of city-spaces in Vienna: *„As far as the general acoustics of public spaces are concerned, there are ideas, but only very individual ones. (…) Measures are very isolated and are not part of the larger planning-process."* The rainy downpour decreased a little, and we decide to take a walk towards the newly-renovated ‚Reumannplatz'. On our way there, she emphasizes that the 10th district is a very vital, busy and heterogenous area within the city. On a normal market-day *„there is so much going on and there are so many people on the street and it's loud and comparable, for example, to the Hermannplatz in Berlin."* When we reach the ‚Reumannplatz', a traditionally controversial square, since it was, until recently, not only a major traffic junction, but also known for its drinker-scene, Tamara highlights the place's popularity among the residents, its versatility and the fact that one can hear so many different languages. She asks: *„which languages should you speak? What is autochthonous, what is not, is French more desirable than Turkish? (…) Languages have an important meaning when talking about sound and also in relation to the perception of spaces."* In this regard, she reflects on the fact that there are many street-musicians here, *„but it is also a question of identity. There I hear a lot of ‚Yugoslavs' making music, but I rarely hear Turkish street-music."* She tells me, that if it wouldn't be such a rainy day, the place would be crowded with people, and that *„human closeness or distance has a strong cultural meaning, connected to one's personal history, but also to the perception of space. (…) You can hear and feel the crowds on your whole body."* The square is very wide, offers a view over the whole city, resounds with the sound of children playing and people talking and, since its renovation, is very green: *„150 new trees were planted and they got really big. That's the exciting thing about greenery and trees. Because although cities place little value on sound and more on greenery - trees automatically have an effect on sound. It's a very ecological approach."* When it begins to rain again, we seek shelter in the entrance of the subway-station and I ask her about her concluding suggestions for a better city-soundscape. She emphasizes *„that diversity and mixture is very important for public spaces. It is important for a harmonious coexistence to be willing to communicate and to have room for differences. (…) In general, it is important to be considerate of each other, to be tolerant of other sounds, strange sounds, (…) and to talk more about sound within the social discourse and not just when it is a problem. There is*

always talk about noise when it is a problem, but it is also important to talk about the positive aspects. How can you plan a city so that it not only looks good, but also sounds better?" Since Tamara and me spent already a few hours in the rain, and it doesn't seem to improve, we say goodbye to each other, she descents into the underground-station and I keep walking through this colorful, animated and wet district for another hours or so.

Fieldnotes

„In the field, the ethnographer of sound follows known and regular routes or itineraries, discovers others and invents new ones, connecting them in ways that help her to sense herself through the city and to structure her spatial and temporal experience in the modern urban setting" (Eleni Kallimopoulou 2013, 29).

Now, to complete this trilateral approach to fieldwork in and through sound, I triangulate the obtained knowledge produced by the surveys and interviews with my own subjective and reflexive emplacement within the resonant sonic fabrics of Vienna: „To learn to be affected (…) is, then, to commit to a style of field-working in which experience becomes a field of variations in which to experiment with the question of how felt differences might register in thinking" (McCormack 2014, 11). As a sensing individual myself and with a long and intense connection to the city of Vienna, I decided to visit, to listen to and to move through the city's sonic assemblages, roughly guided by the geographical highlights mentioned in the surveys and interviews, but also by my own intuition and memories. Walking as an ethnographic method, therefore, emphasizes the researcher's / my own relation to and interconnection with the city's rhythms, ambiences and emotional affordances, creating, on the one hand, „an understanding of other people's memories and meanings through (my) own embodied experiences" (Pink 2009, 98), as well as a „blurring (of) the boundaries between the body and the environment (…) by the movements of both" (Ingold & Lee 2007, 71). In the following accounts of my listening experiences within various aural terrains in Vienna, I will attune myself to the acoustics of space, recount what I hear, what I feel, if I sense community and sociality, regulations and exclusions, beauty or repulsion and thereby try to avoid a disembodied monologue, but, instead, enter into a sensitive and emotive dialogue with my environment.

At 10 AM I arrive at the first destination on this day's soundwalk: The ‚Matzleinsdorfer Platz', connecting the 10th and the 5th district - a complex and confusing

tram- and train-junction, surrounded by one of the busiest city-highways in Vienna. While waiting for the traffic lights to turn green, I note the following sensation: *„The massive sounds of traffic roar by, left and right, while I stand on a concrete island in the middle of the road. The noise is all encompassing, thickening the soundscape like stiffening liquid (…) and when a police car suddenly switches on its sirens I feel an actual painful sensation in my ears."* As I cross the road and approach a provisional entrance into the underground station, I am confronted with *„a large construction-site, whose noise-scape even breaks through the thunderous traffic. Pneumatic drills, hammers, yelled out instructions arrhythmically alternate and burst through to me."* Overwhelmed by the sheer intensity of the noise, I escape into the underground station and, upon descending, *„sense how everything quiets down, that sounds come closer and are more tactile. Inside, there is a colorless, bleached maze of sound-ways, amplifying every footstep and voice, resulting in incomprehensible echoes and distortions."* Accessing one of the hard-surfaced, narrow paths, hearing how my *„shoe's resonance rhythmically swirls around me"*, I am being led towards a waiting-platform: *„The atmosphere, for a minute, is very spherical, and I can hear the sound of the only other waiting person's finger as they tap on the phone."* After a startling and crackling announcement, a tram rumbles in *„and the platform fills with sounds. Dozens of people get out, move noisily around, shuffle their bags, talk on their phones and walk in a predictable choreography towards the elevators or the narrow staircase."* After sounding out three harsh warning-signals *„the train begins to move: at first a deep rumble, then a rhythmic clatter and as the speed increases, a loud, high hissing."* The space left behind after the train disappeared resumes its *„hushed, almost intimate amplification of every sound."* Like clockwork, this alternation of silence and noise repeats itself every three or four minutes, many hours of the day, every day of the year: *„A very rhythmic, cold, hauntingly impersonal yet intimate soundscape."*

When the next train pulls in, I climb on, join the systematical symphony of transport, hear three flashing signals, wheels grasping onto the rails and abruptly click-shutting doors. After a few minutes of sedative rumbling, I exit, together with dozens of others, the carriage and find myself at the farthest end of the ‚Quellenstraße', bordering into the ‚Reumannplatz' in the 10th district: *„A colorful confusion of voices and sounds surrounds me. (…) In the near proximity, a handful of kebab-shops, cafés, supermarkets and handy-repair-shops all resound with busy activity, deliveries, sale-talks, and informal conversations. (…) At this junction the sounds have no clear direction, are not forced into paths, you can hear their reflection on the buildings but it's all mixed up, circulating,*

spinning around in a lovely, noisy, multi-cultural medley." As soon as I cross to the other side, the soundscape opens up widely as I enter the huge, open space of the ‚Reumannplatz': *„You can clearly hear the voices of children playing in the playground at the other end of the square, coming like waves to my ears. The mechanical background-sounds are present, but not so much. (…) The all-encompassing ‚urbanity' - voices, doves, cutlery - all overlapping and meshed into a tranquil background of sounds."* The ‚Reumannplatz' is abundant with large patches overgrown with vegetation, interlaced with small administrational shacks, a bakery and many paved, narrow pathways. *„I pass a water-installation, with little fountains alternately cleansing the ground in a thin river-like puddle, sounding very organic and yet playfully artificial."* Next to the square, on the other side of a road, there is the ‚Tichy' ice-cream parlor, already with a long line of waiting customers in front of it and I can hear *„all these children, crying out, complaining, laughing in so many different languages and dialects."* While I keep walking through the many sun-spotted paths, *„topless construction workers pass me, contently rambling in their deep voices; young women standing by each other chattering in a language I don't know; (…) a boy in an electric miniature car humming rowdily; (…) murmurs, languages, footprints, the wind, drillers, toys."* As I circle back towards the Quellenstraße, I feel peaceful and happy. This place radiates leisurely with intercultural sociality, with sounds and noises that never impose themselves, but always latch into each other in a dynamic, multi-colored diversity.

From here I take the subway-train towards the other end of the city, the 2nd district on the other side of the Danube. When the escalator releases me onto the ‚Taborstraße', all I hear at first is the accustomed hubbub of urbanity. But when I turn right into the the smaller ‚Haidgasse' *„the soundscape achieves immediately a calm tranquillity. The roads are wide, the buildings old and the sound of traffic is completely gone."* Among low, old buildings I pass a chapel and a small restaurant hidden among plants and trees and *"all I can hear is a poster somewhere clapping in the soft breeze and the happy, soft conversations from one of the tables by the restaurant. (…) Someone passes me with a self-made wooden basket full of wine-bottles and cheese, cheerfully clinging as they are shuffled together. A bicycle rides by."* Among those numerous uncrowded little parks and cafés, *„I have the feeling to be in a little village somewhere in south-tirol (…). I don't feel the rhythmic pressure here as I am used to it in other places. These rhythms are organic, chosen, calm."* After walking for a while through these half-empty, yet vital and blooming alleys, I find myself in front of the ‚Karmelitermarkt' with its few permanent cafés and

florist's shops and, since its the weekly ‚farmer's market' today with its various temporary stalls selling cheese and meat and vegetables: *„There are many markets in Vienna, but this one feels more ‚rural', tranquil, lacking the busyness of other places like it. The sound is wide, resonating perceptibly on the far, charming, original facades of the surrounding buildings."* A nearby church melodiously announces that it is 2 PM, and, unhurriedly, all the stallholders pack up their offerings and leave: *„Before, you could hear the bodies, the footsteps, the exchanges, young and old, calmly exploring the market. Now, shortly after the market has closed, the intense feeling of being in a quiet village returns, leaving the community to itself again."* There aren't many trees and even less benches at the ‚Karmelitermarkt', but, like many parts of the second district, the overall soundscape *„is very natural, deeply human and individual. Kids with jewish locks and hats clatter by on rollers, guitar music comes from one of the cafés, a mother comforts her little daughter. It's 2 pm on a Friday and, so it seems, the big city-folks have left the little village which returns instantly to its un-hushed routines and its neighborhood-life."*

After a five-minutes stroll I arrive at the open, multilayered soundscape of the ‚Donaukanal'. I walk towards the less crowded promenade on the south side of the canal and listen. Down here, *„the spehrical resonance broadens distinctly. (…) Like a distant fog the mechanical sounds of transportation hover above everything. It is, though, not really oppressive, there is far enough room for the gentle splashing of the river stream, as it encircles one of the immovable boats. The muffled sound of conversations and the clear ringing of bicycle chains reaches me. The river seems to carry and to amplify the voices and the music coming from the other shore. Right behind me the U4 rumbles past every five minutes or so, and the occasional crow or a seagull cries out. The overall soundscape is very wide and broad, every sound has a lot of room and the countless sonic layers latch harmoniously into each other."* I pass people dancing to salsa music, a team of practicing boxers, joggers and countless cyclists. Walking underneath one of the bridges, *„I feel the rumbling of cars in my body, and hear the sound of spray-cans, as someone paints a mural onto one of the pillars."* Eventually, when I cross over to the more frequented and crowded shore on the north-side of the canal, I am instantly *„surrounded by crowds of young people, sitting, standing, dancing, drinking, playing the guitar, or their portable loudspeakers. It is definitely more dense and louder and animated here. A boat splashes by, a DJ plays at the outside area of a bar, laughter passes my ears. People are glad to be here, they are rarely alone, always talking and interacting, creating countless intimate, yet extroverted places right above the casually floating stream."* Even the omnipresent clatter

of the subway train and the rumbling of the traffic seems to fit into this soundscape, mixed and overlaid with *„the clamor of the city, the dynamic conversations, the ringing trams, clinging cutlery and ‚zisching' beer-cans. Sometimes you hear a honking car, or a siren, the leaves of a tree, a splash of water. A sonic hodgepodge, profoundly alive, animated, but open and wide."*

There are many more places to listen to on this day, so I stroll past the happy masses sitting by the water, over a noisy bridge and into the 1st district of Vienna. *„As soon as I enter one of the smaller alleyways, it sounds almost like Rome: the slurping, shuffling feet on the omnipresent cobble-stone, muffled murmurs, various tranquil cafés and water fountains."* Yet, this sonic warmth doesn't last for long, since, soon enough, I find myself on one of the main roads, where *„I feel the oppressive sounds of crowds, tourists, baroque architecture, buses and cabs. It is alive, the people are happy and well dressed, but it is impersonal, commercial."* Feeling uncomfortable amidst this dense spectacle, I hurry along, till I reach the ‚Stephansplatz'. Even though the room broadened distinctly, the impersonal soundscape of sightseeing and consumer-culture persists: *„crowds pass by, countless advertisers are offering bicycle rides or other tours, the clicking of camera shutters."* But, standing now close to the famous cathedral, the resonance has changed. I sit down on a sandblasted block of stone and *„can feel and hear that something very large and old is present, something that resonates with ignorant history. This is not the openness of other large squares, it's the distinct way every sound strikes the facade of the ‚Stephansdom', 130 m high. It is a carpet of voices and murmurs and footsteps, but it all reverberates upwards."* This will never be a place for me to come to just to relax or to meet friends, but, nevertheless, the tumultuous internationality and the distinct resonance of this place is fascinating in its own way. Then, suddenly, one of the bells inside the cathedral begins to chime *„and you can almost see its intense resonance as oscillation on its old and thick brick-facade. It sounds not particularly comforting, but patronizing, deeply Christian in a way and it drowns out every other sound there possibly is."* This hourly event goes on for a few minutes, setting everything in its reach into a state of vibration, but eventually abides *„and fades into a low, corporal register and the ‚normality' of this place's usual soundscape becomes all the more apparent: the casual movement of hundreds of people, advertisers, tourists talking to the horse-carriages' coachmen, someone rolling his suitcase, a mother playing with her child, the flapping of a dove's wings, and the ubiquitous resonance of old, massive architecture."*

From here my soundwalk takes me along the ‚Kärntner-Straße', a stylized and noisy out-door shopping-street abundant with luxury stores, towards one of my favorite soundscapes in Vienna: The ‚Burggarten' - a vast, deep-green public garden, bowed and arched, with massive old trees, countless bushes and flower-beds, all in their full bloom. I sit down on a bench in front of the small, curved pond in the center of the park and listen: *„In the background I hear the last imperceptible slogans of a demonstration as it drags along the nearby ‚Ringstraße'. It is warm, I hear the wind in my ears, in the spring-timely greenness of the treetops. Like tiny clouds, human sounds float by me, the high voices of happy children, a quietly hummed song sung by a mother next to me. Slurping, almost imperceptible clacking, rhythmic footsteps, a ringtone, bicycle-chains, fragments of a conversation. Softly a water-fountain burbles, a warm, wet pelting. Leisurely quacking ducks, cooing doves. Like a distant wall, glutinously but not imposing, I hear the deep droning of traffic from the ‚Ringstrasse'. Everything that sounds, sinks into the expanse, into the lawn, the wind."* Hundreds of humans are playing, talking, romping around among the shrubs and the fresh-cut lawn. The Burggarten manages to amalgamate the natural and the social into a deeply eurhythmic, soothing sonic environment. Everyone, human or nonhuman, seems content, to be eager to enjoy the first warm days of the year. *„A symphony of subdued bird songs pierces through the air, mixing with the distant sound of sirens, the rhythmic music coming from a little loudspeaker behind me, (…) a thick layer of muffled, imperceptibly overlaid voices, all masked by the many trees and shrubs and the little pond in front of me."* The acoustics of this place have a remarkable quality, exemplified not only by its capability to fuse and balance, but also by its distinct reverberance, as the echoes and delays of individual sounds - a barking dog or a loud laughter - are perceptible for at least two or three seconds until they fade away: *„The architecture around us, the ‚National Library', the ‚Albertina', the ‚Schmetterlingshaus', all seem to interact in a sonically very ordered but complex way, creating a large bubble of sound, wide and open, but still enclosed and secure, allowing for the many outstanding natural sounds to mingle and harmonize with the countless human activities and conversations."*

My next destination is only a few minutes walking from here: the large rectangular square of the ‚Museumsquartier'. When I emerge on the inside from one of the long, massive archways, *„a carpet of sounds blankets over me."* The place is crammed with young people, sitting in groups on the countless benches, or on the colorful plastic furnitures placed all over the open square. *„I can almost see the sound-waves diffracting*

and refracting along the parallel places, large, hard-surfaces building-complexes." Apart from a square-shaped ‚pool', whose motionless surface is stirred up when one of the running and screaming children jumps into its low-leveled content, there are no natural elements anywhere, *„just minimalistic bright-colored high-ceilinged buildings."* A highly reflective ‚urban' architecture, wherein *„you can hear how the people are more dynamic, more electrified. Every sound is amplified, you can hear the sound of someones's laughter from the other end of the ‚quartier', countless portable loudspeaker playing hip-hop music or bass-heavy electronic beats."* It is still quite early in the evening and the squeaking, crying, complaining, laughing sounds of countless children is still omnipresent. And yet, *„the atmosphere reminds me of a big party, for all age-groups, animated and flirty. Almost all the people are drinking beer or wine, (…) are speaking - or have to speak loudly, because the overall volume is distinctly high."* In contrast to the relaxing blend of sunbathing, ball-games, and nature as it was heard before at the ‚Burggarten', this place is decidedly artificial, made by humans for humans alone. The acoustics in here are loud, reflecting, magnified and profoundly urban: *„The MQ's soundscape triggers activity, interaction, sociality, urbanity, is not made for relaxing and leaning back, but for meeting, clinging, singing, drinking. You can hear the chaotic sound-ways, the multi-layered reinforcement of a big-city hustle and bustle."*

The ‚Museumsquartier' is located at the bottom end of the long, straight ‚Mariahilfer-Straße', in effect an extended out-door shopping mall leading towards the ‚Westbahnhof'. Leaving the dynamic sociality of the MQ behind I continue my soundwalk uphill alongside countless burger-restaurants, ice-cream-parlors, H&M retailers and mobile-phone stores: *„The soundscape feels like being in a tunnel, it brings noises and voices, male laughter, from invisible bars or cafés down below the street (…). Somewhere, a dog barks and it echoes and resonates clearly for a few moments (…). If it wasn't for the wind and the fact that no building I know has such an extended reverb time, I could assume I was somehow inside."* The air is filled with sounds of hundreds of people on the move, not uncomfortable, but all-encompassing: *„I am surrounded by the shopping masses, their noisy presence very close to me, to my body. Plastic spoons rattle, clatter on the ground, someone whistles, individual voices come sharply into the foreground. Shoes, so many different, overlapping walking rhythms (…). I pass a fast food pizzeria under whose large parasols loudspeakers pump popular music onto the sitting customers underneath and the places around it, shortly after succeeded by a street musician, playing the guitar, more to himself then to anyone else."* Various cars, bicycles, E-rollers and

skaters wind themselves through the moving masses of consumers: *„I clearly hear the switching of gears and the ringing chain and the loose parts of numerous bicycles, the cars' wheels on the plaster, their electric hum, their roaring combustion, or the heavy lifting of delivery trucks."* I cross various street junctions, always accompanied by a change in resonance, carrying either a wide hollowness, or the clamor of bars and cafés. Apart from that, the road is enclosed by high and robust buildings, amplifying every sound: *„Something metallic clings in the distance, a dove flaps its wings, the bass-heavy music rumbles through a passing car, and trash slides noisily over the ground. Sounds constantly switch from background to foreground and back again. At some moments it even sounds beautiful, very versatile, very human. But also very urban and commercial, dense and artificial."*

The sun is about to set and I see her last light shining above the ‚Westbahnhof', the end of the commercial part of the ‚Mariahilferstraße', separated from the outer districts by the endlessly rumbling traffic on the ‚Gürtel', a massive city-highway. From here I take the train towards the subway-station ‚Josefstädterstraße': „A *noisy din of mechanical and human sounds which continuously connects, sucks up, spits out bodies, shuffling along, eager to get out. The droning traffic, already apparent inside, slaps into my face as soon as I exit the art-nouveau station."* Outside, I am stunned by the intensity of the noise, generated by thousands of cars on three lines for each direction, with a brick wall carrying the U6 train-line in the middle. Walking downhill on a dusty, cobble-stoned sidewalk, parallel to the street and the adjacent cyclist-lane and crossing various tram-lines, I listen to the oppressive white-noise of the traffic: Stretching all along the outer districts, the ‚Gürtel' *„is in constant movement, clamorously streaming onwards, day in, day out, every single minute. Regulated by countless street lights, the roaring stops and starts like clockwork, intermixed with ambulance sirens, police signals and the subway's throat-clearing rumbling above. Every sound whatsoever is being drowned by the droning of thousands of cars. It is so loud and intense, so punctuated and dense, it almost sounds like ocean waves when you are very close to the shoreline."* Underneath the subway line, there are, paradoxically, numerous bars, about to open up for night and *„I see the barman unchaining the tables, but hear nothing of it, I see a person passing me in close proximity, talking to a friend, but no voice is heard."* The noise *„feels almost corporeal, like the white noise in your ears, when you stand up too quickly. Deep and low frequencies and incessant baselines vibrating through my guts. There is no horizon, no closeness or distance, just an all encompassing, never-ending rumble of networks, combustion engines,*

rubber on concrete, noise." I sit down at one of the tables, order a drink, and decide that my sonic exploration has come to an end. I started in noise and I returned to it. After a few minutes the incessant droning actually relaxes me, makes me sleepy, drowns my thoughts in the low-fidelity of modernity.

Analysis: Three Sonic Identities

„This discussion highlights how our engagement with the auditory experience of the city can be significant in ways that shape, exclude and otherwise affect our emotional, physiological and social engagement with a differentiated series of spaces connected by the relative presence or absence of different sound sceneries" (Rowland Atkinson 2007, 1915).

Our cities' sonic environments give rise to ambivalent and invisible, yet patterned and often contingently designed correspondences between material environments and social behavior, between cultural conventions, enforced regulations and the subjective and collective perceptions of urban places and situations. Sonic environments vibrate and oscillate according to specific material qualities and thereby „develop - no matter what we think about the sounds - characteristic sound images" (Hellström 1998, 38). But, inversely, the sonic events unfolding within these environments, the background noise, sonic symbols and signals, the sounds of social activities and regulations, enliven passive spaces into dynamic social places of inclusion or exclusion. Together, the material and the behavioral, generate geographically distinct ‚sonic identities' which have a „profound effect on patterns of social association, physical movement and interaction" (Atkinson 2007, 1915).

As part of this sonic exploration within the city of Vienna we have listened to the sensuous experiences and affections of the ‚many' and have been able to find statistically significant patterns in the first step of this ethnography of sound. Furthermore, we explored sonic sensibilities together with three Viennese individuals, their subjective sensations and thoughts on their own life in regards to what they hear. Thirdly, I contributed my own personal sensations of this city's soundscapes, exemplified alongside nine sensitive and emotional accounts of distinct places in Vienna. By appropriating the methodological propositions offered by Pascal Amphoux as they were elaborated in detail in the previous chapter and by synthesizing those with useful classifications suggested by Schafer (1977),

Augoyard & Torgue (2005) and Lefebvre (2004), I will offer an exemplary analysis of three distinct locations in Vienna which are „specific for the city under consideration, and (give) it a certain identity" (Amphoux 2019, 131): The ‚Stephansplatz', as a distinct ‚acoustic environment' whose objective features are known by most of the city dwellers; the ‚Reumannplatz', as a unique ‚sonic milieux', experienced mostly by those who live close to it; and, finally, the ‚Mariahilferstraße', which is, in a way, ‚iconic' for the city of Vienna, since its ‚phonic landscape' is symbolic for the many consumer-oriented streets and malls spread out throughout the city.

Stephansplatz

The square around the ‚Stephansdom', as well as the adjacent, less crowded historical alleys, are characterized, in Amphoux's terms, by a strong ‚environmental listening' (E), meaning, that the participants of the survey, the interviewees, and my own field-notes emphasized the objective, recognizable, well-known ‚acoustic qualities' of this location. In regards to its physical, material features and outlines, this area is somewhat ambiguous. The many narrow alleyways surrounding the ‚Stephansplatz', covered with cobblestone and framed by historically grown, irregular and playful architecture give rise to many, often unpredictable and interacting sonic effects: the distinct ‚resonance' (Augoyard & Torgue 2005, 104) when the traditional horse-carriages rhythmically trot over the paving stones and thereby create a fluctuating, harmonized ensemble of organic sound-waves; furthermore, these meandering, slender paths create, as many listeners described, a unique kind of sonic intimacy, a ‚niche' effect, offering every sound „a particularly well-adapted place for its expression" (ibid., 78). Within this old maze of alleys, there are, furthermore, a variety of water-fountains, whose inherent broadband-frequency ‚masks' (ibid., 68) many human and artificial sounds such as conversations or the urban ‚drone' (ibid., 41) of traffic. When one strolls through these paths, changes of intensity and atmosphere between different, intersecting passages create dynamic ‚cut-out' effects, which is „an important process of articulation between spaces and location; it punctuates movement from one ambience to another" (ibid., 29). The same effect is clearly perceptible when the overall acoustics suddenly widen dramatically into the large square of the ‚Stephansplatz', with the cathedral-bells at its center incorporating one of the most significant ‚soundmarks' (Schafer 1977) of Vienna. On a usual day, the bare square resounds with the unmasked and overlapping voices and activities of countless merchants and tourists, all subtly ‚reverberating' (Augoyard & Torgue

2005, 113) alongside the 130 meter high monumental church-facade, lending the atmosphere a sort of cold, distanciated quality. When, at every hour during the daytime, the bells toll, suddenly every other sound is drowned and ‚masked' by the chiming's resonance, creating an intense ‚reverberation' through the cathedral's robust materials, as well as alongside every surrounding object and building.

Considering the particular ways the ‚Stephansplatz' and its surrounding areas are experienced in regard to their ‚sonic comfort', as a lived and expressive ‚milieux' (M), the respondents as well as myself articulated a preponderance of distress, disorientation and the feeling of anonymity, stemming mostly from the masses of tourists roaming the streets and filling the square. Where the narrow alleyways adjacent to the ‚Stephansplatz', at moments, evoke feelings of ‚belonging', mostly attributed to the intimate resonance and the diversity of ambiences, the main roads leading towards the cathedral, such as the ‚Rotenturmstraße', and the ‚Stephansplatz itself, are perceived as impersonal, commercialized, and, if you have a visual impairment or any other physical or perceptive disability, quite dangerous. The international sightseeing crowd noisily moves in patterns of ‚synchronization' (ibid., 123), aligned by the collectivized rhythms of the spectacle and of consumption. At this place, such „punctuation of time by sound" (ibid.) is further enforced by one of the oldest symbols for social conditioning: the all-encompassing sound of the hourly chiming bells inside the ‚Stephansdom'. Those kinds of repetition, the rhythms of the market and of christianity, as Lefebvre analyzes, fill „the place of the unforeseen, of the initiative of living beings. (…) Is it not convenient for armies, religious and educational establishments, for offices and monasteries alike?" (Lefebvre 2004, 41).

Finally, in terms of this location's overall sonic typicity and the universal ‚keynote'-ambience it emanates (Schafer 1977), the main ‚phonic' characteristics (P) stem from the incessant babble and humdrum caused by thousands of tourists, rendering not only the church's direct environment but the whole 1st district into a fascinating, yet alienated atmosphere. Furthermore, as with most of the numerous churches in Vienna, the ‚Stephansdom's' chiming ‚colors' (Augoyard & Torgue 2005, 28) the sonic environment, not only with its resonating qualities, but also with a certain authoritative and patronizing symbolism. Nevertheless, the historical architecture of this district, and, in particular, of the narrow passages, alleyways and courtyard interlaced within this area, have, according to the interviewees and the respondents to the questionnaire, a certain resonance and reverberance which is unique to the city Vienna. In my own field-notes I recounted, in this

regard, that those intimate sonic landscapes, as they are heard in the narrow, cobble-stoned paths of the 1st district, are not only typical for Vienna, but for old historical districts of many other European cities as well, sometimes, especially in moments of tranquility, evoking the strong sensation of ‚anamnesis', „an effect of reminiscence in which a past situation or atmosphere is brought back to the listener's consciousness, provoked by a particular signal or sonic context. (…) The anamnesis effect merges sound, perception, and memory. It plays with time, reconnecting past mental images to present consciousness, with no will other than the free activity of association" (ibid., 21).

Reumannplatz

The Reumannplatz, the adjacent Quellenstraße, as well as the numerous markets in this area can be understood as the center of a knot tying together the many manifold features of the largest district in Vienna. In contrast to the 1st district, being the ‚poster-child' of Vienna, ‚known' locally and internationally for specific reasons, the 10th district is appropriated and shaped by the people who ‚live' here, by its particular communities and milieus. The objective ‚acoustic environments' (E) of the ‚Reumannplatz', the ‚Quellenstraße' and the surrounding markets are characterized by a diverse mixture of old and new architecture, wide, parallel streets and various open spaces, providing the basis for a typically urban ‚resonance'. Significantly, though, urban life in this area takes place on the pavement, the streets and the facades constantly ‚reverberating' with the busy, dynamic humdrum of countless residents moving, talking, working, interacting. In particular at one of the markets, but also along the ‚Quellenstraße', the soundscape was described by the interviewees and the respondents as dense, intense, and, by taking into consideration the physical closeness of bodies and sounds, as rather corporeal. In combination with the spoken advertisements of market-criers, the various street-musicians and the sounds from the many shops and cafés, the individual, based on her enculturated sonic knowledge, selects and valorizes specific acoustic elements, a process exemplified by the ‚synecdoche' effect, meaning that „perceptive organization takes into account local particularities" (ibid., 126). Whereas the markets and the major ‚Quellenstraße' are characterized by a concentrated sonic dynamic, by the architectural and material resonance, and the busy activities and every-day rhythms of the residents, the ‚Reumannplatz', though well visited, abruptly decelerates and quiets down. This large, concave square, consisting of various interconnected sections, large patches of vegetation, many benches and little water-fountains, gives rise to an unhurried, versatile, organic

soundscape, not quiet but not too loud either. Mechanical as well as human sounds blend and merge harmonically, are ‚masked' by the many trees, plants and water-fountains, are not forced into sound-paths, but, enabled by the square's elevated position and its irregular internal outline, distribute and spread out widely into the open.

