Listening to urban seaside gentrification:

Living with displacement injustices on the UK south coast

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Abstract

The English urban seaside presents an important research site that has undergone waves of re-imaginings from gentry resort to mass tourism through decline to nostalgic regeneration. This distinct landscape, with its liquid temporalities, imaginings and mobilities, offers a unique opportunity to reinvigorate understandings of gentrification, displacement and its injustices. Finding an interdisciplinary and pandemic-responsive way of generating distinct knowledge, this research asks what can listening with residents on the UK south coast tell us about urban seaside gentrification and displacement injustices?

This thesis offers the conceptualisation of *listening-with,* as a form of participatory listening research, to methodologically reinvigorate and conceptually reframe urban seaside gentrification and its injustices. Developing a socio-sonic-mobile methodology, I remotely supported twenty-two residents living in Brighton, Worthing and St Leonard-on-Sea through listening walks, listening-at-home activities and elicitation interviews during fluctuating lockdowns in 2020. I argue by *listening-with* residents we can hear the distinct social, spatial and mobile processes producing gentrification as it increasingly permeates neighbourhood life along the south coast. Participants are making sense of their changing neighbourhoods through engaging with existing seaside and gentrification narratives, revealing fixed spatial imaginaries of the urban seaside and gentrifying spaces. Through interrogating their plural listening positionalities, participants' differentiated displacement experiences become audible, including the ways they are navigating its spectrum and positioning themselves in relation to its injustices. Listening to displacement therefore reaches across past personal encounters, present feelings of culpability and future fears of an increasingly exclusionary coastline.

Oriented by a feminist, anti-colonial and participatory ethos, this project sits at the intersection, and makes contributions to, the fields of gentrification, displacement, sound, mobilities, in/justices and the seaside. Taking a mobilities ear, I create a framework for understanding displacement injustices drawing on theories of social (Young, 1990), spatial (Soja, 2010) and mobility justice (Sheller, 2018). Inspired by sound scholars (Anderson & Rennie, 2016; Robinson, 2020), I have developed a set of methodological resources

encompassed by *listening-with* that includes a creative listening analysis approach, layered soundmapping and sound stimuli typology. However, my listening approach goes beyond a methodological contribution in arguing for the epistemic role of listening in knowledge production and practices. Through *listening-with* residents, I have identified four key resonating motifs that constitute urban seaside gentrification: the significance of "seasideness"; the dynamics of coastal liquidity (Burdsey, 2016); the mutually supportive relationship of tourism and gentrification; and features from across all five waves of gentrification.

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Acronyms & Abbreviations

AWC	Adur & Worthing Councils
BHCC	Brighton & Hove City Council
DFL	Down from London
FUI	Follow Up Interview
HBC	Hastings Borough Council
LH	Listening-at-Home
LW	Listening Walk
NIMBY	Not in my Back Yard
OFB	Over from Brighton
OCSI	Oxford Consultants for Social Inclusion
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PGR	Postgraduates
SCDTP	South Coast Doctoral Training Partnership
STR	Short-term Rental

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Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed:

Dated: 02/08/2022

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

Gentrification is a contagious term that originally referred to an urban anomaly almost sixty years ago (Glass, 1964) but has since exploded into a diversified, globalised and controversial phenomenon. Within debates over its chaotic conceptual character, gentrification can be defined as 'the production of space for progressively more affluent users' (Hackworth, 2002:815). In the UK, such processes have cascaded onto the south coast, and yet few gentrification studies venture outside of London boroughs, let alone major cities (Lees et al., 2008:133; Phillips & Smith, 2018). The English urban seaside presents an important research site that has undergone waves of re-imaginings from gentry resort to mass tourism through decline to nostalgic regeneration (Burdsey, 2016). A distinct landscape, the urban seaside holds a conspicuous yet complex temporal and sensorial position in the national imagination (ibid), amplified by the disruption of the Covid-19 pandemic (Chapman, 2021). These liquid temporalities and mobilities offer a unique opportunity to reinvigorate understandings of residential experiences of gentrification, displacement and its injustices. In this thesis, I argue that using listening methods with residents generates distinct knowledge about urban seaside gentrification, which is found to be increasingly permeating their neighbourhood lives.

This interdisciplinary qualitative project seeks to reframe urban seaside gentrification and its injustices through listening to displacement with residents on the UK south coast. Oriented by a feminist, anti-colonial and participatory ethos, it sits at the intersection, and makes contributions to, the fields of gentrification, displacement, sound, mobilities, in/justices and the seaside. Taking a mobilities ear, I draw on theories of social (Young, 1990), spatial (Soja, 2010) and mobility justice (Sheller, 2018) to rethink the role of displacement and its injustices being experienced by urban seaside residents. Urban seaside gentrification can be understood as the dialectical relationship of socio-spatial-mobility processes. I argue by listening to displacement we can hear the differentiated residential encounters with, navigatings through and positionings towards displacement injustices. This foregrounds

displacement as a spectrum in its phenomenological entirety, contributing to expanded geographies of displacement (Davidson, 2009; Elliot-Cooper et al., 2019; Roast et al., 2022).

I have created a socio-sonic-mobile methodology to understand how those inhabiting the urban seaside are experiencing change in their gentrifying neighbourhoods. Through responding to the pandemic conditions and making listening explicit throughout the research stages, I transformed this methodology into a new conceptualisation of listening. I build an argument for this approach, termed *listening-with,* envisaged as a form of participatory listening research. The empirical investigations were conducted across three neighbourhoods in Brighton, Worthing and St Leonards-on-Sea, during shifting lockdown restrictions in 2020. I remotely supported 22 residents to undertake listening activities and capture their observations and reflections before carrying out elicitation interviews. Inspired by sound scholars (Anderson & Rennie, 2016; Robinson, 2020), I have developed a socio-sonic-mobile methodology with a creative listening analysis approach. However, I go beyond making a solely a methodological contribution by arguing for the epistemic potential of listening in knowledge production and practices. I demonstrate this argument through sharing my findings on the distinct knowledge generated about urban seaside gentrification and its displacement injustices through listening.

This thesis outlines these arguments, findings and offerings whilst attempting to spark the reader's own sonic imagination. *Listening-with* residents to urban seaside gentrification compels us to reframe this manifestation as distinct. I propose four distinguishing motifs from my findings: the significance of "seasideness"; the dynamics of coastal liquidity (Burdsey, 2016); the mutually reinforcing relationship between tourism and gentrification; and features identifiable from across the five waves of gentrification (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Lees et al., 2008; Aalbers, 2019). Crucially, I offer listening to displacement as a way of enhancing our understanding of its spectrum and thereby interrogate the differentiated ways that residents are developing strategies to live with its injustices. Residential navigations of displacement encompass a range of im/mobilities that include residential mobility to and within the south coast and mobilising housing infrastructures to stay put. Through analysis of participants' reflective listening, we hear ethical positionings that reach across past personal encounters, present feelings of culpability and future fears for an increasingly exclusionary coastline.

This first chapter sets the scene for these arguments and findings by discussing the significance of the research and outlining its aim, objectives and questions. I contextualise the research through scoping out the UK south coast and providing detail on the three neighbourhood locations within which gentrification has been investigated. I open up the thesis by lastly providing an overview of its chapters.

1.2 Significance: urban seaside gentrification, displacement injustices and listening

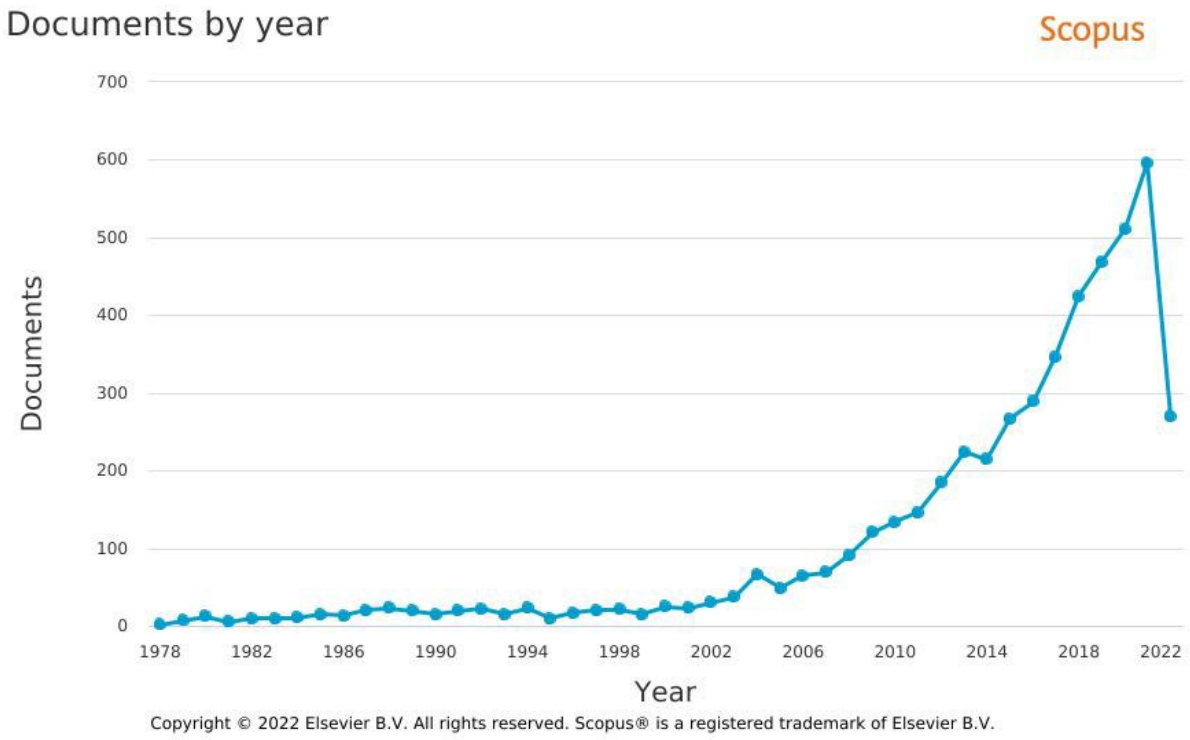
The ever-burgeoning research into gentrification is testament to its academic, policy, practice and activist significance, which has been rigorously debated since its inception (Glass, 1964). Using a listening approach to research gentrification, displacement and its injustices, this research empirically, methodologically and conceptually contributes to these debates. Listening to displacement innovates, pluralises and reframes our understandings, the significance of which I discuss in this section.

Surviving ontological crises over its 'chaos and complexity' (Beauregard, 1986), gentrification's conceptual purchase is heralded by its ability to act as a window onto broader economic, societal, cultural and spatial restructuring (Smith, 2005:87). Tackling the extensive literature that constitutes gentrification studies can be a daunting task, which, as demonstrated in Table 1.1 and Figure 1.1 has expanded at an increasing rate in the last 40 years.

Table 1.1: Literature searches undertaken (30/06/2022)

Database	Search (all documents)	"Gentrification"	"Gentrification + Displacement"
Scopus	Title + abstract + key words	4,960 document results	895 document results
IBSS	Abstract	2,043 document results	604 document results
Google Scholar	Title	9,560 document results	487 document results

Figure 1.1: Scopus Analysis: Chart of "gentrification" document search result by year (30/06/2022)



One useful approach to understanding the development of gentrification categorises its different features over time through a series of the waves. Figure 1.2 details each wave's characteristics as originally conceived by Hackworth and Smith (2001), and subsequently added to by Lees et al. (2008) and Aalbers (2019). This wave model frames gentrification as progressively extending its hold firstly over major cities in the Global North and then reaching out as a global urban strategy (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Smith, 2002). Viewed spatially, this depiction chimes with the growth of empirical studies, in North America, Europe and more recently in the Global South and the 'planetary elsewhere' (Gentile, 2018). This is demonstrated in Figure 1.3, which shows the cartographic distribution of the Scopus search results for "gentrification" based on where the study occurred (excluding those categorised as undefined). Alongside these expanding applications, the various phenomena positioned under the gentrification rubric have also multiplied, for example rural gentrification (Phillips, 1993), studentification (Smith, 2005), new-build gentrification (Davidson & Lees, 2005) and tourism gentrification (Cocola-Gant, 2018).

Figure 1.2: Waves of gentrification and characteristics (based on Hackworth & Smith, 2001, Lees et al., 2008 and Aalbers, 2019)

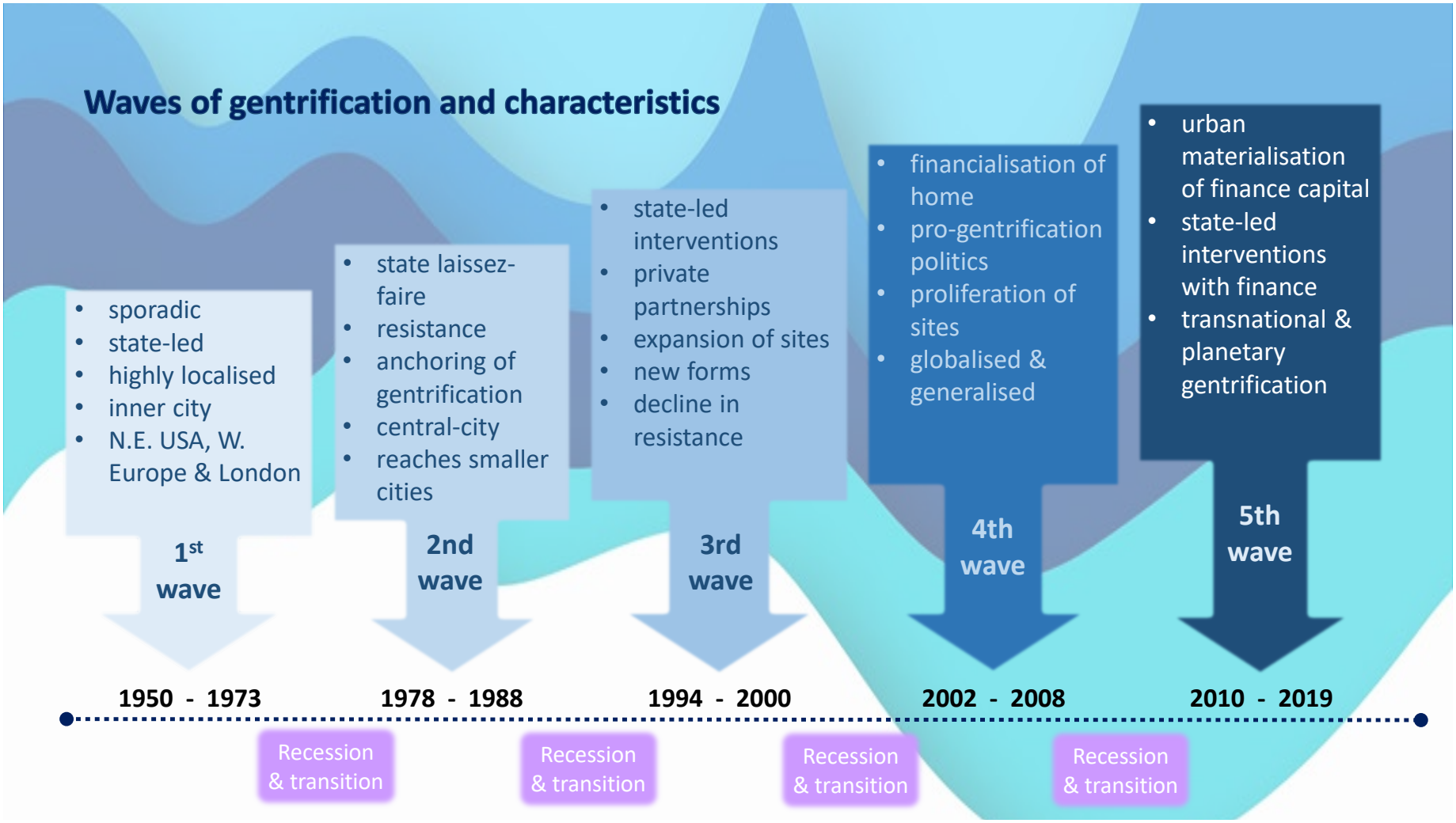
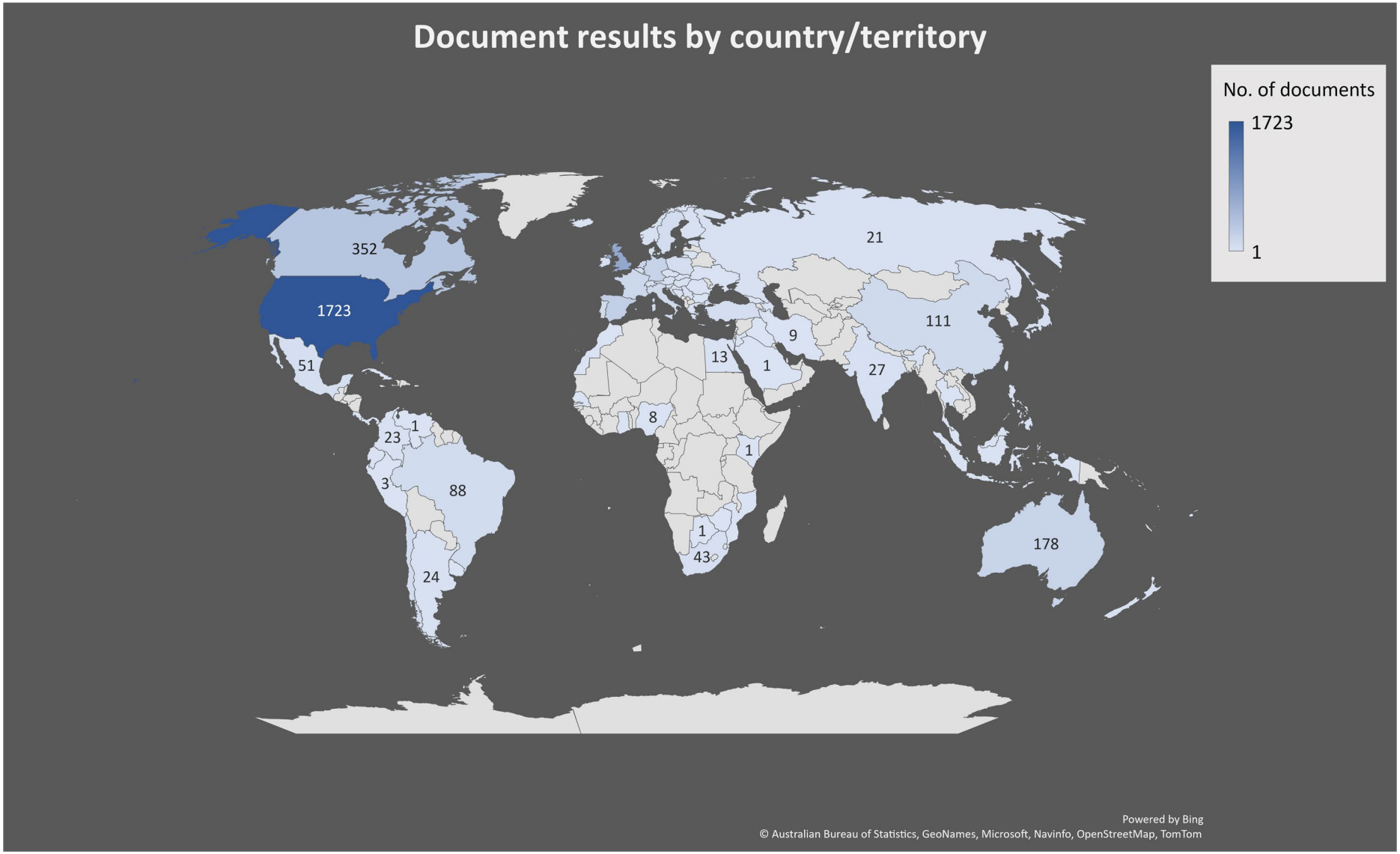


Figure 1.3: Scopus analysis: Map of document results by country/territory for "gentrification" Scopus search (30/06/2022)



Academic narratives have therefore developed over time to keep apace of and explain gentrification's changing manifestations and theoretical value. As explained by Smith (2005:87): '…different expressions of gentrification may be viewed as conceptual and historical markers of time, space and society, which encapsulate the fluid relations between structure – agency, production – consumption and supply – demand'. Interest in its global development, namely the theses of planetary (Lees et al., 2016) and transnational gentrification (Sigler & Wachsmuth, 2016), is part of efforts to transcend the perceived theoretical logjam and refresh the 'rehashing of tiresome debates of old' (Slater, 2006:746) over gentrification's causes and effects. The Covid-19 pandemic disrupts the fifth wave of gentrification with speculations whether its impacts foreshadow a wave-breaking crisis or usher in a sixth wave (Alexandri & Janoschka, 2020; Blakeley, 2020; Lees, 2022).

Although impacted by the pandemic, this research therefore is timely in being able to capture gentrification experiences during a startling period of crisis and uncertainty. It responds to calls for new locations and dialogue between gentrification and intersecting areas, as well as more cross-disciplinary conversations and methodological innovations around displacement (Lees, 2012; Lees et al., 2016; Osman, 2016; Roast et al., 2022). By engaging theoretically with seaside studies and empirically with south coast residents, I offer a new conceptual and empirical site: urban seaside gentrification. The particular dynamics and relationships between gentrification and seaside tourism, heritage and regeneration are under-explored and resonate with recent interest in touristification and transnational gentrification (Sigler & Wachsmuth, 2016; Cocola-Gant, 2018; Aalbers, 2019). Empirically, few gentrification studies have ventured to the UK's coastline (Carter, 1996; Shah, 2011; Lees & McKiernan, 2012; Ward, 2016; Brown & Hubbard, 2021). The south coast, with its close proximity to the global city of London, offers particular multi-scalar opportunities for exploring local, regional and global intersections. The three Sussex sites constitute seaside cities/towns experiencing different stages, paces and rhythms of gentrification whilst being inter-connected by seaside mobilities and their socio-political-historical developments as resorts.

This project's significance extends beyond investigating an under-researched site of gentrification to reframe and rethink the role of displacement and its injustices through listening. After a period of neglect, displacement is being revived as a scholarly priority

within gentrification research (Slater, 2009; Davidson, 2009; Atkinson, 2015; Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019; Roast et al., 2022). Conceptually expanded to its phenomenological entirety, the spectrum of displacement encompasses a range of im/mobilities, such as physical relocation and forced immobility, as well as a loss of a sense of place (Davidson, 2009; Sheller, 2020; Roast et al., 2022). I add to these developments through using a framework of social (Young, 1990), spatial (Soja, 2010) and mobility justice (Sheller, 2018) to further interrogate why displacement matters. Relational approaches to justice help us analyse how people are restricted or able to enact and produce space and systems of power and oppression (Young, 1990; Davidson, 2009).

This revival comes with methodological challenges and the need for in-depth qualitative studies that avoid and exceed the previous quagmire of displacement counting wars (Atkinson, 2015: 378; Elliot-Cooper et al., 2019:13). I offer a new way forward through listening to displacement. Drawing on sound and mobile methods (Westerkamp, 1997; Fincham et al., 2010; Drever, 2013; Behrendt, 2018; Murray & Jäviluoma, 2019), I have created a socio-sonic-mobile methodology that foregrounds listening in knowledge production and practices. Through putting the theoretical into dialogue with the empirical, I have transformed this innovative methodology into the conceptualisation of *listening-with*. *Listening-with* residents to displacement therefore rethinks the role of displacement and amplifies the social, spatial and mobile processes that produce urban seaside gentrification.

Listening is the resonating heart of this project, which asks: What can listening with residents on the UK south coast tell us about urban seaside gentrification and displacement injustices? I argue that listening is central to knowledge production, inspired by deep listening practitioners (Oliveros, 2005) and sound art scholars (Anderson & Rennie, 2016; Robinson, 2020). Sound studies have witnessed a dynamic growth in recent years and spilled over into myriad academic fields of inquiry (Schafer, 1994; Westerkamp, 2002; Arkette, 2004; Atkinson, 2007; Thibaud, 2011; Gallagher & Prior, 2014; Bull, 2018). The listening approach I develop in this project therefore contributes to this vibrant academic realm. I offer *listening-with* as a form of participatory listening research. This thesis will demonstrate how this conceptualisation generates distinct knowledge about neighbourhood spaces, relationships to place and the lived experiences of urban seaside gentrification. It is therefore positioned within, significant for and contributes to the fields

of gentrification, displacement, sound, mobilities, in/justices and the seaside. It is guided by the research aim, objectives and questions outlined in the next section.

1.3 Research aim, objectives & questions

Aim: To reframe urban seaside gentrification and its injustices through listening to displacement with residents on the UK south coast.

Objective 1: To create a listening approach that methodologically and conceptually reinvigorates understandings of residential experiences of gentrification and displacement injustices.

Objective 2: To rethink the role of displacement and its injustices at the urban seaside through interrogating residential listening positionalities.

Objective 3*:* To amplify the social, spatial and mobile processes that produce urban seaside gentrification on the UK south coast through listening with residents.

Research Question: What can listening with residents on the UK south coast tell us about urban seaside gentrification and displacement injustices?

(i) How can listening with residents during a global pandemic generate knowledge about gentrification?

(ii) What distinctive aspects of urban seaside gentrification can be revealed through listening?

(iii) How are displacement injustices associated with urban seaside gentrification experienced by those living on the UK south coast?

1.4 South coast sites

Having established the significance of the project, I turn now to the context of the south coast sites that are empirically investigated in this research as the urban seaside. The English seaside has traditionally been neglected and undervalued both academically and politically (Gray, 2014; Burdsey, 2016; House of Lords, 2019). Definitions are fragmented between disciplinary areas, which hold different interests in conceptualising the seaside. Commonly, its physical and environmental characteristics are named by the proximity of the sea and the presence of a beach. Studies into the seaside often pinpoint 'the beach with resort' as a feature that distinguishes the 'seaside' from 'coastal' locations (Whitty, 2021:233). Interregional inequality has been identified as problematic in the UK, manifesting in a growing "geography of discontent" that sets up divisions between north/south and urban/rural (McCann et al., 2021:2). As Zymek and Jones argue (2020:3):

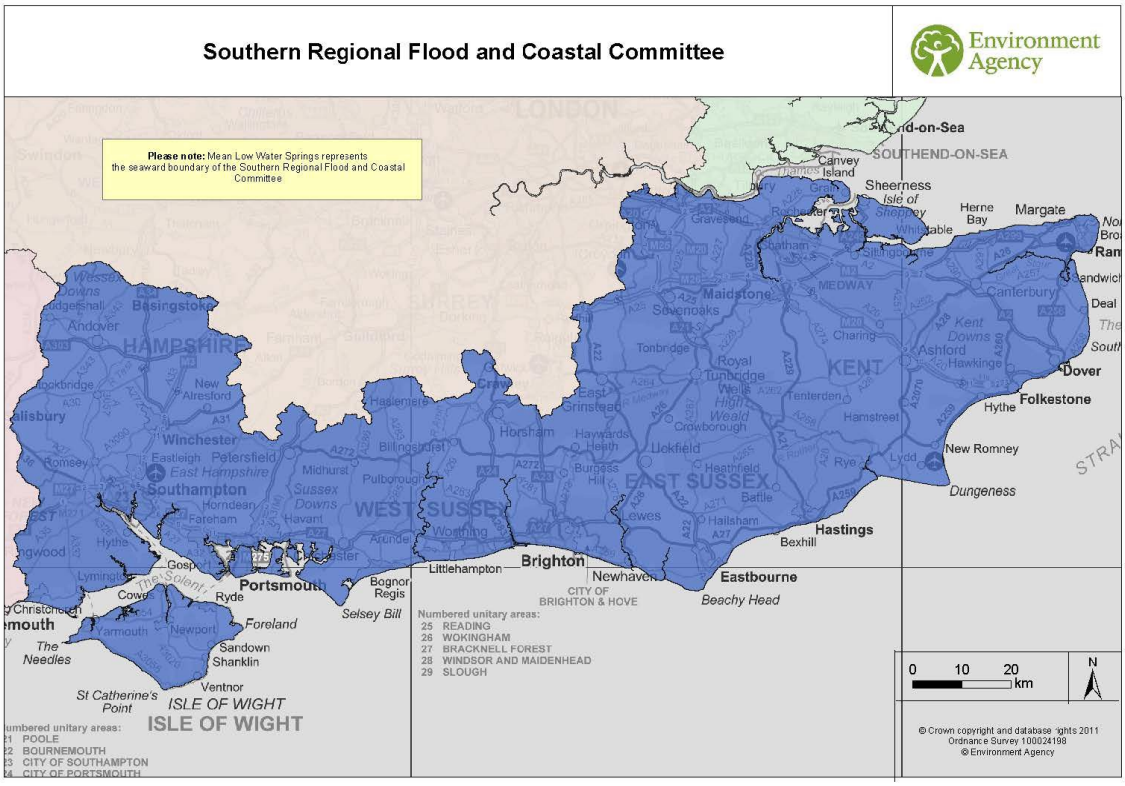
> Regional differences typically have deep roots and are long-lasting. They emerge in an evolutionary fashion due to the complex interplay of various factors acting in a self-reinforcing cycle - transport, education, skills, innovation, housing, civic and community infrastructure. For well-performing places, this is a virtuous circle. For left-behind places, it is a vicious one.

Since the late 1990s there has been a rise in policy interest in coastal and seaside places as 'left-behind' communities in need of regeneration, with the first policy responses emerging from 2007 (ibid; Aldridge, 2022:7; House of Lords, 2019:18). Policy discourse positions seaside towns as places of decline with low/precarious employment and high levels of deprivation that need a renaissance and revival, seen in the House of Lords Select Committee (2019) report into the future of seaside towns.

Locating the south coast within this context serves to highlight the complexities and plural meanings layered onto the shoreline (Burdsey, 2016). Although it can be simply sited as the coastline spanning the south of the isle, its boundaries shift according to different purposes and perspectives. The Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2022a) regional categorisations divides it into the South East and South West, yet Visit South East (2022) proclaims it extends across East Dorset, Hampshire, Sussex and Kent. Figure 1.4 shows a map from the

Environmental Agency (2011), one of the clearest cartographic representations, perhaps due to its focus the impacts of sea and land meeting in the south.

Figure 1.4: Map of south coast from Environmental Agency (2011)



There are different place narratives identifiable within these shifting boundaries. Whilst coastal regions are frequently classified as 'falling behind', in contrast the southeast seaside communities are often viewed as 'steaming ahead' (Zymek & Jones, 2020:24-5). Tourism bodies promote the south coast as 'officially the sunniest place in the UK' (Visit South East England, 2022) and media stories even focus on competitions between resorts to claim the most hours of sunshine (Panons, 2021). In contrast, the South Coast Doctoral Training Partnership funding this research frames the region around the problem of 'coastal communities suffering from deprivation and marginalisation' that needs to be solved by research-informed policy (Email communication with SCDTP Office, 05/07/22, Appendix A).

The regional dynamics surrounding the south coast are important for understanding urban seaside gentrification and displacement injustices. The physical, economic and social

connections to the capital are significant, with its prosperity and future strategies tied to its status as 'the wider London hinterland regions' (McCann et al., 2021:5; Coast to Capital, 2022). The urban seaside of the south coast can be understood as a cascade of gentrification from London. The three sites along this coastline were chosen with these intersecting dynamics in mind to investigate the social, spatial and mobile processes producing urban seaside gentrification. Brighton, Worthing and St Leonards-on-Sea are interconnected through their shared proximity to each other and London, socio-historical developments as tourist resorts and regional mobilities.

The following discussion will briefly outline the key characteristics of each town/city and the neighbourhood chosen in each to carry out research activities. Following a scoping study, I designed each site as a one-mile corridor along the seafront, anchored by a pier in one corner and stretching toward a more peripheral area of town. The pier is valued as a central seaside attraction but each neighbourhood's pier has different ownership statuses and histories (Easdown, 2009). All neighbourhoods also encompass changing and contested redevelopments ranging from a luxury newbuild seafront tower (Bayside Luxury Apartments in Worthing) to public-private partnership projects (Edward Street Quarter and Royal Sussex County Hospital in Brighton and Archery Gardens in St Leonards).

Brighton Kemptown

Brighton is regarded by policymakers and scholars as a story of urban seaside success against which other resorts are compared (Beatty et al. 2014; House of Lords, 2019). It presents as an ideal candidate for researching gentrification, given this policy and academic attention and the pragmatics of it being on my host university's doorstep. Its 'trendsetter' resort history is documented as emerging from 1736 as 'the modern world's first and greatest seaside resort' (Gray, 2017:7). This socio-political history is narrated from being a small, impoverished fishing community enriched by royal and then middle-class patronage, through experiencing some decline after waning mass tourism, to recent popular reinvention (Shields, 1991; Walton, 2000; Gray, 2017).