In terms of this location's subjective sonic experience and the ways its soundscapes contribute to a communal sense of belonging (M), the ‚Reumannplatz', the ‚Quellenstraße', and the area's many idiosyncrasies are predominantly perceived by the interlocutors, the interviewees, and by myself, as colorful, dynamic, sometimes puzzling, but deeply social. Listening to the many passionate conversations in countless different languages, to let oneself be carried away by the sonic hubbub and the tumultuous dynamics at a market, to hear the laughter, the arguments, the sales-talks, mixed with crackling radios and squeaking trams at the ‚Quellenstraße', or to relax at one of the benches and to listen to the multiple, overlapping, organically interwoven sonic layers in the lively tranquility of the ‚Reumannplatz', often culminates in a sensation coined by Augoyard as ‚Sharawadji': „An aesthetic effect that characterizes the feeling of plenitude that is sometimes created by the contemplation of a sound motif or complex soundscape of inexplicable beauty" (ibid., 117). Interestingly, these soundscape are not only judged as positive, but sometimes, on the contrary, as tense, agitated, even intolerable. These negative conceptions, mostly articulated by those who don't visit this district very often, only emphasize the unique communal characteristics of this place. It is referred to as noisy, dirty, ‚not like home', even racially biased as ‚sounding like on the balkan'. These prejudices highlight the before-mentioned ‚anamnesis' effect, as well as the ‚phonomnesis' effect - „a sound that is imagined but not actually heard" (ibid., 85), insofar as personal memories of the place before its renovation two years ago, void of vegetation, loud, and crossed by multiple tram-lines, fused with deep-seated social conflicts, produce a strongly biased, even illusory sound-image of this community.

The atmospheres and sonic identities of the region in and around the ‚Reumannplatz', are, apart from their objective acoustic qualities and the particular communal activities they result from, experienced as autonomous and ‚typical' (P) not only for the 10th district itself, but for a general sense of ‚urbanity' heard in many similar urban settings. The turmoil of markets, the crowded dynamics played out on main streets, the many-layered sonic appeal of big social squares, can be heard here as well as in Berlin, Istanbul or any other major city in the world. They sound out as distinct relations

between ‚keynote' and ‚signal' (Schafer 1977), wherein the big-city traffic and the countless urban rhythms and networks form the sonic background on which individual sounds and voices stand out for a moment, are superseded by others, forgotten, replaced by new ones, maybe casual, maybe surprising, evoking effects such as ‚metamorphosis', ‚envelopment' or ‚immersion', all marked by feelings of „being surrounded by a body of sound" (Augoyard & Torgue 2005, 47) on the one hand, and the soundscape's characteristic „variation over time, expressed by the instability of intensities and succession of sound events" (ibid., 74) on the other. The overall ambience of this location thus is perceived as a dynamic, highly diverse, yet very typical multi-cultural urban community.

Mariahilferstraße

Among one of the most fashionable and creative areas of Vienna, home to many ateliers, hipster-cafés and bicycle-shops, winds one of the largest shopping streets of the city, the ‚Mariahilferstraße' in the 6th district, abundant with flagship stores, international brands and fast-food restaurants. Where the ‚Stephansplatz' was understood as being ‚well-known' for its objective acoustic qualities and soundmarks, and the ‚Reumannplatz' as an ‚expressive' location animated by distinct communities, the ‚Mariahilferstraße, finally, resembles a specific ‚atmosphere' known by everyone, but, to some extend, detached from its geographical distinctiveness, since it typifies the universally identifiable soundscape of consumerism. Since it is similar, if not almost identical to shopping miles all over the western world, everyone in this city knows the typical ambience of the ‚Mariahilferstraße', well positioned between the famous ‚Museumsquartier' at its bottom end, and the rushing stream of traffic and transportation of the ‚Gürtel' and the ‚Westbahnhof' at its highest point. By listening neutrally to this street's acoustic features (E), we are met by a tightly packed assemblage of simultaneously sounding layers: overlapping and demanding advertisements; the constant anesthetizing and ‚distorted' (ibid., 39) pop-music coming from countless loudspeakers inside the shops and the restaurants; the monologues of street-preachers; the almost imperceptible melodies of street-musicians; the drilling and rumbling of constructions-works; the diffuse stream of sizzling bicycles, humming electro-rollers, rattling combustion engines, clattering skateboards, clinging cutlery and the sounds and voices of thousands of shoppers on the move. Sound, as every interlocutor confirms, is omnipresent. The ‚Mariahilferstraße's' enclosed architectural outline creates a distinct ‚resonance', evoking, as I wrote in my

field-notes, the ‚feeling of being in a tunnel'. Furthermore, its length and increasing gradient produce long ‚reverberation-times' and ‚delays' between the „emission of a sound and its repetition" (ibid., 38). These conditions, amplified by the solid and reflecting materials and mixed with the incessant and thick cloud of conversations, foot-steps, and traffic often leads to the sensation of ‚delocalization', implying the „recognition of an error in localizing a sound source" (ibid., 38).

Almost everyone I talked to, as well as my own experiences in listening to the ‚Mariahilferstraße', emphasized that this soundscape's ‚lived' and ‚expressive' dimension (M) is rather overwhelming, impelling, creating a sense of anxious restlessness and over-stimulation. The all-encompassing oscillations and vibrations of the moving crowds, the shop's and restaurant's competing pursuits to effect acoustic ‚attraction' (ibid., 27), and the diffuse and delocalized echoes and delays seem to create a distinct kind of ‚milieu', which feels, according to the interviewees and the interlocutors, ‚strenuous and ‚driven', but, evidently, like a good place to meet, to stroll and to go window-shopping for countless others. The interviewees thus articulated the place's inherent ambiguity as to how it creates comfort or discomfort, apparently deeply connected to one's temporary ‚state of mind'. There are those who are, at times, repelled by the soundscape's intensity and disorienting characteristics, leading either to the sensation of ‚ubiquity', when „diffused, unstable, omnidirectional sound (evokes) discomfort and anxiety for the person who perceives it" (ibid., 136), or the need to isolate and to cocoon oneself with headphones and a personal soundtrack; and there are others for whom it is exactly the shopping mile's turbulent, multilayered hubbub that evokes a feeling of anonymous security and comfort.

Shopping streets like the ‚Mariahilferstraße' are extensions of supermarkets and indoor-malls, fusing entertainment and consumerism in distinct and coordinated patterns of sensuality. This ‚never really silent' soundscape of capitalism's socio-economical condition is epitomized by the programming of ‚Muzak' (strategic placement of musical and atmospheric sonic elements as to condition individual and collective behavior), by the overall sense of ‚hyperesthesia' (Howes 2005b), and the manipulative design of desire. These effects are, among others, achieved by the creation of ‚rhythms' and ‚repetitions' which are coordinated and ‚synchronized' in regards to particular consumer-groups; by the soundscape's ‚envelopment' and ‚mixing' through simultaneously sounding sonic layers, as to create a ‚wall' (Augoyard & Torgue 2005, 145) of sound capable of ‚masking' deviancy and individuality; and, in particular, to ‚imitate' archetypical sense- and

soundscapes of excitement, of adventure, of concerted mass-action, foot-ball-games, safaris or amusement-parks: „Imitation thus involves a double representation: iconic and indicative. The play function of imitation favors the collective dimension of the game through the articulation of imaginary activity and real activity of individuals“ (ibid., 62). The specific sonic atmosphere of Vienna's ‚Mariahilferstraße' is thus not only typical and iconic in relation to the countless other commercialized public spaces in Vienna, London or any other major metropolis, but indicative for the specific neoliberal ideology encompassing most aspects of our society. The renovation of the ‚Mariahilferstraße' in 2015, resulting, not least because of the intense reduction of traffic-noise, in a more appealing soundscape, successfully embodies our culture's increasing tendency towards adventure-capitalism.

Discussion and Proposals

„The reduction, or abstraction, of auditory experiences to a geography of loudness (…) is to ignore or underestimate the importance of its other qualities to geographical experience. The timbre of sound, its relationship to the acoustical properties of the environment, its duration and its relationship to other sounds, are all important properties of auditory experience which a loudness geography omits“ (Paul Rodaway 1994, 157).

The many sonic environments within the city of Vienna, with their specific communities, activities and the personal associations one has with them, are experienced and valued acoustically not solely according to their factual sonic emissions, nor based on the subjective mood and preferences of the listener alone, but according to a tripartite relationship between the objective, the subjective and the characteristic relations between sounds that are inter-subjectively considered as inappropriate or appropriate within them. In the first part of this ethnography of Vienna's soundscapes, we encountered twenty-five individuals and listened to their acoustic preferences, learnt about their fondness or repulsion in regards to specific acoustic territories in this city, investigated what makes their sonic communities particular, and were able to elucidate remarkable sonic landmarks that are distinct and outstanding for Vienna as a sonorous whole. In the second part we met with individuals who have, each in their own exceptional way, a distinct relation to the city's soundscape: we familiarized ourselves with the pleasures and burdens of the sensuous experiences of a virtually blind person; we conversed with a street-performer who has a profoundly musical attitude towards urban public spaces, someone

who, by profession, needs to ‚feel' and to adapt to the city's fleeting tonal nuances and atmospheres; lastly, we met someone who has not only, by way of hyper-acusis and tinnitus, an acute sonic sensibility, but who is practically involved in the planning, intervention and design of urban places and structures in Vienna. In the third part of this ethnography I provided edited yet intimate accounts of my personal, emotional, even poetical experiences within various soundscapes of Vienna and thereby foregrounded not only the emotional and aesthetic attributes associated with sonic experience, but also the rhythms, idiosyncrasies, and social dynamics that are constantly unfolding within them. Based on this rich and detailed material it would have been possible to methodically analyze at least a dozen of specific ‚sonic identities' in Vienna, whereas this limited study concentrated solely on three exemplary locations, which were chosen and scrutinized alongside their objective acoustics and soundmarks, their expressive sonic milieu, and their typical sonic ambience.

It became apparent that the city of Vienna incorporates a multitude of characteristic and often contrasting ‚sonic identities', all resulting from distinct compositions of materials, activities and intersubjectively patterned modes of perception. It is, therefore, an illusion to assume that there could be a generalizable recipe in regards to the evaluation and the design of Vienna's soundscape as a whole, since each such attempt has to take into account micro-sociological and geographically distinct factors in regards to the needs and desires of the people who use the places in question. Nevertheless, the obtained material revealed a range of suggestions and propositions as to make Vienna not only a visually but also an acoustically appealing city. First of all, considering that not only the ‚sound-preference-test' but also the ‚expert'-interviews revealed a strong desire for natural and organic soundscapes, we have to emphasize that Vienna is, in comparison, labelled as a rather ‚green' city. What is being mentioned less often, is that these urban regeneration zones are concentrated within specific areas, that many urban dwellers don't have a park in their walking distance and, instead, have to live for most of their lives enclosed by purely artificial and, as the WHO stresses, seriously harmful soundscapes (European Environment Agency 2014, 14). Urban sustainability and healthy soundscapes go hand in hand: „The concept of sustainability relates to the design of sonic environments as a question of providing habitats for both animals and humans, (…) that is, the senses are important factors in the provision of sustainable habitats and welfare" (Hedfors 2003, 68). Much of the city-noise caused by transportation or construction-sites can be efficiently reduced and ‚masked' by the use of natural sound-sources such as water and vegetation.

The widespread implementation of trees, green roofs and walls, fountains and streams of water, are cheap, effective and could radically improve not only our city's soundscapes, but the general health and well-being of human and non-human inhabitants alike. Furthermore, it is necessary to enrich our urban environment not only with natural soundscapes, but also with human soundscapes. The interviewees expressed their desire for more consumer-free social squares, for places where community-life can be expressed, where street-music is an inherent part of the urban every-day experience, where there is room for different and unusual sounds to be heard. In Vienna such possibilities are concentrated along a handful of places and there is much room for improvement, as seen, for example, in the successful re-design of the Reumannplatz. An additional task is the preservation and the creation of ‚soundmarks', sonic symbols which unite the community and give it a sense of history and belonging.

Apart from these comparatively simple measures, there are, though, more complex and profound tasks urban planners will have to face in the future. On the one hand, for most of the individuals who took part in this case-study, it is intolerable how painfully loud police and ambulance sirens are. The 21st. century provided us with highly developed technology which doubtlessly could be applied to register the environment's features (e.g. narrow street or highway) and adjust their volume accordingly. Moreover, obviously, the question of how to deal with the omnipresent roar (and fumes) of cars. In this regard, there are many ideas, such as the submersion of the streets into the underground or the transition to E-Cars only. But these measures don't actually solve the problem, only shift it. The only way to get to the core of the problem is by making driving unattractive and by ridding the city of private cars altogether and instead transforming city-streets into green, diverse urban places of interaction. On the other hand, there is a deep-seated social and cultural ignorance towards the soundscapes of the city. Sounds are often regarded as uninformative byproducts of necessity, or as noise, dirt, a problem. We don't complain too much about the traffic or the constant background music in places of consumption, because we have learnt to overhear it. But many of us do complain as soon as people show their presence acoustically, articulate themselves in a ‚different' language and disrupt the acoustic norm, which is, anyway, completely arbitrary. In this sense, „noise is a social signifier: determining unseen boundaries and waging invisible wars" (Voegelin 2010, 45). Furthermore, there are many individuals who are excluded from these norms altogether, who are blind, suffer from tinitus, or have any other form of heightened sensibility towards urban acoustics. The city administration of Vienna includes dozens of

distinct councils, each one responsible for a distinguished aspect of urban life: culture, architecture, water, energy, sustainability, science and economy, road-construction and preservation, integration and diversity. There even is an own department for ‚lights'. But none for sound.

To address these issues, urban planners have to work together with social workers, with teachers, medical practitioners, politicians, artists and ordinary citizens who have no other chance but to listen: our awareness and appreciation of the sonic environment has to be intensified; respect and tolerance for unusual sounds and for the sounds of ‚the other' has to be encouraged; acoustic intrusion by the commercial sector into the our privacy has to reduced and regulated; and, above all, the planning and design of urban spaces has to happen in genuine participation-ship with the sensing and feeling people who will live, work and relax within them, since „every person has the right to democratically co-determine and co-design what penetrates into their ears" (Androsch 2009, 1)

Conclusion

A wide range of literature expresses a rather pessimistic attitude in respect to the sense- and soundscapes of the contemporary city. The ‚high-fidelity' of rural and natural soundscapes and their rhythm's inherent „synchronized beauty" (Schafer 1977, 6) are, supposedly, „slipping into an all-time lo-fi condition" (ibid., 88). Most of these traditional representations, though, are reductionist in nature, focusing on objective, disembodied measurements and/or a dualistic opposition of ‚noise' and ‚music', ‚pain' or ‚pleasure', ‚lo-fi' or ‚hi-fi'. Such approaches, at their best, are concerned with the physical contents of the sonic space, detached from the ways they are perceived and ‚identified' by the individual or the collective. The findings presented in this chapter traced and expressed the more complex relations between Vienna's acoustic territories and the people within and thereby revealed highly diverse, complex, sometimes, indeed, very disembodied and ‚grey' soundscapes, but also very colorful ones, full of idiosyncrasies, eurhythmia, comfort and sociality. Above all, the many interviews and field-notes rendered every attempt to generalize the sonic experience of the city invalid, insofar as „what might seem musical to one is sheer noise for another, what is appreciated here is disliked elsewhere, what is pleasant now might seem disagreeable later" (Amphoux 2009, 129). To break with these traditional, reductionist approaches which comprehend the modern city's sonorous impacts only as a problem to be solved, this case-study embraced every-day sonic

experiences as affective ecologies, wherein specific acoustic environments and individual perceptions thereof are mediated by dynamic yet patterned and intersubjectively negotiated spatio-temporal politics of space: „Listening to sound", as Salome Voegelin writes, „is where objectivity and subjectivity meet" (2010, 14), and to fight for a prosperous, sustainable, no only visually, but also sonically inspiring and healthy city, means to dive deep into the inter-subjectivity of experience, into the assemblages and vivacities that play out between the factual and the emotional, in other words, to engage „the influential energies and ideological processes that lie in and around what we see and touch" (LaBelle 2010, xxi).

Epilogue

„There is no conception in a man's world which has not at first, totally, or by parts, been begotten upon the organs of sense" (Thomas Hobbes 1960, 7).

It seems so easy not to listen to the city, to ignore the noises and silences and to cling to the sterile acoustics of our smartphones and personal stereos. Day after day we tone down the city, make it softer, more predictable, more orderly; in every single moment we tame our senses - out of self-protection, fear and habit. And yet, whether we like it or not, our environment constantly leaves traces in our existence, just as we and the way we use our senses shape and co-determine our environment. Objective data and measurements are tremendously important for the continuity and for the understanding of our society, but if we want to create and maintain not only a 'functioning', 'problem-solving' city, but a positive, surprising, tolerant and versatile social space, it is inevitable that the sensing subject, as a perceiving, doubting and loving being in all her sensuality is placed at the center of the analysis. This culture, in all its manifestations, is inextricably linked with the way it is lived and experienced in everyday life. And life is realized in our subjective sensory perception. Throughout this thesis, therefore, by embracing the reciprocal interactions between sonic sensations, aural architectures, and processes of socialization, I attempted, in various ways, to give answers to the primary research question as it was posed in the beginning: ‚To what extend and in what way is the social world shaped by the audible aspects of the natural and artificial environments that frame it?'

In the **introduction** I clarified the fundamental differences between sensory perception as a physiological reflex and sensory experience and interpretation as a culturally learned, reproduced and often contested social skill and traced the successive paradigmatic ‚turns' in the social sciences up to the ‚corporeal turn' and the ‚sensorial revolution. Furthermore, I marked out sonic sensation as an intensely affective, yet generally ‚overheard' element of our every-day experience and defined ‚soundscape studies' in conjunction with ‚more-than-representational' theories as far-reaching and incredibly useful fields of research in the context of the modern metropolis and its sensuous impact on the city dwellers. The following, comparatively short Chapter Two: **archeoacoustics**, was concerned with the first subquestion: ‚How have soundscapes and the intersubjective perceptions thereof changed historically?' By listening to the

soundscapes that resonated through Paleolithic caves, during shamanistic rituals, in greek amphitheaters and the first roman city-structures, as well as by tuning in to the medieval, god-fearing sonic dynamics, to the emerging humdrum of the city at the turn of the 19th century and finally by sounding out the tremendous technological and social transformations of the most recent one-hundred years, I tried to elucidate how our interaction with, and interpretation of sound has no fixed meaning, but is rather in a state of constant negotiation, construction and re-appropriation. Chapter Three: **Palimpsest**, was an extensive, stylistically as well as thematically multi-layered theoretical investigation into those countless, interwoven, scripting, contesting, and rhythmically synchronizing sonic assemblages of the contemporary city. After questioning the underrepresentation of lived experience in general and of sonic experience in particular within classic research concerning the city, I examined social, corporeal, natural and material relations in and through urban soundscapes from various points of audition, thereby foregrounding particular elements of the every-day and how these shape and are shaped by sonic experience, thus giving possible responses to the second subquestion: ‚Which social structures, practices and cultural patterns ensure what is heard by whom and how under certain conditions and how does this become relevant?' In Chapter Four: **Into Sound**, I attempted to answer the third subquestion - ‚what kind of existing methods and methodologies could be utilized to investigate a particular soundscape?', by exploring six distinct methods and methodologies capable of assisting urban researchers and sensuous scholars alike in their quest to elucidate the influence of something as ephemeral and invisible as sounds on processes of socialization: Schafer's ‚soundscape ecology', Augoyard's ‚sonic effects', Amphoux's ‚the sonic identity of European cities', as well as Lefebvre's ‚Rhythmanalysis', Benjamin's ‚Flânerie' and Stoller's ‚Sensuous Scholarship'. Chapter Five: **Case Study**, eventually and inevitably applies the theoretical and methodological knowledge accumulated thus far by scrutinizing this city I live in, these sounds and soundscapes of Vienna as they are produced and perceived sonically by those who put this city to use. To gain as much empirical insight, I asked twenty-five randomly selected Viennese passersby in short conversations about their acoustic preferences, about places in the city they find particularly pleasant or unpleasant or about their wishes and hopes for a better city-design. Furthermore, I took sound-walks and conducted in-depth interviews with three ‚experts': a blind person, a street-musician and an urban planner. Lastly, I compiled numerous personal notes concerning my own experience of the city and the various sounding places within. Instead of feigning the impossible - a thorough sonic analysis of ‚the city' of Vienna, I offered thick descriptions and multiple ‚perspectives',

leading up to an exemplary investigation of three distinct soundscapes: the well known ‚Stephansplatz' and the surrounding central district; the community soundscapes of the ‚Reumannplatz' and the 10th district; and the typical consumer soundscape of ‚Mariahilferstraße'. Ultimately, I compiled the most significant weaknesses in regard to Vienna's soundscapes and the corresponding shortcoming on the part of Vienna's city administration and, subsequently, offered propositions for socio-political, architectural and material improvements.

Every literary, scientific, or artistic project has a variety of reasons for its existence. Sometimes they are bound to happen, nascent, so to speak, in the mind and the body of the author. For me, knowledge has never been separable from lived experience. I read the classics, tried to comprehend their abstractions and systems, desperately struggled to take hold of those exalted, unifying generalizations, only to feel them being scattered and spilled apart again amidst the ceaseless waves of sounds, scents and images as they wash around me in the tumultuous babel of the city. „The reality of perception", as Salome Voegelin stresses in her critique of „modernism's quest for rational knowledge (…), lies in its contingency: it is bodily, fantastic and permanently now" (Voegelin 2010, 55). And it is this contingency, the surprising encounter with the curious, the deviant, the rhythmic pulsations, accentuations and awe-inducing atmospheres of the city's sense- and soundscapes that render my primary research-question flawed, since there will never be a stimulus-response linearity in the world of sound. Yes, artificial and natural soundscapes affect and influence processes of sociality in highly significant and powerful ways, can lead to exclusion, distress, sickness; can symbolize and reinforce wealth, social hierarchy and market-strategies. But soundscapes are more than just the sounds themselves, they „are networks between material environments and the intensities of perception, imagination, and fantasy, creating a feverish topology" (LaBelle 2010, 215), and thus are intricately linked to the listener's relationship with the environment, to the specific culture of the senses, and to the social context that tries to regulate and control sonic emission and perception. The city in sound, therefore, epitomizes sociality as an interconnected nexus of continuously transforming processes, as a drifting and trembling realm of possibilities, as resonant fabrics of encounter, desire, power, and silence.

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List Of Figures

Appendices

a) Questionnaires

N:1; W; 46-55; 4th distr. Große Neugasse; 5pm

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Vogelgezwitscher, Wasser; Bach, Regen auf Dächern, heulende Motoren, fetter Sound, Musik im öffentlichen Raum – „Musik – Wellen“ (keine Heurigen-Musik); stimmen-teppich;

b) Kindergeschrei, zu laute Straßengeräusche zum Beispiel Autos im Stau, Müllabfuhr, Straßenarbeiter, Geschrei von Menschen, Hubschrauber-Geräusche;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

1. Bezirk - Stephans-Dom, nicht angenehm weil überladen; Stadtrand wo weniger Leute sind; Donaukanal angenehm trotz Autos da Gesamtheit; Prater: nicht angenehm – Aufmerksamkeit heischende Geräusche; Werbung; Supermarkt; an sich nicht gerne viele Geräusche auf einmal;

Q3: Soundmarks

Straßenbahn; Fiaker - leider Tierquälerei; Heuriger; bestimmte Art von Stimmengewirr; Lokale – klappern der Teller; Kaffeehaus (wie beim Italiener);

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

4ter Bezirk: Hängt von Uhrzeit ab, Straßenbahn-Geräusche – Autos fahren oder stehen; Menschen hört man nicht so viel; manchmal Vögel; Wind (3 Stockwerk), keine Kirchtürme, nichts spezifisches;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Reduktion (gleich geblieben aber leise); Schaniggärten weg; weniger Geräusche von lokalen, Musikfetzen;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Mehr Bäume; Brunnen;

N:2; M; 25-35; Stadtpark; 3pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) water-park, wind, people in the park - energy;

b) Police; stress; fire truck; no really bad sounds; cars are okay,

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Nature; Kahlenberg, meadow, parks, Augarten - its wide - sitting on bench; Naschmarkt: yelling, (lot's of people, too crowded)

Q3: Soundmarks

Tram-Sounds, Bells, Church-bells (pleasant);

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

6th. distr.: way more police sirens, many churchbells;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Police-sirens too loud, more sick?

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

More Parks; Sirens too loud; Sound Installations;

N:3; M; 36-45; Mariahilferstrasse;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Kinderspielplatz, Vögel (außer Krähen); Szenerien abseits der Stadt – Natur, Ost Tirol, Niederösterreich - je älter man ist desto mehr nervt Lärm;

b) Krähen; je länger in Wien desto unangenehmer; Sirenen, Baugeräusche, Verkehr, Motor Geräusche; die Stadt kommt nicht zur Ruhe, Rauschen, Mariahilferstraße – unterschiedlich wenn ruhiger, zu viel – getrieben; hängt davon ab wie es einem geht;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Mischplatz: Auer-Welsbach-Park: Schön – Stoßverkehr drum herum, je nachdem Vögel, Bäume etc. wirken wie Filter; Schöne Klänge: gerne dort, überwiegend grün; radeln, Lobau; Donauinsel: Autos werden leise, Ruhe kommt immer näher, weiter weg, fast nur noch Wasser, Flucht, wenig Menschen, Wasser!! Ganz feine Geräusch-Qualität; Gumpendorferstraße, Menschenlärm, Einsätze, Sirenen, immer was los; Menschen Lärm stört (nicht wertend); Einkaufszentren - Nicht gern - Mit Ohrstöpsel; Donauzentrum in der Nähe – immer mit Kopfhörern; 22ter, Kaisermühlen, Essling: Häuser niedriger, grün wird mir, Felder bewusst wahrnehmen – auch nur für eine halbe Stunde – Kraft tanken, Vögel, Stadtrand;

Q3: Soundmarks

Sirenen! Spezifische, sehr hohe Frequenz; Gürtel - Dauerverkehr; Prater - Rummelplatz; Straßenmusik: Erfrischt!

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

6th district. Typische Stadtgeräusche, nicht bestimmtes; Baugeräusche überall, Krähen überall, Jugendwohnheim in der Nähe: Partys, viele Jugendliche oder junge Erwachsene;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

War leise, jetzt geht's wieder zurück – kaum Unterschied; erster Lockdown: sehr significant – alleine in der U-Bahn – positive Qualität; Ruhe, exklusiv, war sehr nett. Kinderspielplatz war leer, hat gefehlt, zu leise, Ruhe!

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Straßenlärm eindämmen; Gürtel in den Untergrund und davor begrünen;

N:4; M; 56-65; Museumsquartier; 6.30 pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Bienen, Insekten, Vögel, vereinzelt Hunde-Gebell (außer wenn gestresst); Wind, Blätter-Geräusche, Wasser; Brandung; Zischen der Zigarre (sehr minutiös);

b) Mopeds, Autos können stören, besonders wenn der Bass aus dem Auto dringt; Güterzug, Frauengeplapper, lautes Telefonieren, Streit, Aggressionen, Jugendliche - adrenalin geschwängert, ausgelassen; zu laute Kopfhörer Musik (hohe Frequenzen); Gadgets (Handys);

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Fiaker-Hufe am Asphalt im 1ten; Straßenbahn – Bimmeln; Klangteppich im Museumsquartier: Junge Stimmen; gedämpfter Klang im Museum; Kaffeehaus-Kulisse - alleine unter Leuten; Gurren der Tauben; Einrauschen der U-Bahn; Haus des Meeres: Busse, Wasser, Regen, Bars; Prater sehr speziell: Autodrome, Ringelspiele, Potpourri; Händler am Naschmarkt: nicht so positiv; Multi-Kulti – Geschäftigkeit am Yppen-Platz; Neu-Schnee im Winter: Schneeräumen (Geräusche angenehm), Tiergarten Schönbrunn (hängt vom Pavillon ab); Museen: das Hallen und knarren des Bodens, der Schritte;

Q3: Soundmarks

Fiaker, Bim, Caféhaus: Geschäftigkeit der Kellner; das Stimmen der Instrumente im Konzerthaus; Pummerin - alle heilige Zeiten - sehr tief; Straßenmusikanten jenseits des Konsum-Terrors;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

18th district.; Kinderspielplatz; Schaniggärten insb. Im 6ten.: Schweizerhaus;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Menschenmengen gehen zurück, weniger Betrieb, in der Früh weniger Kinder (schulfrei), positiv; friedvolle Stimmung beim Friedhof; Kirchen sind besonders leer; weniger los, Verkehr ist reduziert; Fluglärm ging zurück;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Mehr Rücksichtnahme unter einander; grüne Wände zwischen Straßen und Gehsteig;

N:5; W; 25-35; Westbahnstraße; 2.30 pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Musik, Tiefe Straßengeräusche; Männerstimmen, Stimmen der Verwandtschaft, Kinderspiele;

b) Hupen, Stänkern; Schreien, Autoverkehr;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Museumsquartier; Burggarten; Park: Lainzer Tiergarten; Steinhofgründe; Waldgegend; inklusive Menschen!

Q3: Soundmarks

Geschirrgeklapper, Caféhaus; Feuerzeug, Gastronomie, Weingläser; Straßenbahn-Klingel;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

7th district. Straßenbahn, Restaurants: Besteck, Geschirr, Stimmengewirr; Verkehr, Gegensprechanlage beim klingeln, Altbau scheppert wenn Bahn vorbeifährt, Bauarbeiten;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

1ter Lockdown: auffällig ruhig, hat aufgehört, Unterschied erkennt man an den Wörtern und Gesprächen und Nachrichten, die Begriffe haben sich geändert;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Mehr Bäume - Vögel; Mehr Sitzgelegenheiten; Klang-Erziehung in der Schule;

N:6; M; 19-24; Hofburg; 1pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Wasser, Wellen, Wind, natürliche Sounds, Musik, Bäume, Slide-Geräusche (skate), das Schleifen von Achsen auf Metall, bohren;

b) Verkehr, Autos, Baustellen, dauerhafte Sirenen, Tafelkratzen, Sandpapier; Metall – Lineal, Metalllöffel im Topf, Mikrofon – Rückkopplung, elektrostatisches Störgeräusch;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Weinberge; Positiv: Karlsplatz: Menschenstimmen, belebt, weniger Verkehr, oft Kirchenglocken; Volksgarten und Burggarten angenehm; Negativ: Würschtl-Prater, Durchsagen; große Straßen, Gürtel; Stephansplatz ist sehr unangenehm: viele Touristen;

Q3: Soundmarks

Straßenbahn – Gebimmel; Kirchenglocken; Sirenen; U-Bahn – Durchsagen (klassische Dialekt)

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

Glocken der Kirche ‚Josef ob der Laimgrube' im 6ten Bezirk um 12am; Baustellen, Baby – und Kindergeräusche, Musik (wir sind die lautesten); Demonstrationen auf der Mariahilferstraße;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Bei öffentlichen Plätzen ruhiger, beim ersten Lockdown Straßen leer, Baustellen pausiert, schwer zu vergleichen, ständig neue Maßnahmen, neue U-Bahn durch sagen, Polizei – Durchsagen, ruhiger – mittlerweile wieder nicht; Gewöhnung; Donaukanal FFP2 Masken; in der Nacht und am Wochenende gar nichts los;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

…Weniger Autos; Autofreie Zonen; Öffentliche Transportmittel ausbauen; Mehr Grün;

N:7; M; 56-65; Urban-Loritz-Platz - Stufen; 2.30pm

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Really enjoy noise - city person; back from Seoul (Korea); Stream of cars; in the forest I ask: is there any café? Noise triggers imagination; daughter wants to live in a small town; maybe it depends on how you grow up! City noises, cars, acceleration, almost sounds like the ocean; cutlery-café-barista; market-sounds (good price for cucumbers!), bar-sounds

b) Sirens; (in every city you hear sirens-but not in Seoul); high, screaming noises; sharp honks;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Stairs (library) - social connection; Donaukanal is nice: more organic; noises from bicycles, shifting gears; Yppenplatz - people, cafés, lively;

Q3: Soundmarks

Churches especially on Sundays, (you are more aware as a foreigner), tram-ringing;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

5th. district. Margaretenstraße/Groellgasse: you can hear everything, happy place, really quiet, less cars, more community sounds, doors-staircases, moving;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Quiet, more aware about noise from cars, chattering sounds of people are more apparent, in the evening more quiet, city closes earlier, big difference-Sunday feeling (angst);

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Bigger squares; More places for social connection;

N:8; w; 25-35; Bandgasse; 3pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Vogelgezwitscher; leise Kinder, Wind; jede Art von Straßen Musik: geben statt Charakter; , Bachgeplätscher

b) Hupen, Sirenen (manchmal), Nachbarn (hören und riechen, bsp. Bowling-Kugel), Baustellengeräusche (leider notwendig), U-Bahn: Einfahrt (hohes Bremse), Auto-Lärm (manchmal nicht schlimm, sogar ganz angenehm);

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Schönbrunner Park: Zoogeräusche, Büffel, viele Tiergeräusche; Gürtel: sehr stressig; Volksgarten, Bundesgarten: quatschen, gehen, obwohl mitten in der Stadt; erster Bezirk: Kutschen; Märkte (Naschmarkt eher stressig – kann aber auch gut sein, kommt drauf an wie man drauf ist); Parks: distanzierter zum Rauschen, nicht so störend – die meisten Bezirke haben solche Misch-Orte;

Q3: Soundmarks

Ubahn, Zoo; Zug-Anfahrt (aufsteigende Melodie); Naturhistorisches Museum: genialer Klang (Kuppel, erinnert an Klangkuppel Steiermark); Steinböden (Uni) mit Absatzschuhen! Kirchenglocken – Dom;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

Busch vor der Haustür: 100 Vögel, lautes Zwitschern (außer den zu nah); Nachbarn: Kinder und schwere Gegenstände; WG sehr laut, Musik; wohnen über einer Kirche! (Orgel); Neubaugasse immer viel los – Seitenstraßen aber sehr ruhig;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Weniger Straßenmusik (schade), leicht gestresst bei vielen Geräuschen und vielen Menschen auch nach einem Jahr; je länger es dauert desto schwieriger wird es; häufig in der Natur; ;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Gewässer – Bach einbauen; Bäume und damit auch Vögel ansiedeln; mehr Straßenmusiker;

N:9; w; 19-24; Wasserturm; 4pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Blätterrauschen, Parks, Hintergrund: Kinder, Vögel, Orte wo man hört dass sich was tut; Mariahilferstraße: viele Menschen; soziale Klänge; Tauben – Gurren;

b) Baustellen; Züge – quietschen; manchmal Autos; – Gewohnheit: Autos in der Ferne angenehm;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Stadtpark wo die Donau durch fließt: sehr angenehm; Prater: lachen, Achterbahn – sehr angenehm; Praterallee: fühlt sich einfach gut an - viele Fahrräder – angenehme Geräusche; negativ: mehrere Gebäude eng zusammen: hallt alles sehr (Hunde Gebell); Züge sehr unangenehm (quietschen); Mariahilferstraße: Straßenprediger schreien rum; Extrem laute Musik;

Q3: Soundmarks

Autogeräusche, Bussi die vorbeifahren; lebendig; Mozart;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

Gebäude – Block: viele Echos und Hall-Geräusche - Trichterklang – extrem sensible Architektur; Kindergeschrei;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Leiser! Autogeräusche und soziale Klänge geringer; angenehmen und unangenehmen zugleich; ruhiger aber auch gespenstisch;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Schwierige Frage! Es passt eigentlich alles! Es sollte so bleiben wie während des Lockdowns; im Park Lautsprecher mit Vogelgezwitscher; sehr zufrieden; Wassergeplätscher, aber nur manchmal (Natur und Stadt Geräusche sollten getrennt bleiben); mehr Flüsse und Springbrunnen;

N:10; m; 36-45; Naschmarkt - Parkplatz; 4.30pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Melody when the train starts up (Sony-melody?); Street musicians, any kind, at Spittelau really talented people; rain on roofs! Traffic signals (click click);

b) Every loud sound when; not loud when monotone; sudden sounds, sirens, horns, ambulance, police; neighbours! Yelling people, motorbikes, crows;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Naschmarkt when empty (Sunday) very wide; Donaukanal, busy, like bar; Stadtpark & Karlsplatz: laughter! Quiet, but the city is in the background; unpleasant: Mariahilferstrasse: too many people, shopping atmosphere, mind numbing; Westbahnhof in the morning; McDonald's; Museums-Quartier: wide open spaces and many musicians;

Q3: Soundmarks

Police seems typical for Vienna; the sirens are unique?! Aeroplanes! People practicing instruments in their flats: you hear it outside; street musicians have very good quality; many dogs: dog-parks; dialect-voices;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

Quiet (5th. district. Stumpergasse), I feel at home, kids are laughing, playing; many bars! No traffic;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Less drunk sounds; sad but also nice; nighttime is empty, silent; no life after 9-10pm; (Remember?); no big groups, less laughter, lack of people! The way people talk behind the mask-number, harder to understand;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Only E-cars, like Amsterdam: more bicycles: danger? Abandon all the cars; more trees (especially at Naschmarkt!); loudspeakers with Moozak; more silence, more birds;

N:11; w; 25-35; Karlsplatz; 6.30pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Gespräche, Menschen; kleine Bäche; Vögel, Regen (am Fensterbrett); Straßenbahn; Musik von der Weite; Fahrradkette; Kirchenglocken; Dosen Bier – Bierflasche; Stille; (nicht auf Dauer)

b) Autogeräusche, Mopeds! Geschrei – streiten; Türklingel; Sirenen; Tafel Kreide; zerbrechendes Glas; zuschlagen der Tür; hupen;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Markt (Naschmarkt): abgeschottet, keine Autogeräusche (positiv) – 20 Leute die gleichzeitig durcheinander reden; Karlsplatz: verschiedene Settings gleichzeitig – parallel, ruhige Gespräche und dann Musik, dann laut; Matzleinsdorfer Platz: sehr negativ; da gibt es nichts; generell alle Unterführungen unangenehm; Shopping Center sehr unangenehm (Lugner, Gerngross) untergeschoss: Oktoberfest;

Q3: Soundmarks

Das Leuten bevor die Durchsage in der U-Bahn startet; Flugzeuggeräusche in der Einflugschneise im 22ten / Donaufeld; Straßenbahn Geräusch (Bimmeln); Schimpfende Wiener, die aus dem Fenster schreien; zu laute Glocken;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

8ter Beszirk; Schule neben an, viele junge Stimmen; Straßenbahn und Müllabfuhr (positiv), Flaschen-Container; Baustelle (Dachboden Ausbau), Autos die zu schnell fahren; Geplauder im Stiegenhaus (angenehm da community-feeling)

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Reduzierte Lautstärke; weniger Kommunikation und stimmen; wenige Musik, keine öffentliche Veranstaltungen, Studium ohne Interaktion; alles viel privater; zum Beispiel in der U-Bahn; Mariahilferstrasse Demonstration: Megafon;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Alle Autos raus; Bäume statt Straßen; das öffentliche Verkehrsnetz verdreifachen – Menschen klarmachen dass Autos nicht so wichtig sind; das öffentliche Leben fördern! Das soziale fördern, das Auto ist zu isoliert;

N:12; w; 19-24; Spittelau; 1pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Rauschen von Wasser; Bäume: Wind, Vögel, Naturgeräusche; Menschen im Hintergrund, Tischtennis;

b) Baustelle; Straße aufbrechen; Schienen von Straßenbahnen; Geschrei von Babys, Geräusche die permanent da sind: schrill, Auto-Alarmanlagen, Klingeltöne;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Viele große mehrspurige Straßen: Spittelau und Gürtel, viel Verkehr; Rossauer Lände wo die U-Bahn durch fährt; viele Parks: Türkenschanzpark, Viel Platz, Menschen verteilen sich; Donauinsel sehr grün, kein Verkehr, nicht so viele Menschen;

Q3: Soundmarks

Straßenbahn-Glocke; Straßenbahn-Geräusche im Allgemeinen; typisch sind Straßen die eher leise sind wo aber die Bim durch fährt; Fiaker-Pferdehufen;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

4th. distr. nur wenig Verkehr, nicht zu laut; Busse und Straßenbahnen; im Hof Vogelgezwitscher; viele Menschen reden; Taxifahrer die telefonieren; Tür Klingel ist kaputt)

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Manches hat sich gar nicht so verändert (öffentliche Verkehrsmittel); weniger Menschen (jetzt schon wieder mehr); keine Musik; wenige Menschen; Geschäfte offen oder nicht; mehr Leute in der Natur; Alltagsgeräusche bleiben aber leise; beim ersten Lockdown: war die Stille noch aus haltbar, jetzt schon anstrengend, Abstand halten oder nicht; ständig wachsam

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Nur E-Autos, weniger Autos, Straßen Lärm weg, mehr Grünflächen, Vögel, Brunnen, Natur in die Stadt holen; Gürtel beruhigen, mehr grün; 10er und 11er Bezirk sehr grau, wenig Parks;

N:13; m; 36-45; Roßauer Lände; 2pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Vogelgezwitscher, Leute die reden, Gemurmel, Wasserplätschern; Straßengeräusche sind manchmal angenehm, alles wo Bewegung dahinter ist; Fahrräder;

b) Wind macht mich unrund, Baulärm, Kreissägen, Rasenmäher, Autos nur bis zu einem gewissen Grad, wenn nicht zu viel: alles fließt so vor sich hin;;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Positiv: Am Donaukanal zwischen Schottentor und Schwedenplatz: sehr breit, weiter Hall, viele Menschen; Orte mit viel Resonanz: Altes AKH, isoliert aber unter Leute, geschäftiges Treiben; unangenehm: Baustellen, große Kreuzungen am Gürtel zu Hauptverkehrszeit; Simmering sehr unangenehm - viele Industriegeräusche;

Q3: Soundmarks

Straßenbahn-Glocke; das Klicken der Ampeln am Zebrastreifen; die Abwesenheit von Kirchenglocken; Straßen Lärm;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

21th. distr. Sehr ruhig, das Geräusch von Bussen; an sich sehr ruhig;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Viel ruhiger, im ersten Lockdown fast gar keine Geräusche; seltsam: nicht das Bedürfnis Musik zu hören, wollte zuhören, Neugierde – dann fad, gegen Ende wieder mehr Autos (schade), war friedlich.

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Kontrastreiche Orte fördern; ruhige, stille, grüne Orte und dann belebte Orte; ich mag es direkt am Wasser mit Asphalt; wie am Hafen; Bewegung, Aufbruch; allgemein bin ich begeistert wenn ich viele Leute höre; sonst unangenehmen trist, verlassen;

N:14; m; 56-65; Augarten; 4pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Wasser, Brunnen, am Fluss, Wind durch Bäume, Straßenmusik wenn weiter weg; Sprinkleranlage im Sommer, Schwimmbäder Geräusche; Vögel in der Früh; Stadion Geräusche, Chorgesang (Proben); die Ruhe im Museum;

b) Bass beim Nachbarn, Presslufthammer, Baustellen, Gruppen von Menschen die laut sprechen, Straßenverkehr, Bauplätze, im Sommer der Klangpegel des Nachbarn, Rücksichtslosigkeit, Polizei-Sirenen, Helikopter, Flugschneise, Flieger; Metall aufeinander reiben; quietschende Geräusche, Müllabfuhr im Innenhof, Eis kratzen vom Gehsteig, Schneedecke; Tür zu knallen vom Nachbarn – besonders während der Pandemie; gewisse Musikrichtungen (Schlager)

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Austria-Wien- Generali Arena; Schwarzenbergplatz wegen dem Brunnen; Augarten: viele Alleen, erholsam; Donaupark/Kurpark Oberlaa / Donauinsel (zu bestimmten Zeiten): viele Ebenen; Menschen verlieren sich auf unterschiedlichen Höhen, sehr erholsam, Lärmpegel herunter gedrückt; unterhalb der Reichsbrücke: kühl, angenehm, dumpfes Hintergrundrauschen; Donaukanal-Heiligenstadt und bei Nussdorf; nicht angenehm: Hauptbahnhof, zentraler Punkt, Zeitdruck, Hektik; Süd-Ost-Tangente im Auto: Baustellen, Stau, Verkehr, zieht sich; Quellenstraße: unheimlich viele Leute, stressig, laut;

Q3: Soundmarks

Stephansdom-Pummerin zu Silvester; Fiaker; die Resonanz am Ring – bei den Ringgebäuden; Prater: Traditionelle Laute - alte Vergnügungsangebote; Prater-Hauptallee einzigartig angenehm;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

2th. distr. Nahe am Prater; Kaiserwiese, sehr angenehm; nichts fremdartiges, gehört dazu; Polizei Sirenen, Kirchenglocken der Mexiko Kirche; im Herbst: Oktoberfest; der Kreisverkehr auch typisch; Hunde Gebell in der Venediger-Au (Freiluft-Zone); Es wird viel gebaut;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Klang in der Nacht ruhiger – muss nicht unbedingt positiv sein; Flugverkehr wesentlich weniger: sehr positiv; Verkehr verringert: Lärmreduktion zu bestimmten Uhrzeiten; jetzt im Frühling weniger Ruheplätze da mehr Menschen rausgehen; wann kommt zurück; Stille im Lockdown: man lernt Menschen besser kennen im positiven und negativen; ungewisse Zukunft, intensiver Druck; was Einsamkeit bedeuten kann; macht was mit einem; mehr Reflexion; ein Prozess wird in Gang gesetzt; Jahrelang weniger gelernt als in kurzen Lockdown; Sinnhaftigkeit: man kann den Gedanken nicht weglaufen;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Flagtürme begrünen; Haus des Meeres gut gelungen, mehr Brunnen! Mehr Glockenspiele in der Innenstadt, Windspiele auf Märkten; Schweizer Instrument (Hang) - Total angenehmer Klang; wird von allen angenommen (Quellen Straße); Beispiel Brunnenmarkt; die Leute von ihrem Tempo runter kommen lassen – zur Ruhe kommen; überraschende, nicht alltägliche Veränderungen; mehr Kreativität;

N:15; w; 25-35; Augarten; 5pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Vogelgezwitscher, im Regen auf Fenstern, Wasser rauschen, Bach, Springbrunnen, alles was plätschert, Straßenmusik;

b) Straßenlärm, Geschrei, Kindergeschrei, Reinigungsfahrzeuge, Hupen, Bauarbeiter, nächtliches Gegröle;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Prater-Wald: Naturgeräusche, Spechtgeklopfe; Au-Garten: immer viele Stimmen; Stadtwanderweg 8; Randgebiete; negativ: U-Bahn Einfahrt, laut, hektisch, Straßenbahn; Stephansplatz am Abend: Still obwohl normal belebt;

Q3: Soundmarks

Würschtl-Prater: typisches Geräusch, aber durch die Pandemie gespenstisch; typisch österreichische Polizeisirene, Stephansplatz belebt; Donaukanal, Pub-Kultur; uBahn ist charakteristisch; Fiaker;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

2nd distr. Heinegasse; Hundebellen; Freilaufzone; Alle gehen Gassi; Bäume-schneiden; Bus und Bahn; Verschiedene Sprachen, jüdische community, sehr bunt; wenig Kirchenglocken; gegenüber einem Restaurant, Leute, Stimmen, Türklingel;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Super ruhig! Alles laute fällt sehr auf; irgendetwas stimmt nicht, Bedrücktheit; alles was laut, hektisch ist ist bedrückend im Kontrast zur Stille; die Ruhe während der Pandemie ist paradox: angenehm und bedrückend. Das Summen der Elektrofahrräder und Roller von Essens-Lieferanten;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Straßenmusiker, mehr Musik! Musik fesselt Leute, man versinkt im Moment; Lautsprecher mit Naturgeräuschen; „Regen-Dusche“; mir Springbrunnen, Bewässerungsanlagen, Grünflächen, Geräusch – schluckende Maßnahmen; U-Bahn Stationen umgestalten, mehr Natur;

N:16; w; 19-24; Hundertwasser-haus; 2pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Klavier (im Haus spielt immer jemand); Natur, Vögel, alles was nicht so ruckartig ist; Tiere;

b) Laute, ruckartige Geräusche; Straßenbahn vor dem Haus; Auto Alarm Anlage; manchmal können auch Vögel zu laut sein;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Viele Kontraste in Wien! Laut – und 100 m weiter leise; riesige Grünflächen, hört man nichts – und dann wieder viel; Au-Garten - sehr positiv, noch Autos aber grün und ruhig; Donaukanal: laut, aber Wasser; Brunnenmarkt: Markt Geräusche, Spielplatz, Tischtennis, Leben: sehr angenehm; 1ter Bezirk: viele Sprachen sehr schön;

Q3: Soundmarks

Das Öffnen einer Ottakringer-Dose; Die Bim; „2te Kassa Bitte!“ - Der Wiener ‚Grant‘; im Vergleich zu anderen Städten ist der Verkehr in Wien okay; klassische Musik; die Operntoilette (Schwanensee); Boarding-Musik: Wiener-Walzer;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

2nd distr. Halb Park - halb Verkehr: Mischmasch; viele Roller (Interkulturell); Jüdische Kinder mit Hut; Karmeliter-Markt: Marktschreier;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

1ter Lockdown: der erste Bezirk war tot! Kein Leben; viele Polizisten; Geräuschkulisse am Karmeliter-Markt kein Unterschied; weniger Autos; man hat mir die Nachbarn gehört, die Nachbars Kinder waren zu Hause! Mehr Tür klingeln? Vermisse Pub-Sounds und Gespräche etc.; in Wien passiert viel auf der Straße, viel in Parks.

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Die inneren Bezirke Auto frei machen; soziale Räume ausbauen! Laut sein lassen! Am Donaukanal kann man mehr Bäume pflanzen; Grätzl-Leben ist super;

N:17; m; 36-45; Botanischer Garten; 5pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Wind!; Wasser, Regen, plätschern vom Pegel her eher monoton, als Kind viel im Wald! Nostalgisch;

b) Gar keine Geräusche, Stille unerträglich, fahrende Autos, von der Stille plötzlich zu lernen; deshalb auch Fenster zu;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Im 1ten: „Am Hof“: Parallel zum Judenplatz: angenehm da nur Kutschen fahren dürfen, ganz andere Geräuschpegel des Galoppierens; losgelöst vom Stress – immer wieder kommt etwas angenehmes vorbei, nicht nerviger Hintergrund; Parkanlagen: nichts störendes im Vordergrund; botanischer Garten: das Visuelle und Akustische im Einklang; positiv wie negativ (wenn Tumult und leise auch komisch), Botanischer Garten zwar kontrolliert, aber erinnert an Waldausflug; Viel los aber die Menschen stören nicht, man muss nicht schreien, Gesprächsfetzen bewusst und unterbewusst mitbekommen: lustig; Schwarzenbergplatz: der Brunnen ist sehr angenehm; je näher man dem Gürtel kommt desto unangenehmer wird es: Hup-Verbot, keiner hält sich daran – keine Ruhe im Auto; Fasangasse im 10ten ist sehr Scheiße – ständig Bahn und Autogeräusche, es hallt alles, nichts dämpft; gleiches Problem am Gürtel; Es gibt Straßen die die gleiche Funktion haben aber besser funktionieren (Einbahnstraßen, Hup-Verbot); Prater sehr cool auch am Praterstern, sehr weit, die Allee dämpft;

Q3: Soundmarks

Die Kutschen, Fiaker; Straßenbahn (alte Klingel); Sprachen-Vielfalt (im zehnten) jedes Gespräch in einer anderen Sprache: toll!; Im ersten Bezirk plötzlich ruhig wie in einem Dorf – dann wieder laut;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

10th distr. Stimme der S-Bahn Durchsage; Wohnung sehr gedämpft; Pizzeria (Pozzuoli) härt man auf der Straße, italienische Musik; vor allem am Freitag; auch im Lockdown; nervige Nachbarn: manche sind sehr laut – hallt durch den Innenhof (vor allem im Lockdown (Leute seltene müde weil nicht in der Arbeit?);

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

1ter Lockdown richtig ruhig, starker Kontrast; jetzt ist Lockdown ganz anders, fast normal; Leute mehr zu Hause, man spürt Anwesenheit des Nachbarn: negativ; zu Beginn sehr angenehm, kaum Autos;.

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

E-Autos, alle Autos in den Tunnel; alle Transporte in den Untergrund; Über irdisch mehr Parkfläche! Erdgeschoss nicht mehr Autozone; Kagran: unterirdische Straßen und zwischen den Häusern nur Bäume; wie könnte man Dinge lösen? Lösungsvorschläge! Vor 100 Jahren hatte niemand ein Auto, jetzt alle – Veränderung ist möglich; den Teer-Mantel weg: organisch-weicher Mantel, hybride;

N:18; m; 19-24; Schwarzenbergplatz; 6pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Cello-Musik; Wasser über Stein fließt; reden; Rudergeräusche;

b) Moped-Motoren, Rasenmäher, schreiende stimmen;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Standorte: Gute akustische Architektur, sehr fest, stabil - Belvedere, Josefstädter Strasse, Tief und fest, enge Hauptgasse sehr angenehm; Vergleich Donaukanal: kein klares Bauprojekt, auch gut aber ist eher organisch entstanden; an sich wenig negative Klangkulissen – ich bin ganz zufrieden;

Q3: Soundmarks

Stille ist typisch in Wien (Corona bedingt); nie war Stille so klar wie in der Wiener Innenstadt; Die Bim;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

6th distr. Koppstraße; Gespräche, sehr multikulturell, Ausländer sind lauter, mehr Leben!

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Stille – sehr positiv; man kann beide hören, jedes Echo anhören; Stadt ist in Pause - im Schlaf; keine natürliche Stille, sondern reguliert – negativ;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Autos weg, unnötig;

N:19; m; 56-65; Palais Lichtenstein; 6pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Vogelgezwitscher, Kinder im Kindergarten; Kirche – Frau und Orgel; Geräusche die von außen heran kommen; Radio – klassische Musik; Hintergrund; Stille!! (alles abdrehen – widerspricht sich nicht mit Kinder von außen); weniger äußere, sondern mehr innere Stille; Straßenbahn (Ring)

b) Baustelle am Haus; Feind des Individualverkehrs; aggressive Geräusche; Hunde – Gekeife; Du hörst den „Stress“ im Advent;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Schlosspark – knirschen des Kiesels (Gerüche von Bäumen), Belvedere, Liechtenstein; Laufen auf der Donauinsel, Kanal, neue Donau: das Schmatzen des Wassers; Brunnen Markt: Geschrei, viele Sprachen, Verkaufsgeräusche – einfach schön, eine Zuwendung, rührend, sympathisch; Fiaker -geklapper sehr schön durch die Innenstadt (Geruch von Pferden); Matzleinsdorfer-Platz: Auto schießen einfach, lebensfeindlich! Gürtel: sehr ‚urban’ aber der Lärmpegel ist unerträglich; Wiener Innenhöfe (aufgewachsen) immer grün; Tauben die Balzen (Gurr);

Q3: Soundmarks

Fiaker, das Gebimmel der Bahn (manuell ausgelöst - wird von Fahrer gestimmt); Pummerin-Glockengeläut - hört man überall; Dornbacher Pfarrkirche; Liechtenthaler Glocken: Sehr wichtig, Aufruf zum Gebet, „es ruft“; mittags um 12 - geht leider oft im Verkehrslärm unter; offene Fenster im Sommer hinter denen man hört wie Klavier geübt wird, Kind plagt sich mit einer Sonate ab: sehr typisch für Wien;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

9th distr. Kindergarten, Glocken, Orgel, Tauben; das spezifische Glockenspiel (Liechtenthaler Kirche); die Boote im Kanal, der Polizei Kahn; früher im ersten Bezirk: das Geklapper der Fiaker in der Nagelgasse;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Positiv: das Geschnatter der Touristen ist weg! Leere Straßenzüge, Lockdown Stille ein Segen; da alles runter gedreht; das Aufheulen von Autos nimmt man mehr war, das Klingeln der Fahrräder auch;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Autos raus! Völlig absurd! Drückt auf krasse Weise die Fehlentwicklung des Kapitalismus aus – Bäume pflanzen, Kinderspielplätze; so dass man den Schnee knirschen hört ohne Salz; Resozialisierung des urbanen Raum für Mensch und Tier;

N:20; w; 25-35; Josef-Strauss-Park; 1pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Prasseln auf Fenster, Krähen, Bäume im Wind, das Umblättern eine Seite, die Miene eines Bleistifts auf dem Papier, Geräusch von Katzen, Krallen, schnurren – (Gemütlichkeit)

b) Kreischen (Spielplatz); kratzende Geräusche auf Asphalt (Plastikräder), sehr laute Musik (bei den Sportgeräten im Park) – der Sand im Spielplatz wird oft um gegraben, Schaufelgeräusche. negativ: Polizei und Rettungsirenen;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Positiv: Dachterrasse in der Sensengasse – über den Verkehrslärm, sehr entfernte Geräusche, Wind, Arkadenhof im Uni Hauptgebäude, viele Stimmen, kein Verkehr; Viele Naturgeräusche hier im Park (ich wohne direkt am Josef Strauß Park): weiter außerhalb: Donauinsel, aber eher weiter draußen, ruhig, weit verteilt, Wasser, Schwäne; Hier im Park in der Früh und am Abend viele Vögel; im 9ten Bezirk – Strudlhof-Stiege: schön beleuchtet, ruhig, wenig Autos, leise Schritte (hallt weit) Kleiner Brunnen, (ruhiges, zögerliches plätschern), Wind, Blätter Geräusch und entferntes Gebimmel der Straßenbahn; Negativ: hinter dem Institut in der Sensengasse ein Park: zwei große Straßen, Kinder, Straßenbahnlinien und Sportzentrum (läuft alles spitz zu – sammelt Klang, schwer zu sprechen); Lerchenfelder Straße: Verkehr beidseitig, Konzentration, viel Stress, Hupen, bahn; Bahnhof Meidling: immer Baustelle – Zugeinfahrt, Koffer, alle in Eile; viel weniger U-Bahn während Corona gefahren; im Vergleich zur Bim relativ leise; U-Bahn ist eigentlich kein negatives Geräuschbild; in Wien klingen Glocken selten - was gut ist; Glocken sind nicht idyllisch.