It is the largest of three sites, with a population of 277,200, and a dip into available quantitative data highlights some population dynamics (ONS, 2022b). Recent 2021 census data shows a lower-than-average population increase, with a rate of 1.4% as opposed to

6.6% national average and 7.7% in the southeast (ONS, 2022b). Although it holds a higher than national average transience (household moves within the last 12 months), its net migration rate reveals more people leaving the city than incoming (-0.3 per 1,000 residents) (ONS, 2015). Named as 'our diverse city' by Brighton and Hove City Council (BHCC), one in five residents identify as Black or minority ethnic and/or non-white British (BHCC, 2022). It also is proclaimed as the "gay capital" with a dynamic and shifting LGBTQ heritage and present (Brown & Bakshi, 2013). In terms of affluence and deprivation, the local authority ranks 178 out of 316 but there is a degree of internal disparity showing a range of more and less deprived wards (ONS, 2021). Housing and homelessness are priority areas for the council, with problematic disparity in housing market rates and incomes showing up in regular housing market reports (BHCC, 2020). Short-term rental properties have also been identified as a problem by local MP Caroline Lucas, who has lobbied for government Airbnb regulation to protect against existing residents being priced out of popular city neighbourhoods and antisocial noise levels (Pidd, 2020).

Policy and academic narratives shape this information and material in different directions. The current city's Corporate Plan 2020-23 visions 'a fairer city with a sustainable future' with its six objectives structured and named by different types of city: a city to call home; a city working for all; a stronger city; a growing and learning city; a sustainable city; and a healthy and caring city (BHCC, 2020:10-11). These objectives align with the House of Lords' (2019) recommendations for future seaside communities, which focuses on mixed economy sustainability, education, connectivity and pride of place. This report celebrates Brighton as 'a model of reinvention' that has created a 'buzzing' city, afforded by its resources: transport infrastructure, universities, seafront attractions, health and digital sectors (House of Lords, 2019:5).

Academic attention pluralises these policy narratives with a myriad of place inquiries: liminality (Shields, 1991), working-class autobiography (Jones, 2010), squatting (Dee, 2012) and family tourist experiences (Kelly, 2010). Interest in Brighton as a site of gentrification stems back over twenty years ago with Carter's (1996) doctoral research in North Laine, which, at the time, found partial gentrification but no working-class displacement. More recent studies have looked at studentification and the adverse student/community

relations, local resident displacement and feelings of dispossession engendered by purpose-built student developments (Sage et al., 2013).

Drawing on understandings from this diverse policy and academic material, I focus my empirical attention on the seaside corridor that can be roughly designated as Kemptown, shown in the recruitment postcard in Figure 1.5 and the zoomed in map in Figure 1.6. Politically the area comes under the East Brighton ward, but its status as Kemptown is recognised in some council documents with recent estimates putting the population at 8,549 (OCSI, 2022). Named after the developer Thomas Kemp, the area attracted several Regency-era investments to impress the royal patronage of the town, fuelled by colonial riches during the nineteenth century (Lamb, 2022). Its built environment therefore encompasses Regency town houses as well as 1960s tower blocks built as council housing to clear nearby slums (Cooke & Parkin, 2019). It is also heralded as the "gay village" with a night-time economy catering to the "gay scene" and "pink pound" (Brown & Bakshi, 2013:17). It houses several redevelopment projects, such as those undertaken by the private education school, Brighton College and the local NHS trust at Royal Sussex County Hospital. Thus, there is a richness of experiences and meanings attached to the neighbourhood to be explored through listening.

Figure 1.5: Image of Kemptown recruitment postcard

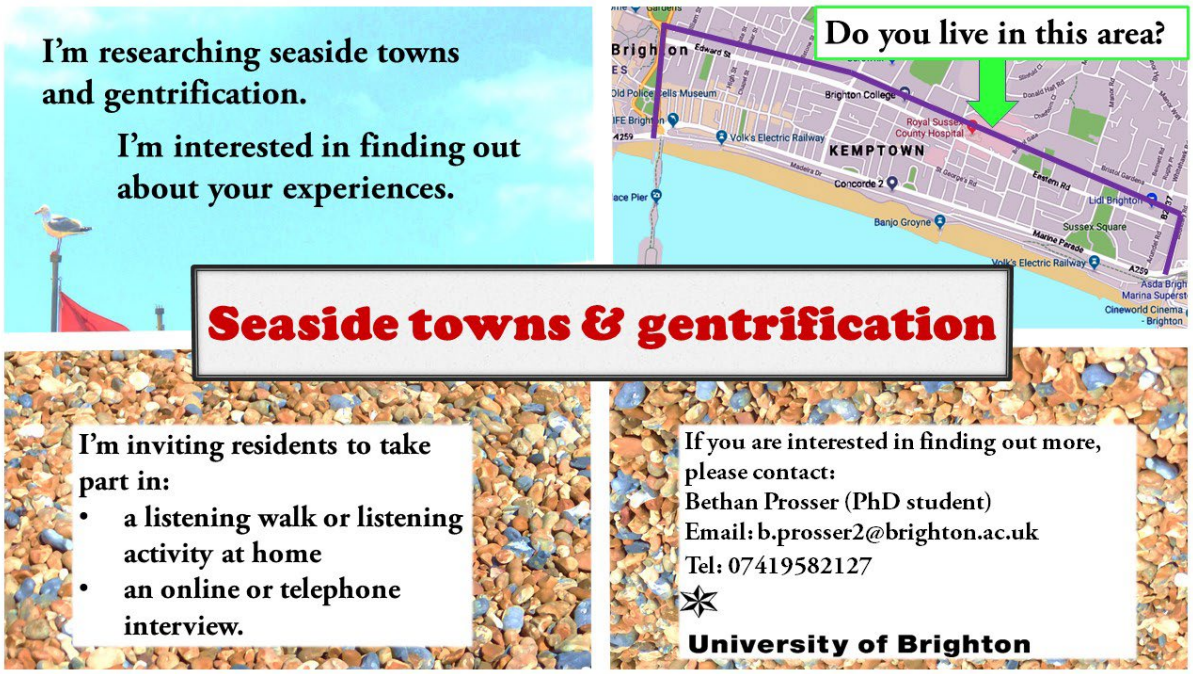
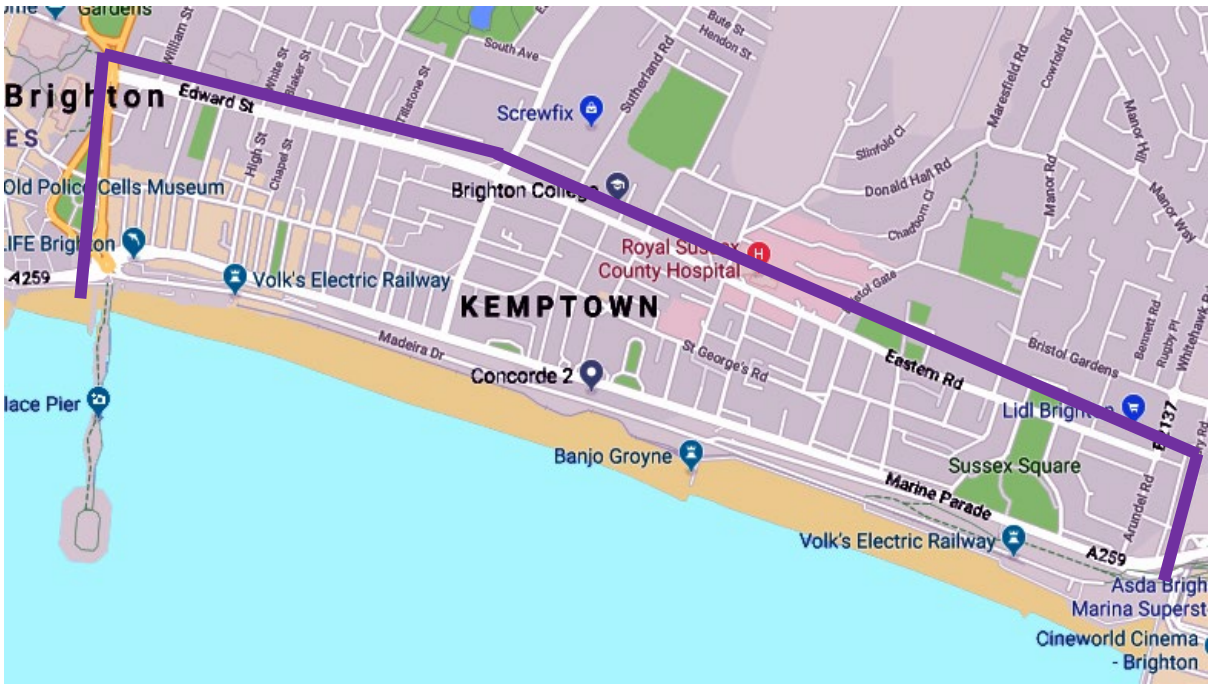


Figure 1.6: Map of Kemptown site corridor from recruitment postcard



Central St Leonards-on-Sea

Further east, Hastings and St Leonards-on-Sea constitutes a contrasting urban seaside profile, which resonates with themes of deprivation, decline and regeneration. Central St Leonards sits within the administrative unit of Hastings, which I will detail in dialogue with the neighbourhood dynamics. Hastings is the smallest of the three Sussex sites with a population of 91,100 (ONS, 2022b). Although the recent census (ibid) records a smaller population increase than Brighton (0.9 % between 2010-11), it has a positive net migration rate at 3.0 per 1000 residents indicating more people are moving in than out (ONS, 2015). From 2011 census data, Hastings (alongside Eastbourne) was claimed to have the greatest diversity of ethnic groupings in the county, but also high rates of long-term health conditions, disability and health inequality (HBC, 2011; Public Health England, 2017). Policy attention focuses on its ranking as the 14th most deprived local authorities in the country (ONS, 2021). In the House of Lords (2019:73) report it is described very differently from Brighton, identified as a place for high rates of heroin or morphine misuse deaths.

Hastings holds historical significance in the national imagination as the site of Norman Conquest and was originally valued for its strategic position (Drury McPherson Partnership,

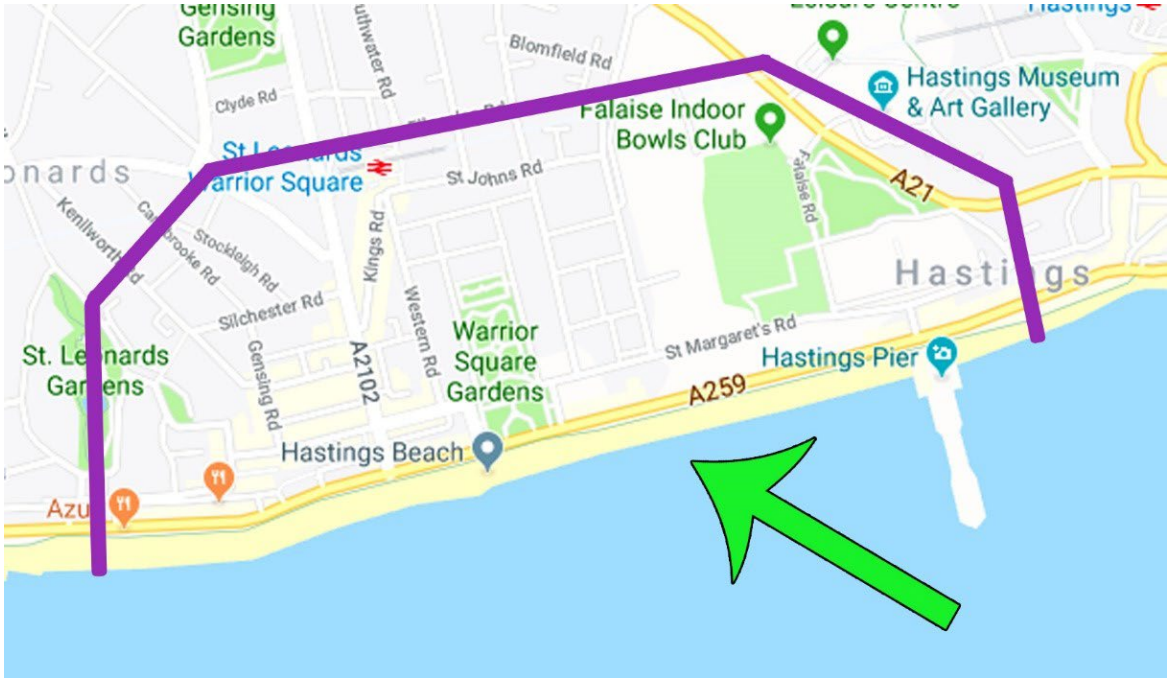
2017; HBC, 2017). Changing fortunes of sea erosion led to decline until its expansion as a seaside resort during the nineteenth century (Whitty, 2021:61). However, a sense of being on the edge, both politically and in terms of infrastructure, threads through its social history (Walton, 2000; Steele, 2022). The idea of Hastings as a 'fiercely independent and free-spirited place' (Whitty, 2021:60) has been used within policies to revitalise and capitalise on its arts, cultural and political heritage (HBC, 2017). Against its early upper-class resort history, its activist and class-based literary tradition is upheld, through societies such as the Robert Tressell Society, which boasts that Tressell's novel was partly responsible for the original outline of the welfare state (Walton, 2000:6;144; 1066.net, 2022).

The main policy narrative mainly centres, however, on the need for regeneration activities, with a timeline stretching back to 1985 (Hastings Trust, 2018; Wates, 2020). Its current Corporate Plan envisions the town as 'a happy, welcoming place with a vibrant, unique culture where everyone has their needs met and is supported and encouraged to live their best lives' (HBC, 2019). Its priority areas include tackling 'homelessness, poverty and ensuring quality housing' and delivering regeneration. St Leonards features heavily in these regeneration strategies, which, when being targeted in 2003, was deemed the most deprived ward in the South East (Peters, 2013:5). Academic research in the town has been minimal, but echoes themes of poverty and precarity (Smith, 2012) and neglected geographies (McGlynn, 2018). Alongside state regeneration, there has been some growing interest and debates over gentrification in Hastings and specifically in St Leonards. Steele's (2022:137-9) recent research into self-renovating neighbourhoods documents Hastings as a "hot" market, experiencing a 'pile-in' from London and Brighton with corresponding fears of displacement.

The Central St Leonards ward forms part of the original St Leonards resort and neighbours more affluent Burton-St-Leonards. Built by James and Decimus Burton, who were considered a successful property developer family of Regency and Georgian London, it therefore houses historic listed buildings (1066Online, 2022). But with its reputation as a deprived ward, St Leonards has received renewal grants focused on the long-term empty and ageing housing stock in need of repair and large private rented accommodation in the

ward (Peters, 2013). The seaside corridor[1] I chose to support listening activities is depicted in Figure 1.7 and anchored by Hastings Pier in its eastern corner, a site of contested community ownership (Brydon et al., 2019). Over ten years ago, Shah (2011) researched the relationship between regeneration and gentrification in Central St Leonards, developing the concept of 'coastification' to account for the processes of ongoing change. Current attention proclaims St Leonards is coming of age (Dyckhoff, 2019) and 'drawing cultural industries and bohemian residents' (Drury McPherson Partnership, 2017:5). It is therefore timely to revisit Shah's (2011) findings and explore the residential experiences of urban seaside gentrification and displacement.

Figure 1.7: Map of St Leonards site corridor from recruitment postcard



East Worthing

Out of the three urban seaside sites, Worthing receives the least academic, policy and media attention. Its profile fits within wellbeing and life-stage framings of the seaside as a place to retire (Walton, 2000). Sitting just above Hastings's population size at 111,400, the 2021 census shows an increase more in line with national averages at 6.5% (ONS, 2022b). It has a much higher positive net migration rate with 9.4 per 1000 residents (ONS, 2015) as

[1] For the rest of the thesis, this neighbourhood will be referred to as St Leonards.

well as lower deprivation indicators (ONS, 2021). These statistics also indicate less internal disparity compared to the other sites with slightly more disposable income on average (ONS, 2021). Contrasting Brighton and Hastings' claims to ethnic diversity, one in ten people in the Worthing population identified as part of ethnic minority group in the 2011 Census but the proportion had nearly doubled since 2001 (AWC, 2011:5). Its retirement age profile appears to persist, being dubbed demographically the second oldest town in 2018 after Blackpool (The Newsroom, 2018). As a small town without a distinct reputation for either success or decline, it is notably absent within the House of Lords (2019) report on the future of seaside towns.