Q3: Soundmarks

Pummerin-Glockengeläut; Straßenbahn, Hunde! Schimpfen im öffentlichen Verkehr; entfernte Party Klänge (außer während der Pandemie) - Musik im Allgemeinen: Klavierübungen, Gesang, Saxophon;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

7th distr. Josef-Strauss-Park: sehr jung, Spielplatz, fröhliche, weinende, lachende Stimmen; im Verhältnis zum Rest sehr natürliche Geräusche – seit urban Gardening auch mehr Gärtner-Geräusche – sehr positiv! Sport Geräusche, Inlineskates, Fahrräder, Verkehr (außerhalb des Parks), Straßenbahnen, viele Menschen (9.u. 8. Bezirk sehr nahe) viele Fahrräder (alte Räder mit besonderen Charme), beim Volkskunde Museum: Hunde Gehsteig; Kindergarten, Spielplatz; außerhalb der Pandemie: viele Flaneure, Schaniggärten; Gastronomie, anstoßen, Stimmen

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Ich höre meine eigene Stimme so oft durch Videokonferenzen; (virtuelle Selbst-Wahrnehmung; Sprachnachrichten; – Veränderung der Kommunikation;), zu Beginn der Pandemie: Stille, der Park war abgesperrt, seltsam: keine Kinder Stimmen; Mischung aus idyllisch und „nicht echt“; Musik in den großen Testhallen! angenehm, aber auch sehr absurd, wäre aber auch absurd wenn leise; in der Nacht ist es stiller; keine U-Bahnen, weniger Autos, (Autorennen – weil Straßen leer)

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Autofreie Stadt (oder eingeschlossen); Bahnhof: sehr kommerzielle Räume, keine Sitzmöglichkeiten, keine Rückzugsorte, begrünen, mehr Kunst, das Warten verschönern; Büsche und Bäume zwischen Straßen und Gehwegen pflanzen; U-Bahn Stationen mit Blumen und Pflanzen verschönern; mehr Radfahr-Zonen; Wasser Sprühanlagen: angenehmes Dampfgeräusch;

N:21; w; 19-24; Arkaden-Hof der Universität; 2pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Innere Ruhe, Geräusche der Natur, Wind, Blätter; die Türen der Hauptuni die zu fallen, wie Musik; Schritte; Lüftungsgeräusche; Zischen; Seiten umblättern; Herzschlag; Plätschern von Wasser; Vögel

b) Straßen Lärm, Bauarbeiter, viele Leute in der U-Bahn die telefonieren; laute Geräusche, Hupen; Disharmonie (auch wenn sich darin Harmonie befindet); schreien von Kindern; schnarchen; Wecker;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Positiv: der Arkadenhof in der Uni; Schönbrunn; Arkadenhof: Stille, die Energie, die Atmosphäre – als wäre das Wissen präsent; Schönbrunn: viele Kinder, Pärchen, der Zoo, Natur; Flughafen! Geschäftiges Treiben, das Geräusch der Flugzeuge; Donaukanal, vor Lockdown junge Leute – viel Musik; Kreativität, Passion, Freiheit, lachen, Unterhaltungen; (Helikopter eher störend); Uni Hörsäle (positiv) - leer und voll, Hintergrundgeräusche, Blätter rascheln, Professor, (unangenehm wenn Mikro nicht funktioniert); Seminarräume: manchmal auch beklemmend, man kennt sich nicht, interagieren, (Psychologie – NIG 6ter Stock); negativ: Gürtel, viele Menschen, viele Sprachen, kaum Muttersprache; Ärzte Zimmer, angespannt, riecht komisch, Telefon Klingel; Reumannplatz: viele Menschen, laut, überfüllt, es fehlen Grünflächen und Pflanzen; Spitz am Flordisdorf: vorplatz, Jugendamt, Sammelplatz, Märkte, laut – viele Proleten, Obdachlose (was man hört an Gesprächen – ordinäre, keine schöne Sprache, aggressiv) ; Praterstern: da sollte man mehr machen, laut, unangenehm, man fühlt sich unsicher, betrunkene, viele Menschen; Streifen Polizisten; Sirenen;

Q3: Soundmarks

Stadtlärm; Karlsplatz – Oper Proben; Live Übertragungen (Musik sehr repräsentativ); Straßenbahnen; das touristische treiben; der Zoo (Löwen); Rolltreppen; Stöckelschuhe die die Bahngleise, oder die Mariahilferstraße entlang gehen; diverse Paraden (Regenbogenparade)

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

13th distr. Busse und Straßenbahnen; Kinder im Innenhof; alte Eisenbahner- Lokführer Wohnungen; manchmal bleibt die S-Bahn stehen und stimmt die Glocke (wie Musik sehr schön)

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Ruhiger; im Café gearbeitet, nicht so viele Studenten, es legt sich alles, Stimmen sind gedämpft durch die Masken; reservierte, Leute trauen sich nicht zu husten; schnäuzen sich heimlich – ist aber gar nicht unangenehm; eine Zeit

lang waren alle sehr gereizt; (asiatische Freundin wurde beschimpft) weniger Verkehr, keine laute Musik aus Pubs; gehört eigentlich schon dazu – aber auch angenehm); der Himmel ist klarer, weniger Flugzeuge

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Vorschläge an Architekten: viel mehr liebe, mehr Kunst, mehr Ausdruck, mehr leben; (wie Uni zum Beispiel) wird nicht mehr gemacht; Klang verändert sich mit den Menschen; Innenstadt sollte Auto frei sein; alte Pflastersteine Straßen, wäre schön wenn keine Autos fahren; Mariahilferstraße: Autos sind nicht nötig;

N:22; m; 35-45; Reumannplatz; 4pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Natur, Vögel, Wasserfälle, Naturgeräusche; weißes Rauschen, Flugzeuge, wenn es leise ist;.

b) Scharfe Geräusche, Piepsen (bei der U-Bahn); U4-Kettenbrückengasse hört man das Piepsen raus; Durchsagen überflüssig; alles Menschengemachte; Hupen;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Schönbrunn, Stadtpark, Oberlaar – viel Fläche; negativ: 7ter Bezirk: Nicht bebaut, klang springt immer hin und her, Weite ist wichtig, Romantik; 10ter Bezirk: Eisenbahn ist angenehm, Reumannplatz: sehr schön, viele Menschen, Eissalon, Leute sind im Freien, Unterhaltungen, selten Streitereien, Feuerwerkskörper, friedlich;

Q3: Soundmarks

Stephansdom, Sirene auf den Dächern (Bombenalarm), Wien ist ruhig; Kirchen;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

10th distr. laute Musik aus den Autos, Hip-Hop aus den Fenstern; 14ter im Gegenzug sehr ruhig, es darf kein Klang erzeugt werden! Muss gesetzlich dezent gehalten werden.

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Ruhiger; früher viel mehr Stadtgeräusche; am Wochenende fast nichts mehr los (außer Polizeihubschrauber); weniger Verkehr, weniger Partys – Geisterstadt, Langeweile, weniger Gesang; ungut;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

U-Bahn Signale abstellen; Autos sind in Ordnung; Straßenbahn etc. auch okay; es ist alles gut! Unnötige Geräusche vermeiden, Meerwasser, Brunnen, Fontänen, Bäume;

N:23; m; 56-65; Stephansplatz; 1pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Geldklimpern/Rascheln; meeresrauschenwind der durch die Gassen pfeift (Griechenland), die Stimme meiner Frau;

b) Kindergeschrei, Bau Lärm, Sirenen, Hupen, alles was nervt;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Ankeruhr um 12:00 Uhr mittags wenn die Figuren sich im Kreis drehen, Stadtpark: Enten, Donauinsel: Wasserrauschen, Luft, Grillen, Bier; Geräusche Daheim; Skater (Pfeifen); Zehnte Bezirk: Reumann Platz (Horror) – alles Lärm, unangenehm, du fühlst dich nicht zu Hause, wie am Balkan; alles wo man sich nicht wie zu Hause fühlt, U-Bahnen – viele Leute, viel Gift in der Luft;

Q3: Soundmarks

Ankeruhr; Autobahn Richtung Graz (Hölle los), Michaela Platz (Fiaker, Kirche);

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

Charney Gärten, wenn offen; Westbahnhof (Züge) viele Stimmen auf der Mariahilferstraße.

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Ruhige, weniger Geld klimpern, weniger LKW-Verkehr; nicht so lebhaft;;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Nur noch Schaniggärten, nur Fußgänger, Kärntnerstraße: nur Qualitätslokale – sowie an der Champs Élysées in Paris;

N:24; W; 35-45; Josefstädter Strasse; 3pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Viele Stimmen - Gewirr; Weiter Hall (Kirchen, Museen); Wasser, Springbrunnen;

b) Leute die in der U-Bahn die telefonieren; Bauarbeiter-Geräusche; Straßenlärm;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Schwarzenbergplatz, Wasser, Stimmen, Ferner Verkehr, Manchmal das Bimmeln der Straßenbahn; Maria-Theresien-Platz, Sehr natürlich trotz mitten in der Stadt, weiter Klang, Musiker; Donaukanal, Wasser, Fahrradfahrer, Menschen; 9ter Bezirk, sehr viele Unterschiedliche Kulissen, manchmal wie im Dorf (Servitenplatz), Kinder, Kirchen, Märkte; Negativ: Alserstraße, Grau, Leblos, Straßenlärm; Matzleinsdorferplatz, viel zu laut, unübersichtlich, nichts grünes;

Q3: Soundmarks

Pflasterstein; Viele Sprachen; Fiaker; Bim; Alte Architektur - Hohe Decken - Hall;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

5ter Bezirk: Verkehr; Viele Junge Menschen; Baustellen; Nichts besonderes;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Zu Ruhig, leblos, keine Menschengruppen in der Nacht; Manchmal angenehm - weniger Verkehr, weniger Flugzeuge;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Begrünung; Verkehr in den Untergrund (Matzleinsdorf) und stattdessen Bäume und Springbrunnen; Mehr öffentliche Plätze zum Treffen;

N:25; m; 19-24; Meidlinger Hauptstraße; 3pm;

Q1: Sound Preference Test

a) Musik (Jazz); Waldgeräusche; Caféhausgeräusche; viele angenehme Stimmen; Schuhgeklapper;

b) Ubahn wenn man drinnen sitzt; Lautes Telefonieren; Sirenen (viel zu laut); Kaufhausmusik;

Q2: Sonic Spaces and Atmospheres

Stadtpark und Burggarten, viele menschliche Geräusche, Wasser, Enten; Stephansplatz normalerweise unangenehm, sehr touristisch; Erster Bezirk: Viele Innenhöfe und enge Gassen, intimer klang, Sehr Hallig; Naschmarkt oder Märkte an sich: Viel Leben, viele Gerüche und Stimmen, sehr lebendig; 3ter Bezirk Neubaugebiete, sehr ‚clean', Vorort-Geräusche, Viel Baulärm; Lieblose Architektur; Reumannplatz / Quellenstraße sehr schön, viel los, viele Sprachen - Reumannplatz ruhiger geworden, viel grün; Meidling eher unangenehm, wie 10ter nur ausgestorbener; Hässlicher, hellhörige Gebäude, wenig Grün;

Q3: Soundmarks

Soundinstallationen im MQ; Straßenbahn; Viel Baulärm; Donaukanal und Insel: Viel Wasser; Fiaker; Eher ruhige Stadt;

Q4: Community & Milieu Sounds

12ter Bezirk: Nichts bestimmtes. Meidlinger Hauptstraße - Menschen; Sehr ruhige Seitenstraße; Jedes Auto hört man laut; Kein Park, kein Wasser;

Q5: Pandemic Soundscapes

Noch ruhiger als sonst; Kein Nachtleben; Beklemmend; Alle haben Angst; Jedes Gesrpäch dreht sich um Corona; Viel Polizei;

Q6: Suggestions for Improvements

Mehr Begrünung, öffentliches Leben Fördern, mehr Straßenmusik, Verkehr raus aus der Stadt;

b) Interview Transcripts

Harald Fiedler, 28.04.21, hinter dem Stephansdom

F: Wie heißt du, was ist Trotz-Dem, welche Hobbies hast du, welche Art der Blindheit hast Du? Wie würdest Du deine Wahrnehmung beschreiben?

Hallo, mein Name ist Harald Fiedler, Ich bin Gründer und Geschäftsführer der Firma Trotz-Dem, wir machen Sensibilisierungs-Workshops im Erwachsenenbereich und im schulischen Bereich und auch Webseiten-test und auch alles was mit Blindheit zu tun hat, mit Sensibilisierung zu tun hat und wo Blindheit als Expertise gefragt ist. Ich bin sehend zu Welt gekommen, bin aber mit zwei Augen Krankheiten geboren worden, die eine ist Retinitis Pigmentosa und die andere ist Makuladegeneration, das sind zwei fortschreitende Augenerkrankungen und in den ersten 17-18 Jahren waren die Krankheiten relativ unauffällig und mein Sehrest auch relativ groß und es war mir auch möglich mit sehenden Kindern gemeinsam die Schule zu besuchen und dann die höhere Schule. Die Handelsschule musste ich dann schon in Wien besuchen weil das mit dem See-Rest nicht mehr ging und dieser nahm dann in meinen Lebensjahren ab und ab und ab und jetzt bin ich bei Licht-Wahrnehmung angelangt, also ich nehme Licht war, aber als Sinn kann man diesen Zustand nicht bezeichnen, nur als Wahrnehmung. Ich weiß dass dieser Zustand mich in die absolute Blindheit führt, aber es ist die Frage ob ich diese Blindheit erleben werde oder ob ich vorher in die Kiste hüpfe. Ich wohne in Wien und in Niederösterreich und zur Zeit bin ich großteils in Niederösterreich, ich hab dort ein Haus mit einem großen Garten und einen Blinden-Führhund und einen kleinen Malteser, also der Blinden-Führhund ist der Hund meiner Frau und der Malteser ist unser gemeinsamer Hund. Theoretisch wohne ich ja noch in Wien, aber seit einem Jahr, also seit Corona wohne ich mit meiner Frau hauptsächlich am Land. Zur Zeit sind wir auch dabei eine Wohnung Wien zu kaufen, weil wenn wir Workshops haben oder etwas anderes zu tun haben in Wien oder in der Wiener Umgebung dann ist es ein guter Ausgangspunkt. Und das Haus wo wir jetzt gerade wohnen das ist nicht gerade Zentral gelegen, am Rande des Weinviertels und eine Stunde von Wien entfernt. Wir haben einen großen Garten wo glücklicherweise noch einige Bäume herum stehen, die meisten sind der Fresslust unseres Blindenhundes zum Opfer gefallen. Bäume haben die Unart Früchte zu tragen und Früchte haben die Unart runter zu fallen und unser Blinden-Führhund, das ist ein fetter Golden Retriever, der isst die Früchte und scheißt die Früchte und deswegen haben wir die Bäume gefällt, also nicht viele, obwohl persönlich ich mir es durchaus vorstellen hätte können aber ein Apfelbaum, eine Buche und eine Linde ist noch übrig geblieben. Das wäre kurz zu mir. Bei dem Dialog im Dunkeln, wo ich normaler weise arbeite, ist eine der Fragen die immer wieder kommt: wie träumen blinde Menschen. Ehrlich gesagt habe ich mich um diese Frage noch nie wirklich gekümmert, ich habe mich ja auch noch nicht gefragt wie sehende Menschen träumen. Manchmal kommt dann die Frage, wie ist es nichts zu sehen. Und es gibt ja die Gruppe der sehbehinderten Menschen und die Gruppe der blinden Menschen. Und um die Verwirrung noch größer zu gestalten gibt es die Gruppe der praktisch blinden Menschen. Die sind praktisch blind, Sie haben oft einen See Rest und können hell und Dunkel unterscheiden aber sehen kann man das nicht mehr nennen. Das ist nur noch eine grobe Wahrnehmung. Und die größte Gruppe der sehbehinderten Menschen Haben einen Tunnelblick, oder können einzelne Farben nicht mehr wahrnehmen. In jeder Gruppe gibt es also viele verschiedene Arten von Blindheit oder Sehbehinderung. Aber diesbezüglich bin ich ja der Experte, ha ha weil ich bin dir auf jeden Fall diesbezüglich um einiges voraus. Aber ich selber hab ja auch mal mehr gesehen, und ging auch mit sehenden zur Schule. Ich finde sehen nichts arges, keine Behinderung ha ha. Ich finde auch blind sein ganz normal. Man ist wie man ist, und manche sehen manche sind blind. Aber es gibt so viele Einstellungen wie es Menschen gibt. Also wenn ich in der Früh das Fenster öffne, nehme ich wahr ob es draußen hell ist oder dunkel und die Sonne spüre ich natürlich auch, die Sonne sehe ich auch. Ob dann im Haus ein Licht brennt, dass kann ich nicht mehr so wahrnehmen das kommt dann auf das umgebende Licht an. Geräusche sind mir persönlich auch wichtig, besonders gute Geräusche, besonders positive Geräusche, aber es gibt leider auch viele negative Geräusche, viel akustische Umweltverschmutzung. Vögel, also das ist mein absolutes Highlight, das Singen von Vögeln, und diese Stunde zwischen Dämmerung und Tag, beim

Erwachen am Morgen wenn der Tag erwacht und die Vögel und ich setze mich dann extra auf die Terrasse und höre den Vögeln beim erwachen zu. Das ist zwar in der Früh aber das ist okay. Wind mag ich nicht. Wind verfälscht Geräusche. Wenn ich auf der Terrasse Sitze ist mir der Wind egal, aber wenn ich alleine durch die Stadt laufe mit Blinden Stock dann verfälscht der Wind, wenn ich versuche mich zu Echolokalisieren die Geräusche. Und sonst, das Singen von Vögeln, und Stille. Stille, also wenn nur das Rauschen des Windes in den Bäumen zu hören ist und sonst nichts, absolute Stille wird man schwer finden außer man sperrt sich irgendwo im Keller ein und hört dann nichts. Aber das Rauschen des Windes ist noch als Stille für mich akzeptabel.

F: Bitte erzähle frei über deine eigene Erfahrung und deinen Alltag mit Klang; was Lärm oder Harmonie für dich bedeutet; und welche akustischen Merkmale zu einem genussvollen Erlebnis und einem Gefühl des Wohlbefindens beitragen.

Wir sind ja in Wien, dort gibt es gute, also positive und negative Geräusche, also für mich positive und negative Geräusche, wenn ich zum Beispiel an einer stark befahrenen Straße entlang gehe kann das einerseits ein gutes Geräusch sein, die Geräusche dienen ja auch zur Orientierung und andererseits können das auch negative Geräusche sein wenn sie mich in meiner Konzentration, in meiner Orientierung stören und, also ein negatives Geräusch für mich in Wien ist das Geräusch von Elektroautos. Die geben ja selten ein Geräusch von sich, also geben nur ein Geräusch von sich wenn sie schnell unterwegs sind und man nur das Abrollgeräusch der Reifen hört. Man diskutiert ja immer hin und her ob man die Autos mit einem zusätzlichen Geräusch ausrüsten soll, das frei wählbar ist und es gab schon unzählige Treffen unter blinden Menschen welches Geräusch das sein sollte, von Waschmaschinengeräuschen bis zu Katzengeräuschen bis zu Kindergeräuschen bis zu ‚Kastleruther Spatzen', ich weiß nicht ob du die Gruppe kennst, das ist eine volkstümliche Gruppe aus Südtirol, ‚Umpftatam'-Musik und das war meine Idee. Also man sollte Autos mit Liedern von den ‚Kastleruther Spatzen' ausrüsten, diese Idee wurde nicht akzeptiert. Aber der ganze Themenbereich, welches Geräusch nehmen wir, der ist noch in der Schwebe und jetzt wird, glaube ich, herum diskutiert, man soll ein herkömmliches Autogeräusch nehmen, weil welches Geräusch soll ein Auto machen wenn nicht ein Autogeräusch. Denn Menschen, also auch sehende Menschen sind ja auch schon trainiert ein Auto zu hören und bei blinden Menschen ist es ja noch ärger, und ich warte schon bis der erste blinde Mensch von so einem Auto überfahren wird und erst dann passiert was. Und wenn ich an einem öffentlichen Verkehrsknotenpunkt, also einem Verkehrsknotenpunkt unterwegs bin, und das Geräusch von Schuhen ist einerseits ein gutes Geräusch, weil ich weiß, da bekomme ich Hilfe her, da muss ich mich nur den Schuhen todesmutig in den Weg werfen und dann wird mir vielleicht geholfen und wenn ich keine Schuhe höre dann bin ich ganz alleine und dann kann mir auch keiner helfen. Geräusche sind ein Für und Wider, positiv und negativ, es kommt immer darauf an wo man sie wahrnimmt und wie man sie wahrnimmt. Oder aber es wäre auch eine Möglichkeit dass das Auto ein Signal ausstrahlt dass ich auf eine Weise wahrnehmen kann, dass zum Beispiel der Stock also der Griff eines Stockes vibriert wenn sich mir ein auto nähert mit Sensoren. Viele Autos auf einem Fleck sind dann, sind Autogeräusche sehr störend, aber dann kommt wieder hinzu: Autogeräusche sind auch eine Orientierung, weil wer will schon von einem Auto überfahren werden. Wenn ein Auto schnell unterwegs ist dann hört man ja die Abrollgeräusche der Autos und wenn's langsam unterwegs ist, wenn es also zum Beispiel sich der Ampel nähert, dann sind die Umweltgeräusche etwas lauter und dann hört man es nicht und man darf sich bei einer Ampel überqueren leider nicht auf seinem Vordermann oder seine Vorderfrau verlassen, viele gehen ja auch bei Rot drüber und ich will ja nicht auch überfahren werden. Also Elektroautos und auch Elektrobusse, weil es gibt ja auch schon Elektrobusse, die haben ihre Daseinsberechtigung aber es ist gefährlich für blinde Menschen. Hier zum Beispiel. Ich sitze hier in aller Gemütlichkeit und kann nur zuhören, kann den Umweltgeräusche zuhören, kann anderen Menschen zuhören. Ich liebe es, anderen Menschen zu zuhören, deswegen fahr ich auch gerne öffentliche Verkehrsmittel, wenn sie telefonieren und sich über alles Mögliche unterhalten, da kann ich einfach da sitzen und kann alle Viere von mir strecken, sozusagen, und kann einfach nur zuhören, also stresslos und ohne mich konzentrieren zu müssen. Und wenn ich in einem Park sitze und den Vögeln oder den Menschen zuhöre oder Kindergeschrei dann ist es mir Wurscht wenn Kinder schreien. Und sonst laufe ich auch oft an der Donauinsel entlang und dort kommt das Olfaktorische hinzu, also der Geruch von Wasser, das kommt dann noch positiv hinzu, wenn ich die Menschen höre die am Ufer fliegen und dann auch noch das Wasser rieche dann kommt das auch noch hinzu als positives Merkmal. Und noch ein weiteres positives Merkmal, wenn dann auch noch gegrillt wird. Das ist das absolute Highlight.

F: Warum hast Du anfangs den Schottenstift und dann den Stephansdom als Treffpunkt vorgeschlagen? Welche Klangkulisse umgibt diesen Ort?

Der Schottenstift der hat Innenhöfe und in den Innenhöfen kann man umher gehen kann man umher spazieren und es ist ruhig also man ist in der Stadt und es ist trotzdem ruhig und es gibt auch viele Sitzgelegenheiten, also wenn wenn nicht gerade eine Baustelle ist. In Wien wird man schwer einen Ort finden wo nicht gerade eine Baustelle ist, aber dort ist es ruhig. Und hier sind wir jetzt eben am Stephansplatz und hier ist es auch angenehm zu sitzen, weil man hört die anderen Menschen reden und dort hört man eine Taube und solange die Taube mir nicht auf den Kopf scheißt macht sie ein angenehmes Geräusch. Aber normalerweise, zu nicht Corona Zeiten ist der Stephansplatz ein unangenehmer Ort. Also wenn viel los ist, ich weiß nicht ob jetzt gerade viel los ist, dann sind da viele Menschen und man hat keinerlei Orientierung. Eine Kombination die für einen blinden Menschen etwas ungeeignet ist. Und das hier ist jetzt nicht die Pommerin, da die Klocke nur an Silvester und ich glaube an Weihnachten läutet. Normalerweise hängt sie nur dumm rum. Damals bin ich mit einer Gruppe an Schülern auch mal auf den Stefans Dom hinauf gelaufen und die meisten gehen wir hinauf um die gute Aussicht zu genießen aber die hat mich weniger angezogen. Von dort oben waren die Geräusche alle entfernter. Der Stephansdom ist ja 137 m hoch und teilweise hört man auch die Menschen gar nicht mehr sondern nur ein leises flüstern.

F: Du hast ein paar Orte für den Stadtspaziergang vorgeschlagen: den Verkehrsknotenpunkt am Schottentor, den Donaukanal oder den Au-Garten. Warum hast du diese Orte vorgeschlagen? Welche akustischen Merkmale haben diese Orte?

Das Schottentor würde ich unter akustische Umweltverschmutzung einordnen, weil es fahren einerseits Straßenbahnen, andererseits Autos, viele Autos, und es fahren auch Busse, also den Schottentor alleine zu betreten ist für mich mit Angst verbunden, weil ich nicht weiß ob ich da lebend wieder raus komme. Und als positiven Ort würde ich dann noch sagen, also den Donaukanal, aber da eigentlich nur um 5:00 Uhr in der Früh wenn der Tag erwacht und da bin ich auch schon öfter gesessen, auf einer Parkbank am Donaukanal, also bei der Friedensbrücke und habe dem erwachenden Tag zugehört. Und der Au-Garten. Also unsere Kirche, also meine Frau Ich sind Katholiken und unsere Kirche ist direkt beim Au-Garten und da gibt es einmal im Jahr im kirchlichen Verlauf ein Fest wo man eine Prozession macht und der Priester geht vorne weg und erzählt irgendwas und die Gläubigen gehen hinterher und dann haben wir einen Rundgang gemacht, also einen Kurs durch den Au-Garten, und das war richtig schön, weil die Menschen, da ist ja auch ein Schwimmbad, das war noch zu nicht Corona Zeiten, und die Kinder haben im Wasser gespielt und wir haben die Prozession durchgezogen und haben uns auch gefreut. Arya, der Spürhund war auch dabei. Wenn ich vorhätte öfters im Au-Garten zu sein dann müsste ich den Au-Garten sozusagen für mich erkunden, erforschen. Also das Gute am Au-Garten ist, dass er eingemauert ist, dass er ja eine Mauer drumherum hat, also es gibt schwer die Möglichkeit sich zu verirren und außerhalb vom Au-Garten sich wieder zu finden, man stößt zwangsläufig auf ein Tor oder eine Mauer. Also es gibt Wege durch die man gehen kann und die muss ich erst ergründen und mir eine Karte im Kopf zeichnen und dann kann ich mich da erst wohl fühlen. Denn unbekannte Orte, das ist bei jedem Blinden so, machen zwangsläufig Angst und verursachen ein Beklemmungsgefühl und bekannte Orte, da fühlt man sich wohl und sicher.

F: Bitte nenne mir noch einige weitere Orte/Plätze in Wien, die deiner Meinung nach eine besondere akustische Atmosphäre besitzen, - positiv und negativ?

Also als Anti-Ort, als Nicht-Wohlfühl Ort würde mir noch das Donauzentrum einfallen. Das große Einkaufszentrum, dass ist der Worst Case eines jeden blinden Menschen. Es gibt ja einige Einkaufszentren die besser geeignet sind, zum Beispiel das in Gerasdorf, das G3, da kommt man als blinder Mensch schlecht hin ohne Auto, es würde zwar ein Bus hinfahren. Aber das Donauzentrum ist schwierig, weil es so groß, so umfangreich ist und so viele Geschäfte drinnen sind. Wohlfühl-Ort wäre dann noch der Rabenhof im dritten Bezirk, bei der Station Kardinal-Nagl-

Gasse. Weil den habe ich auch intensiv kennen gelernt, das ist ein älterer Bau, da ist das Theater drinnen, da hat ein Freund von mir mal gewohnt, den hab ich immer besucht wenn ich in Wien war, den habe ich als positives Beispiel kennengelernt. Und als negatives Beispiel, meine Tante hatte mal eine Wohnung im zehnten Bezirk bei der Südosttangente, die Südosttangente war mal lange, ich weiß nicht ob sie es immer noch ist, die stark befahrenste Straße Europas und das hörte man wenn man in ihrer Wohnung war, also man konnte das Fenster gar nicht aufmachen außer zwischen 10:00 Uhr abends und 4:00 Uhr in der Früh sonst konnte man sich nicht unterhalten. Also Autogeräusche neben einer stark befahrenen Autobahn oder Straße, das ist schwierig. Also bei der Stadthalle, bei der Halle F, da ist ein kleiner Park der Vogelweiden-Park, also zwischen 2006 und 2008 war der ‚Dialog im Dunklen' in der Stadthalle und dort bin ich, wenn ich Dienst hatte, setzte ich mich immer in der Pause in diesen Park und habe die Umgebung genossen. Der Park ist klein ist gut zum orientieren, also wenn ich zurückblicke dann ist das eigentlich so ein Wohlfühl-Ort. Und eigentlich auch der Vorplatz zur U6 Station, der Urban-Loritz-Platz, da roch es immer sehr gut. Also wenn ich im ‚Dialog' gearbeitet habe, musste ich immer von dort Kebabs mitnehmen, wenn meine Frau zu Hause war und ich Dienst hatte, dann hab ich zwei Kebabs besorgt und ohne Kebabs dürfte ich nicht nach Hause kommen. Aber nur der Platz, alles drumherum war schon sehr laut und desorientierend.

F: Auf welche Weise nutzt du Geräusche und Klänge zu deiner Orientierung an bekannten und an unbekannten Orten? (Echo-Location, Distanzwahrnehmung, Effekte)

Also meine Frau war mal krank und ich hatte Dienst und der Blinden-Führhund musste mal raus und er musste im Dienst immer trainiert werden und ich nahm ihn mit in den ‚Dialog' in die Arbeit und ich hatte damals keine Erfahrung mit Blinden-Führhunden und ich dachte es reicht wenn ich mich an den vier Bügel anhalte und der Hund weiß eh wo ich hin will und es ging bis zu diesem Platz gut und dann mussten wir die Straße überqueren. Das war Sonntag Vormittag, zum Glück war nicht viel Verkehr und ich gab dem Hund das Hörzeichen zum Straße überqueren und wir überquerten und überquerten und nach 100 m hatten wir die Straße immer noch nicht überquert und ich dachte mir: Das ist aber eine komische Straße, ist aber sehr breit und plötzlich fuhr rechts neben mir ein Auto vorbei und sagte mir: „Entschuldigen Sie, sie gehen da mitten auf der Straße und der Gehsteig ist 2 m rechts von Ihnen oder 3 m rechts von Ihnen", und der Hund wollte einen Ausflug machen und ist mit mir auf der Straße dahin spaziert und dann hab ich mir gedacht, jetzt muss ich ein wenig aufpassen und gedanklich den Weg mitgehen, dass ihm das nicht mehr gelingt. Aber der Heimweg ging gut und ich konnte unfallfrei absolvieren. Das Hundezeichen für den Hund um die Straße zu überqueren ist ‚voran' oder oder ‚vorüber', also klare Aussagen, oder ‚such', also der Hund bleibt immer stehen wenn, laut der Ansicht des Hundes, ein Hindernis kommt und ein Bordstein ist ein Hindernis, da bleibt er stehen. Man hat keinen Langstock sondern einen Taststock, er ist etwas kürzer und man tastet dann das Areal vor dem Hund ab und kommt dann drauf, warum der Hund stehen geblieben ist, ist es ein Abgrund, eine Stufe, eine Wand und wenn man erkannt hat um welches Hindernis es sich handelt, dann gibt man dem Hund den Befehl ‚voran' und dann geht es voran und er überquert zum Beispiel die Straße und bleibt drüben beim Gehsteig mit den Vorderpfoten stehen, weil das ist dann wieder ein Hindernis und dann tastet man und dann sagt man ihm wieder ‚voran'. Es ist eine sehr vertrauensvolle Beziehung, wenn einem der Hund nicht vertraut kann man ihn gleich als Haushund weiter beschäftigen, es ist ein Vertrauensverhältnis. Ich muss dem Hund Vertrauen und er muss mir vertrauen. Es gibt zwischen 40 und 70 Hörzeichen mit denen man mit dem Hund kommunizieren kann, ‚voran', ‚gehe rüber' , ‚such dort', sollte er beherrschen. Was bei blinden recht verbreitet ist, oder üblich, ist die Echo-Lokation (Schnalzgeräusch mit der Zunge) was von Fledermäusen abgeschaut ist, womit man seine Umgebung ab-scannen kann und erkennen kann, ob sich irgendwo ein Hindernis vor mir befindet. Einerseits beherrsche ich diese Technik nicht - wenn ich ein Geräusch mache, dann schnipse ich mit den Fingern oder klopfe mit dem Blinden-Stock einmal auf und dann höre ich die Umgebung und dann weiß ich ob es ‚Hallig' ist, oder ob irgendwo eine Wand steht, oder irgendwo ein Hindernis steht. Also ein positives Umweltgeräusche sind natürlich auch diese akustisch geregelten Ampeln, leider gibt es sie nicht überall und wenn es sie nicht gibt, muss ich es selbst machen oder mit Hilfe die Straße überqueren und meistens geht's gut, also bei mir ist es meistens gut gegangen. Es kommt drauf an, in welcher Umgebung ich mich aufhalte. Wenn Füße hallen, dann weiß ich wo ich bin, da muss ich hin. Blöd ist es wenn keine Leute unterwegs sind. Geräusche können gute Geräusche sein oder schlechte Geräusche. Manchmal sind sie wichtig zur Orientierung aber häufig sind sie nur lärm. Akustische Umweltverschmutzung. Viele blinde oder sehbehinderte Menschen tragen auch bewusst laut Schuhe damit sie ihre eigene Resonanz im Raum wahrnehmen und sich dadurch besser orientieren können ich trage sehr leise schwul oder ganz normale Schuhe. Am liebsten gehe ich barfuß und

das macht ja überhaupt keinen Lärm. Ich orientiere mich dann mehr mit dem Stock zum Beispiel. Wenn ich jetzt gehe und zum Beispiel rechts von mir ist eine Wand, dann ist dieses Geräusch nur, also es ist unabdingbar dass man es auf beiden Ohren gleich hört, weil meine Frau hört auf dem linken Ohr etwas schlechter und damit ist dieses Richtungshören nicht mehr gegeben. Also wenn man auf beiden Seiten hört, dann nimmt man war, dass sich dieses Geräusch rechts bricht und dass es links in die Ferne geht, also nach vorne auch, weil hinten bin ja ich, aber nach rechts bricht sich dieses Geräusch. Wir hatten in Wien eine Wohnung, da hatten wir über dem Eingang, war oben über uns auch schon eine Wohnung, ein Balkon und den stand etwas vor und man ging sozusagen in eine Rotunde. Wenn ich dann auf-geklopft habe, dann hat sich das so echo-artig angehört. Schwierig ist es dann im Winter zum Beispiel, wenn Schnee ist, wenn ich kein Geräusch machen kann und wenn ich mit dem Stock kein Geräusch machen kann und der Schnee schluckt ja auch viele Geräusche und der Schnee schluckt ja auch viele Straßengeräusche. Das ist mir dann schon einige Male passiert, dass ich auf der Straße war und Autos fuhren an mir links und rechts vorbei und ich habe das einfach nicht wahrgenommen, dass ich auf der Straße war, weil eben viele Geräusche geschluckt wurden. Manchmal versuche ich dann einen Ort systematisch zu erforschen und gehe die Wände entlang und dann bin ich beim Eingang bin noch einmal durch den Raum und so entsteht einmalig eine Karte im Kopf. Es gab mal eine Sendung, die habe ich mit Interesse verfolgt, ‚Wetten Dass': Ein blinder Mensch war da, der behauptet hat, dass er Gegenstände mit Echo-Lokalisation erkennen könne und dann haben sie vor ihm auf dem Tisch ein Fahrrad hingestellt und er hat sich rund um dieses Fahrrad bewegt und hat dieses Schnalz-Geräusch mit der Zunge gemacht und hat es auch erkannt und da wurde auch eine Tischlampe hingestellt und irgendein dritter Gegenstand, und er hat diese Wette gewonnen. Es gibt auch viele blinde Menschen die behaupten, mit dieser Technik Radfahren zu können, indem sie sich echo-lokalisierend durch die Stadt, durch die Umgebung bewegen. Ich bin da skeptisch, aber wenn die es behaupten wird es schon stimmen. Die Unfallgefahr wenn Wind geht, wenn Umweltgeräusche, wenn Geräusche sind, dann funktioniert es nicht und wie oft die schon im Krankenhaus lagen berichten Sie nicht.

F: Welche anderen Orientierungshilfen benutzt Du? (Stock, Geruch, Tastsinn, Wärmeempfinden, Apps; etc.)

In Wien ist so das positive, dass Wien riecht, riecht manchmal gut, manchmal schlecht, hier riecht es zum Beispiel nach Kaffee. Manchmal stinkt es auch. Was die Gerüche betrifft, ich kenne ja dann primär nur die Orte an denen ich unterwegs bin, zum Beispiel in Floridsdorf, Bei der U-Bahn Station und den Verkehrsknotenpunkt, da ist es ein Gemisch aus Gummi, kebab und Parfum. Also der Geruch ist bei mir ein gutes Orientierungsmittel, weil ich weiß, wenn ich nach Hause komme, dann muss ich an einer Pizzeria vorbei und wenn ich nicht in einer Pizzeria vorbeikommen, bin ich entweder falsch oder sie hat zu. Und ich gehe auch gerne durch Einkaufsstraßen wo viele Geräusche sind, über den Naschmarkt, wenn er offen hat, wo es einfach gut riecht, wo es einfach viele verschiedene Geräusche gibt. Lange kann ich das natürlich nicht machen, weil das Aufnehmen von Geräuschen ist wie das Aufnehmen von Gerüchen sehr konzentrationsaufwändig und nach 2-3 Stunden ist dann Schluss, als nach 2-3 Stunden kann ich dann nichts mehr riechen und dann brauche ich unbedingt eine Pause. Google Maps ist eine große Hilfe weil da kann ich mir im Vorfeld anschauen, also wenn ich eine bestimmte Adresse suche, dann kann ich eingeben: von hier nach da, wenn ich mit den Verkehrsmitteln unterwegs bin und wie ist der Weg, wie muss ich gehen und dann schlussendlich mache ich das so, dass ich jemanden frage. Denn es gibt zwar in Apple, im iPhone, die Funktion zu fragen ‚wo bin ich', aber wo sich der Eingang konkret befindet, oder wo ich den richtigen Knopf in der Gegensprechanlage drücken muss, das kann Google Maps nicht sagen, das können nur Menschen sagen und die meisten tun das auch. Also ich falle niemanden an, manchmal geht auch jemand vorbei, manchmal höre ich auch jemanden vorbei gehen, also ich orientiere mich an der Richtung der Schuhe und frage ‚Entschuldigung, können Sie mir helfen', die Schuhe gingen dann eben vorbei und ich ruf dann nach, ‚du Blunzn du blede'. Aber die meisten Schuhe bleiben stehen und sagen ‚ja bitte'? Und dann bringe ich mein Anliegen vor und dann wird mir geholfen. In meiner Jugend, also das hab ich auch in Wien noch gemacht, also barfuß laufen, aber wenn viele Scherben herum liegen, dann macht es auch nicht viel Sinn, sich die Füße aufzuschneiden. Also ich habe ganz herkömmliche Schuhe an und die Wahrnehmung über die Füße des Bodens ist für mich auch ganz wichtig, weil es gibt auch den Leitstreifen wo man sich mit dem Blinden-Stock entlang tasten kann und der mich dann vielleicht irgendwo hinführt, wo ich hin will. Schlecht ist es, es wird nicht nur in Wien sein, sind Pflastersteine, wo ich mit dem Stock immer hängen bleiben, also manchmal hängen bleibe, wenn ich schnell unterwegs bin, dann hab ich schon fast Stabhochsprung gemacht, weil der Stock ist stecken geblieben und ich wäre fast über den Stock drüber gesegelt, weil ich nicht rechtzeitig

bremsen konnte. Also so wie jetzt der Boden, ob er glatt ist, also die Straße fühlt sich anders an als der Gehsteig, also manche Straßen, also da braucht man keine spezielle Schuhe, das bekommt man relativ bald mit.

F: Inwiefern hat sich die allgemeine Geräuschkulisse durch die Corona Pandemie verändert?

Während der Corona Pandemie werden die Menschen seltsamer. Zwei konkrete Punkte will ich herausgreifen. Das Abstand halten, weil ich kenne viele blinde Menschen, die von anderen Sehenden angeschrien und angemeckert und angemotzt worden und werden, weil sie keinen Abstand halten können, weil es ist schwierig und die Sehenden müssen ja drauf schauen, weil ich kann die nicht sehen. Wenn ich den Stock von mir habe, dann kann ich mit dem Stock so herumtasten und dann kann ich schauen ob in meiner Nähe niemand steht, aber wenn dann rechts oder links von mir jemand steht, das kann ich mit dem Stock hier nicht wahrnehmen und da braucht sich keiner blöd aufpudeln, dass ich, oder auch ein anderer blinder Mensch Abstand einhalten muss oder soll. Keiner will sich anstecken, aber jeder Mensch sollte nachdenken bevor er die Schnauze aufreißt. Und der zweite Punkt ist, es wurden blinde Menschen bei der Barrierefreiheit, bei der Programmierung von Impft-Anmeldung, von Testanmeldung eindeutig vergessen. Also diese ganzen Seiten kann man in die Tonne treten, die hat ein Informatiker im ersten Semester programmiert und das hätte ich schon besser programmieren können. Also blinde Menschen können sich eindeutig nicht alleine anmelden, also zum Test anmelden, zum Impfen anmelden, Informationen holen, sie brauchen immer Hilfe und das sollte nicht so sein. Wir leben im 21. Jahrhundert und Barrierefreiheit sollte eigentlich keine Kunst mehr sein. Während der Pandemie ist mir positiv aufgefallen dass die Stadt ruhiger ist, es sind nicht so viele Menschen, nicht so viele Autos unterwegs, was einerseits gut ist weil es nicht mehr so viel Lärm gibt, aber andererseits schlecht ist weil es nicht mehr so viel Hilfe gibt.

F: Welche Wünsche und Vorschläge hast du damit nicht nur die Orientierung und der Alltag in Wien für dich angenehmer wird, sondern auch damit dein städtischer Alltag zu einem positiven, angenehmen Erlebnis wird?

Ich würde vorschlagen mehr akustische Ampeln zu installieren und nicht diese akustischen Ampeln um 22:00 Uhr abzuschalten, weil als blinder Mensch muss man ja nicht um 22:00 Uhr schon zu Hause sein. Und mehr Bäume und mehr Bäume heißt auch mehr Vögel, wo wir dann wieder bei meinem Lieblingsgeräusch sind. Und mehr Fußgängerzonen, also weniger Autogeräusch, dass man in der Stadt nicht mehr mit dem Auto so umher fahren kann. Und ein Antigeräusch so wie Elektroautos sind ja auch Fahrrad Geräusche. Fahrräder kann man ja auch nicht hören und da gibt es so Dinge die man in die Speichen hinein gibt, wo man so ein Geräusch machen kann beim Radfahren und das wäre auch positiv. Und die Elektroauto sollten mit einem nicht-abschaltbaren Geräusch ausgestattet sein. Als blinder würde ich mir von sehenden im öffentlichen Raum München offen sein und hilfsbereit sein. Also nicht die Hilfe aufdrängen, aber Hilfe anbieten. Und jetzt hören wir die Glocken im Hintergrund, das ist für mich ein sehr positives Geräusch.

Michael Frank, 06.05.21, MQ

Wie heißt du? Wie geht es dir? Magst du mir ein wenig über deine Person erzählen?

Hallo, ich bin der Michael. Ja wie's mir geht, spannende Frage. Lockdown. Heute Gottseidank mal ausgeschlafen, bin aber trotzdem sehr müde, weil ich Wochen, Monate lang sehr viel gemacht habe und sehr viel Stress gehabt hab mit der Uni und dem arbeiten. Aber sonst geht's mir trotzdem nicht schlecht, ich bin auf einem guten Dampfer. Im Zuge des Lockdowns habe ich mir, wie viele wahrscheinlich, den Lockdown zu nutzen gemacht und dann einfach ein Studium angefangen welches ich sonst vielleicht gar nicht gemacht hätte und habe jetzt im letzten Herbst mit Jazzgeige angefangen, daneben aber 25 Stunden gearbeitet, für eine Zeit lang, was dann eben zu viel war. Das habe ich dann gekündigt weil mir das Studium einfach wichtiger ist und weil ich etwas mitnehmen möchte für mich selbst und jetzt konzentriere ich mich seit einem Monat wieder auf die Uni, so richtig, und das taugt mir sehr, mann hat das Gefühl man kann auf jeden Fall etwas mitnehmen. Das gestaltet momentan auch den Mittelpunkt in meinem Leben, weil das einfach auch viel Anforderung ist. Es wird schon viel gefragt und gefordert und

es ist auch wirklich anders als in anderen Studien, weil es fast mehr wie eine Schule ist, weil man kontinuierlich dran sein muss und man jede Woche etwas abgeben muss. Man muss auch kreativ arbeiten, aber es ist momentan größtenteils auch eher wie ein Handwerk lernen, so eine Mischung aus Uni und Handwerk, aber es ist auch trotzdem ein kreatives Studium. Im Endeffekt lernst du die Tools, darum geht es am Anfang sehr viel, aber im Endeffekt geht es darum eine eigene Sprache zu entwickeln. Das finde ich auch schön. Wir haben auch viele coole Professoren die das auch immer wieder betonen und dann muss man dieses Lied lernen und diese Skalen und Tempi-Changes und das Alles anschauen und dann sagt er halt, ja, der Mind-Bereich den machen wir, aber als erstes wenn du ein Lied angehst, dann hörst du es dir mal an, dann spielst du dich rein, dann suchst du dir die Melodie raus und bekommst ein Gespür, und dann hat man Spaß, und spielt und freut sich. Und das ist schön, das taugt mir. Und sonst ist das soziale Leben halt sehr eingeschränkt, das ist halt so, aber ich bin Gottseidank in einer WG, wir sind fünf Leute, das fängt viel ab und wir haben uns dann gegenseitig durchgebracht und die ganzen Challenges von außen gemeistert. Und wenn ich Zeit habe gehe ich gerne in die Natur raus, in den Wald zum Regenerieren. Und bei uns in der WG ist es so ein Ding geworden dass wir uns die Badewanne einlassen und das ist großartig, eine harte Gönnung und wir betreiben das dann oft auch wie eine Meditation, denn in der WG sind die kontinuierlichen Stress-Levels sehr hoch. Es ist ja sehr unangenehm für den Körper wenn du gestresst bist eine Anspannung hast, dann willst du aus dem raus flüchten was du nicht mehr aushältst und du bist gezwungen dazu die Anspannungen zu spüren und wahrzunehmen, und dann wenn du dadurch gehst, kommt auf einmal die volle Entspannung und es gibt Tiefe, das ist toll. Das Hirn schwirrt und man kriegst gar das nicht so richtig mit und auf einmal klärt es auf, im wahrsten Sinne, und man merkt: jetzt darf ich mich beruhigen, du spürst die Wärme. Und in Bezug auf Klang nimmst du dann auch die Umgebung plötzlich so war, du nimmst auf einmal Geräusche aus der WG wahr, die normalerweise im Hintergrund sind.

Bitte erzähle frei über deine eigene Erfahrung und deinen Alltag mit Klang; was Lärm oder Harmonie für dich bedeutet; und welche akustischen Merkmale zu einem genussvollen Erlebnis und einem Gefühl des Wohlbefindens beitragen.

Diese Unterscheidung zwischen angenehm und unangenehm. Im Alltag kriegst du sehr viel nicht mit. Und wenn dann die Aufmerksamkeit plötzlich auf Geräusche gelenkt wird die du normalerweise nicht mitbekommst, wie das Rauschen der Blätter, das ist etwas unheimlich angenehmes, ich mag auch Wind sehr gerne, irgendwie natürliche klänge. Deshalb habe ich auch den Maria-Theresien-Platz dort drüben raus gesucht, der ist natürlich auch strategisch wichtig, Aber du hörst auch Vogelgezwitscher zum Beispiel oder Wasser und dann zum Beispiel auf der anderen Seite Geräusche von Maschinen. Manchmal sind die auch nicht unangenehm, wenn es zum Beispiel ein tiefes Brummen ist, dann ist es nicht einmal unangenehm. Aber es gibt einfach Geräusche die wirklich unangenehm sind, zum Beispiel Vorschlag-Hammer, das Aufschneiden von Asphalt, Straßen-Lärm. Also ich hab ein Fenster zur Straße und das kriege ich dann im Sommer mehr mit, wenn ich das Fenster offen hab beim schlafen gehen und das empfinde ich dann als störend. Ich habe mal in einer anderen WG gewohnt, da war das Fenster zu einem riesigen Innenhof, also von mehreren Häusern, und das war wirklich wie ein Dschungel in der Mitte der Stadt, und da hast du einfach die Natur gehört und das ist eine komplett andere Wahrnehmung von Klang. Die Wohnung in der ich jetzt wohne ist in einer Seitenstraße, aber rechts und links anschließend an diese kurze Seiten-Gassen, da hörst du's. da gibt es sicher auch Studien dazu warum es so unglaublich angenehm ist und wohltuend wenn man in den Wald geht und das hat sich ja auch etwas mit dem Klängen zu tun, das ist wahrscheinlich einfach die Abwesenheit von Geräuschen die du im Alltag gar nicht mit kriegst aber aber eben belastend sind, zum Beispiel Verkehr, das sind viele Sachen, die U-Bahn zum Beispiel, du kriegst es gar nicht mehr bewusst mit aber die Stadt hat selten ruhige Momente. Und dann ist es die Abwesenheit von, vielleicht ist es auch die Menge an Sounds die man hört, es ist ein bisschen eine Überlastung vielleicht. Im Wald hast du auch viele Geräusche, aber die sind im Grunde angenehm. Und sonst ist Klang an sich natürlich für mich wichtig, weil ich ein großes Interesse an Musik habe. Da ist es jetzt aber auch so, dass ich im Zuge von meinem Studium konfrontiert bin mit Klängen die mir beim ersten Mal hinhören eigentlich gar nicht gefallen und dann mit einem mehrmaligen hinhören, wenn ich sie öfter höre, sich das Wahrnehmungsspektrum im Ohr erweitert, weil man empfindsamer oder empfängliche wird für Klänge die man noch nicht gehört hat und andererseits auch als unangenehm empfunden hat. Akkorde zum Beispiel die in sich eine gewisse Spannung haben. Das kann man dann sogar wissenschaftlich erklären, wenn Töne aufeinander prallen, die haben manchmal einfach eine Reibung miteinander, Also mit dem Tonabstand den sie zueinander haben erzeugen sie eine Reibung. Es ist mir öfter aufgefallen beim Üben auf der Geige. Die Geige ist an sich ein relativ schwieriges

Instrument und dann ist es eine Art Körper-Wissen die richtigen Töne zu treffen und dann geht es nur noch um die Intonation, um einen Minibereich, und als Anfänger tust du dich da sehr schwer wenn du eine Abfolge von Töne hast, die sind dann unsauber. Es ist lustig, weil das Instrument liegt ja am Körper an, und erzeugt Vibration. Und das spürst du dann im Körper. Und das ist dann manchmal ein physisches Leiden gewesen, für mich, weil dann eine gewisse Dissonanz im Körper gegeben war. Wobei bei der Geige der Klangkörper nicht so groß ist. Wenn du dann ein größeres Instrument hast spürst du die Schwingungen, die Vibrationen, wie bei einer Klangschale. Mein Mitbewohner hat von uns eine geschenkt bekommen und die haben wir dann auf den Fußboden gelegt und dann fing der ganze Boden an zu schwingen. Bezüglich der Frage ob diese Spannungen oder Reibungen menschlich sind oder kulturell geprägt sind: wahrscheinlich beides. Es hat auf jeden Fall eine starke physische Komponente, Weil wenn du zum Beispiel eine Seite anschlägst hast du automatisch mit-schwingende Obertöne, aber wenn du eine Seite immer wieder halbierst, also die Hälfte von der Hälfte nimmst, also ein mathematischerer Ansatz. Aber das mit den Obertönen habe ich spannender gefunden, weil das von Natur aus dabei ist, also zumindest bei einem Seiten-Instrument. Und da ergeben sich, wenn man die übereinanderlegt, Töne die zusammenpassen, oder auch nicht zusammenpassen. Und das lustige ist, wenn du einen Grundton anschlägst, immer eine kleine Sept hast, die ich als störend empfinde. Eine Quint oder Terz zum Beispiel sind Abstände die als angenehm empfunden werden. Also wenn du zum Beispiel eine kleine Sekunde her nimmst und gleichzeitig anspielst dann entsteht eine physische Reibung die wirklich ungut ist. Und dann ist das Ohr das natürlich auch nicht gewöhnt. Und ich glaube dass das dann zum Beispiel schon kulturell geprägt ist, weil diese Viertel-Tonabstände, die sie in Indien haben, keine Ahnung was die für Skalen haben, sind für unsere Ohren am Anfang vielleicht auch unangenehm zu hören. Aber wenn man sich dann länger rein hört, dann ist das auch was sehr schönes und wohltuendes. Also ich glaube schon, dass das kulturelle sehr viel ausmacht weil wir mit einer gewissen musikalischen Sprache aufwachsen. Zum Beispiel dieser Ö3-Brei, oder Kinderlieder. Also die Ohren sind, wie so vieles bei uns, auf jeden Fall auch konditioniert. Und was die öffentlichen Alltagsgeräusche betrifft, da sind wir wahrscheinlich auch einfach irgendwann abgehärtet und empfinden etwas als normal und es stresst uns nicht mehr so stark wie jemanden der erst hergezogen ist. Ja, und was die Parallele zwischen Musik und Geräuschen betrifft oder eben den Unterschied. Also die Verbindung zwischen Geräuschen die uns umgeben und Musik und in der Stimme. Weil die Stimme ja irgendwie das Ur-Instrument ist. Und dass du mit der Stimme sehr viel imitieren kannst, Geräusche die von außen passieren, und dann diese Sache mit der Musik, dieses Elaborierte, was denn auch mit Kultur zu tun hat und auch ein wenig entfremdet. Weil so schön das Instrument auch ist, es ist auch eine Art Entfremdung, eine Übersetzung von dem was du im Kopf hörst, also der Stimme, dem Klang. Das ist dann auch philosophisch. Also ich sage zum Beispiel, dass mir natürliche Geräusche lieber sind, aber dann hörst du dort diesen Fahrradständer und willst ihn als unnatürlichen Klang beschreiben, aber er kann eigentlich gar nicht unnatürlich sein, weil er passiert, weil er da ist auf der Erde. Man hat dann schon die Tendenz, etwas zu verurteilen aber eigentlich sollte man dann schon offen sein, also im Endeffekt ist ja alles ein Instrument, die Stimme auch, die ist natürlich den Menschen näher als ein Instrument. Aber dennoch. Man kann natürlich auch noch viel weiter an die Wurzel gehen und jedes Instrument, zum Beispiel auch den Hammer, als Entfremdung sehen oder zum Beispiel die ersten Affen die sich auf die Brust geschlagen haben um ein Geräusch zu produzieren. Oder die Schimpansen. Oder wie unterscheidet sich das denn von einem Specht, oder eben von dem Fahrradständer. Aber letztlich ist denn ein solches Geräusch auf der Erde. Es macht irgendwo Klick und das Geräusch landet mit dieser oder jener Schallgeschwindigkeit in unserem Ohr und ist damit auch etwas natürliches. Ich finde das alles ein sehr spannendes Thema. Also zum Beispiel auch ob man etwas als störend oder nicht störend empfindet, das ist dann auch oft, also ein wichtiger Faktor ist auch der eigene Zustand, die eigene Fähigkeit wahrzunehmen, wo man gerade ist, also wenn du gestresst bist oder angespannt, dann kann mich etwas schneller stressen. Und gleichzeitig auch wenn du tiefen-entspannt bist, dann nimmst du dafür aber die Sachen auch noch intensiver war, und umgekehrt, können zum Beispiel, wenn du angespannt bist, als mir geht es so, gewisse Klänge können dann eine entspannende Wirkung haben, heilend, wohltuend sein. Zum Beispiel Musik die angenehm ist, aber auch Geräusche, zum Beispiel Vogelgezwitscher, oder die Bäume und das Rascheln der Blätter sind für mich wohltuende, heilende Geräusche. Also ob man etwas als störend oder nicht störend empfindet liegt nicht alleine am Geräusch, sondern auch an der Auffassungsfähigkeit. Wie zum Beispiel der Typ der eine gewisse Geräuschkulisse gewöhnt ist und dann in die Natur geht und dann gestresst ist. Super spannend. Die ersten Züge zum Beispiel, als sie noch völlig unbekannt waren, da waren ja auch diese Geräusche noch völlig unbekannt. Klang ist ja eine Sinneswahrnehmung. Und oft sind ja auch die Sinneswahrnehmungen verbunden übereinander. Bei der Dampflok zum Beispiel kommt ja auch ein Geruch dazu. Was die Wahrnehmung von Klang betrifft, das ist ja dann nicht nur reiner Klang, also einerseits dass du den Zustand

der Umgebung, also der Menschen, der vielen Menschen die um dich herum sind, mit wahrnimmst mit dem Klang, dass der Klang der entsteht, aus einem gewissen Zustand heraus passiert, zum Beispiel die Mama die gestresst ist und mit dem Kind schimpft und einer der viel zu spät losgegangen ist und erst hin rennt zum Zug und den Koffer mitschleift und flucht, dass also die Klänge die dich umgeben verbunden sind mit dem Zustand, mit der Stimmung der Menschen die dich umgeben. Oder das Einkaufszentrum, das ist ja ein Ort, manche Menschen genießen das total, aber viele Menschen finden das wahrscheinlich auch nicht so angenehm, und woran liegt es? Also mir geht es so, dass ich in ein Einkaufszentrum gehe und nach 5 Minuten fühle ich mich wie ausgesaugt, völlig geschlaucht, so als müsste ich mich gleich hinlegen. Klang ist halt omnipräsent. Und die Musik aus den Geschäften kriege ich auch immer sehr intensiv mit. Das ist auch sehr spannend was der Kapitalismus mit einem macht, die Manipulation, es ist dann auch spannend, also für die Leute die das machen, die haben dann ja auch ein klares Ziel, Gewinnmaximierung. Aber was denn de facto passiert ist auch spannend, es bleibt dann auch etwas übrig für Forscher die den Status Quo beobachten können. Mir ist es im Supermarkt oft aufgefallen, wenn dann eine motivierende happy-peppy Musik gespielt wird, die dann auch dazu verleitet, ‚ah heute gebe ich mir dann noch das und das'. Aber man will dann auch nicht so lange dableiben. Also zusammenfassend, die wichtigsten Sachen im Alltag hab ich eh schon gesagt, angenehme Musik, oder eher natürliche Geräusche, das Wasser, das höre ich gerne. Kindergeschrei ist auch interessant, das kommt stark auf das Gemüt an, manchmal stört es mich gar nicht, dann wenn ich gestresst in der U-Bahn sitze dann kann es mich stören, oder das Lachen von einem Kind zum Beispiel, das ist auch was schönes, da muss man schmunzeln.

Warum hast Du diesen Ort vorgeschlagen? Welche Klangkulisse umgibt diesen Ort? Du hast ein paar weitere Orte für den Stadtspaziergang vorgeschlagen - welche akustischen Merkmale haben diese Orte? Bitte nenne mir noch einige weitere Orte/Plätze in Wien, die deiner Meinung nach eine besondere akustische Atmosphäre besitzen - positiv und negativ?

Hier, im Museumsquartier ist es noch ein wenig anders als zum Beispiel in Maria Theresia Park, hier ist es noch lebendiger als drüben. Was man hier hört sind auf jeden Fall viele Leute, viele quatschen, man hört Handy-Musik im Hintergrund, und diesen Wal natürlich, der ist schon lustig. Es ist halt lebendig. Man ist dann auch so ausgesetzt den Stimmungen der anderen Leute und den Klängen die sie aus diesem Zustand heraus produzieren. Aber es ist trotzdem im Vergleich zu anderen Plätzen ein eher entspannterer, Ort weil die Leute auch hier herkommen, wenn sie frei haben und wenn sie entspannen können, zum Erholen und Treffen und Quatschen und Bier trinken. Also man hört halt sehr viel die Leute und die Geräusche die sie machen, das ist dominant und im Hintergrund hörst du schon auch das Rauschen der Blätter weil auch Bäume da sind. (Er lacht über das schreiende Kind). Wäre aber auch ein guter Platz zum spielen. Nur habe ich mich das nie getraut, weil man sich da so imposed, sich aufdrängt, man möchte das jetzt niemanden drauf drücken, weil die möchten ja auch ihren eigenen Space haben, obwohl das auch total cool sein kann. Du gehst halt das Risiko ein dass du die Leute zwangs-beglückst. Und ich bin ja jetzt auch kein Sound-Experte, aber ich glaube dass hier auch sehr viel Sound da bleiben kann, weil er so eingekesselt ist. Also es ist jetzt nicht so wie auf einem freien Feld, wo die Geräusche so schnell verschwinden werden, es wird auch reflektiert von den Wänden. Und es ist zwar schon ein größerer Platz und groß genug angelegt, aber dieses Mädchen würde man wahrscheinlich dort Rüben auch hören und es wäre auf einer freien Wiese wahrscheinlich leiser. Also es drückt einem die Sound Kulisse schon mehr drauf. Also mir wäre es auf die Dauer zu viel, aber es ist jetzt nicht super unangenehm, es hat auch etwas angenehm lebendiges. Wie als wenn du jetzt auf einen Marktplatz gehst. Der Maria-Theresien-Platz zum Beispiel, das ist spannend, weil der ist ja gleich neben einer mehrspurigen Straße, aber man kriegt es auf dem Platz trotzdem nicht so mit. Und er ist noch weiter als der Platz hier und man hat das Gefühl man ist irgendwie geschützt, als wäre man auf einer kleinen Insel. Viel Gebüsch, einen Hauch von Natur, obwohl man mitten in der Stadt ist. Und ich habe ja im Winter und im Frühling auch dort gespielt und habe da dann auch das erste Vogelgezwitscher gehört, also während der Abendstimmung, der Dämmerung hörst du auf einmal die Vögel zwitschern, obwohl du eigentlich mitten in der Stadt bist. Das war angenehm. Bei die Maria-Theresien-Platz hast du die Straßen zwar direkt daneben, aber du kriegst es einfach nicht so mit, es ist gedämpft, man hört es schon ein bisschen. Das muss wohl auch etwas mit der Architektur zu tun haben, man ist auf einem freien Platz, aber es fühlt sich geschützt an. Und die Geräusche der Stadt kommen da einfach nicht so nah, während hier hört man sie, obwohl du eigentlich total geschützt bist von der Straße. Der Maria-Theresien-Platz ist eben geschützt und lädt die Leute ein

zum sitzen und das habe ich als Straßenmusiker cool gefunden weil es irgendwie den Raum gegeben hat zum Interagieren. Das war für mich auch immer so schön wenn die Leute angefangen haben zu sitzen, die Abendstimmung zu genießen und vielleicht ein Bier zu trinken und miteinander zu quatschen und gleichzeitig der Musik zu zu hören. Aber da war es so, dass sie sich es aussuchen konnten, weil es ist so ein Durchzugs-Ort, touristisch natürlich, viele Leute gehen zu den Museen hin, aber die Einheimischen haben nicht vor, sich dort jetzt hinzusetzen, also die Anliegenden schon, aber die Musik ist schon großflächig angenehm aufgenommen worden und das liegt sehr viel am Platz, weil die Möglichkeiten zum entspannen und zum durchatmen gegeben sind und das war so eine Interaktion zwischen mir und den Leuten, gemeinsam eine Atmosphäre zu kreieren. Also das war jetzt nicht nur ich weil ich da spielte, das war eine gemeinsame Aktion. Und sowas finde ich schön. Und vom klanglichen her eben weil der Klang von der Stadt nicht so omnipräsent ist. Eine angenehme Atmosphäre. Ansonsten fällt mir noch etwas unangenehmes ein, also auch wegen Straßenmusik - es war ein guter Platz, weil die Leute entspannt sind, weil sie schwimmen gehen - das war an der U6 Neue Donau, da hörst du im Minuten-Takt die S-Bahn über dich drüber rollen, so dass es Ärger nicht geht, die U-Bahn und Alles, du hast die U6 und die S-Bahn die auf und ab fahren und du stehst da drunter, und dahinter, gleich danach ist die Autobahn auch noch, und es ist eine Klangüberlastung, aber trotzdem ein cooler Ort zum spielen, weil die Leute dort direkt auch schwimmen können und ins Wasser hüpfen, und sonst gibt's dort nichts außer die Autobahn und die S-Bahn. Und dort ist der Klang, also akustisch, total spannend, weil du drüber die Brücke hast, und die U-Bahn-Halle im Genick und es ergibt sich dort akustisch eine Art Verstärker, so dass du sehr laut klingen kannst obwohl diese furchtbaren Störgeräusche dazukommen. Dort haben wir auch ein Musikvideo gedreht um sozusagen die Echtheit der Straßenmusik einzufangen und das ganze Beschissene und die Polizei, also spannend. Aber dennoch wäre das klanglich ein negativ Beispiel, obwohl er eine gute Akustik hat. Ein paradoxer, spannender Platz. Und dann die Mariahilferstraße, wo wir gerade direkt daneben sind, da geh ich gerne schnell weg. Das ist dann nicht rein klanglich, sondern weil es auch primär um Konsum geht und es hat dann so eine eigene Atmosphäre, wie in so einem Einkaufszentrum. Aber gleichzeitig auch ein Treffpunkt und sozialer Mittelpunkt, auch wieder cool. Aber für mich eine Reizüberflutung. Da geh ich gerne wieder weg, weil es mir einfach zu viel ist. Sonst fällt mir noch unser Dach in unserer Wohnung ein und dort ist es zum Beispiel angenehm, und trotzdem mitten in der Stadt. Also wir wohnen im vierten Bezirk. Da gibt es nicht viele Grünflächen. Und natürlich die Parks. Egal wo du hingehst, wenn du in einem Park sitzt finde ich es immer angenehm. Also vielleicht bin ich so ein altmodischer Hund, weil da halt auch die Naturgeräusche dazukommen, und da hörst du immer beides, du hörst die Stadt. Und der Prater, also der Prater ist jetzt nicht so mein Favorit. Grundsätzlich fahr ich auf jeden Fall immer gerne an den Stadtrand.