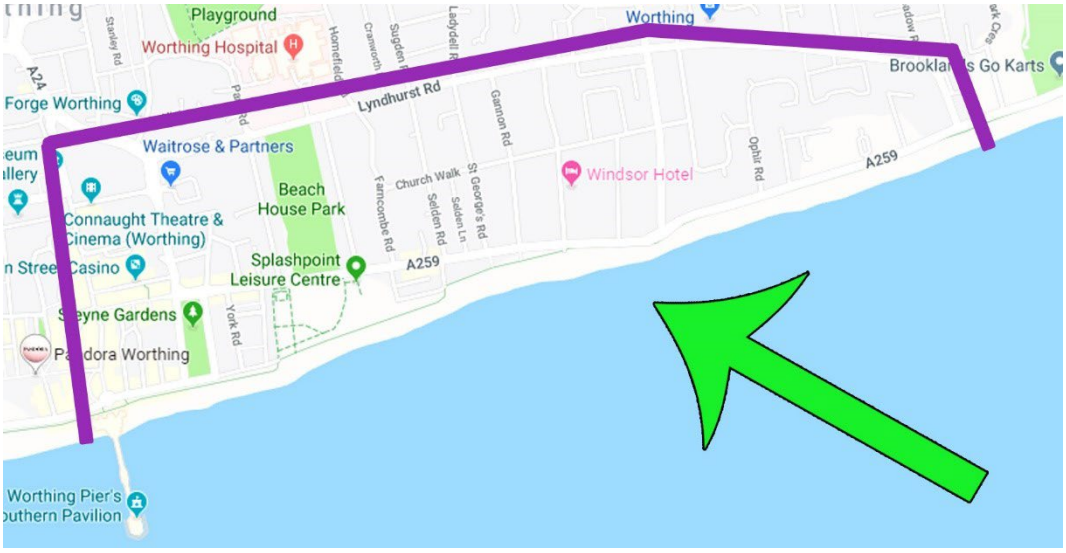
Historically it follows a similar trajectory to the other sites narrated as 'a humble fishing hamlet until Princess Amelia, youngest daughter of George III, visited it in 1798' (Sunny Worthing, 2022). It saw its main growth as a town in the seaside heyday of the first half of the twentieth century (Walton, 2000:32). Local cultural historians take pride in the literary figures who have lived there, including Oscar Wilde and Jane Austen (Edmonds, 2012; 2014). However, the minimal academic attention taken in Worthing appears to focus more on health and wellbeing. Walton (2000:40) describes it as part of Sussex's 'emergent Costa Geriatrica'. This chimes with concerns for health issues in coastal communities with the seascape attracting retirement but subsequently burdening local health infrastructures (Whitty, 2021). One of the few academic publications to focus on Worthing researches emergency care (Duckitt & Hunt, 2017).

In terms of policy, it is governed under Adur and Worthing Councils, and its Corporate Plan (2020-22) consequently has a broader feel to its 'Platform for Our Places' agenda (AWC, 2020). For example, its five platforms cover large areas: financial economies; social economies; stewarding natural resources; services and solutions; and leadership of places. Its close proximity to Brighton also places it within the Greater Brighton Economic Partnership (Greater Brighton, 2022). This body aims to create a regional collaboration and create a profile that attracts investment, stretching north to Crawley and Gatwick, west to Bognor and east to Seaford (ibid). Worthing regeneration strategies focus more specifically on predictions of population growth and the need for increased housing (Worthing Place Plan, 2016). Digital connectivity and later life pressures on the health sector are also

concerns (ibid). Recent investments have included developing the seafront and a creative hub (AWC, 2022).

The East Worthing neighbourhood politically sits with Shoreham as an electoral ward, a section of which I targeted for participants, as shown in Figure 1.8. At one corner it is anchored by Worthing Pier, which has a more stable and enduring history than the other sites' piers and remains under council ownership (Easdown, 2009:130). The neighbourhood has undergone recent built environment changes through the seafront investments, including the Splashpoint leisure centre and Bayside Luxury Apartments tower. The latter has garnered ire from the Worthing Preservation Society that launched a 'Save Our Seafront' campaign in response to the building's height (The Newsroom, 2016). The area has a mix of housing, as promoted by a local letting agency which classes it as a 'more affordable than some other areas nearby' with a mixture of 'beautiful Victorian and Edwardian house' and 'better value family houses, flats and bungalows' (Robert Luff & Co., 2022). As such, although there is no existing research into the area or media attention on gentrification processes, it is a neighbourhood under-going change and investment.

Figure 1.8: Map of East Worthing site corridor from recruitment postcard



Overall, this scoping of the south coast research sites begins to identify seaside narratives and themes, which will be explored further in this thesis as constituting urban seaside gentrification. Academic, policy and media material often construct the seaside as a quieter

place, especially when promoting health and wellbeing resources (Whitty, 2021:224). But places such as Brighton are simultaneously proclaimed as “buzzing”. The urban seaside is therefore a rich and distinct soundscape within which to listen to urban seaside gentrification, displacement and its injustices.

1.5 Thesis outline

In this opening chapter, I have provided the background, significance and context of this study. This sits within the broader overlapping framing of orientations, inspirations, actions and offerings that structure this thesis, which is drawn in Figure 1.9. My research aim, objectives and questions orient the research theoretically within existing scholarship, methodologically and empirically. Chapter 2 continues this orienting process through a review of the relevant literatures, from which I distil my scholarly inspirations. I start to build an argument for reframing urban seaside gentrification through listening by putting the existing literatures on gentrification, seaside, displacement, justice and listening into dialogue with each other. Chapter 3 outlines the actions I have undertaken, explaining my socio-sonic-mobile methodology and detailing the development of the listening methods and techniques. To bring this methodology alive, I invite the reader into a sonic interlude and to listen to a sound collage I have created from behind-the-scenes audio material.

In Chapter 4, I springboard from this sonic exploration of the methodology into critical reflective analysis on the different listening positionalities entangled in the research. The pandemic research conditions bring new awareness and opportunities to rethink the roles, positionalities and practices of researcher and participants. Therefore Chapter 4 moves into the offerings stage of the thesis whereby I develop the conceptualisation of *listening-with* as a form of participatory listening research. Chapter 5 builds an argument for how this listening approach can generate distinct knowledge about urban seaside gentrification. It outlines the creative listening analysis approach I have developed to analysis the plural sound material generated. From this, I offer a four-fold sound stimuli typology, which opens up participants’ different listening experiences and practices. Framing the listening-generated participant material as self-reflexive narratives (Anderson & Tullis, 2016) and drawing on critical listening positionality (Robinson, 2020), I argue we can hear their plural listening positionalities and analyse the multiple layers of meaning that fix our attention

towards distinct knowledge about urban seaside gentrification. Through analysis of these plural listening experiences, practices and positionalities, I have found that gentrification is increasingly permeating neighbourhood lives but has differentiated impacts on participants.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 move into detailed critical discussion of these gentrification findings to rethink urban seaside gentrification through listening to displacement. Chapter 6 uses "lockdown listening" to investigate the different ways participants are narrating urban seaside gentrification through engaging with existing gentrification and seaside narratives. I propose four motifs of urban seaside gentrification: the significance of "seasideness"; the dynamics of coastal liquidity (Burdsey, 2016); the mutually supportive relationship between tourism and gentrification; and features identifiable from across the five waves of gentrification. In Chapter 7, I offer a way of listening to displacement through taking a mobilities ear and critically discuss "comparative", "static" and "mobile listening" practices. From this listening approach, I identify the different ways participants are able to navigate the spectrum of displacement. These include residential mobilities to and within the urban seaside as well as staying put through mobilising housing infrastructure resources. In Chapter 8, I focus on "reflective listening" as a way of interrogating participants' ethical positionings towards displacement injustices. I bring all of this together in Chapter 9 to summarise my findings and contributions to knowledge, reflecting on the limitations of the project and implications for future research.

Figure 1.9: Overview of thesis

CHAPTER 2: Gentrification-on-Sea: displacement, in/justices and listening

2.1 Introduction

To reframe urban seaside gentrification and its injustices through listening to displacement, I embrace sitting at the intersection of different scholarly fields. Interdisciplinarity holds the promise of breaking new ground, but it adds to the simultaneous academic joy and insecurity of literature reviews, which are ever boundless and continuous. In writing this literature review chapter, I put a marker in the march of pertinent literatures. I offer critical discussion of existing research, theories and concepts to date in relation to gentrification, displacement, mobilities, sound, injustices and the seaside. Varying in size, scope and breadth, I situate my research within and draw inspiration from across these fields.

In this review, I first wrestle with the vastness of gentrification studies, which as noted in Chapter 1, is a vibrant, expansive and burgeoning topic. I put this into dialogue with seaside studies, which in comparison does not carry the same recognition, status or coherence (Gray, 2014). Through this dialogue, I pull out the themes that come to constitute my argument for what makes urban seaside gentrification a distinct manifestation. The dominant gentrification and seaside narratives, motifs and tropes identified in the literature play out in residents' own understandings and sense-making of change in their experiences of urban seaside gentrification, as will be seen in later chapters. I therefore start to build an argument for the significance of the social, spatial and mobile processes producing urban seaside gentrification. These distinguish it from being merely an overspill of gentrification from London (Paccoud & Mace, 2018) or explainable by existing conceptualisations of coastal gentrification (Griffith, 2000), coastification (Shah, 2011) or arts-led coastal regeneration (Lees & McKiernan, 2012; Ward, 2018).

Gentrification scholarship is increasingly seeking exchange with related disciplines, which is particularly evident in recent reinvigorated conceptualisations of gentrification-induced displacement (Roast et al., 2022). I next discuss displacement and these conceptual expansions whilst being guided by the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Taking a mobilities approach enhances our understanding of the spectrum of displacement

(Sheller, 2020; Roast et al., 2022). This spectrum embraces the possible im/mobilities and phenomenological entirety of un-placing, un-homing and re-placing (Davidson, 2009; Elliot-Cooper et al., 2019). Whilst agreeing with this approach, I go further in bringing in theories of justice to better interrogate why displacement matters. Social (Young, 1990), spatial (Soja, 2010) and mobile justice (Sheller, 2018) approaches are reviewed as I formulate a guiding framework for interrogating displacement injustices.

Crucially, throughout this discussion we see the persistent challenges of researching gentrification and displacement alongside calls for qualitative methodological innovations. The chapter therefore culminates with a review of literatures relevant to my research's main contribution: how listening can generate knowledge about gentrification and displacement. The newly understood field of sound studies covers a variety of purposes and practices that can be considered a 'work in progress' (Bull, 2018: xvii). Under examined in urban studies (Atkinson, 2007: 1905), I give an overview of its foundational disciplines. I focus on the method of soundwalking (Behrendt, 2018) and its synergy with mobile methods (Chapman, 2013). Sound studies is also undergoing critical and 'dynamic transdisciplinarity' (Robinson, 2020: 251). Within these dynamics, I interrogate approaches to listening. I draw out inspirational work that seeks to better understand all forms of listening by foregrounding "plural listening" practices and experiences. I end with a summary of the key themes and puzzles raised by this literature review that drive this inquiry and thread through into its findings in future chapters.

2.2 Gentrification and the seaside

"Gentrification" and the "seaside" are complex and contested areas of inquiry with plural meanings ascribed. This section gives an overview of the main debates, narratives and themes, and looks at ways the two encounter each other in existing research. There are various competing gentrification conceptions, critiques over its continued utility and corresponding pleas to cease wasting ink on such definitional debates (Slater, 2009:295). I adopt Hackworth's (2002:815) definition of gentrification as 'the production of space for progressively more affluent users'. This aligns with the critical spatial thinking that guides this research. It also allows for the multitude of mutations that have been identified since

the third wave of gentrification (Lees et al., 2008:130-5). I review the wealth of gentrification studies, followed by the pluralities of the seaside, before reviewing how these have empirically and conceptually been brought together by researchers prior to this doctoral project.

Gentrification studies

Gentrification studies is a distinct scholarly area with competing theories, predominantly housed within urban studies and urban geography. Since its coinage, gentrification has diffused into popular consciousness (Glass, 1964; Osman, 2016). The waves model (see Figure 1.2) is useful for charting patterns over time, as well as the development of academic narratives and concepts (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). As Aalbers (2019) asserts, localised analysis is always required of gentrification but commonalities are still important to theorise. The key explanatory theories that have traditionally been used to frame debates in gentrification move between production and consumption-side approaches. But scholarship has tended to move away from these debates and current interest lies in understanding the globalised dynamics, such as through the theses of planetary and transnational gentrification (Lees et al., 2016; Sigler & Wachsmuth, 2016). The impacts of the coronarvirus pandemic are yet to be understood. However, current speculation over the ongoing financialisation of housing and real-estate investment appears to indicate the continuation of gentrification as a globalised urban strategy that will adapt to the new context (Smith, 2002; Alexandri & Janoschka, 2020; Blakeley, 2020; Lees, 2022).

Across the plethora of gentrification research, it is possible to identify key narratives, tropes and motifs. Conceptualisations focus on different social, cultural, spatial, physical and economic facets of gentrification to understand the causes and effects of a change to higher socio-economic status land-users through reinvestment in the built environment (Warde, 1991; Clark, 2005). Studies have predominantly focused on inner-city neighbourhood-level changes. The dynamics between urban and suburban were an early preoccupation, with gentrification viewed as an anomalous ‘back to the city’ movement within classical urban studies assumptions over consumer preferences for space (Lees et al., 2008:45). Consumption/demand-side theories explain gentrification through the lens of post-industrialisation and the rise of the middle classes with dispositions that reject suburbia for central city-living (Caulfield, 1989; Hamnett, 1991; Ley, 1996; Butler & Robson, 2003). This

focuses attention on the behaviour of gentrifiers, with various terms emerging to describe variations, such as pioneer gentrifiers, DIY gentrifiers, marginal gentrifiers, yuppies and hipsters (Rose, 1984; Lees et al., 2008; Hubbard, 2016). There are many critiques of studies that focus wholly on this dimension and neglect structural forces, which are taken up by production-based theories (Smith, 2001; Atkinson, 2003; Slater, 2006; Lees, et al., 2008). Viewing gentrification as a global neoliberal urban strategy, this approach focuses on land use, the movement of capital and the dynamic see-sawing of investment and disinvestment over time (Smith, 2002). This capitalist cycle of depreciation and disinvestment is conceived on the micro level through the rent gap thesis (Smith, 1979; 2002). This argues the gap between rents actually achieved and potential rents following redevelopment creates the incentives for investment and opportunities for profit (ibid). Constant renovation and the upgrading of a neighbourhood is a trope associated with this uneven development (Lees et al., 2008). The role of the state is critical in such analyses. The waves model highlights the changing relationships between state and private actors from state-led gentrification, through to complementing finance capital and private players to taking a lead (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Aalbers, 2019).

In recent years there has been growing consensus that both production/structural and consumption/cultural explanations can play their role (Shaw, 2005, Lees et al., 2008) with the divide between being overplayed (Slater, 2006). The third-wave of gentrification brought attention to myriad mutations and the particular phenomenon of new-build gentrification that has taken hold of London redevelopments and council estate clearances (Lees & Davidson, 2005; Cooper et al., 2020; Lees & Robinson, 2021). The planetary gentrification approach argues for investigations into different manifestations in previously neglected locations, namely the Global South (Lees et al., 2016). Research into urban seaside locations can contribute to this comparative urbanist endeavour through 'theorising from positions of marginality' (Phillips & Smith, 2018:4). Manifestations pertinent to bringing gentrification and the urban seaside together include rural gentrification (Phillips & Smith, 2018), coastal gentrification (Griffith, 2000) and tourism gentrification (Cocola-Gant, 2018a).

The role of tourism is significant in conceptions of transnational or fifth wave gentrification and, as will be discussed, highly pertinent to the urban seaside. Tourism gentrification is

consequently worth considering in more detail. Based on New Orleans research, Gotham (2005:1102) was the initiator of this concept as:

> …the transformation of a middle-class neighbourhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues.

This is based on a view of tourism as a globalised process connecting multinational corporations and capital flows with local residents, elites and consumers grounded on the production of local difference (ibid:1101). In the last few years, the scale and pivotal role of tourism has increasingly come under scrutiny in urban studies as central to spatial, economic, social and cultural transformations across the globe (Sequera and Nofre, 2018:843). Consequently, tourism gentrification has been reinvigorated both theoretically and empirically.