Welche Rolle nimmt Musik im öffentlichen Raum für Dich ein (Kopfhörer, Musik aus einem offenen Fenster, andere Straßenmusiker etc.)? Was macht Musik mit deiner Stimmung und wie beeinflusst sie, für dich persönlich, den sozialen und gebauten Raum?

Musik im öffentlichen Raum halte ich für etwas unglaublich und essenziell Wichtiges, Lebensnotwendiges. Furchtbar wichtig. Schon seit ich mich erinnern kann habe ich Leute bewundert die Straßenmusik machen, aber auch Akrobatik oder irgendwelche solche Sachen. Etwas was ungeplant ist und nicht gefordert wurde, was die Stadt aber ganz stark prägt. Sowas ist total gut. Da ist es mir dann sogar relativ wurscht wie gut die Musik dann ist. Mir fällt dann da aber auch ein negativ Beispiel ein, zum Beispiel habe ich Anfang 20 am Yppen-Platz gewohnt und wenn ich da das Fenster offen hatte, im Sommer vor allem, haben sie sich im Stunden Platz abgewechselt und alle die gleichen Melodien gespielt. Das war dann auch einfach zu viel. Das ist dann auch so eine Gradwanderung. Man muss auch eine gewisse Sensibilität haben. Also dass man niemanden etwas aufzwingt, aber andererseits muss man auch das Risiko eingehen, weil wenn andere Leute das machen macht es den Raum auch lebendiger, die Straßenmusik. Aber wenn du es zum Beispiel durchs Fenster hörst wenn jemand ein Musikinstrument übt, ist das immer was Schönes, weil es auch etwas persönliches ist, ein Ausdruck. Musik in der Stadt ist auf jeden Fall etwas sehr Gutes. Und ich habe jetzt auch das Gefühl, dass es bei uns in Wien nicht wirklich viel ist. Hier habe ich auch das Gefühl dass Kultur oft an letzter Stelle steht, zumindest habe ich das mit empfunden, und natürlich sind Grundbedürfnisse wie ein Dach und etwas zu Essen an erster Stelle und trotzdem finde ich Musik im öffentlichen Raum Überlebensnotwendig, weil wenn das nicht mehr ist dann ist ein Teil von uns tot, es ist einfach ein Grundbedürfnis für den Menschen, Musik zu hören, auszudrücken, zu lernen, dazu zu tanzen. Tanzen und Musik gehört auch einfach zusammen. In der U-Bahn,

manchmal wenn du es so hörst, also diese Kopfhörer Musik, manchmal hört man es ja, wenn die Musik schön ist dann taugt mir das auch, oder es ist mir eh wurscht. Ich selber höre fast gar keine Kopfhörer Musik im öffentlichen Raum. Ich schau dann nicht einmal aufs Handy. Es ist schon cool sich die Kopfhörer rein zu stöpseln und dann wird die Welt zu einem Musikvideo, aber eigentlich stört es mich weil ich da nicht mehr so mitbekomme wo ich eigentlich gerade bin, und mir in meiner eigenen Welt bin, was aber auch sehr schön sein kann.

Erzähle mir bitte über deine Praxis als Straßenmusiker (seit wann, wie häufig, warum),
wie interagierst du mit den Zuhörer_innen, wie sie mit dir? Du sagtest dass du froh bist, eher unbekannte Stücke zu spielen. Improvisierst du lieber, spielst du eigene Kompositionen oder auch manchmal bekanntere Melodien? Gibt es bestimmte Gefühle, Ideen oder Inhalte die du mit deiner Musik kommunizieren möchtest?

Vor drei oder vier Jahren habe ich zum ersten Mal angefangen zu probieren, die Straßenmusik, also jetzt im Moment mache ich nicht, durch den Lockdown, ich kann es wahrscheinlich machen, aber ich möchte auch nicht der Anlass sein für die Leute zusammen zu stehen. Warum ich es gemacht hab, da sind sicher mehr Sachen zusammengekommen, das war so eine Umbruchsphase in meinem Leben, wo ich einfach sehr viele unterschiedliche Arten von Arbeiten gemacht hat irgendwelche Idioten arbeiten, und habe mich zum Teil bis zum Rande eines Burnout manövriert. Das war mit der Straßenmusik dann aber nicht anders, aber ich hab so einen Punkt erreicht wo es mir einfach gereicht hat nur für Geld was zu tun und so viel Zeit und Kraft dafür herzugeben. Und ich bin auch ein wenig radikal veranlagt, und habe mich bewusst in eine prekäre Situation gebracht, ich wollte einfach nicht mehr das tun was ich bisher gemacht hab, so einfach irgendetwas tun, wo eine Leidenschaft meinerseits dafür da ist, was mir Freude bereitet aber habe halt auch gleichzeitig, radikal, diesen Schritt durchgezogen und mich damit finanziell schon in eine sehr prekäre Situation gebracht, weil ich halt auch nicht wusste ob sich das dann ausgeht. Ich habe es mir wirtschaftlich so eingerichtet dass ich es machen musste, weil ich mir damit meine Miete zahlen musste und mein Essen, in der Retrospektive war es dann doch zu viel und zu schnell, ich habe zu viel von mir selbst abverlangt, weil ich mich in eine Situation gebracht habe, es ist eine Überwindung. Und ich bin sicher keine Rampensau, aber du musst dich jedes Mal hinstellen und vor Leuten etwas tun. Es ist so als würde man sich ausziehen, du bist nackt, man ist verletzlich. Wobei das Urteil von den Anderen dann natürlich auch egal ist, also egal ob es positiv ist, aber das Urteil an sich ist etwas was ich anfangs sehr schwer weggesteckt hab. Ich kann mich erinnern als ich am Anfang in dieser depperten U-Bahn gespielt hat, diese U-Bahn-Stars, da bin ich zufällig reingerutscht, da bin ich dann danach nach 1 Stunde oder eineinhalb Stunden spielen, bin ich heim gefahren und hab mich ins Bett legen müssen weil ich einfach fertig war, völlig fertig. Gemacht habe ich das im Endeffekt, weil ich einfach etwas anderes machen wollte mit meinem Leben, etwas das mir Freude macht, der Traum, der Wunsch Musik zu machen, das ist natürlich auch eine Ego Sache, einen Traum verwirklichen, und den Spaß gebe ich mir jetzt halt. Jetzt sehe ich das inzwischen anders. Also meine Selbstverwirklichung hängt nicht davon ab ob ich jetzt Straßenmusiker bin oder nicht, aber das Spielen und das Musikmachen an sich ist mir total wichtig und vor allem das Spielen mit anderen Leuten. Da gibt es im Moment wo du, also bei Jam-Sessions, die Kontrolle abgibst, wo sich ein Schalter umlegt im Hören und du hast dich nicht mehr unter Kontrolle und es passiert durch dich hindurch, und du hast eine so intime Begegnung mit deinen Mit-Musikern, das ist nicht in Worte zu fassen, das ist wie Sex aber trotzdem anders, das ist total arg aber sehr schön. Das ist eine der Beweggründe warum ich Musik mache an sich und halt auch einfach als Katharsis. Als junger Mensch habe ich angefangen mit Gitarre spielen und da ist es auch einfach darum gegangen etwas aus seinem System raus zu kriegen. Ich habe die Gitarre genommen und hab angefangen so lange zu spielen und rum zu schreien bis ich die Kontrolle über meinen Körper verloren habe, rum zu hüpfen zu tanzen, unkontrollierte Bewegungen und ich hab die ganze Scheiße um mich herum einfach heraus gelassen. Und das ist einfach toll, dafür kann man Kunst auch missbrauchen oder brauchen oder nutzen, das ist halt die Motivation überhaupt so etwas zu machen, also Musik, Straßenmusik, der Versuch etwas zu machen, was mir näher ist als jetzt bei Starbucks zu arbeiten oder so. Was denn aber auch hinzukommt als Erfahrungswert, wenn man es so macht wie ich es gemacht habe, also weit entfernt davon zu sein Profimusiker zu sein, und du musst wirklich davon leben, da musst du dann wirklich jeden Tag raus, und ich bin mit hin und zurück fahren sicher auf meine 30 Stunden Woche gekommen. Es nimmt halt auch sehr viel Zeit in Anspruch, die Platz-Suche und ich habe es betrieben wir eine Arbeit und da ist dann irgendwann ein Punkt wo dir auch wirklich die Freude abgeht, da muss man sehr aufpassen. Ich war dann froh wie das auch mal um war und ich eine Pause hatte. Du bist dann auch aus diesem Rad, also dem Kapitalismus, einfach

nicht rausgekommen. Da hat sich jetzt meine Herangehensweise auch etwas geändert, aber es ist trotzdem so, dass du arbeiten musst, arbeiten, arbeiten, arbeiten, und das hat sich nicht geändert. Aber das war dann etwas was mir prinzipiell Spaß macht.

Ich bin eigentlich ein sehr schüchterner Mensch und über Worte interagiere ich nur sehr ungern, oder preise mich an, aber für mich ist auch schon die Tatsache so schön, wenn sich die Leute hinsetzen und wenn's auch nur eine Person ist die zuhört, dann spiel ich weiter. Das war dann schon oft so, dass ich zam gepackt habe und es mir finanziell nichts gebracht hat, aber so wie eine Person da ist der das taugt und die das gerne hören möchte. Wirklich schöne Interaktionen waren auch immer mit den kleinen Kindern, ‚instant feedback'. Es war so ein Tag, oder so ein Tag, also wenn du zum Beispiel einen angespannten Tag hast und es geht dir nicht so gut, dann kriegst du das genauso zurück, dann bekommst du das wie eine Batzen ins Gesicht, und auch die Kinder schauen dich dann so an, suspekt, was ist mit ihm. Aber wenn es dir dann mal gut geht und du machst es aus einer Freude heraus, das war immer das Schöne, wenn sie dann anfangen dich an zu lachen, das war immer das coolste, wenn sie dann komplett unschuldig rumhüpfen und tanzen, da ist mir jedes Mal das Herz aufgegangen, das war das Schönste. Oder Pärchen, so frisch verliebt und liegen sich in den Armen oder tanzen und ich reagiere auch so darauf wie die Stimmung ist und versucht darauf einzugehen. Natürlich ist auch meine eigene Stimmung wichtig, aber wenn ich das Gefühl habe, die wollen jetzt etwas besonders fetziges hören, oder was ruhigeres, das beeinflusst dann natürlich auch mein Spiel, sowie die Atmosphäre ist. Ja und das mit der Lautstärke, da war ich tendenziell auch immer etwas leise, weil ich niemanden etwas drüber stülpen wollte, aber man muss dann auch bis zu einem gewissen Grad, weil sonst macht es keinen Sinn, weil sonst hört man dich einfach nicht.

Ich habe halt auch noch kein so großes Repertoire, also manche Nummern kommen dann aus dem Jammen heraus, oder Stegreif, das war je nach Zustand, aber es ist auch ein großes Risiko mit der Loopstation Irgendetwas zu machen was du noch nie vorher gemacht hast, da ist das Risiko sehr hoch dass es schiefgeht. Aber das habe ich manchmal gemacht und dann ist das voll aufgegangen und dann sind Leute vorbeigekommen und haben gefragt, kannst du das spielen, und dann hab ich das als Challenge gesehen und habe dann versucht die Sachen zu spielen, aus dem Ohr raus. Sonst hab ich schon auch covers gespielt, oder Versionen von Liedern die wir gemacht haben und das waren halt Lieder die mir in dem Moment getaugt haben, aber kommerzielle oder bekannte Sachen waren selten bis nie dabei, weil mir das einfach auch nie gefallen hat. Also dass es viele Leute gibt, die auch lieber bekannte Sachen hören wollen und ich hab den Gedanken auch schon gehabt, also ja, es wäre schon gescheit, weil dann verdienst du mehr, aber das war mir dann tatsächlich wurscht. Was die Ideen und Inhalte betrifft, da ist es auch sehr ambivalent. Als ich sagte, dass ich radikal bin war das weniger auf die Kunst oder auf die Straßenmusik selber gerichtet, ich bin da eher etwas zurückhaltend. Ich finde es muss eine gewisse Sensibilität vorhanden sein, also egal was man macht, es muss mit einem gewissen Gespür sein, egal was für eine Ideologie dahinter steckt. Ich finde es nicht cool sich aufzudrängen, auch wenn die Message gut ist. Also mir persönlich wäre es unangenehm mich drüber zu stülpen über andere, aber das ist auch nur meine, vielleicht zu sehr ausgeprägte Persönlichkeit, oder Schwäche. Es ist etwas sehr natürliches und normales zu versuchen eine gewisse Art der Sensibilität zu haben, es ist alles ein Geben und Nehmen, und ich finde dieses sich hinstellen und ‚bam - ich bin gut', da ist es dann sehr schnell vorbei mit den Grenzen von anderen. Und das andere extrem sind dann die eigenen Grenzen und da kommen dann solche Sachen wie die Stadt, die einen unheimlich unterdrückt. Also Straßenmusik in Wien ist, defacto, nicht so Leiwand. Du brauchst sehr viel, du brauchst Platz-Karten, und die geben nicht so viel her, und du bist dann irgendwann gezwungen, wenn du davon leben willst, illegal zu handeln und wirst dann auch dementsprechend behandelt, wie ein Verbrecher. Also ich hab das gehabt, dass dann auch die Polizei gekommen ist, allerdings waren das immer ziemlich coole, weil die haben schon gehört dass es nicht so verkehrt war was ich gemacht hab und haben sich dann auch immer bei mir entschuldigt. Aber trotzdem. Im ersten Bezirk zum Beispiel hatte ich eine Polizistin die sich eine Freude daraus gemacht hat mich zu verscheuchen. Es ist ambivalent. Und was solche Projekte angeht, wie die Wiener Linien zum Beispiel, das ist auch ambivalent. Das ist einerseits ganz cool wenn ein paar Leute die Chance haben was zu verdienen, aber gleichzeitig werden sie auch genutzt für Image-Aufbesserung von der Stadt oder von den Wiener Linien. Du hast auf jeden Fall als Straßenmusiker einen sehr dubiosen Stellenwert in der Gesellschaft, es wird immer ein wenig auf dich herunter geschaut. Wobei das hängt dann natürlich von der Wahrnehmung ab, weil es gibt Leute die vorbei laufen und dankbar dafür sind. Ich habe das zum Beispiel immer bewundert. Was jetzt im Beispiel die Künstlerförderung angeht im Zuge von Corona, da fällst du als Straßenmusiker Vollgas durch das Raster, auch wenn

du das hauptberuflich gemacht hast, aber ganz einfach weil du das auch einfach schriftlich nicht bestätigen kannst. Aber es ist auch als Beruf nicht wirklich angesehen, das es ein Beruf sein kann, was es im Endeffekt aber ist und zwar gar kein so unwichtiger, weil es für den Großteil der Menschen die dort leben eine Bereicherung ist. Es ist eine Gratwanderung, weil du wirst nie jedem gefallen. Und auch das mit dem öffentlichen Raum, ich finde es gut dass es kritische Kollektive gibt, denn auch wenn es ein öffentlicher Raum ist, du darfst den Leuten nicht so viel verbieten, vor Allem wenn es etwas Schönes ist, aber man muss auch den kleinen Teil respektieren der ist nicht so mag, Man muss einen Kompromiss finden. Also was die Gesetze betrifft, ist es in Wien leider eher schlecht. Aber es wird auch neu verhandelt, es gibt eigene Kollektive die sich zusammen getan haben, Straßenkünstler, und es wird mit der Stadt-Regierung verhandelt, ein neues Gesetz zu entwerfen. Weil es war auch einmal viel freier, aber dann hat es halt auch blöderweise, das muss man auch sagen, Gruppierungen gegeben, ich habe gehört dass das die Akrobaten waren, die Breakdancer, die sich zu sehr aufgedrängt haben, und das ist dann genau das, dass sie zu sehr die Ellbogen ausgefahren haben, zu laut waren und dann Anrainer belästigt, im Endeffekt, und dann war die Lösung der Stadt einfach alles zu verbieten und dann wurde alles sehr stark reguliert. Du hattest dann nur 3-4 Plätze im Monat die sich rentieren und dann hast du noch Faktoren wie Wetter, und in meinem Fall Verstärker, das darfst du ja auch nicht. Egal welchen Polizist ich das mit der Loopstation bisher erklärt hat, die haben das zwar verstanden, aber ich musste es dann abtrennen, auch wenn es dezibel-mäßig gar nicht so laut wäre. Es war ein Verstärker, da bist du schlecht aufgestellt im Moment in Wien. Aber wer weiß, vielleicht wird es besser.

Nach welchen Kriterien suchst du dir die Orte raus an denen du Spielst? Gibt es bestimmte akustische Effekte (Hall, Resonanz, Echo, Delay etc.) die du gerne in deine Straßenmusik mit einbaust? An welchen Orten in Wien macht es dir besonders viel Spass zu musizieren und welche sind ungeeignet (und warum)?

Ich suche mir die Orte an denen ich spiele in erster Linie danach aus, ob es sich strategisch auszahlt, also ob du etwas verdienen kannst. Also es muss ein frequentierten Platz sein und auch angenehm für die Leute. Aber auch unabhängig vom finanziellen, und da habe ich auch oft so agiert dass es mir das finanziell egal war - es muss ein Platz sein an dem ich mich wohl fühle. Weil das dann tatsächlich auch meinen Spielen beeinflusst. Ich spiele komplett anders wenn ich mich nicht wohl fühle. Bei mir ist es so dass es die richtige Menge an Leute sein muss. Wenn es zu viele Leute sind dann lauf ich hier Gefahr Panikattacken zu haben oder sonst irgendetwas und wenn es zu wenig sind dann ist es natürlich auch blöd. Manchmal war ich auch an Orten wo nur alle 1 - 2 Minuten jemand vorbei kam und dann hab ich schon ausgepackt aber letztlich habe ich dann völlig für mich alleine gespielt und das war auch schön. Akustisch muss es auf jeden Fall ein Platz sein der nicht so laut ist, weil du untergehst. Ich habe zum Beispiel am Urban Loritz Platz, ich weiß nicht ob das immer noch so ist, aber das war ein legaler Platz, da hast du keine Platzkarte gebraucht, aber das ist so ein Platz da hast du den Gürtel links und rechts vorbeifahren und die U-Bahn und jede Menge Leute die vorbeigehen und es ist so laut dass du voll unter gehst zum Beispiel. Also es muss ein Platz sein wo die Akustik die von dir kommt irgendwie Platz hat. Es ist ein gestresster Ort, du gehst nur durch wenn du es eilig hast, es lädt nichts ein zum sitzen bleiben und zuhören ein weil du den stressigen Gürtel daneben hast. Aber was ich auch so wunderschön an Klang und an der Musik finde ist ihre Flüchtigkeit, ihre Vergänglichkeit, das ist etwas total Schönes, außer du nimmst es auf und dann ist schon sehr viel verloren, das was in dem Moment ist es dann für immer weg. Es ist in einem Moment da und dann war's das. Aber im Wartebereich der U-Bahn selber habe ich auch noch nie gespielt. Da dauert es auch keine 2 Minuten und du hast sofort die Aufsicht von den Wiener Linien die dich raushauen müssen oder die Polizei. Ich habe das schon einmal gemacht, beim Schottentor, wenn du runter zur Rolltreppe gehst, auf dieser Ebene, und da habe ich vor Jahren mit einem Gitarristen gespielt, und da haben wir ein bisschen herum-geschrammelt, da waren wir noch ganz jung, und das war lustig, weil da waren wir sofort, als nach 10 Minuten, umzingelt von sieben Polizisten und ich hab echt schlucken müssen, weil es war so ein Aufgebot an Polizei Präsenz nur weil wir zwei harmlosen Vollidioten ein paar Lieder gespielt haben und noch dazu akustisch also ohne Verstärkung und das habe ich dann auch als ambivalent empfunden, dass dann später die Wiener Linien angeheuert haben und du denn wieder das Sternchen präsentiert wirst. Ich hoffe das erreicht die Wiener Linien nie, aber es schien mir so geheuchelt, weil erst bist du ein Schwerverbrecher und dann bist du ein Sternchen, weil du für das Geschäftsmodell passt. Aber die Wiener Linien sind eh super. Also die die das organisiert hat, der ist es wirklich am Herzen gelegen, die hat es gerne gemacht. Also am liebsten spiele ich auf jeden Fall am Maria-Theresien-Platz, aber lustigerweise zum Beispiel auch beim Bahnhof Meidling, U6 Meidling, Weil das ist

eigentlich ein furchtbarer Platz, der ist schrecklich, es ist rau, du hast die Giftler neben dir, die Drogenabhängigen, die Alkoholiker und die Arbeiterklasse und auch Leute die nur gestresst vorbeirennen und trotzdem hab ich da gerne gespielt, Weil wenn dann wer stehen geblieben ist dann hast du es in den Gesichtern gesehen, das waren Leute die so etwas noch nie gesehen haben, noch nie mitbekommen haben und auch nicht im Alltag haben, und die waren einfach ehrlich dankbar. Das hat mich fasziniert, obwohl es für mich nicht lukrativ war und hart zum spielen, weil es ist sehr laut, war es trotzdem ein cooler Platz. Akustisch hast du dort das selbe Problem wie beim Urban Loritz Platz, viel zu laut eigentlich.

Was wünscht du dir von den Bewohnern, von der Stadtplanung und von der Politik, damit der städtische Alltag zu einem harmonischeren, angenehmeren, nachhaltigeren Erlebnis wird? Welche Vorschläge hast du, damit Menschen in der Großstadt wieder vermehrt und kritisch auf ihre akustische Umgebung achten?

Also was den gebauten Raum betrifft, sollte auf jeden Fall so viel grün sein wie möglich an, das ist wichtig. Also egal was man für einen Platz plant, es muss etwas grünes drin sein, das ist fürs wohl-fühlen extrem wichtig. Und Sitzgelegenheiten. So Plätze die vielleicht auch akustisch ein wenig abgeschirmt sind, und ich glaube dass Bäume echt einiges abfangen. Und auch so runde Sachen, wo man drum herum sitzen kann, so im Halbkreis, so kleine Oasen die einladend sind zum Abhängen und den Lärm ein wenig abschirmen. Und sozial, nun ja da muss halt politisch was gemacht werden, gesellschaftlich generell, was für Musik, für Straßenmusik generell, weil viel zu wenig Wertschätzung seitens der Politik aber auch gesellschaftlich drinnen ist. Dann siehst du auch was Straßenkunst für einen Stellenwert hat, wie das besonders im Moment völlig am Arsch ist. Aber da ist die Stadtplanung noch nebensächlich, da ist das Soziale wichtiger. Ich glaube das kann man nicht einfach so bewerkstelligen, also die Wertschätzung ändern, weil das voraussetzt dass eine Offenheit und ein Bewusstsein dem gegenüber vorhanden ist und das muss sich einfach generell entwickeln, das ist dein Wertesystem. Es ist sowieso absurd, oder pervers, schwer nachzuvollziehen, wie man was einen Wert gibt und da sind wir, finde ich, steinzeitlich unterwegs. Was für eine Art von Tätigkeit welchen Wert hat. Schwierig. Das ist so etwas grundlegendes. Kunst im öffentlichen Raum ist ein Sozialauftrag. Du reflektierst über die Gesellschaft, und wenn es auch nur aus deinem eigenen eingeschränkten Universum, deiner Wahrnehmung ist, aber du versuchst das zu kommunizieren. Und das ist schon wichtig. Und da kannst du schon das Bewusstsein verändern. Und das ist auch ein Riesenauftrag. Einer von den großen Aufträgen. Es ist nicht nur Unterhaltung. Und du kannst damit auch das Bewusstsein wirklich verändern.

Inwiefern hat sich die allgemeine städtische Geräuschkulisse durch die Corona Pandemie verändert und wie hat sich das für dich angefühlt?

Naja, die Eingangsmelodie der ZiB2. Haha. Es war schon angenehm, vor allem auch im ersten Lockdown, das geringere Ausmaß an Straßen Lärm, es ist eigentlich ein weniger von Klang.

Tamara Brajovic, 17.05.21, Innenhof der Gebietsbetreuung - Mitte

Wie heißt du? Wie geht es dir? Kannst du mir ein wenig über dich und deinen Job bei der Gebietsbetreuung erzählen?

Also ich heiße Tamara Brajovic und heute geht's mir gut. Ich frage mich gerade ob ich eine rauchen soll, ich hab ja eigentlich auch aufgehört, aber seit ich Tinitus habe habe ich wieder viel mehr geraucht. Also ich bin bei der Gebietsbetreuung schon länger, also sicher schon sieben Jahre. Dann bin ich in die Gebietsbetreuung Mitte gekommen und bin jetzt für den zehnten Bezirk zuständig. Davor war ich im 11ten Bezirk. Ich habe Architektur studiert und meinen Master in Stadtplanung, in Städtebau, Urbanismus gemacht, aber nicht in Wien sondern in Belgrad Stockholm und Delft. Dann bin ich zufällig nach Wien gekommen für ein dreimonatiges Praktikum, dann wurden daraus zehn Monate und dann habe ich einen Job bekommen, dann wurde daraus zwei Jahre und dann bin ich in Wien geblieben und bin aus der Immobilien-Entwicklung in die Sozialarbeit gerutscht, dann habe ich eine Ausbildung zum Integrations-Coach gemacht und bin hier gelandet. Eine Weile lang war mein Haupt-Hobby Österreicherin zu werden, das habe ich auch geschafft. Ich bin in Wien zehn mal umgesiedelt und hoffe dass dieses Mal das letzte Mal war. Ich mag fortgehen und reisen.

Bitte erzähle frei über deine eigene Erfahrung und deinen Alltag mit Klang; was Lärm oder Harmonie für dich bedeutet; und welche akustischen Merkmale zu einem genussvollen Erlebnis und einem Gefühl des Wohlbefindens beitragen.

Es hat mich stark geprägt in Belgrad aufzuwachsen. Der erste Tag in Wien, der erste Eindruck war dass es sehr leise war, als wäre jemand gestorben, aber es war nur Sonntag. Ha ha. Ich erinnere mich auch an meine erste Reise von Wien nach Barcelona und wenn du dann dort in die U-Bahn einsteigst und alle reden und Blabla und hier in Wien hatte ich das Gefühl dass alles sehr ruhig ist und leise und meine Wahrnehmung war, dass ich mich im öffentlichen Raum nicht sicher gefühlt habe wenn es so leise war. Wobei, je länger ich jetzt hier bin, desto mehr ist es umgekehrt und ich bin aufgeregter wenn es laut ist. Ich mag Musik gerne, Konzerte, wenn Leute reden. Es gibt gewisse Geräusche die ich nicht mag. Ich habe ja den Krieg mit erlebt in Belgrad und Geräusche, die Explosionen, oder auch wenn Flugzeuge niedrig fliegen. Ich mag keine Sirenen, da weiß ich dann auch, das es der erste Samstag im Monat ist. Was ich ja gar nicht wusste, ist, dass in vielen kleinen Dörfern in Österreich Sirenenalarm jeden Samstag geprobt wird. Das ist ja das gleiche Geräusch wie die Bombenalarm. Unglaublich. Das ist für mich stark mit Angst verbunden. Das kann ich nicht kontrollieren dieses Geräusch ist für mich ein anderes Signal. Im Vergleich zu meinem Mitbewohner oder zu meinem Freund stören mich zum Beispiel auch mehr die Geräusche aus der Nachbars-Wohnungen, die ich auch manchmal mit Gewalt verbinde. Ich hatte auch einen Nachbarn der immer Counter-Strike gespielt hat. Aber zum Beispiel am Basketball Spielplatz, da ist es was anderes, das stört mich gar nicht, auch wenn es länger ist und in der Nacht.
Du sagtest mir, dass du unter Ohrgeräuschen leidest/gelitten hast. Wie beeinflusst das deine akustische Wahrnehmung im Alltag und im öffentlichen Raum?

Seit September letzten Jahres habe ich Tinitus und es ging mir immer schlechter und schlechter. Und die Ärzte sagten, das ist vielleicht ein Virus, vielleicht Corona, dann habe ich mich testen lassen und ja es war Corona aber trotzdem ist es mir immer schlechter und schlechter gegangen. Und ich dachte, dass es vielleicht am Umzug liegt, es gibt ja so viele Theorien und ich bin von einem Arzt zum nächsten Arzt gegangen, erst die Schilddrüse, dann Corona, dann ob ich einen Tumor habe, dann habe ich begonnen Beruhigungsmittel zu nehmen um schlafen zu können und Akzeptanzübungen, dann sind sie darauf gekommen dass ich hier eine Entzündung habe und mir wurde ein Zahn gezogen, dann dass ich ein Kiefergelenk Problem habe und eine Kieferschiene bekommen und der nächste Schritt ist dann Kiefergelenks-Physiotherapie. Ich höre ständig ein Geräusch, eher hochfrequenzig. Die Ärzte sagen das ist kein pulsierenden Tinitus, und es gibt es ja auch manchmal dass es auf beiden Ohren ist und es könnte auch sein dass sich Flüssigkeit angesammelt hat, aber das war dann doch nicht so. Am Anfang ist es so ungewohnt, also am Anfang dachte ich ich bin verrückt, ich hab alles versucht und alle sagten, ja einfach nicht zuhören. Und was das Schlimme ist, ist es auch zu begreifen dass man nichts tun kann. Und ich hab auch viel recherchiert, auch über die Wahrnehmung vom Arbeitsplatz bis zum zu Hause, was stört, was stört mich nicht. Also im Moment ist es nicht so schlimm, aber es ist schon schlimm dass man einfach nichts tun kann. Ich habe auch gehört, dass man mit Botox arbeiten kann, vielleicht wäre das der nächste Schritt, weil ich merke, dass wenn ich meinen Kiefer bewege es lauter ist. Aber ich kann keine Zuordnung machen woher es kommt, es gibt nur Vermutungen dass es so ist. Ich war auch auf allen Support-Gruppen die ich online gefunden hab und hier in Wien gibt es auch das Tinitus Zentrum und auch die sprechen von einer psychosomatischen Störung, aber wenn andere dann behaupten dass man einen Zahn ziehen soll dann steht es im Widerspruch zu einer psychosomatischen Störung, meines Erachtens. Ein guter von Freund von mir arbeitet auch bei Pfizer und sagt, dass es viele Daten gibt, dass Menschen die den Virus hatten auch Tinitus bekommen, da sich ja manchmal auch der Nerv entzündet. Deshalb leiden auch viele unter Geruchsstörungen aber eben, manchmal wird auch der Gehör-Sinn angegriffen. Vielleicht ist das auch ein Grund. Wer weiß. Und nun ja, ich war ja auch im Krankenstand 6 Monate und als ich dann wieder zurück kam war ich Teil des Wiedereingliederung-Programms und viele die Tinitus bekommen kommen nicht wieder zum Arbeitsplatz zurück. Es ist beängstigend.

Also am Anfang, als mein Tinitus begann, war es schon sehr unterschiedlich zu dem Zustand wie er jetzt ist, wenn ich durch den öffentlichen Raum gehe. Am Anfang zum Beispiel hatte ich das Gefühl dass an Orten, an denen es viele Glasflächen gibt, oder neben Trafos und Stromgeneratoren, dass dort das Geräusch ziemlich hoch ist und das hat mich immer sehr verwirrt. Und ich habe mit einem Freund, der Sound Ingenieur ist, gesprochen und habe da dann auch verstanden, dass es gewisse Orte und Geräte gibt, die Frequenzen hervorrufen und auch mit einem

anderen Freund, der sich mit dem Ausbau von Hochfrequenz-Antennen beschäftigt und es scheint zunehmend Menschen zu geben die mit 3, 4, oder 5G Netz Probleme mit ihren Ohren bekommen. Aber im Grunde ist es für mich persönlich angenehmer, wenn ich unterwegs bin, weil die Geräusche maskiert werden. Aber am Anfang konnte ich das nicht begreifen. Aber laute Explosionen, Bohrmaschinen und sowas mag ich immer noch nicht. Deshalb würde ich auch nie jemandem raten in ein neugebautes Gebäude umzuziehen, da wir in diesem Fall alle gleichzeitig eingezogen sind und das bedeutet dass 65 Wohnungen über mehrere Monate hinweg gleichzeitig eingerichtet werden. Es wird nie fertig und man hört ständig Bohrmaschinen. (bei Anker Brotfabrik, Neubaugebiet). Aber weil es auch neben der Ankerbrot-Fabrik ist höre ich auch ständig Fabrik Geräusche und Turbinen zum Beispiel. Ich denke dass durch Tinitus mein Hörvermögen stärker geworden ist, es ist nicht so das ich weniger höre sondern dass ich viel mehr höre. Alle Audiologen haben gesagt, dass ich super höre. Es ist auch spannend wie kulturell unterschiedlich Hörgewohnheiten sind. Im Balkan zum Beispiel, in Serbien, gelte ich als sehr ruhige Person. Wobei mein Freund, der ist Engländer, der findet mich ziemlich laut.

Warum hast Du diesen Ort vorgeschlagen? Welche Klangkulisse umgibt diesen Ort?

Wir sind in diesem Gebäude hier seit 2008 das war für mich auch eine Umstellung, weil es ist auch ein sehr großer Büroraum, aber oben sind auch Musik-Studios und besonders in den Nachmittags-Stunden konnte man immer Musik aus dem Proberaum, oder lärm hören. Das ist doch immer der Punkt, ist es Lärm oder Musik. Nebenan ist eine Kfz Werkstatt und ein Auto Reifenhändler und das kann man, zumindest von meinem Arbeitsplatz, wenn ich das Fenster offen habe, immer hören - und riechen. Hier, der Innenhof, der ist sehr nett und wenn es regnet dann hört man den Regen auf das Plastikdach prasseln und das ist wirklich schon ziemlich laut. Irgendwie ist es nicht leise, es ist lebendig und ich denke es ist auch typisch für den 10ten Bezirk. Man hört alles, den Regen, die Straßenbahn, die Menschen, aber es ist ruhig.

Du hast den Reumannplatz für den Stadtspaziergang vorgeschlagen. Welche akustischen Merkmale hat dieser Ort? Wie fühlt/hört er sich für dich an?

Der Reumannplatz wurde neu umgestaltet. Es war sehr lang ein Verkehrsknotenpunkt, aber auch ein Hotspot, also ein Ort an dem sich viele Leute treffen, unterschiedliche Gruppen. Ich habe den Platz nicht ausgewählt weil er neu umgestaltet wurde sondern weil er auch so vielseitig ist und einen schönen Blick hat ins Zentrum, weil man viele Menschen sehen kann und dass es trotz Corona ziemlich voll ist. Und wenn das Wetter schön ist dann stehen beim Eissalon die Schlangen. Es ist doch ein Ort in dem man viele unterschiedliche Sprachen hört. Das ist doch diese Frage, welche Sprachen sollte man denn sprechen? Was ist autochthon, was nicht, ist französisch mehr erwünscht als Türkisch? Und obwohl man hier schon 200 Jahre serbokroatisch spricht, warum ist das nicht offizielle Sprache? Das sind viele unterschiedliche Fragen aber ich glaube dass Sprachen auch eine wichtige Bedeutung haben wenn man über Klang spricht und auch in Bezug auf die Wahrnehmung von Räumen. Es gibt viele Musikanten und zum Beispiel die Mädchen-Bühne. Also der Platz kann schon sehr interessant sein. Normalerweise, wärst du hier öfter und wäre jetzt gerade nicht Corona, würde ich mit dir auch noch den Viktor Adler Markt entlang gehen um dieses Gefühl von Nähe und Distanz zu verdeutlichen. Jetzt ist jetzt natürlich etwas anderes, aber vor Corona war es genau das Gegenteil. Also wie mit räumlicher Distanz und Nähe und menschlicher Nähe umgegangen wird und ich glaube dass das auch eine starke kulturelle Bedeutung hat, mit der persönlichen Geschichte, aber auch mit der Wahrnehmung von Raum und damit auch irgendwie mit Sound zusammenhängt. Weil Nähe und Distanz ist ja auch ein Teil von Sound, da ja alleine schon die physikalischen Merkmale von Klang räumlich wirken. Menschenmassen hört und spürt man am ganzen Körper. Das hat natürlich auch insbesondere eine architektonische Komponente, wie groß wie klein, die Struktur, welche Materialien verwendet werden, das hat alles auch eine Auswirkung auf die Sound-Kulisse. Am Reumannplatz zum Beispiel wurden viele neue Bäume gepflanzt, ein Kinderspielplatz eingerichtet, aber auch dadurch dass der ganze Platz so gebogen ist, Konkav, und der Park immer noch sehr groß ist und aus verschiedenen Teilen besteht und die Gebäude auch die Kulisse schaffen, den Hintergrund legen, ist es zwar laut aber nicht so laut wie es sein könnte. Es ist nicht so hellhörig wie vielleicht an anderen Plätzen, insbesondere durch die Bäume und die Begrünung. Was natürlich immer noch vorhanden ist, ist der Verkehr. Es ist zwar weniger als es früher war, da die Straßenbahn verlagert wurde, aber sonst hört man einfach viele Menschen.

Jetzt, wo wir hier im 10ten sind, ist alles was ich höre sehr typisch. Es ist noch nicht viel los weil es ist noch relativ früh, und es regnet aber wenn es ein normaler Markt Tag ist dann kann man die Leute hören und Paradaiser oder andere Sachen anpreisen. Und normalerweise mag ich das sehr gerne aber seit Corona ist es wieder anders, dort habe ich die Wahrnehmung dass es dann zu viele Menschen sind. Aber bis vor kurzem habe ich es sehr angenehm gefunden, dass so viel los ist und dass es so viele Menschen auf der Straße gibt und dass es laut ist und es ist vergleichbar mit zum Beispiel Berlin und dem Hermannplatz, das mag ich. Den 16. Bezirk hab ich auch gemocht in Wien. Dort war ich immer eher im äußeren Teil. Dort habe ich die U-Bahn gehört, und auch dass es viele Lokale gibt. Davor habe ich im 3ten gewohnt aber auch im 9ten. Und dort war es leer, vielleicht war das Leben in den Wohnungen aber nicht im öffentlichen Raum das hab ich persönlich nie gemocht. Hier beim Reumannplatz ist auch das Amalienbad sehr interessant. Das wurde im Krieg zerstört und wurde dann zu einem Schwimmbad umgebaut. Und es ist sehr schön, Jugendstil. Hat auch ungewohnte, eigene Geräusche. Weil wenn man daneben geht, kann man diese Wassergeräusche hören. Und es fuhr hier am Reumannplatz auch die Straßenbahn quer durch und das wurde erst vor zwei Jahren geändert. Wenn es nicht regnet so wie jetzt, ist hier alles voll. Bei der Umgestaltung des Reumannplatzes waren wir auch beteiligt, oder sind in der Mitte des Prozesses hinzugekommen. Hier ist der Tichy Eis Salon. Und hier ist die Mädchen Bühne. Der Ansatz war, dass es zu wenig Mädchen auf diesem Platz gibt, dass sie sehr oft vertrieben werden. Und in der Jugendarbeit gibt es den Ansatz dass man Mädchen unterstützen soll. Und gerade weil dieser Platz auch sehr bekannt war in der Trinker-Szene hat man sich entschieden hier die Mädchen-Bühne hin zu bauen. Ich bin persönlich zwiegespalten. Die Idee finde ich gut aber ich finde das eine positive Diskriminierung wieder eine Diskriminierung ist und das Mädchen hier auch lernen dass sie von Jungs getrennt sind. Das führt meiner Meinung nach nicht zu einer Integration. Aber ich kann verstehen dass es ein Zeichen setzt. Was den Verkehrslärm betrifft finde ich ihn hier weniger störend, weil es auch ein Ort ist an dem du ihn erwartest. Was mich mehr stört ist Flugverkehr. Ich würde zum Beispiel ungern neben einer Bushaltestelle wohnen. Aber neben einer Straße, da ist es ein unterschied ob ich daneben wohne oder nicht. Wenn ich hier stehe zum Beispiel, stört es mich nicht, weil es ist zu erwarten. Und der Klang verteilt sich hier auch gut. Es gibt auch viele Grünflächen. Es wurden 150 neue Bäume eingesetzt, die sind auch richtig groß geworden. Das ist das spannende an Begrünung und Bäumen. Denn obwohl Städte wenig Wert auf Klang legen und mehr auf zum Beispiel Begrünung, haben Bäume automatisch eine Auswirkung auf den Klang. Es ist auch ein sehr ökologischer Ansatz. Je mehr man sich um Begrünung und um Nachhaltigkeit kümmert desto mehr kümmert man sich auch automatisch um Klang.

Bitte nenne mir noch einige weitere Orte/Plätze in Wien, die deiner Meinung nach eine besondere akustische Atmosphäre besitzen, - positiv und negativ?

Viele andere Plätze die ich besucht habe sind jetzt geschlossen. Vor kurzem war ich im Schloss Neugebäude im 11ten Bezirk. Das war für mich immer ein Ort den ich Nachts Besucht habe. Das ist dort wo der Zentralfriedhof ist und das Krematorium und dahinter gibt es einen großen Garten mit unterschiedlichen Sorten besonderer Pflanzen und eben das Schloss. Dort gibt es unterschiedliche Veranstaltungen, Mittelalterfeste, Kino, Grufti-Partys und jetzt ist es eine Teststraße. Für mich war das spannend, weil ich dort immer ganz andere Geräusche gewöhnt war und jetzt höre ich die Geräusche der Teststraße. Ich mag es durch den zehnten Bezirk spazieren zu gehen, ich gehe auch gerne ins Sonnwendviertel. Dort habe ich aber auch meine Community meine Freunde. Früher war ich viel im 15ten und im 16ten, zum Beispiel bei der Wasserwelt, dort habe ich auch gearbeitet im Bürgerbüro. Ja, und da fällt mir ein, jedes Geräusch von Wasser gefällt mir sehr gut, das ist super zum maskieren, dann höre ich meinen Tinitus wirklich weniger und versuche sehr viel Zeit am Wasser zu verbringen. Eigentlich bin ich kein Natur Mensch. Normalerweise mag ich mehr städtische Geräusche. Ich mag zum Beispiel auch Autobahngeräusche, das klingt für mich gut. Ich denke mir, da ja das Spital wo die meisten Babys in Belgrad zur Welt kommen neben einer Autobahn ist, dass das das erste Geräusch war das ich je gehört hab. Laaerberg Erholungsgebiet, neben dem Ankerbrot-Gelände, dort gibt es eine Autobahnbrücke über der A2 und das finde ich auch sehr interessant, diese Geräusche, das finde ich beruhigend. Aber das ist auch sehr Post utopisch, Cyber-Welt. Das sage ich persönlich, nicht als Gebietsbetreuerin. Offiziell will man hier Grünflächen haben. Ich denke, dass Geräusch-Wahrnehmung auch sehr persönlich ist. Was ich zum Beispiel nicht gerne habe sind Flugzeuge die über die Stadt fliegen, und da gibt es auch Initiativen dagegen. Und es ist nicht so als würde ich Flugzeuge nicht mögen, aber das Geräusch ist schon sehr laut und gerade in den Einflugschneise gibt es viele Beschwerden diesbezüglich, je näher man dem ist desto stressiger ist es. Im elften zum Beispiel war es fast unerträglich laut. Was ich auch nicht mag ist es, wenn es zu leise ist. Auch Kinderspielplätze mag

ich nicht so gern, weil man dort sehr oft sehr hohe Geräusche hört. Aber da bin ich jetzt nicht dagegen. Aber ich denke dass da Corona auch viel verändert hat, also zumindest in meiner Wahrnehmung. Ich fühle mich nicht mehr sicher, herum zu gehen an Orten wo viele Menschen sind, das war früher anders.

Was genau ist die Aufgabe der Stadtplanung? Welche Ziele hat die gegenwärtige Praxis der Stadtplanung in Bezug auf den öffentlichen Raum?

Also meine Arbeit hier ist nicht Stadtplanung, sondern Stadt-Erneuerung, das ist ein erweitertes Verständnis von Stadtplanung. Der der ein Gebäude plant, ist Architekt, der der eine Gruppe von Gebäuden plant ist Stadtplaner der mehrere Städte plant ist Raumplaner. Und in Österreich gibt es Landschaftsplaner, in Deutschland heißt es Landschaftsarchitektur und die designen dann die öffentlichen Plätze. Aber in manchen Ländern sind es auch Architekten, oder Urban Designer. Wir hier von der Gebietsbetreuung sind eine offizielle Anlaufstelle der Stadt Wien. Es war eigentlich als Beratungsstelle geplant gewesen, aber das hat sich dann weiter entwickelt, da das Bedürfnis nach Stadt-Erneuerung sehr groß war. Also wir planen keine neuen Viertel, aber wir sind dabei wenn neue Viertel entstehen, wie zum Beispiel beim Reumann Platz, aber die tatsächliche Planung findet nicht bei uns statt. Als Beratungsstelle beschäftigen wir uns mit Mietrecht aber auch technischen Problematiken wie der Akustik und Lärmbelästigung. Bei uns arbeiten auch Juristinnen, Sozial-Arbeiterinnen und Architekten. Und wir beschäftigen uns mit Projektarbeit, also in Bezug auf unterschiedliche Orte. Es wird zum Beispiel bald der Quellenplatz umgebaut werden, umgestaltet werden und da wird es zuerst von uns eine Beteiligungsumfrage geben und das ist die Instanz an der wir tätig werden, bevor das Konzept zu den Planern kommt. Hier werden wir unterschiedliche Gespräche und Interviews führen und Daten und Grundlagen-Fakten sammeln. Hier werden dann wirklich auch die Anwohner befragt.

Also grundsätzlich ist die Gebietsbetreuung dazu da, den Menschen zu helfen, Mieter zu unterstützen und die Forderung der Stadt Wien umzusetzen dass Bewohner nicht umsiedeln und auch während Sanierungen noch in Wohnungen wohnen. Wir unterstützen auch Projekte, die sich für eine Stärkung der Nachbarschaft einsetzen und Beteiligungsprozesse unterstützen. Grundsätzlich hängt es natürlich auch stark von der jeweiligen politischen Lage ab. Also in den letzten 2-3 Jahren stand alles unter dem Motto Klimaschutz. Alle möglichen Maßnahmen zur Bekämpfung der Auswirkungen der Klimaerwärmung, Klimaschutzmaßnahmen, da gibt es viele unterschiedliche Felder. Im Rahmen der EU hatten wir auch ein Smart City Projekt in Wien. Besonders ist das Wien eine eigene Strategie hat und nicht nur technologisch arbeitet. Eine wichtige Säule ist eben auch die soziale Säule. Und das bedeutet beispielsweise in diesem Bezirk, das Projekt heißt Wien Neu Plus komme, eine Anwendung der Smart City Strategy, die zum Beispiel auch die Umgestaltung des Quellenplatzes unterstützt.

Inwiefern werden hörbare Aspekte in der Planung und Gestaltung berücksichtigt?

Es gibt unterschiedliche Interessen was die Akustik der Stadt betrifft. Es gibt Standards. In der Architektur zum Beispiel es gibt Normen die bei den Bau von gewissen Objekten, Gebäuden und Anlagen wichtig sind. Diese sind so ausgerichtet dass sie gewisse Standards respektieren. Wie und wann diese Normen überprüft werden und angepasst werden an neue Lagen wird immer wieder diskutiert. Von unserer Seite, da wir ja auch für die Wohnberatung da sind, ist es eine Frage nach der Angemessenheit von der Lärmbelästigung und wie man es definiert. Was zum Beispiel ist ortsüblich? Das ist ziemlich interessant. Es hängt davon ab ob es Arbeitsstätten sind, oder Industrie ist und wie viel Dezibel dort erlaubt sind, oder zu viel oder zu lang. Aber in einem Wohngebiet, also in der Wohnung sollte es nicht mehr als 25 dB haben, aber bei der tatsächlichen Messung sind es immer viel mehr. Dann stellt sich die Frage, welche Konsequenzen eine Übertretung nach sich zieht. Es wird sehr wenig umgesetzt meiner Meinung nach. Die Leute werden sich beschweren oder zum Beispiel eine Mietreduktion beantragen, wenn eine Baustelle neben an ist, man eine Belastung durch die Industrie hat. Aber bei anderen Problematiken, die nicht so eindeutig sind, also ob es zu laut ist oder nicht, was auch immer das bedeutet, das ist eine Grauzone und hängt davon ab ob man genug Geld hat und Zeit und streiten will. Da gibt es zum Beispiel ein Lärmprotokoll welches man führen kann. Und dort gibt es auch viele Beschwerden die sich weniger mit der Lautstärke befassen als mit dem Verhalten. Ich weiß nicht ob dir das bekannt ist, aber in Wien gibt es diese Nachtruhe von 10-6 Uhr, wobei ältere Leute glauben, dass das von 8-6 Uhr ist. Und diesbezüglich gibt es tatsächlich keine Verordnung, nur Vorschläge. Dies kann die Hausordnung fest setzen, oder auch die Polizei bestimmen. Und das finde ich gerade auch bei unserer

Arbeit spannend, weil sich zeigt dass es immer von einer unterschiedlichen Perspektive abhängig ist. Bei Lärm und Lärmbelästigung gibt es auch Sachverständige, die sich mit der Bauphysik beschäftigen. Also Spezialisten die sich mit den Materialien auskennen. Veranstaltungsorte haben auch wieder eigene Regelungen und brauchen eigene Genehmigungen.

Welche Rolle spielt Lärm für den öffentlichen Raum und das städtische Leben? (Noise-pollution?)

Ich kann mich nicht erinnern dass es in Wien tatsächlich Initiativen für besseren Klang gibt. Mir fallen musikalische Parks ein, oder Klanginstallationen, aber die habe ich noch nie in Wien gesehen. Es gibt ja auch derartige Kunstprojekte im öffentlichen Raum, aber die sind nie dauerhaft. So etwas kann sehr sinnvoll und auch nett und beruhigend sein aber es ist derzeit nicht vorhanden. Was die grundsätzliche Akustik im öffentlichen Raum betrifft gibt es zwar Ideen aber nur sehr individuelle. Was mir einfällt sind Schutzwände, dort wo tatsächlich ein Zug oder eine Straße ist, aber diese Wände gibt es auch nicht mehr häufig. Andere Ideen und Projekte sind der Bau von Grünstreifen statt einer Wand, obwohl eine Wand vielleicht besser schützen würde. Ich würde solche Projekte unterstützen, aber ich habe keine Erfahrung damit in Wien und wüsste auch nicht dass es so etwas gibt. Also mir ist nicht bekannt dass grundsätzlich die Akustik innerhalb der Wiener Stadtplanung eine Rolle spielt. Aber ich war bis vor kurzem auch nicht wirklich sensibel, was Klang betrifft. Es gibt viele Leute die sagen dass Wien ja schon sehr viele Auflagen und Regelungen hat, die sagen das etwa so oder so sein muss. Ich weiß beispielsweise dass, wenn man Sportplätze oder Kinderspielplätze baut, zum Beispiel das Material des Bodens so ausgewählt wird dass es leise ist und die Klang dämpft. Aber grundsätzlich sind diese Maßnahmen sehr vereinzelt und werden nicht in die größere Planung mit einbezogen.

Abhängig vom Ort und von der Topologie des Raumes gibt es bestimmte ortsbezogene Vorschläge oder Richtlinien wie laut etwas sein darf, welche dann von unterschiedlichen Gesetzen geregelt werden, welche sich einerseits mit Lärm und andererseits mit Verhaltensregeln beschäftigen. Während des Studiums haben wir gelernt dass es verschiedene Materialien gibt und Strukturen gibt wie zum Beispiel Gipswände, die die akustischen Merkmale bestärken oder dämpfen. Grundsätzlich fließen in die Prozesse der Stadtplanung Gedanken ein, welche sich mit der Frage beschäftigen, wie Menschen diesen Raum nutzen, wie groß der Raum sein muss, dass der Raum angenehm sein sollte, aber ich glaube dass in diesen Entwicklungen Lärm nicht als Kriterium eine wichtige Rolle spielt. Die Lärmstandards sind ja auch historisch entwickelt worden und auch verschiedene Disziplinen erarbeiten unterschiedliche Richtlinien welche unabhängig von der Gesetzgebung sind. Dies ist ein großes Feld wo man sich einsetzen könnte und etwas verbessern könnte.

Meiner Meinung nach werden Geräusche und Lärm sehr individuell eingeschätzt, ob sie angenehm oder unangenehm sind. Das was dann im öffentlichen Raum gilt, ist das was in Politik, in einem fiktiven Kollektiv festgelegt wird, was als belastend gilt. Es gibt auch dieses Sprichwort oder diesen Gedanken, in Wien, dass der beste Raum der ist, den man nicht nutzt, weil dort kein Lärm entsteht. Deshalb gibt es in keinen Gemeindebauten mehr Schwimmbäder oder weniger Sitzplätze und Spielplätze, weil das alles zu viel Nutzung führt und dadurch zu viel Aufregung und Lärm. Das kann ich auch bestätigen, jetzt wo ich länger in Wien wohne, dass ich mich jetzt über etwas aufrege, über etwas was früher für mich normal war. Wir sind zwar nicht für Gemeindebauten zuständig, aber wir haben hier auch ähnliche Erfahrungen, zum Beispiel mit der Park-Nutzung. Dort kommen die meisten Beschwerden daher, dass der Park genutzt wird. Viele beschweren sich dann über Lärm, aber oft hängt es dann auch davon ab, welche Sprache gesprochen wird und wie die Leute aussehen und was diese im Park tun. Zum Beispiel trinken im Park ist ja nicht besonders laut, aber man beschwert sich: ‚die trinken und sind laut'. Jetzt ist die Frage, ist trinken das Problem oder Lärm. Und hier gibt es ja zum Beispiel am Prater bereits Alkohol-Verbote. Viele Beschwerden, und das sagen viele und auch ich, werden wegen Lärmbelästigung hervorgebracht, weil dies so ein weiter und allgemeiner Begriff ist und es ist okay wenn man sich wegen Lärmbelästigung beschwert und die Polizei hilft, es ist nicht so unüblich, aber du kannst ja nicht jemanden anrufen weil er anders aussieht.

Was sind Hauptgründe von Beschwerden bezüglich Ruhestörung - und Lärmbelästigung und wie wird damit seitens der Stadtplanung/Verwaltung umgegangen?

Bei uns landen normalerweise hauptsächlich Probleme bezüglich Lärm aus der Nachbarwohnung, besonders in Wohnungen wo irgendeine Art von Umbau stattgefunden hat, aber auch in Altbauten. Wenn man einen Teppich entfernt und Laminat rein gibt und man kann jeden Schritt hören, das war eine Zeit voller technischer Probleme und nicht ausreichendem Schutz. Wenn es ums Verhalten geht, also ‚die schlafen nicht', das finde ich persönlich schwer einzuschätzen. Wir haben immer wieder diese Art Anfragen. Im Parkanlagen, im 10ten, aber das betrifft wahrscheinlich jeden Bezirk, darf man den Park nur bis 10.00 Uhr nutzen und viele Beschwerden, auch während des Tages, beziehen sich auf Lärmbelästigung, schlicht und einfach durch die Nutzung des Parks. Und wegen Hundegebell, dort wo die Hundezone ist, also auch während des Tages. Und dann ist schwer zu beweisen: was ist ortsüblich. Wie viel Lärm von Hunden ist okay. Zum Beispiel beim Klavierspielen, oder Instrumente-Üben gab es auch schon Entscheidungen darüber, wie oft und wie lange man am Tag üben darf. Zum Beispiel im 3ten darf man 2-3 Stunden spielen, im 10ten 1 Stunde, aber das ist jetzt überspitzt, ein Scherz. Aber dadurch, dass diese Lärmbelästigung-Richtlinien ortsüblich unterschiedlich umgesetzt werden, führt das natürlich auch in dieser Hinsicht zu unterschiedlichen Richtlinien. Da wir uns mehr als Architekten und Planer sehen, wir haben zwar auch Sozialarbeiter und Juristen, aber dort weisen wir häufig an anderen Stellen weiter. Wir schätzen ein, ob eine Umgestaltung möglich wäre, und ob es eine technische Verbesserung geben. Bei dem Beispiel mit der Hundezone ist im Gespräch, den Platz umzusiedeln, da diese Hundezone im Sonnwindviertel an der engsten Stelle ist, zwischen zwei Gebäude und es hallt sehr. Und hier sind wir dann auch im Gespräch mit der MA 42, die für die Parkgestaltung zuständig ist, also die die für die Landschaft zuständig sind. Die die für die Gestaltung des Platzes zuständig sind ist die am MA 19. Für jeden Teil von dem Park ist ein anderes Magistrat zuständig. Für die Beleuchtung gibt es die MA 33, für die Verschmutzung die 48, aber für Lärmbelästigung und Lärmschutz gibt es kein eigenes Magistrat. Mittlerweile sollte es so etwas eigentlich schon geben. Man kann sich zwar auch bei der Umweltberatung melden, oder bei der Bauinspektion, aber warum sollte es für Licht eine eigene Abteilung geben, aber nicht für Lärm. Grundsätzlich sollte es auf jeden Fall eine bessere Vernetzung unter den Magistratsabteilung geben und es sollte nicht zu viel auf der politischen Ebene spielt werden, und welche Partei in der Stadtverwaltung ist. Das war besonders in den letzten Wahlperiode sehr spürbar, zum Beispiel im Unterschied zwischen den Grünen, die die Stadtplanung hatten und Wohnbau und Parkanlagen lag bei den Roten.