Gravari-Barbas and Guinand (2017:4) approach the relationship between tourism and gentrification as complex and diverse, suggesting several possible iterations. Cocola-Gant (2018b) views 'touristification' as gentrification caused by tourism, leading to 'a process in which the growth of visitors threatens the existing population's right to "stay put"' (ibid:287). Touristification has become a defining part of fifth wave gentrification (Aalbers, 2019) and the transnational gentrification thesis, the latter defined as:

> …a gentrification phenomenon that connects redevelopment capital to housing demand not within a single city-region but transnationally, and this creates new possibilities for profitable housing reinvestment - and new threats of displacement - in markets such possibilities would not have existed on the basis of local demand alone' (Sigler & Wachsmuth, 2016:706).

Of particular note is the impact of short-term lets that Wachsmuth and Weisler (2018) argue has created a new form of rent gap that is globally scaled. The advent of platforms such as Airbnb have developed into a whole short-term rental ecology, interrogated by increasing studies into "Airbnbification" (Crommelin et al., 2018; Cocola-Gant et al., 2021).

The significance of tourist mobilities has been identified as a key factor in gentrification alongside the role of transnational and mobile elites as gentrifiers (Gravari-Barbas &

Guinand, 2017). However, these newer motifs have not developed without critique. In particular, Sequera and Nofre (2018) argue that gentrification theory faces too many limitations for investigating the Tourist City. They argue that touristification does not necessarily entail class antagonism and gentrification processes need to be treated as distinct (ibid:848), as outlined in Table 2.1. The complex relationship between tourism and gentrification will be unpicked empirically along the UK south coast in this thesis.

Table 2.1: Gentrification vs. touristification (Sequera & Nofre, 2018:850)

	GENTRIFICATION	TOURISTIFICATION
Displacement	Working classes	Cross-class displacement
Class	Upscaling class	Class diversity
Retail changes	'Chic', 'Sophisticated'	'Disneyfication'
Demographics	Population replacement	Depopulation
Urban conflict	Class war	Worsening of community liveability
Properties	Owners	Transnational and local real estate market & Risk investment funds Owners
Housing	Residential	Temporary accommodation

This brief overview has outlined the main shape of gentrification studies and highlighted key narratives, tropes and motifs that are significant in understanding urban seaside gentrification. By taking Hackworth's (2002) broad definition of gentrification I position myself within critical spatial thinking which can guide our understanding of the hyper-complexity and constant contestation of gentrifying space. This approach will be explored in more detail through the chapter in relation to the socio-spatial-mobile justice approach I develop to understand displacement. Next, I first review seaside-related literatures and put these into dialogue with gentrification.

Seaside studies

The English seaside is frequently positioned "on the edge", physically, geographically and socio-politically (Shields, 1991; Millington, 2005; Burdsey, 2016:18). This is echoed academically, where the seaside does not constitute a recognised or coherent disciplinary area (Gray, 2014). Literatures mainly herald from cultural history (Walton, 2000), sociology and human geography (Shields, 1991; Gilchrist et al., 2014; Burdsey, 2016), and tourism studies (Beatty and Fothergill, 2004; Jarratt, 2016; Agarwal et al., 2018). All refer to the physical and environmental characteristics of the seaside, namely the proximity of the sea

and ‘a beach with resort’ as an urban feature that distinguishes the seaside from coastal (Burdsey, 2016:46-50). The seaside is often considered to sit outside of urban/suburban/rural constructions, yet I use the terminology of the *urban seaside* to distinguish from the rural coastline. In this literature discussion, I refer to the *seaside*, but in subsequent discussions of the specific spaces I am researching gentrifying processes I use *urban seaside.*

Threaded through academic, policy and media literatures are seaside narratives commonly clustered around heritage, tourism and regeneration, which compete, borrow and overlap with each other. As described by Steele and Jarratt (2019:1), the ‘shoreline has proven a blank canvas, onto which several meanings have been drawn over time’. These meanings constitute seaside narratives that draw to varying degrees on themes of nostalgia, restoration, wellness, pleasure, carnivalesque, marginality and liminality. These narratives often make use of our senses, conjuring up the squawk of seagulls and hubbub of children playing on the beach, the taste of salty chips, the scrub of sand on our skin and intermingling smells of suntan lotion and seaweed. Although many seaside literatures draw on the senses to evoke “seasideness”, few explicitly generate knowledge through the sensorium. Obrado Pons (2009) is one example of haptic geographies using touch to explore sandcastles and sunbathing, thereby opening up the pleasure narrative from ocular-centric, romantic Edenic accounts of the beach. The beach has also been conceived as a liminal space (Shields, 1991); however the extent to which ontological transformation occurs has been critiqued in recent years, with an emphasis instead on its ephemeral nature, conceived as *liminoid* (Burdsey, 2016:58-60; Gilchrist et al., 2014).

The narratives of heritage, tourism and regeneration have their own tempos and rhythms. But there is a common focus on a “seasideness” of the past, that needs to be either preserved, commodified, or revived for the present and future. For example, Ward’s (2018:129) study in Margate argues that its urban re-branding project codifies a particular representation of space, “the original seaside”. The well-documented and rehearsed “original seaside” storyline starts with a fishing village that was developed in the eighteenth century into a spa resort for the gentry (Walton, 2000). Becoming increasingly fashionable, the built infrastructure was transformed with railway networks and industrialisation bringing mass tourism (ibid). But as the twentieth century progressed, international holidays

became more accessible, domestic tastes changed and the story shifted into one of decline (ibid). Poverty, precarity and deprivation then marked the seaside as a cheap place with empty bed and breakfasts into which other local authorities could relocate many under their care (Millington, 2005; Smith, 2012; Ward, 2015). Coastal regeneration has since tried to herald its revival, accompanied by arts-led initiatives and gentrification (Shah, 2011; Lees & McKiernan, 2012; Ward, 2018).

Within, through and alongside this historical timeline, seaside narratives differently configure these plural meanings and themes. Steele and Jarratt (2019), for example, examine the distinctive place identity of nostalgia and wellness produced by the interaction between the seaside's natural and built environment. In contrast, Lees and McKiernan (2012) detail a tale of seaside decline, identifying tension between policymaker claims of successful arts-led regeneration and the sense of abandonment and social exclusion felt by residents. Brydon et al. (2019) argue that a sanitised historic seaside tale has been heavily curated, neglecting a plurality of meanings, especially residential experiences. Such tensions between top-down and everyday place-making form part of critiques of the heritage industry's conservative need for one shared story over disparate narratives (Järviluoma, 2017:191).

Policymakers similarly draw on these narratives in grappling with issues of regional inequalities, multiple deprivation and seasonally-fluctuating tourism economies. These challenges were highlighted in the contextual data for each research site discussed in Chapter 1.4. Policy engagement with seaside narratives and themes is most clearly seen in the House of Lords (2019) report on the future of seaside towns. A fictional town of Seaminster is created to tell a story in the report of their 'vision for how seaside regeneration should work' (2019:7). It picks up the "original seaside" storyline at the point of decline, with young people leaving behind 'an increasingly isolated and ageing population' and 'fine Victorian infrastructure neglected and unloved' (ibid). Whilst drawing on nostalgia, the tale takes a different turn when well-connected local creatives and entrepreneurs endeavour to 're-make' the town through their love of 'its romance and its grit' (ibid:8). Raising its profile in the media, attracting international investment and university support, they manage to attract young families and retailers and 'successfully

regenerate themselves' (ibid:9). This policy vision therefore strikingly draws on heritage, tourism and regeneration narratives to create a story of revival out of the "original seaside".

To make sense of these narratives, the plurality of meanings and temporalities encompassed by the urban seaside environment, I use Burdsey's (2016:19) concept of coastal liquidity:

> Coastal liquidity underscores the manner in which spaces, places, community formations, identities, seasons, demographics, inter-cultural relations, political trends, landscapes, seascapes, the built and "natural" environment, tourist infrastructure, and regeneration processes are all themselves dynamic and indefinite.

Burdsey (ibid) employs 'the idea of coastal liquidity to challenge and write against static portrayals of the seaside' that risk fixing it to a particular time period or separating from other geographical environments. The concept is developed from seaside-based research investigating race, unpicking how static views, if left unchallenged, '"fix" particular types of racialised bodies within and outside' particular spaces (ibid). It helps us to think temporally through 'an acknowledgement of the contested pasts, the messy and unfinished presents, and the uncertain futures of seaside and coastal places' (ibid:20).

Allowing for seaside plurality and degrees of fluidity/fixity, coastal liquidity can also help us grapple with the reverberations and ruptures of the Coronavirus pandemic at the seaside. Phrases such as "in pandemic times" or "in the Covid era" have become increasingly common, used to denote how we are living through a distinct epoch. Bryant & Knight (2019:2) note that individual experiences of time can be scaled up to collective perception, creating a 'sense of living within a period that has a particular temporality with a set of orientations'. "Pandemic times" can therefore be considered a 'vernacular timespace', described as a time of uncertainty and crisis (ibid). Coastal liquidity keeps us open to the messy fluidity of this present and how uncertain futures might play out at the seaside:

> Some people, places, and processes can be more fluid, viscous and mobile than others. Those with less coastal liquidity are more likely to be "fixed" or "stuck" in space and/or time (Burdsey, 2016:20).

By considering this potential messy fluidity, we are more adept at listening to how seaside narratives are fluctuating "in pandemic times".

Initial media coverage saw contrasting stories that re-configure existing narratives of pleasure and therapeutic escape. "Pandemic tourism" in 2020 was portrayed as over-tourism with masses crowding the beaches. Fearmongering raised the spectre of the beach as a 'super-spreader' through working-class irresponsibility, though this was later rebuffed (Bland, 2021; Chapman, 2021). At the same time, media stories about people escaping dense cities to buy up coastal retreats abounded (Jenne, 2021). Alongside, policy and some media stories focused on Covid's uneven impacts on coastal communities, chiming with narratives of decline and marginality (Davenport et al., 2020). These have more recently started aligning, fixing the seaside into a more coherent story of hard-hit coastal communities rebounding through a 'staycation boom' that continues the revival and regeneration narrative (Chapman, 2021; Elks, 2021).

Thus, overall, the urban seaside presents a fertile site to explore change and plural meaning-making attached to place. Having now reviewed both gentrification and seaside studies, picking out the key narratives and themes, I will put these into dialogue with each other to consider existing approaches to gentrification-on-sea.

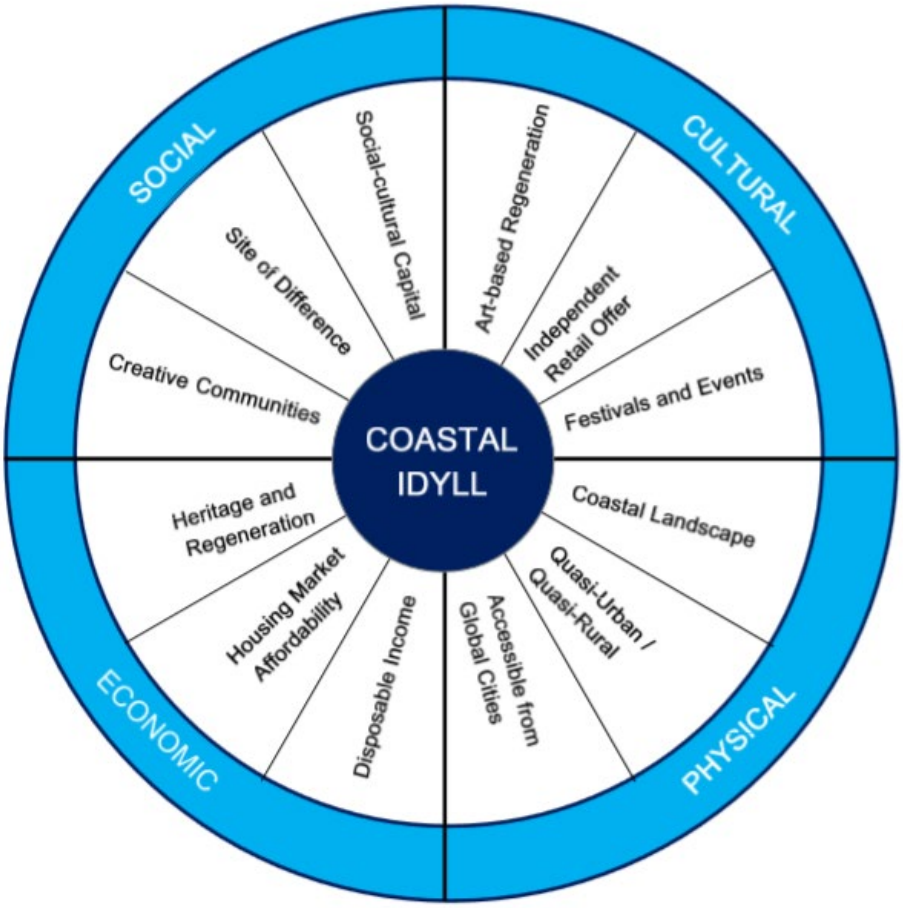
Gentrification-on-Sea

Through outlining the definitional and conceptual issues within gentrification and seaside studies, possible ways of bringing the *urban seaside* and *gentrification* together start to emerge. First, it is possible to see how aspects of the urban seaside chime within the traditional competing theories of gentrification, both consumption-led and production-led. Looking to the cultural, historical and sociological discussions of the seaside, there are characteristics that consumption-oriented scholars have identified about inner-city attractions as an alternative rejection of suburbia. These motifs raise interesting questions about the post-industrial positioning and place-making of the seaside and include: difference and freedom (Caulfield, 1989); carnival possibilities (ibid); and heritage, cultural and leisure activities, in particular counter-cultural (Ley, 1996). Turning to production-based theories, the profile of seaside resorts with tourism cycles of decline and re-investment sit well within structural explanations. For example, a motif of seaside decline is the issue of

leftover B&Bs becoming Houses of Multiple Occupation (HMOs), attracting lower-income residents and requiring state intervention through regeneration initiatives (Smith, 2012; Ward, 2015). This is comparable with studies on inner-city areas experiencing rent gap dynamics and state-funded gentrification (Lees et al., 2008).

Second, there are two main strands where existing scholarship has brought seaside places together with gentrification: coastal gentrification/coastification and arts/cultural-led regeneration. Griffith (2000) was the first to propose that there is something distinctive about gentrification that occurs at the coast, looking at three cases in the Americas (Puerto Rica, Jamaica and the United States). He identifies growing population rates at the coast creating economic dislocation and apartheid (ibid). Contributing factors include port and harbour developments, the popularity and complexity of tourism, seasonality and retirement to the coast (ibid). Shah (2011) advances this argument further in her doctoral thesis looking at gentrification processes unfolding in St Leonards-on-Sea. Shah (2011:234) argues for the conceptualisation of *coastification*, attributed to the idea of the 'coastal idyll' and the commodification of the coast, as detailed in Figure 2.1:

Figure 2.1: Representation of coastal idyll (Shah, 2011:236)



Shah's analysis fits within the urban hierarchy cascade thesis (Lees et al., 2008:171) through identifying the coast as the last frontier after rent gaps have been exhausted in metropolitan cities and policy borrowing and cultural diffusion from the centre to the periphery (Shah, 2011:59). Her investigation found that pioneer gentrifiers were replacing transient populations associated with coastal towns rather than longer-term residents, which Shah (ibid:232-4;241) argues does not constitute direct displacement. Many of Shah's in-migrant participants had previously experienced gentrification in other cities and voiced antagonism for places that have become 'too gentrified' (ibid:254). She posits that resistance from pioneer gentrifiers could account for the slow pace of gentrification in St Leonards (ibid).

Shah's (2011:3; 238) focus on 'coastal' rather than 'seaside' is due to the classification of St Leonards as 'post-resort' at the time of her research, because it had experienced marked decline and its functionality evolved beyond tourism. Figure 2.1 details many factors that

are relevant to gentrification at the urban seaside. The notion of coastal idyll overlaps with seaside-focused literature, however it is the role of tourism that demarcates coastal from seaside. In coastification, tourism has ended before gentrification starts to emerge (Shah, 2011). An area that Shah (2011) also identifies is coastal regeneration policy and the role of the arts and culture, which form part of the second relevant existing research strand identified: arts/cultural-led regeneration.

There is a long-standing connection made by policymakers between urban development and the cultural/arts industries. Florida's creative class thesis has been influential in inner-city urban policy (Lees et al., 2008:107-8) and permeated the arts/cultural-led regeneration of the seaside (Church et al., 2014). Scholars have turned their attention to how these policy interventions are being implemented at the coast (Lees and McKiernan, 2012; Church et al., 2014; Zebracki, 2017; Ward, 2018). Lees and McKiernan's (2012) study provides a typical narrative of seaside decline and identifies a tension between the claims made over the success of the newly built Turner Gallery and the sense of abandonment, distrust and social exclusion felt by local residents. Ward's (2018:129) later study argues that the urban re-branding project underway in Margate codifies a particular representation of space as "the original seaside". He argues that this top-down place-making strategy obscures the contribution and needs of local artists who are co-opted into new forms of post-industrial exploitation, which includes kick-starting gentrification (ibid:122-4). Through this study, I contribute to scholarship on the dominant representations of the seaside, who is excluded from these and who is being displaced.

Both of these strands draw on similar bodies of literature but develop different emphases and objects of inquiry in bringing the phenomena of gentrification and regeneration together with the spaces and places of the seaside and coast. Interestingly, the findings from Ward's interviews with in-migrating artists chime with Shah's notion of the 'coastal idyll', valuing the sea for its quality of life and inspiration (Ward, 2018:130). These interviewee accounts also resonate with both consumption and production-based perspectives in valuing the seaside as edgy with a particular historical legacy and offering sites of unrealised economic potential (ibid). Ward (ibid:125) identifies aspects of the urban seaside that correlate with gentrification processes: long engagement with place-

promotion; arts associations and cultural re-imaginings; the particular ways that coastal towns developed, prospered and declined; and policy neglect. Recently, research into gentrification in Kent has further investigated the changing material, sensory and affective qualities of the seaside and their attractiveness to investment (Brooks & Hubbard, 2021; Hubbard, 2022). The idea of 'oysterfication' expands gentrification into the realms of post-humanism looking at the role of non-human animals in the material processes that support gentrification and who belongs (ibid).

Reviewing these studies shows that gentrification and the urban seaside are beginning to encounter each other in existing research. However, these studies are limited – a gap which this project aims to address. The degree to which these areas resound evidences the need for research into urban seaside gentrification and its manifestations on the south coast. The seaside narratives and themes identified in the previous section have not been sufficiently explored by gentrification studies. This chapter will now move onto review literatures on gentrification-induced displacement, which is a particularly neglected area in existing research at the shoreline.

2.3 Displacement and injustices

This project goes beyond putting the urban seaside and gentrification together and aims to rethink the role of displacement and its injustices at the urban seaside through listening (objective 2). Displacement sits at the heart of gentrification, both in terms of how gentrification is conceived, why it matters and as a core part of empirical investigation into gentrification processes. Its central positioning is rooted in Glass' (1964:viii) original coinage of the phenomenon, which describes a process that ends when 'all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced, and the character of the district is changed'. Displacement of less affluent users is implied in the overall definition of gentrification as 'the production of space for more progressively more affluent users' (Hackworth, 2002:815). Displacement is predominantly viewed as the main negative effect of gentrification, even within more pro-gentrification discussions that frame the issue as an unfortunate yet unavoidable cost or minor side effect of regenerating a neighbourhood (Byrne, 2003:405-6).

Critical appraisals centre displacement as the vilest manifestation of the injustices of gentrification (Slater, 2009; Atkinson, 2015; Elliot-Cooper, 2019).

This section will briefly chart the way displacement has been conceptualised within gentrification studies and look at expanded conceptualisations. Mobilities theory enhances our understandings of the spectrum of displacement as an entanglement of im/mobilities, un-homing, un-placing and re-placing. With recent concerns in exploring its phenomenological entirety (Davidson, 2009), I will discuss why displacement matters. Drawing on social (Young, 1990), spatial (Soja, 2010) and mobility justice (Sheller, 2018) approaches, I develop a conceptual framework for displacement injustices. Within this review, I identify a gap in qualitative studies into displacement, which this research aims to address. This leads us into discussion of methodological literatures in the last part of the chapter, which begins the argument for listening as a way of generating distinct knowledge about residential experiences of urban seaside gentrification and displacement.

The spectrum of displacement

The close relationship between gentrification and displacement has not been consistently treated over the years by gentrification studies. In the early years, Slater (2006:747) claims it was subject to sophisticated inquiry. The focus on physical re-location became a litmus test for gentrification (Davidson, 2009:228), particularly after calls by van Weesep (1994) to shift from battles over explanatory theories to understanding the effects of gentrification. Spatial movements lend themselves to quantitative analyses, and increasing concern to develop 'policy relevant' research led to attempts to make direct displacement a gentrification measurement instrument (Slater, 2009:302). Proving displacement became a major preoccupation for gentrification studies (Davidson, 2009:221), 'caught up in contestations over the politics of method and interpretation' (Atkinson, 2015:373).

Within consumption-based explanations, Hamnett (1994; 2003) put forward the replacement thesis that the contraction of the working class and the growth of middle-class populations had been mistaken for displacement. 'Emancipatory discourses' developed that lauded the potential positive effects of gentrification, conceived as the rising tide that lifts all boats (Duany, 2001; Byrne, 2003). In the United States, 'count wars' were fought between Freeman and Braconi (2004) and Newman and Wyly (2006) over whether

displacement was occurring. The latter study found that direct displacement does not always occur despite several waves of gentrification in a neighbourhood, but simultaneously argued that existing residents were forced to find ways to adapt and survive (ibid). Likewise, in the UK, Watt (2008) has debunked the replacement thesis through a critique of Hamnett's narrow class approach solely based on occupational categories which serves to declass significant groups of people.

More recently the relationship between displacement and gentrification has been re-ignited. The development of 'geographies of anti-displacement' (DeVerteuil, 2012:209) within gentrification literatures has contributed to reinstating displacement as central to gentrification, refocusing on class inequality (Slater, 2006, 2009; Watt, 2008) and reinvigorating understandings through cross-disciplinary conversations (Adey, 2020; Roast et al., 2022). Conceptual understandings of displacement are enhanced by mobilities theory which opens up its spectrum possibilities (Sheller, 2020:49). For rethinking the role of displacement and its injustices, I draw on conceptualisations that are expansive and multi-dimensional, and avoid reducing displacement to a single event of movement (Marcuse, 1985; Davidson, 2009; Elliot-Cooper et al., 2019; Sheller, 2020; Phillips et al., 2021; Roast et al., 2022).

Marcuse (1985) was one of the first scholars to open up the notion of displacement, supplementing direct displacement with exclusionary displacement and displacement pressures. Exclusionary displacement refers to the exclusion of potential in-migrants, therefore the exclusion of less affluent households moving into a gentrifying neighbourhood (Marcuse, 1985:207). The concept of displacement pressures recognises other ways displacement can be experienced (ibid). Marcuse identifies how this can manifest in the contraction of social networks, lack of affordable and suitable services and reduction in local amenities (ibid). His main argument against displacement is founded on the costs it generates for the city through the dislocation of residents, the disruption of neighbourhoods, and the misallocation and inefficient use of existing infrastructure and public services (ibid:230).

After considerable neglect of Marcuse's early efforts to expand our understanding, his work is being revisited (Slater, 2009; Davidson, 2009; Cocola-Gant, 2018a; Phillips et al., 2021).

Slater (2009:294) provides the most scathing attack on displacement deniers, as 'analytically defective when considered alongside Marcuse's conceptual clarity'. Davidson (2009) further argues that most research fails to grapple with the lived experiences of displacement. This includes people experiencing displacement without spatial dislocation because they are unable to (re)construct place and people being spatially dislocated without losing place if they previously did not engage with these practices (ibid:228). He therefore argues that displacement must be understood in its phenomenological entirety (ibid:226).

Davidson (2009:223-8) argues for the importance of dwelling and draws on Lefebvrian notions of the socio-spatial dialectic in order to expand our understanding of space and place. Lefebvre's (1991) conceptualisation of space as produced by the dialectical interactions between lived, conceived and perceived space underpins this critical spatial thinking. Through this expanded understanding, Davidson makes a claim for why displacement ultimately matters: because it excludes groups of people from being able to enact and produce space, and to counter this we must make a case for the right to dwell and the right to place (ibid:231). Subsequent scholars have upheld this expanded conceptualisation (Atkinson, 2015; Cocola-Gant, 2018a) with Elliot-Cooper et al. (2019) developing the notion of 'un-homing'. This calls attention to the 'complex feelings of alienation and estrangement to place many feel, even while still struggling to maintain a foothold in their neighbourhoods' (Atkinson, 2015:374).

In the last few years, further developments have occurred from cross-disciplinary conversations with migration and mobilities studies (Roast et al., 2022). In particular, Sheller (2020) shows the value of taking a mobilities approach to displacement. Mobilities theory challenges the 'a-mobility' of social sciences and recognises that relationships to each other, space, time and place are mediated by movement (Sheller and Urry, 2006:207-8). In her thinking on displacement, Sheller therefore 'emphasises the entanglement of concepts such as (im)mobilities, (dis)placement, and uprootings/regroundings' (Sheller, 2020:43). Mobilities thinking challenges dualistic thinking around forced vs. voluntary movements or mobile elites vs. displaced others as well as complicate mobility decision-making (Carling, 2002; Mata-Codesal, 2018; Sheller, 2020; Roast et al., 2022). Franquesa's (2011) study in Majorca is a good example of applying a relational understanding of im/mobilities to interrogate the processes of gentrification. He challenges the power effects of an

asymmetrical understanding of mobility/immobility, whereby mobility becomes equated with power and cosmopolitan elites and immobility with condemned locally fixed people (ibid:1014-8). This study points our attention to issues of who has the power to move or stay put rather than there being power in moving or staying.

Charting displacement literatures, I have demonstrated why displacement matters and how this research is situated in geographies of displacement. Reinvigorated interest in displacement as a spectrum brings with it calls for more qualitative research in the residential experiences that go beyond tracking in and out-migration from a neighbourhood. I have also begun to open up discussion of power and exclusion in the production of gentrifying space. This leads us to consider the injustices of displacement, which the next section will further develop.

Theories of justice

It is clear from the existing literatures that displacement encompasses myriad injustices. There is renewed interest in the 'right to the city', which has led to rallying calls for the 'right to community' (Hubbard & Lees, 2018) and the 'right to home' (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019). This rights-based discourse thereby identifies displacement as an injustice and the mobilising potential of justice politics (Soja, 2010:21). But few directly or rigorously engage with political philosophy and theories of justice (Slater, 2009; Marcuse, 2016; Hubbard & Lees, 2018). Marcuse (2016) makes a distinction in analysing issues of gentrification in/justices between social justice as the realm of policy and personal ethics as concerning individual ethical conduct. Whilst this usefully highlights the 'different capabilities that can be brought to bear constructively on the problems' (ibid:1267), a multi-dimensional approach to justice takes us beyond thinking of structures vs. individuals to consider the complex entanglement of social groups, social practices and institutional conditions (Young, 1990). In this section, I delve into justice approaches to develop a guiding framework for understanding displacement injustices. I discuss Young's approach to social justice and develop Davidson's (2009) argument for why displacement matters. I look in more detail at critical spatial thinking and the notion of spatial justice developed by Soja (2010) from Lefebvre's (1991) work on the right to the city. I further draw on mobilities theory by

exploring Sheller's (2018) ideas of mobility justice. I argue that combining these approaches can help us better interrogate displacement injustices.

Social justice

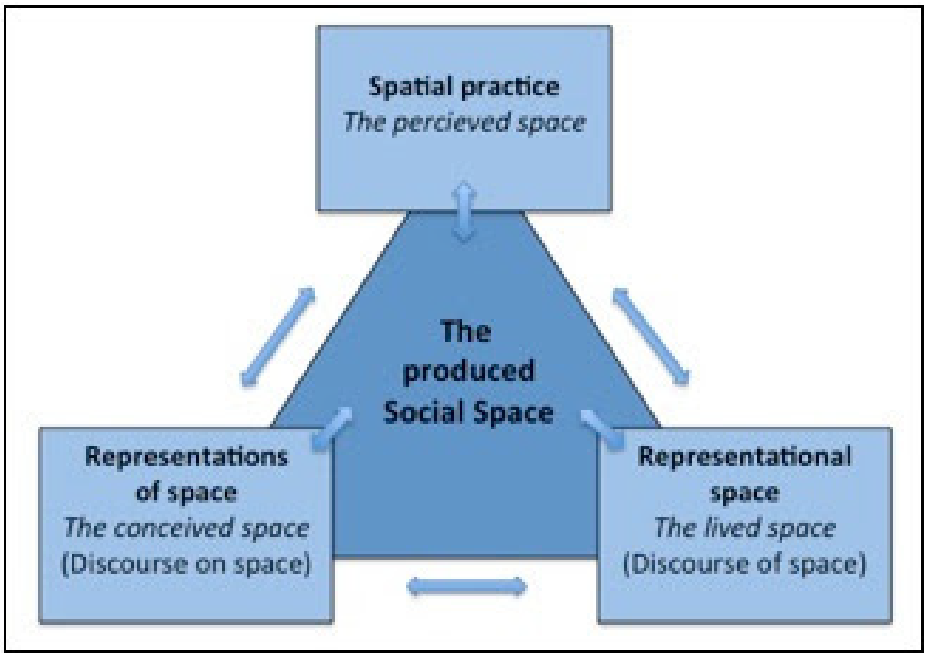
At the heart of displacement sits social justice, for which I turn to Young's (1990) approach that pluralises our understanding of justice beyond conceptions limited to distribution (Rawls, 2005). Young (1990:33) defines social justice as 'the institutional conditions for promoting the self-development and self-determination of a society's members'. Being excluded from enacting and producing space is a matter of self-development and self-determination, which Young argues necessitates analysing systems of oppression and domination (ibid). She proposes 'five faces of oppression' that can be operationalised in social justice analysis (ibid:48-65). *Exploitation* covers the class, structural relations, social processes and institutional practices that allow a few to accumulate economic wealth over others (ibid:48-53). *Marginalisation* is the curtailing of full participation in social life and access to societal resources (ibid:53-6). *Powerlessness* refers to the draining away of a sense of political power (ibid:56-8). *Cultural imperialism* is the domination of one group over another, which is made invisible by social and institutional conditions and practices (ibid:58-61). Lastly, *Violence* refers to the increased danger levels faced by some social groups and the social or institutional practices that tolerate or encourage violent acts (ibid:61-3).

Displacement becomes an injustice in the way these processes impact on self-determination and self-development. Young's (1991) politics of difference calls our attention to the differentiated experiences of displacement for different social groups. When applied to understandings of displacement as a spectrum, we are made to attend to the differentiated impacts of gentrification on a person's ability to enact and produce space, which is shaped by their 'multiple, cross-cutting, fluid and shifting' social group identifications (Young, 1990:48). Underpinning these abilities are the ways social and institutional conditions and practices facilitate or restrain a person's self-determination and self-development. Defining gentrification through the productions of space expands the relational and intersecting socio-spatial-mobility dimensions of displacement injustices.

Spatial justice

A multi-dimensional approach to displacement opens up spatial justice concerns for dwellers' spatial rights 'to participate openly and fairly in all processes of producing urban space' (Soja, 2010:99-100). Davidson (2009) applies critical spatial thinking to displacement, in focusing on how groups of people are excluded from enacting and produce space. Soja (2010) develops the idea of critical spatial thinking from Lefebvre's (1991) work on right to the city. Although not applied in-depth in this research, Lefebvre's theorisation of space is worth noting because it shapes and influences my approach. His influential conceptual triad of the production of social space is shown in Figure 2.2, which overcomes dualist conceptions of space as materialist vs. idealist (Soja, 2010:100-1).

Figure 2.2: Lefebvre's Conceptual Triad (Briercliffe, 2015)



This conceptualisation posits the trialectical relationship between perceived and sensory space (materialist), the dominant conceived representations of space (idealist) and, the less coherent and tangible, lived space (Lefebvre, 1991:33).

From Lefebvre, Soja (2009:2) develops critical spatial thinking to denote the ontological spatiality of being, the social production of spatiality and the socio-spatial dialectic. In

arguing that the spatial shapes the social as much as the social shapes the spatial, Soja (1989:6) asserts:

> We must be insistently aware of how space can be made to hide consequences from us, how relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparent innocent spatiality of social life, how human geographies become filled with politics and ideology.

Spatial justice is crucial to understanding the spectrum of displacement, which Davidson (2009:229) argues opens up crucial questions. When applied to this project, this includes: How is the urban seaside being constructed, practised and inscribed? How are urban seaside place-making practices altered, commodified and/destroyed by gentrification processes?