Aber grundsätzlich ist es nicht unser Auftrag Sozial tätig zu werden. Wir haben zwar Sozialarbeiterinnen in unserem Team seit der letzten Auftragsperiode, aber davor war das auch gar nicht der Fall, da wir ja hauptsächlich Raumplaner, Architekten und Landschaftsplaner sind. Aber seit letzter Auftragsperiode haben wir auch Sozialarbeiterinnen und Juristen im Team. Wir haben alle unterschiedliche Ausbildungen. Wir unterstützen Arbeit gegen Rassismus und ähnlichen Probleme und das ist etwas was sehr häufig vorkommt. Aber was die Umgestaltung von Straßen und des öffentlichen Raumes betrifft, also wenn die Leute keine Dönerbude und keine Türken haben wollen, keine Zuwanderer, das kann man nicht gestalten. Grundsätzlich ist der Gedanke eines Social Designs in West Europa nicht erwünscht. Es gibt eine Stelle die sich mit Integration beschäftigt, das ist die MA 17 die auch Diversität fordern. Und ja, man kann sagen dass Wohnbau und Planung eine Art soziales Design ist, aber man spricht nicht so darüber. So etwas könnte man mal angehen. Social Design ist etwas was in den Hintergrund rückt. Das ist jetzt auch eine persönliche Erfahrung, da ich ja aus einer anderen Schule komme mit sozialistische und kommunistische Prägung wo man dann gewisse Planungsprojekte hat und soziale Gruppen entfernt und zum Beispiel Studenten vom Zentrum weg bringt oder mehr verstreut damit diese sich nicht an einer Stelle fokussieren. So etwas passiert auch hier, obwohl es hier nicht so offensichtlich ist - dass man zum Beispiel Flüchtlinge nicht an einem Ort konzentriert. Oder zum Beispiel die Problematik mit den Roma Siedlungen in Europa, die es zwar gibt, aber ungern angesprochen werden. Man kann auch sagen dass geförderter Wohnbau eine Art Social Design darstellt, da man gewisse Voraussetzungen erfüllen muss und gewisse Ausschlusskriterien die ein Social Design diktieren. Social Design bedeutet also nicht grundsätzlich mehr Leben, Integration und Diversität, sondern kann und wird auch häufig für Exklusion und Segregation genutzt. Man redet also nicht offen über Social Design sondern auf andere Weise. In Wien kann man zum Beispiel an öffentlichen Orten sehen, wie viele Drogensüchtige, ausgegrenzte, und marginalisierten Gruppen da sind und dort gibt es denn Projekte die dazu führen dass an solchen Orten eine ‚Sanierung' stattfindet, zum Beispiel am Karlsplatz, am Reumannplatz. ‚Sanierung' bedeutet also Polizeipräsenz und der Wunsch, eine andere Nutzungsgruppe an den Ort zu bringen. Am Reumannplatz gab es zum Beispiel auch Aufregung, und eine Gegen-Initiative dazu, weil es die Befürchtung gab, dass dann mehr Konsumentennutzungen kommen und es weniger Platz für die anderen Gruppen gibt. Aber das war nie irgendwo innerhalb hat der Stadtplanung

niedergeschrieben, es wurde immer von Verbesserung und von Nachbarschaftlichkeit gesprochen, aber was eigentlich passiert, naja.

Was zeichnet eine harmonische städtische Gemeinschaft aus?

Für alles gibt es ein Maß, nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg zum Beispiel ist eine Standardisierung durchgeführt worden. Der normale Mensch ist zum Beispiel 1,80 m. Und die Gebäude und die Möbel werden alle dementsprechend hergestellt. Aber in manchen Ländern sind die Leute größer, in manchen kleiner. Und wenn du eine Standardisierung bei Geräuschen nimmst, dann beinhaltet das die Wahrnehmung von sehr vielen, aber die die das nicht trifft, für die ist das dann zu laut oder zu leise. Und, eben, das Beispiel mit dem Licht und dem eigenen Magistrat. Man gestaltet den öffentlichen Raum ja auch nicht viel zu hell oder viel zu dunkel. Und U-Bahnen zum Beispiel sind ja auch viel zu laut, wobei sie in Kiew oder Prag noch viel lauter sind. Ich bin der Meinung dass für den öffentlichen Raum Diversität und Vielfalt sehr wichtig ist. Aber ich finde, dass es auch wichtig für ein harmonisches Zusammenleben ist, eine Bereitschaft zur Kommunikation zu haben und Platz hat für Unterschiede. Es muss nicht alles gleich sein. Und ich denke, bei der Planung, es müssen nicht alle Plätze gleich sein, dass man auch unterschiedliche Orte, unterschiedliche Plätze, unterschiedliche Gemeinschaften und Leute haben kann und Gruppen, und das führt für mich zur Harmonie und nicht das wir alle gleich sind und die gleiche Meinung haben. Also ich denke, es sollten alle gleiche Rechte haben, aber es ist auch für unsere heutige Gesellschaft wichtig ist, Platz zu haben für Menschen und Gruppen die nicht dazugehören wollen, dass sie auch einen Platz haben für eine eigene Meinung und eine unterschiedliche Teilhabe.

Inwiefern kann Klang dazu beitragen - oder verhindern, dass sich ein gut funktionierendes Gemeinwesen herausbildet?

Also ich habe eine Werbung gesehen, ich weiß nicht ob das wirklich so funktioniert, aber dort gibt es eine Art Blase in der zwei Menschen reden können ohne dass jemand mithört und umgekehrt, das wäre super. Aber nein, das war nur ein Witz. Ich weiß nicht wie das in Deutschland ist, aber, jetzt, zwar während Corona weniger, aber an Orten wo mehr Studenten sind, konnte man auch mehr Musik und Leute hören, in diesen üblichen Parks gibt es auch mehr Musik. Hier im zehnten höre ich selten Gitarre, eher Ghettoblaster. Was ich derzeit öfter sehe sind viele Kinder mit Handys und die spielen immer irgendetwas aber selten Musik. Ich denke schon dass Straßenmusik einen positiven Effekt haben würde. Hier in der Favoritenstraße zum Beispiel, wo auch viele Musiker für Geld spielen, dort ist das auch eine Frage der Identität, da höre ich das es Jugos sind…, aber ich kann jetzt zum Beispiel nicht sagen dass ich oft türkische Musik höre. Also was Klang betrifft wäre es auch spannend, wie es ist wenn man eine einheitliche Farbe gefunden hat, ein einheitliches Design, so wie bei der Farbe von Gebäuden, aber ich denke das es ein Problem bei öffentlichen Plätzen ist, dass man klanglich und musikalisch noch keine Einigung gefunden hat, welche Musik sollte an welchem Platz sein und welche Geräusche. Ich weiß zum Beispiel, dass wenn man mit dem Flugzeug in Wien landet, man immer den Wiener Walzer hört. Da gibt es auch eine gewisse Identitätsverbindung mit gewissen Geräuschen. Es gibt ja auch zum Beispiel diese Geräuschinstallationen im Museumsquartier, die sind interessant aber auch manchmal nervig. Was ich zum Beispiel spannend finde ist, dass ja jüngere und ältere Leute unterschiedlich gut Frequenzen hören. Und da gibt es ja zum Beispiel diese Marder-Vertreibungsgeräte mit sehr hohen Frequenzen und sowas gibt es ja auch für Menschen. Schrecklich. Und dafür gibt es kein Verbot. Aber auch zur Mader-Vertreiben finde ich es stressig wenn das jemand in der Nebenwohnung machen kann und da weiß man auch noch wenig über die Auswirkungen. Es gibt Menschen die manche Sachen mehr hören als andere und da kommen wir zurück auf die Frage, was ist das Übliche. Und dann gibt es diese ‚brown-fields', die Industriegebiete sind und waren, oder ‚greenfields' die eher Brachland waren, und wenn zum Beispiel bei der Ankerbrot-Fabrik die Industriegeräusche neben Wohngebieten sind dann ist das schon auch unangenehm, weil die haben auch einen bestimmten Tagesrhythmus das ist wirklich nervig.

Was kann die Stadtplanung, die Politik und die Bewohner_Innen selbst deiner Meinung nach tun, um eine besser klingende Stadt zu schaffen?

Die Frage, was Stadtplaner, Politiker und Bewohner machen können damit die Stadt besser klingt, ist sehr schwierig. Es gibt Tage an denen man will dass man von überall her Geräusche hört, also angenehme Geräusche, aber ich habe das Gefühl dass man da keinen gemeinsamen Nenner finden kann. Ganz allgemein ist es wichtig auf einander Rücksicht zu nehmen, und Verständnis für andere Geräusche, für fremde Geräusche zu haben und ich finde das solche Themen wie Akustik auch mehr an die Volksschule und an die Schulen kommen sollten und das audiologische Untersuchungen auch bei den Ärzten mehr in den Vordergrund rücken sollten, denn das ist bisher eher in der letzten Instanz, wenn man schon gehörlos ist oder Probleme hat. Ich würde so etwas präventiv machen. Und überhaupt innerhalb des gesellschaftlichen Diskurses mehr über Sound reden und nicht nur wenn es ein Problem gibt. Und es wird immer über Lärm geredet, also über das Problem, aber es ist ja auch wichtig über die positiven Aspekte zu sprechen. Wie kann man eine Stadt planen so dass sie nicht nur besser aussieht sondern auch besser klingt? Irgendwann verfällt ein Gebäude und dann sagt man es ist hässlich, es ist also ein Problem. Aber bei Klang sagt man selten, dass man jetzt einen schönen klingenden Park baut und man macht jetzt etwas für die Gemeinschaft, dass sie eine schönere Akustik hat. Es ist spannend wie wenig Wissen es darüber noch gibt. Mein Eindruck ist, dass dieses Thema wenig Priorität hat und damit auch weniger Platz. Aber man sagt zum Beispiel auch ‚wir sehen uns', und nicht ‚wir hören uns'. Und Architektur ist vielleicht etwas zu sehr am Aussehen orientiert. Was ich auch spannend finde sind zum Beispiel ‚smell-scapes'. Und wie unterschiedliche Orte riechen. Und wie das auch zu Problemen führen kann, bei zum Beispiel eher indischen oder türkischen Viertel wo sich dann die Nachbarn über den Geruch aufregen. Aber ich bin vielleicht auch belastet durch meine Arbeit hier, weil man bekommt keine Komplimente, die Leute rufen nicht an wenn etwas gut ist, sondern nur wenn es ein Problem gibt, wenn es zu laut ist oder wenn es stinkt.

c) Fieldnotes

Matzleinsdorferplatz 6pm

The massive sounds of traffic roar by, left and right, while I stand on a concrete island in the middle of the road. The noise is all encompassing, thickening the soundscape like stiffening liquid. The traffic lights turn right for the cars but green for the others, a slight change of direction but nevertheless too loud for me to hear the talking of passers-by coming from the road close by. I follow them and end up in front of a provisional doorway, leading down to the tram-lines of the Matzleinsdorfer Platz. To the right of the entrance there is a large construction site, whose noise-scape even breaks through the thunderous traffic. Pneumatic drills, hammers, yelled out instructions arrhythmically alternate and burst through to me. Not knowing where exactly I should go, I follow a group of others into an underpass. The hall and reverb extends dramatically and when a police car suddenly switches on its sirens I feel an actual painful sensation in my ears. I turn back and towards the entrance of the underground tram system. I sense how everything quiets down, that sounds come closer and are more tactile. Inside, there is a colorless, bleached maze of sound ways, amplifying every footstep and voice, resulting in incomprehensible echoes and distortions. Randomly I turn left into a thin path, enclosed by hard, grey materials. My shoe's resonance rhythmically swirls around me until the path opens towards a dark, almost empty waiting platform. The atmosphere, for a minute, is very spherical, and I can hear the sound of the only other waiting person's finger as they tap on the phone, and feet, as they obliviously slurp on the ground. Then, emanating from from invisible loudspeaker, a muffled jingle, followed by a crackling, piercing announcement, fills the dusty air, reflecting from every wall. When suddenly a tram rumbles in, the platform fills with sounds. Dozens of people get out, move noisily around, shuffle their bags, talk on their phones and walk in a predictable choreography towards the elevators or the narrow staircase, only a few stay and wait for a connection train. The train doors give three sharp warning signals accompanied by a flashing of red light, close loudly and the train begins to move: at first a deep rumble, then a rhythmic clatter and as the speed increases, a loud, high hissing. A moment of silence and then the train on the opposite side rides by. The silence that follows is the same as before, a hushed almost intimate amplification of every sound. The individual's sound, the shoe's material, a clinging of keys, sometimes the quiet voice of a child talking to his father. But every 3 to 4 minutes the noise of an approaching train

and the departing passengers fills the platform like waves. A very rhythmic, cold, hauntingly impersonal yet intimate soundscape.

Donaukanal 4pm

I approach the river-branch from the Stubenring, resounding with slight traffic, hundreds of cyclists and the occasional chatter of people sitting in cafés and bars. When I walk down towards the river promenade, the overall traffic noise dims down slightly and the spherical resonance broadens distinctly. On this side of the canal, the south side, there are less people than on the other. I sit down by the shore, my feet dangling, and listen. Like a distant fog the mechanical sounds of transportation hover above everything. It is, though, not really oppressive, there is far enough room for in the gentle splashing of the river stream, as it encircles one of the immovable boats. The muffled the sound of conversations and the clear ringing of bicycle chains reaches me. The river seems to carry and to amplify the voices and the music coming from the other shore. Right behind me the U4 rumbles past every five minutes or so, and the occasional crow or a seagull cries out. The overall soundscape is very wide and broad, every sound has a lot of room and the countless sonic layers latch harmoniously into each other. I move on, and pass a group of people dancing to salsa music and, a little further a team of boxers taking practice lessons by the canal. When I walk under one of those countless bridges, I feel the rumbling of cars in my body, and hear the sound of spray-cans, as a group paints a mural onto one of the pillars. I cross over to the other shore and instantly I'm surrounded by crowds of young people, sitting, standing, dancing, drinking, playing the guitar, or their portable loudspeakers. It is definitely more dense and louder and animated here. A boat splashes past, a DJ plays at the outside area of a bar, laughter passes my ears. People are glad to be here, they are rarely alone, always talking and interacting, creating countless intimate, yet extroverted places right above the casually floating stream. It feels odd that the subway part is not completely enclosed, since, even among all this sounds, it's rhythmic rumbling always stands out. And yet, it seems to suit to this place, to the mix of traffic and DJ music and water. Innumerable voices and songs fill the air, spread out over the river, echo underneath the bridges, mix and overlap with the clamor of the city, the dynamic conversations, the rumbling trains, the ringing trams, clinging cutlery and ‚zisching' beer-cans. Sometimes you hear a honking car, or a siren, the leaves of a tree, a splash of water. A sonic hodgepodge, profoundly alive, animated, but open and wide.

Mariahilferstraße 2pm

The soundscape feels like being in a tunnel, it brings noises and voices, male laughter, from invisible bars or cafés down below the street. If it wasn't for the wind and the fact that no building I know has such an extended reverb time, I could assume I was somehow inside. The environment is soaked in the murmuring and chattering of hundreds of people on the move, not oppressive, as in the narrow mall, but all encompassing. I clearly hear the switching of gears and the ringing chain and the loose parts of numerous bicycles, the car's wheels on the plaster, their electric hum, their roaring combustion, or the heavy lifting of delivery trucks. A group of girls walks past, noisily complaining about a friend in school, a skateboard clatters and a cab's breaks screech loudly. The further I walk uphill, the more I am surrounded by the shopping masses, their noisy presence very close to me, to my body. Plastic spoons rattle, clatter on the ground, someone whistles, individual voices come sharply into the foreground. Shoes, so many different, overlapping walking rhythms, high-heels, sneakers, boots. Somewhere, a dog barks and it echoes and resonates clearly for a few moments. Many people walk alone, with their headphones plugged in, or are talking on the phone, but even more are in groups, talking, seemingly happy. Something metallic clings in the distance, a dove flaps its wings, the bass-heavy music rumbles through a passing car, and trash slides noisily over the ground. The usually constant background noise of traffic is almost imperceptible and replaced by the infrequent, singular car passing by closely. Sounds constantly switch from background to foreground and back again. At some moments it even sounds beautiful, very versatile, very human. But also very urban and commercial, dense and artificial. I cross various street junctions, always accompanied by a change in resonance, carrying either a wide hollowness, or the clamor of bars and cafés. Sometimes places widen, giving all the sounds more space, leading to a refreshingly open, almost tranquil

soundscape. I pass a fast food pizzeria under whose large parasols loudspeakers pump popular music onto the sitting customers underneath and the places around it, shortly after succeeded by a street musician, playing the guitar, more to himself then to anyone else. The closer I get to the Westbahnhof, the broader the soundscape gets, the louder the traffic from the Gürtel, the more muffled and quiet the sounds of people. The traditional ring of a tram marks the end of the Mariahilferstraße

Reumannplatz 11am

I exit the train-carriage at U1 Reumannplatz, together with masses of other travelers, cram through the metallic-sounding platform, walk up the stairs and, suddenly blinded by sunlight, a colorful confusion of voices and sounds surround me. I'm standing at the farthest end of the Quellenstraße, bordering into the Reumannplatz. In the near proximity, a handful of kebab-shops, cafés, supermarkets and handy-repair-shops all resound with busy activity, deliveries, sale-talks, and informal conversations. Right in front of me three different tram-lines cross in what feels like a pedestrian-only road, filling the space with their squeaking and sliding and ringing noises. Two young men push shopping-ventures filled with flour with a noisy clattering over the rails past the trains towards a falafel-stand. Dozens of people move along, strolling, determined, happy, oblivious, young, old, dressed for a party, dressed for the couch. At this junction the sounds have no clear direction, are not forced into paths, you can hear their reflection on the buildings but it's all mixed up, circulating, spinning around in a lovely, noisy, multi-cultural medley. I cross the street past the tram-ways and the soundscape opens up widely into the huge square of the Reumannplatz. It is early, 11am, but the place is already very alive and full of people leisurely occupying all the benches in the shade. For a short moment it is, in comparison to the Quellenstraße, almost quiet. You can clearly hear the voices of children playing in the playground at the other end of the square, coming like waves to my ears. The mechanical background is present, but not so much, (even though there are a couple of streets surrounding the square) because their interlaced embedded-ness, the all-encompassing ‚urbanity', voices, doves, cutlery, are all overlapping and meshed into a tranquil background of sounds. This is not a park in the common sense, with mostly lawns and ponds, as you might find it in almost every other corner of Vienna. It's mostly paved, with a little bakery, and administration complex and other infrastructural connection points spread out. But between the paths, almost everywhere you look, there are a large patches overgrown with vegetation, trees, flowers, plants. I pass a water-installation, with little fountains alternately cleansing the ground in a thin river-like puddle, sounding very organic and yet playfully artificial. I keep walking through this wide and open, lavishly diverse place, find a bench and sit. Right behind me is the ‚Tichy' ice-saloon, already with a long line of people waiting to get a refreshment. When they got served, many of them passed me, happily licking their ice cream. All these children, crying out, complaining, laughing in so many different languages and dialects. I move on, closer to the south east corner and the increasing sounds of toys and swings and go around and high-pitched voices of the children playground. Topless construction workers pass me, contently rambling in their deep voices, young women standing by each other chattering in a language I don't know. To the right I hear the sounds of the Amalien-bad, faintly, a dense mist of jungle-sounds as someone opens the door. A young boy in an electric miniature car humming rowdily, stopping to look at me looking at him, driving on. When I turn I can see all over Vienna towards the deep-green vine-fields and forests in the north. Murmurs, languages, footprints, the wind, drillers, toys. I circled back towards the Quellenstraße, muffled but clearly audible, getting closer to the crowded busyness of the market day.

Karmelitermarkt 1pm

I exit the station ‚Taborstrasse' and the sounds, at first, are typically urban: voices, traffic, not dense, rather open. I keep walking along the main road and then turn into the ‚Heidestraße' and the soundscape achieves immediately a calm tranquillity. The roads are wide, the buildings old and the sound of traffic is completely gone, not even the background-hum from the city centre it's audible. I pass a wonderful, low building with a church, the Leopold Kapelle, and a small, overgrown restaurant next to it. All I can hear is a poster somewhere clapping in the soft breeze and the happy, soft conversations from one of the tables by the restaurant. The more I walk, the more I have the feeling to be

in a little village somewhere in south-tirol or, when I see a little pizzeria next to an overgrown facade, somewhere in Italy. From all the places I have listened to in Vienna, this one is, though right next to the first district and the ‚Donaukanal', the most quiet one, not uncomfortably quiet, but calm, unhurried, an oasis. Someone passes me with a self-made wooden basket full of wine-bottles and cheese, cheerfully clinging as they are shuffled together. A bicycle rides by. Here are numerous little parks, green and blooming, often with little cafés or restaurants next to them. None are crowded - rather the opposite. It seems as if only the people who live here, come here, but those who do, use it, and seem to love it. Groups of old ladies exchange gossip, a young man works on his laptop. I have not been here often enough, but I don't feel the rhythmic pressure here as I am used to it in other places. These rhythms are organic, chosen, calm. I hear something, the sounds of many people, and find myself at the entrance to the ‚Karmelitermarkt'. Surrounded by a handful of brick stalls, cafés and flower shops, all lively and well visited, there are about a dozen temporary stalls, the weekly ‚farmers-market', selling cheese and meat and vegetables-all, very ordered and relaxed. There are many markets in Vienna, but, again, this one feels ‚rural', tranquil, lacking the busyness of other places like it. The sound is wide, resonating perceptibly on the far, charming, original facades of the surrounding buildings. Then I hear the chiming of bells, it's 2 pm, and unhurriedly, the stallholders begin to pack their offerings, to clean and to leave the open place. Before, you could hear the valleys, the footsteps, the exchanges, young and old, calmly exploring the market. Now, shortly after the market has closed, the intense feeling of being in a quiet village returns, leaving the community to itself again. The voices clear up, the bartender is chattering with a regular. This place seems uniquely unhurried, far away from the humdrum of the city. There aren't too many trees and almost no benches or fountains at the Karmelitermarkt itself, but it is, yet, very natural, deeply human and individual. Kids with jewish locks and hats clatter by on rollers, guitar music comes from one of the cafés, a mother comforts her little daughter. It's 2 pm on a Saturday end, so it seems, the big city-folks have left the little village which returns instantly to its un-hushed routines and its neighborhood-life.

Stephansplatz 5pm

I walk from the canal over the noisy ‚Bermuda-Dreieck' into the first district. As soon as I enter one of the smaller alleyways, it sounds almost like Rome: the slurping, shuffling feet on the omnipresent cobble-stone, muffled murmurs, various tranquil cafés and water fountains. But, soon enough, as I step onto the ‚Rotenturmstraße', I feel the oppressive sounds of crowds, tourists, baroque architecture, buses and cabs. It is alive, the people are happy and well dressed, but it is impersonal, commercial. Until the road opens up towards the large ‚Stephansplatz'. Here, the impersonality of the individual sounds persists: crowds pass by, countless advertisers are offering bicycle rides or other tours, the clicking of camera shutters. But the resonance changed. You can feel and hear that something very large and old is present, something that resonates with ignorant history. This is not the openness of other large squares, it's the distinct way every sound strikes the facade of the ‚Stephansdom', 130 m high. It is a carpet of voices and murmurs and footsteps, but it all reverberates upwards. Suddenly, one of the largest bells inside the cathedral chimes and you can almost see it's intense resonance as oscillation on its old and thick brick-facade. It sounds not particularly comforting, but patronizing, deeply Christian in a way and it drowns out every other sound there possibly is. When the all-encompassing chiming abides and fades into a low, corporal register, the ‚normality' of this place's usual soundscape becomes all the more apparent: the casual movement of hundreds of people, someone rolling his suitcase, a mother playing with her child, the flapping of a dove's wings, and the ubiquitous resonance of old, massive architecture.

Burggarten 3pm

I sit on a bench in the ‚Burggarten' and it is a rather beautiful scenery. Hundreds of humans romp around among the countless bushes, sun-spots and old, high trees. In the background I hear the last imperceptible slogans of a demonstration as it drags along the nearby ‚Ringstraße'. It is warm, I hear the wind in my ears, in the spring-timely greenness of the treetops. Like tiny clouds, human sounds float by me, the high voices of happy children, a quietly hummed song sung by a mother next to me. Slurping, almost imperceptible clacking, rhythmic footsteps, a ringtone,

bicycle-chains, fragments of conversation. Softly a water-fountain burbles, a warm, wet pelting. Leisurely quacking ducks, cooing doves. Like a distant wall, glutinously but not imposing, I hear the deep droning of traffic from the ‚Ringstrasse'. Everything that sounds, sinks into the expanse, into the lawn, the wind. Nobody complaints, children are laughing, everyone is here to bath in the sun, to enjoy the spring. An old lady sits next to me and eats, audibly, caricature-like, a cake. A symphony of subdued bird songs pierces through the air, mixing with the distant sound of sirens, the rhythmic music coming from a little loudspeaker behind me. The lawn is crammed with groups of young people, all intently immersed in conversations or playing a ball-game, a thick layer of muffled, imperceptibly overlaid voices, all masked by the many trees and shrubs and the little pond in front of me, calmly moving to the splashes of the water-fountain which is sprinkling its incessant stream onto the water-surface. Somewhere, a loud squeak is rising up, and it takes at least two or three seconds for it to delay and fade. The architecture around us, the National Library, the Albertina, the Schmetterlingshaus, all seem to interact in a sonically very ordered but complex way, creating a large bubble of sound, wide and open, but still enclosed and secure, allowing for the many outstanding natural sounds to mingle and harmonize with the countless human activities and conversations.

Museumsquartier 6pm

A carpet of sounds blankets over me: steadily saturated, loud sun-rays, rhythms, laughter. While I walk through the rectangular square inside the Museumsquartier, I can almost see the sound-waves diffracting and refracting along the parallel places, large, hard-surfaces building-complexes. The place is abundant with the sounds of young people, sitting in groups on the yellow and blue plastic furnitures placed irregularly all around the place. Besides the square-shaped ‚pool', its still water only animated when one of the running and screaming children energetically jumps into it, releases no sound on its own, silently listening to the invigorated every-day soundscape of the MQ on a sunny evening. In contrast to other, greener places in Vienna, this square offers almost no natural elements, just minimalistic bright-colored high-ceilinged buildings, and you can hear how the people are more dynamic, more electrified. Every sound is amplified, you can hear the sound of someones's laughter from the other end of the ‚quartier', countless portable loudspeaker playing hip-hop music or bass-heavy electronic beats. The atmosphere reminds me of a big party, for all age-groups, animated and flirty. Almost all the people are drinking beer or wine, even though it's still quite early in the evening, are speaking - or have to speak loudly, because the overall volume is distinctly high. The MQ's soundscape triggers activity, interaction, sociality, urbanity, is not made for relaxing and leaning back, but for meeting, clinging, singing, drinking. You can hear the chaotic sound-ways, the multi-layered reinforcement a big-city hustle and bustle.

Gürtel 7pm

The subway station ‚Josefstädterstrasse' , a noisy din of mechanical and human sounds which continuously connects, sucks up, spits out bodies , shuffling along, eager to get out. The droning traffic, already apparent inside, slaps into my face as soon as I exit the art-nouveau station. Three lanes to the left, three to the right, divided by a wide brick wall carrying the U6 Subway line. I walk down hill, crossing various, squeaking tram-lines, on the cobblestones sidewalk, paralleling a cyclist lane. The ‚Gürtel', stretching all along the outer districts, is in constant movement, clamorously streaming onwards, day in, day out, every single minute. Regulated by countless street lights, the roaring stops and starts like clockwork, intermixed with, ambulance sirens, police signals and the subways throat-clearing rumbling above. Every sound whatsoever is being drowned by the droning of thousands of cars. It is so loud and intense, so punctuated and dense, it almost sounds like ocean waves when you are very close to the shoreline. Underneath the subway line, there are numerous bars, all about to open up. I see the barman and training the tables, but hear nothing of it, I see a person passing me in close proximity, talking to a friend, but no voice is heard. It feels almost corporeal, like the white noise in your ears, when you stand up too quickly. Deep and low frequencies, and incessant baseline vibrating through my guts. There is no horizon, no closeness or distance, just an all encompassing, never-ending rumble of networks, combustion engines, rubber on concrete, noise.

Abstracts

(English)

This thesis is the outcome of a theoretical, methodological and ethnographic investigation into the relationships between sonic perception, acoustic environments and processes of socialization. After clarifying sensuous perception as sociologically relevant material in the first chapter, and by elucidating how our interaction with, and interpretation of sound is in a historically changing state of constant negotiation, construction and re-appropriation in the second one, the third chapter is a theoretical exploration of the multilayered sonic dynamics that produce the contemporary city as a boundless, processual and profoundly sensorial experience. After a detailed account of six ethnographic methods and methodologies for an investigation of soundscapes in the fourth chapter, this thesis concludes with an empirical and practitioner-led application of soundscape-studies, hereby providing an extensive account on the city of Vienna as it is experienced sonically by the people who move in and through its various soundscapes, highlighting distinct urban places and situations that are perceived as troublesome and unhealthy on the one hand, or uniquely comforting and pleasurable on the other, and, finally, proposing suggestions for architectural, political and social improvement and interventions as to make the city a more harmonious, embodied and sensually appealing place.

(Deutsch)

Die vorliegende Masterarbeit ist das Ergebnis einer theoretischen, methodologischen und ethnographischen Untersuchung der Zusammenhänge zwischen Sinneswahrnehmung, Klanglandschaften und Prozessen der Vergesellschaftung. Nachdem zu Beginn Sinneswahrnehmungen als kulturell geprägte und somit soziologisch relevante Prozesse definiert werden und, darauf folgend, untersucht wird, wie sich unser Umgang mit und unser Verständnis von Klängen in einem sich kontinuierlich verändernden Zustand befindet, wird im dritten Kapitel die zeitgenössische Stadt als ein vielschichtiges Ensemble sich wechselseitig beeinflussender, komplexer, jedoch teils geordneter Klanggefüge begriffen. Nach einer ausführlichen Darstellung and Analyse von sechs ethnographischen and analytischen Methoden und Methodologien zur Untersuchung von Klanglandschaften im vierten Kapitel schließt diese Masterarbeit mit einer empirischen Erforschung unterschiedlicher Klangräume der Stadt Wien ab und arbeitet heraus, wie diese akustisch von den Bewohnerinnen und Bewohnern wahrgenommen werden, welche Orte und Situationen als störend und schädigend oder als besonders angenehm empfunden werden, und letztlich, welche architektonischen, politischen und sozialen Maßnahmen ergriffen werden können, um so die Stadt harmonischer, toleranter und vielseitiger zu machen