Mobility justice

Alongside spatial dimensions, displacement immediately confronts us with unequal capabilities for movement and unequal rights to dwell in a place (Davidson, 2009; Sheller, 2018:1). It therefore can be considered a matter of mobility justice (Sheller, 2020). Sheller (2018) develops the notion of mobility justice out of the triple mobility crises of climate, urbanization and refugees. Mobility justice is an 'overarching concept for thinking about how power and inequality inform the governance and control of movement, shaping the patterns of unequal mobility and immobility in the circulation of people, resources and information' (ibid:14). Sheller (ibid:19) explains that crucially it is 'as much about how, when, and where we dwell as how, when, and where we move'. Therefore, combined with spatial justice it supplements the need for uneven mobility to be interrogated alongside uneven socio-spatiality. Sheller (2020) has applied mobility justice to the realm of displacement, challenging dualistic thinking through a multi-scalar and relational approach. She (ibid:50) points to the 'uneven social distribution of exposure to such displacements' and how some groups benefit from displacing others.

Drawing inspiration from these theorists, I therefore propose a socio-spatial-mobile justice approach to understand displacement injustices. An enhanced understanding of displacement as a spectrum knits together what has previously been splintered into a series of different concepts and terminology: forced relocation, involuntary resettlement, exclusionary displacement, involuntary immobility, displacement pressures, adaptive survival strategies, dispossession, loss of a sense of place, indirect displacement, symbolic

displacement and un-homing. A displacement injustices framework helps identify and interrogate the processes of domination, oppression, power and exclusion entangled in this spectrum.

Furthermore, applied to rethinking urban seaside gentrification, this enhanced justice approach chimes with the concept of coastal liquidity (Burdsey, 2016). Coastal liquidity encourages us to think relationally and comparatively about the seaside in terms of fluidity and fixity (ibid:20). But it also calls attention to uneven social, spatial and mobility processes within this fluidity/fixity:

> Some people, places, and processes can be more fluid, viscous and mobile than others. Those with less coastal liquidity are more likely to be "fixed" or "stuck" in space and/or time. (ibid)

Coastal liquidity therefore helps us interrogate seaside residents' capacities to be mobile and embrace the opportunities presented by degrees of fluidity/fixity (ibid). Ultimately this is a matter of social-spatial-mobility in/justice, within which gentrification and displacement are playing out. Having reviewed displacement and theories of justice, I finally review literatures relating to how such processes can be methodologically invigorated.

2.4 Listening: sound and mobile methods

A key challenge identified in gentrification and displacement these literatures is the need for methodological innovations that take account of displacement as a spectrum and qualitatively understand its lived experiences. I address this gap by creating a listening approach that methodologically and conceptually reinvigorates understandings of residential experiences of displacement (objective 1). I develop this listening approach on the foundations of sound and mobile methods, and am inspired by sound scholars focused on listening practices (Oliveros, 2005; Anderson & Rennie, 2016; Robinson, 2020). In this section, I situate my approach within sound studies and review the methods literatures that brought me to this approach. I subsequently use these sound and mobile methods to create my methodology, which I outline in the next chapter.

As introduced in Chapter 1, I started this project with the intention to be creative, and first came to listening and sound methods through creative methods. Creative tools can open up different ways of knowing, foster reflexivity, promote dialogue and public scholarship (Leavey, 2018). This artistic engagement is considered to be more intuitive and immediate than language-only tools; it allows participants to spend time applying their playful attention to the topic in making and reflecting on their creations (Gauntlett, 2007:3). Mannay (2016:32) argues for 'fighting familiarity with creativity' and the use of creative methods as a defamiliarisation tool for both the researcher and the participants. The majority of creative methods focus on visual methods, which has been prioritized in Western societies as the dominant sense (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004; Howes, 2005). However, the "sensorial turn" has engendered engagement of all sensory modalities, as seen in Back's (2007:25) call for 'a mode of thought that works within and through a "democracy of the senses"' or Pink's (2009) influential sensory ethnography. Since this turn, there has been increasing academic interest into the realm of sound and listening, which can be encompassed under the umbrella of sound studies (Bull, 2018). Interest in sensory ways of knowing has augmented by the Coronavirus pandemic creating 'a sensory revolution' through early lockdown restricted mobility (McCann & Tullett, 2021). There has been a particular focus on changing soundscapes including altered behaviours and perceptions (Lenzi et al., 2021; Mitchell et al., 2021). Listening is consequently both a timely and topic-apt approach for this research, which, through this research, I use as a foundation to methodologically and conceptually reinvigorate understandings of the seaside, gentrification and displacement.

Sound Studies

Sound studies encompass an expanding, dynamic and varied range of approaches, the diversity of which LaBelle (2010:xix) underscores as 'integral to the significance of auditory experience'. Early expressions of the significance of listening are found in anthropology (Feld, 1991), ethnomusicology (Post, 2006) and sound art (Schaeffer et al., 2012; Drever, 2013), but it is the soundscape movement which laid its foundations (Schafer, 1994). This movement offered an epistemology in listening, methodological toolkit, terminology, different listening practices and soundwalks that recent scholarship still utilises (Bull, 2018:xxii). Soundscape refers to any acoustic field of study, as explained by Schafer

(1994:7): ‘We may speak of a musical composition as a soundscape, or a radio programme as a soundscape or an acoustic environment as a soundscape’.

Soundscape is therefore a ‘conceptual apparatus – one designating an acoustic environment that listeners experience as surrounding them in space’ (Helmreich, 2010:10). Soundscape pioneers, namely Schafer (1994), Westerkamp (2002), Truax (2001; 2012) and others who made up the World Soundscape Project, moved beyond studying our sound environment for primarily aesthetic or cultural purposes by adding ethical and ecological dimensions. Their central aim was to increase people’s awareness of their own sonic environment (Arkette, 2004:160; Bull, 2018:xxii). This educational bid for ‘sonological competence’ was driven by concerns for deteriorating listening skills within the post-industrial lo-fi urban soundscape (Schafer, 1994; Wrightson, 1999). These initial drivers can be read as anti-urbanist, deeming cityscapes inferior to ruralscapes, with the sonic pollutants of industrial, commercial and traffic sounds creating soundwalls that distance and isolate the listener from their environment (Bull, 2018:xxv ; Arkette, 2004:161;). This stands in direct contrast to urban ambiance studies, which have developed a specific methodology for understanding urban sensibilities (Thibaud, 2013).

Many contemporary soundscape approaches have softened this anti-urbanist normative stance whilst maintaining an interest in how ‘the general acoustic environment of a society can be read as an indicator of the social conditions which produce it and may tell us much about the trending and evolution of that society’ (Schafer, 1994:7). Arkette (2004:162) advocates for the fluid meanings of city soundscapes whereby ‘each community has sets of sound markers which reinforce its own identity; each district has its own sonic profile, even if that profile is not a permanent feature’. This notion of equipping people with the tools to make demands for better acoustic design has prevailed within the field of acoustic ecology and been rejuvenated by contemporary concerns of strengthening our engagement with environmental and ecological issues (Uimonen, 2011; Westerkamp, 2017). A range of place-based scholarship has subsequently developed from and beyond soundscape studies, including sonic geography (Arkette, 2004), phonography (Gallagher & Prior, 2014), the ecology of sound (Atkinson, 2007), sonic ethnography (Gershon, 2013) and urban ambience studies (Thibaud, 2011a).

However, few gentrification studies engage with this method. One significant research project, the Sounds of Tourism (2022), focuses on the touristification of historic Lisbon neighbourhoods. In this project, touristification is treated as both a research object and as an analytical lens for investigating the role of sound in the cultural and sensory restructuring of urban spaces. Sánchez (2017) shows that an investigation of music and its role in urban regeneration and place-marketing can reveal insights into the urban transformations in Lisbon's Mouraria district:

> The ephemeral quality of sound makes the urban auditory environment particularly sensitive to processes of urban change...As the case of Mouraria illustrates, an intervention on the sonic environment can instigate profound changes in the meanings, functions and experiences of urban space. (ibid:164)

The Sounds of Tourism approach draws on theories of urban ambiance, within which Thibaud (2011b) has proposed the paradigm of sonic effect. An ambiance can be defined as 'a time-space qualified from a sensory point of view' (ibid:43), placing an emphasis on sensing and feeling a place. Thibaud (ibid) argues ambiances have a close synergy with sound and therefore advocates for sound as 'a particularly efficient medium to investigate and develop an account of urban ambiances', positioned halfway between a focus on sound as object and soundscape studies.

The variations within sound studies are underpinned by ongoing onto-epistemological debates over what sound is, why it is significant and how it relates to knowledge (Ihde, 2007; Bull, 2018). For example, Ingold (2007:11) argues that we should go beyond debates over whether sound is vibrations 'out there' or something we register in our heads to an understanding of sound as a phenomenon of experience, our immersion in the world. Contemporary projects concerned with sonic inquiry are able to draw on the foundations built by soundscape studies/acoustic ecology, and weave these with other disciplinary insights and theoretical positions (e.g. Butler, 2006; Battesti, 2017; Guiu, 2017). Guillebaud (2017) helpfully outlines the variations in the ways 'soundscape' is being applied, marking a difference between soundscape and ambience studies, as illustrated in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Variations in the conceptualisations of 'soundscape' (Guillebaud, 2017:4)

Soundscape	**Ambiance**
Visual analogy	Multimodal
2-D (maps)	3-D
Frontal perception	Immersion
Sound (acoustic)	Sonic (sensorial property)
Objectivist (physical sciences)	Subjective (psychology/social sciences)
Analytical	Holistic

The listening approach I develop sits more comfortably in the right-hand side of this table, and Gallagher and Prior's (2014:269) view that sound can access 'everyday experiences of place: the immaterial, invisible, taken-for-granted atmospheres and emotional resonances of their local area'. Whilst foregrounding listening, this does not entail the demotion, neglect or jettisoning of a multi-sensory approach. All sound study variants touch on the sensorium, for as Schafer (1994:12) notes 'the ear is but one sense receptor among many'. Having charted the pertinent aspects of sound studies, I next look in more detail at sound methods and their synergy with mobile methods. I focus mainly on soundwalking as a core practice that constitutes my methodology.

Sound and mobile methods: soundwalking

A range of methods come under the broad heading of sound studies, as indicated in the above review. Informed by a mobilities approach, I am particularly interested in methods that use both sound and mobilities to generate knowledge. Mobile methods 'attempt to physically or metaphorically follow people/objects/ideas in order to support analysis of the experience/content/doing of' (Spinney, 2015:232). A distinctive feature of mobile methods is the idea that movement itself might somehow be fundamental to finding out things (Smith & Hall, 2016:156). Walking interviews are a distinct method increasingly used to explore the link between self, place, and how places are created by people's movements (Jones et al., 2008). Walking interviews situate the research in context within the physical

and social space of the study (Fincham et al., 2010:4-6). Walking sites under investigation brings proximity to the topic as well as creating an informal environment that allows participant to recollect and articulate their experiences (ibid:2). Walking is 'necessarily multisensory' (Murray & Järviluoma, 2019:5) and considered an embodied practice that creates multiple readings of the city (Certeau, 1984). There is therefore a degree of synergy between mobile methods and the classic tool developed by sound scholars, soundwalking.

Both soundwalk methods and mobile methods use the practical methodology of movement to re-localise our listening perspectives (Chapman, 2013). Within acoustic ecology's efforts to promote better listening skills, soundwalks have been developed as a purposeful listening practice and forms the basis of my methodological developments. This practice was initially promoted as a primary method of 'ear cleaning' within a range of exercises to help develop soundscape competence (Wrightson, 1999; Schafer, 1994). In its broadest sense, soundwalks 'combine a specific form of human mobility – walking – with a specific way of sensory attention – listening' (Behrendt, 2018:252). They can be considered a 'walking meditation' (Wrightson, 1999:10) with the main purpose of listening to the environment (Westerkamp, 1997). In its classic format developed within the World Soundscapes Project, a group goes on a silent walk together, led by a facilitator with a 'score' (pre-decided route), after which they are usually invited to discuss their observations (Westerkamp, 1997; Drever, 2017). With the advent of new technologies and different disciplinary applications, soundwalk variants now include those led by or mediated by technology, such as geo-locative soundwalks, that operate as ambulatory storytelling experiences through mobile phone apps.

Sound art practitioners have developed other deviations within the soundwalking tradition, such as taking participants on a walk whilst listening to a soundtrack (Schaub et al., 2005; Brown, 2017). Battesti's (2017) 'aural postcard experiment' uses this method of 'reactivated listening' to generate data on changing neighbourhoods in Cairo. Using binaural microphones/earphones, research participants traverse a neighbourhood, whilst listening to Baltesti's (ibid) recorded sound ambiances and commenting on them. In contrast, Anderson and Rennie (2016) use soundwalking as a way of making art through exploratory field recordings. They purposefully create narrated audio recordings to make explicit the

presence of the recordist. Their view of field recordings as 'subjective, expressive, meaningful and personal to the recordist' (Anderson & Rennie 2016: 222) chime with Pink's (2009:2) idea of the emplaced ethnographer. They draw on the narrative turn in social sciences to critique and expand on sound art processes, which have traditionally viewed field recordings as 'authentic, impartial and neutral documents' (2016:222). They argue that, 'Field recordings can be subjective, expressive, meaningful and personal to the recordist, rather than purely objective documents of sound environments'(ibid). By making explicit field recordings as self-reflexive narratives, the audio become 'documents of their makers', which they argue is an alternative form of knowledge (ibid:224).

All of these soundwalk variations are united by the common traits identified by Behrendt (2018:252) as 'spatio-temporal, embodied, situated, multi-sensory and mobile practice'. These five virtues make soundwalking resonate with my objective of amplifying the social, spatial and mobile processes of urban seaside gentrification. As Drever (2013:3) proclaims, the classic soundwalking format is 'a subtle, transformative, personal, sensitive practice whilst simultaneously being a highly social analytical sound audit and ritualistic auditory experience'. Soundwalks offer a particular way of exploring changes in a place, with mapping potentials:

> Soundwalks map the present, but also juxtapose the recent and distant past, enabling us to navigate temporalities and to imaginatively and sonically travel through time, functioning as snapshots of forever-changing land and soundscapes, through evolving technologies, communities, and social practices. (Brown, 2017:6)

Within the original soundscape studies vision, soundwalking can offer 'acoustic consciousness' which can have practical outcomes. For example, Uimonen (2017:130) describes how carrying out soundwalks and sound preferential tests with school children led to their becoming 'accultured in making sounds and evaluating sounds as members of their communities' and taking steps to improve their school soundscapes (e.g. creating a quiet garden in their school playground). This method therefore offers potential wellbeing benefits, as a collective meditative experience and as a possible means to improving sound environments (Oliveros, 2005; Brown, 2017; Westerkamp, 2017).

Having extolled the benefits of sound and mobile methods, I next move into the final discussion of the chapter and review listening focused literatures. With increased interest in sound from a range of fields has come corresponding critiques of some of the underlying assumptions behind sound studies. These point to the need to pluralise the field, which will be reviewed next with regard to listening practices.

Listening

Conventionally, a division is made between the physical characteristics of sound sources and how the perceiving subject apprehends and processes these characteristics (Guillebaud, 2017). Although used interchangeably in common usage, there is also a further distinction made between "listening" as an active process and "hearing" as passive (ibid). Oliveros (2005) separates out hearing as the physical means that enables perception and listening as giving attention to what is perceived both acoustically and psychologically. She argues more is known about the former with accompanying measurements and metrics but listening remains a mysterious process (ibid). Westerkamp (2017:30) similarly argues we all listen differently and that listening is 'never static and implies constant shifting and perceptual movement'. Conceptual models of listening have been developed to pin down this mysteriousness (Guillebaud, 2017). A common categorisation is made within these models between mundane listening (everyday, natural, gathers information), causal listening (interpreting a message or determining the nature of sounds), and specialised/reduced listening (focusing on the traits of sound itself, acting on sound as a musician) (Guillebaud, 2017:12).

Recent scholarship has brought a critical edge to the idea that "we all listen differently" and challenges these listening typologies. In this review, I put forward "pluralising" as a useful umbrella term for these ventures. Pluralising is a deliberately active *doing* concept, that seeks to give a plural form to something and cause it to be more numerous or be made of several elements. I have adopted the notion from Saskia Warren (2017; 2021) who uses it to critique mobile method researchers who uncritically take walking as 'natural' and 'everyday' yet also potentially 'transformative' (Warren, 2017; Parent, 2016). Sound studies scholars have been more heavily critiqued for potential zealous positions about sound and listening in their efforts to push back against the Western hierarchy of the senses (Howes, 2005). Such

positioning risks universalising conceptions of listening that eschew all the different relationships to sound that we can have.

There are increasing efforts to redress the universalising and potentially exclusionary tendencies within sound studies (Haualand, 2008; Bonenfant 2010; Drever, 2019; Robinson, 2020; Chaves & Aragao, 2021). Deaf studies scholars call out the phonocentric assumptions that underpin much of the sound studies literatures (Haualand, 2008; Friedner & Helmreich, 2012; Harold 2013). Harold (2013) critically challenges sonic geographies for its dominant 'hearing ontology'. She (ibid:849) calls attention to discourses on sound that reinforce the idea that ontological presences not exhibiting typical hearing engagement with place are in some way problematic. Friedner and Helmreich (2012) build on this critique by productively putting sound studies and Deaf studies into dialogue, which can provide enriching insight into my methodology:

> Sound studies and deaf studies have points of articulation— points of common concern about sensory socialities in their shared desire to carve out analytical and experiential spaces for contemplating what is unheard and unseen. (Ibid: 172)

Haualand (2008)'s incredibly insightful article, written with the knowledge and experiences of being a Deaf scholar, contributes to notions of listening practices. She explains that a hearing person will often hear things rather than sounds, whereas Deaf people may hear sounds but rarely things (ibid). Drever's (2019) concept of 'auraldiverse hearing' similarly problematizes assumptions of auraltypical archetypes in sonic arts practice. This assertion for the diversity of listening experiences is helpful in thinking about how research participants experience sound methods and how to accommodate for this in design and analysis.

Other notable endeavours to pluralise sound studies include queering and decolonising listening. Bonenfant (2010) draws on queer-focused musicology to think about what it might mean to have or to hear a queer vocal timbre, and what queer listening can offer to sound art. Chaves and Aragão (2021) take a decolonising lens to critique the ethico-political challenges of acoustic ecology that thread through into soundwalking practices. They call out the self-transformative praxis that shaped early soundscape practitioners:

> Is the sonic world entirely the domain of sensitised listeners: academics, artists and informed practitioners who have been through disciplinary procedures such as 'Ear Cleaning'? What about other forms of non-accredited listening(s), those that take place among mass protests or forms of sonic violence and resistance practised by different actors? (ibid: 192)

They assert that there is 'not one right way to listen or one way to be sonically aware' (ibid:192).

Within these pluralising critiques, Robinson (2020), an Indigenous Canadian sound scholar, provides the most compelling decolonising work and goes further to propose a listening practice to remedy these critiques. Robinson's approach allows a continuum of listening practices and provides a critical edge to interrogating listening regimes that have been imposed and implemented (Robinson, 2020:40). He engages with sound studies from an Indigenous perspective 'to theorize and thematize listening as a political and cultural act' (Couture et al., 2020:2). Robinson (2020:40) develops resonant theory as a departure from Western single-sense engagement, however it is his concept of critical listening positionality that I take inspiration from in this project.

Positionality is a well-known academic concept, which makes explicit the researcher in the research process and is often used to interrogate insider/outsider identities and power dynamics (Etherington, 2004). Dylan Robinson (2020:2-3) applies this to listening to understand how our individual and collective experiences, backgrounds and ways of being in the world influence the way we listen. He argues we carry listening privileges, biases and abilities, not wholly negative or positive, but when we interrogate these through reflexive questioning, we start to engage with critical listening positionality:

> Like positionality itself, engaging in critical listening positionality involves self-reflexive questioning of how race, class, gender, sexuality, ability, and cultural background intersect and influence the way we are able to hear sound, music, and the world around us. (Robinson, 2020:10)

Seemingly a simple combination of terms, critical listening positionality is a powerful processual concept that brings in a political edge to the idea that "we all listen differently" (Couture et al., 2020:9).

Robinson argues that our perception is acquired 'over time through ideological state apparatus at the heart of subjectification' (ibid:9). Through discussion of settler and Indigenous listening positionalities, Robinson states these are not static constructs but processes that fundamentally guide our actions and perceptions (ibid:39). Going beyond just recognising intersectional differences, Robinson asks us to undertake challenging and detailed self-reflection that can situate listening as a relational act. By detailing our own positionality, we may begin to identify 'the ways in which those aspects allow or foreclose upon certain ways of looking, kinds of touch, or listening hunger/fixity' (ibid:60-1).

This research project does not take place in settler/Indigenous contexts and Robinson's (2020) work develops an ethics of listening for Indigenous music as an alternative to the hunger which has consumed Indigenous content. However, the research (both myself and the urban seaside participants) is part of and connected to the settler listening positionality that Robinson names. Listening in this research takes place within Western categories, ontologies and regimes of single-sense orientation which 'generate normative narratocracies of experience, feeling and the sensible' (Robinson, 2020:39). I attempt to respectfully engage with Robinson's theorisation, in the 'dialogical spirit of the book' (Couture et al., 2020:2). In subsequent thesis chapters, I endeavour to engage with critical listening positionality in a generative, rather than mis-placed and extractivist way. Robinson's concepts are used to keep attentive to normative and non-normative listening practices and experiences in my analysis and interpretation of the listening-generated material and help build an understanding of listening can generate knowledge about gentrification.

2.5 Contributing to the literatures

This chapter has ambitiously reviewed the multiple scholarly fields that this interdisciplinary research draws from, situates within and contributes to. I have structured these through looking first at gentrification and seaside studies to review existing research and

conceptions pertinent to urban seaside gentrification. I have then focused on recent expanded understandings of displacement. Putting these into dialogue with theories of social, spatial and mobility justice, I have developed a guiding framework for interrogating displacement injustices. Finally, I have reviewed the methodological literatures that form the basis of my conceptualisation of listening, namely sound and mobile methods. In the subsequent chapters I draw inspiration from the key scholars identified here to develop my own understandings through the empirical research.

Key themes and concepts have also been discussed that will be applied, critiqued and enhanced in the rest of the thesis. In the realm of gentrification studies, I have highlighted the usefulness of the waves model approach to chart the development of different forms of gentrification over time. In conversation with seaside studies, I have identified key dominant narratives of heritage, tourism and regeneration as well as discussed different aspects of "seasideness". I have argued that the concept of coastal liquidity (Burdsey, 2016) is useful for challenging static portrayals of the seaside and paying attention to the degrees of fixity/fluidity in different sites. By taking Hackworth's (2002:815) definition of gentrification as the production of space for progressively more affluent users, I have also shown how issues of social, spatial and mobility justice resonate in our understandings of displacement as a spectrum and its injustices.

Crucially, I have begun to make a case for the methodological innovation of using listening to reframe urban seaside gentrification and displacement injustices. I have extolled the benefits of sound methods but also critically discussed existing approaches to listening. I take inspiration from sound scholars involved in pluralising our understandings of listening into my empirical investigations, which will form the basis of my conceptualisation of listening-with. These considerations will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, which outlines my socio-sonic-mobile methodology.

CHAPTER 3: Listening-on-Sea: socio-sonic-mobile methodology

3.1 Introduction

> I suppose it's quite a novelty just having a walk for a walk's sake in a way. Or to be just listening, and more aware and present. Rather than going on a journey to reach a destination. (Barney, Listening Walk 18, Brighton)

On a quest to unearth methods apt for my research questions, I set off on a methodological journey, unsure of my destination but with an inclination for creativity and a commitment to a participatory ethos. I peered down the mobility lens and took a turn down the sensory looking for a way to explore residents' relationships to gentrifying urban seaside neighbourhoods. Embracing the significance and potential, not only the novelty, of 'a walk for a walk's sake', I stumbled into sound studies and found treasure (Barney, LW18[2]). I made discoveries about listening as a method, which can make us 'more aware and present' (ibid). Struck by the pandemic, I was almost blown off course, but I found a way to weather the Covid-19 storm and navigate its dangers. I arrived at a new method and created the socio-sonic-mobile methodology. Whilst undertaking this methodological journey, I reached a new destination, a conceptualisation of listening that elevates its epistemic potential.

In this chapter, I share my journey to develop an ethical, pragmatic and ontologically robust methodology. I outline the socio-sonic-mobile methodology I have created to reinvigorate understandings of residential experiences of gentrification and displacement injustices (objective 1). This research project, and consequently its listening approach, is place-driven through its focus on the urban seaside and three sites of Brighton, Worthing and St Leonards along the UK's south coast. However, the emergent research territory warped by Covid-19 necessitated a new approach to exploring changing neighbourhoods with urban seaside residents. Positively reflecting on these Covid-induced adaptions, I can make claim to creating a new method. I have combined the practices of walking, listening and elicitation and made use of digital technologies and creative tools to develop a phenomenological way of exploring place with others remotely. Pre-Covid, I had focused on place-based practices

[2] Listening walks will be herein referred to using the initialism LW plus the participant number. This is referenced in Table 3.3 listed below.

that relied heavily on myself as the researcher being physically present in the places being researched and with others taking part in the research. During fluctuating lockdown restrictions, I was forced to be physically distant and take up an unintended, remote researcher position. Consequently, I created a new way of exploring places with inhabitants using listening as the predominant method for social inquiry that diverges from traditionally situated and ethnographically inspired methodologies. These Covid-driven dynamics underscore my methodological journey and the contributions I make through my listening approach, and therefore will resonate throughout this and subsequent chapters.

In sharing my socio-sonic-mobile methodology, I move between the orientations and inspirations discussed in the previous two chapters and outline the actions I have undertaken. After discussing the philosophical underpinnings of this methodology, I offer up the listening-walking-elicitation methods and techniques I have developed. I unpack the crucial movements it has taken to reach this methodology and discuss my sonic speculations that propelled me to experiment through a series of pilots. I provide details of the recruitment process and the participants that took part, before considering the ethical dimensions of the study. For this, I draw on the pluralising approaches introduced in the previous chapter and begin to empirically consider the notion of positionality and its relationship to listening. I end the chapter advocating for the role of listening in every part of the research process, and show how I make this explicit in analysis, interpretation and dissemination. After discussing listening in detail, this leads into an invitation to the reader to listen to the sonic interlude and opens up the argument for *listening-with* which I will build in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.2 Socio-sonic-mobile methodology

To reframe urban seaside gentrification and rethink the role of displacement injustices at the urban seaside, I created a socio-sonic-mobile methodology. This tripartite methodology draws from sound and mobile methods, and takes inspiration from creative methods to combine the practices of listening, walking and elicitation. As a socio-methodology, it uses elicitation practices to find out how the people who are affected by a social phenomenon make sense of it. Creative tools are chosen as part of a participatory ethos and orientation

towards knowledge-making processes. As a sonic-methodology, it uses listening practices to elicit discussion and reflections about experiences of the phenomenon. Listening and sound are threaded throughout the research process, making all forms of listening explicit. As a mobile-methodology, it uses walking practices to aid listening in and to a place, and to generate observations and reflections. A mobilities lens focuses attention on the significance of movement methodologically, ontologically and conceptually. Listening remains the predominant method, however, by combining these practices, the resultant triarchy gains methodological potency and potential.

Interdisciplinary research holds the promise of originality and innovation, yet it also presents the challenge of 'messy weaves of multiple genealogical threads' (Hoover, 2020:35). This project attempts to hold an interdisciplinary space which necessitates a degree of philosophical and methodological openness and responsiveness. Such flexibility has served the project well, allowing me to stay on course amidst the unanticipated restrictions and uncertainty brought by the pandemic. It is therefore helpful to enlist the concept of orientations (Ahmed, 2006) and think about the 'way-finders' I have chosen to find my bearings in developing this methodology (Hoover, 2020:30). As described by Ahmed (2006:1), 'If we know where we are when we turn this way or that way, then we are oriented'. I draw on a number of philosophical and theoretical approaches, and put them into dialogue with each other as a I orient myself, rather than viewing each as a theoretical totality that must be accepted or rejected (Young, 1990:8).

This socio-sonic-mobile methodology denotes the specific knowledge-making practices that I have developed within this set of orientations. The starting point from which my orientations unfold is the assertion that knowledge-making practices and systems of production are political and operate within existing power relations (Ahmed, 2006; Santos, 2007). A decolonial lens reveals how the dominant Western hierarchy of knowledge 'represents a very small proportion of the global treasury of knowledge' (Hall & Tandon, 2017:17). Colonialism and its legacy of systems of oppression have carried out epistemicide in dictating what we consider as knowledge and who are the knowledge-producers (Lemkes, 2018:2). As a researcher I am situated within such knowledge production systems. I therefore follow recent thinking that challenges the traditional distinction between epistemology and ontology, including new materialisms (Barad, 2003), complexity and

assemblage theories (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; DeLanda, 2006). Feminist scholarship helps me position myself as ethically responsible in the entanglement in the world we research and take heed of an ethico-onto-epistemology approach (Haraway, 1988; Barad, 2007:381).

The ethical-political dimensions of my methodology make explicit my researcher values and desired relations for knowledge-making, which have both provided my entry point and guided the turns I have taken in reaching this methodological destination. As articulated in my literature review and research questions, I am interested in a social justice framework that works against systems of oppression and can be roughly deemed 'critical social studies' (Barad, 2007). The conceptual framework of social-spatial-mobile justice weaves together genealogical threads from feminism and critical theory (Young, 1990), critical spatial theory (Soja, 2010) and embodied movements for social justice such as decolonial and anti-racist activism (Sheller, 2018:16-7). My methodological commitment to a participatory ethos flows through this philosophical orientation. Community-based and participatory research methods pursue transformative social goals and knowledge democracy (Beebeejaun et al., 2014; Hall & Tandon, 2017). Although not reaching the ideals of a co-produced research project, the methodology is driven by a desire to grapple with the power differences of the research process and questions over who benefits from research outcomes (Pain, 2004:653; Barinaga & Parkers, 2013:6). Participatory and creative techniques are used therefore to increase the accessibility and inclusivity of the research methods, and to allow participants to make active choices within the data production.

In this respect, my onto-epistemological orientation asserts that *how* we come to know something is significant. I focus on how the people and communities inhabiting the spaces affected by gentrification make sense of the phenomenon through listening. Drawing on decolonialisation endeavours and epistemic justice, listening can be considered a 'beyond text' practice that respects different claims to knowledge (Beebeejaun et al., 2013:42). This allows for more dynamic interactions between researcher and researched against the monopoly of academic and specialist knowledge production (ibid). Furthermore, the multiple genealogical weaves that make up this interdisciplinary project orient towards a relational ontology. As discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2), a Lefebvrian approach to space is taken alongside adopting a mobilities lens to formulate the conceptual framework. These threads align with relational ontologies, as asserted by Sheller (2018:10):

> Rather than beginning social analysis from the secondary perspective of nation-states and societies, or even of individuals and groups, as if these were pre-formed objects bouncing into each other like billiard balls, we can begin by trying to detect the relations, resonances, connections, continuities, and disruptions that organise the world into ongoing yet temporary mobile formations.

Having imparted the philosophical and theoretical orientations that underpin my socio-sonic-mobile methodology, I now move into the tangible detail of how I have combined these knowledge-making practices.

3.3 Listening as method

In the search for mobile, creative and sensory methods, sonic inquiry began to increasingly resonate with my personal positioning as a researcher, musician and community practitioner. Heeding this resonance, I developed a methodology that makes all forms of listening explicit, as a specific method and as a practice that might otherwise go unnoticed or unremarked. Listening and sound are always part of the research process. Research aims are often expressed in auditory terms, for example, making marginalised voices in gentrifying neighbourhoods heard or amplifying the calls for urban justice in the face of displacement and dispossession. But within most qualitative methodologies listening is frequently unacknowledged or plays an implicit role. It is most prominent in transcription processes, which requires attentive listening to interview audio recordings, but such processes focus on achieving authentic written reproduction. Going further, Daza and Gershon (2015:639) argue that movement and sound create 'attention and intention' in social inquiry to 'meta/physical and socially embodied processes without falsely ignoring the body, separating the mind from body, or splitting material-physical and social worlds.' My methodology goes beyond using listening for only textual and verbal-based practices, into the realms of deep listening, soundscapes, acoustic environments and urban ambiances (Oliveros, 2005; Schafer, 1994; Westerkamp, 2002; Thibaud, 2013).

Sound and listening are weaved throughout the four phases of my research plan, listed below and depicted in Figure 3.1:

1. Literature, Policy & Media Review, Contextual & Scoping Study
2. Pilots & Participant Recruitment
3. Listening Walks, Listening-at-Home Activities, Initial Analysis & Elicitation Interviews
4. Final Analysis, Writing & Dissemination

My sonic imagination was sparked in phase one as I reviewed the literature and carried out my contextual study. In phase two, I trialled different ways listening could be used in combination with tools drawn from mobile, creative and sensory methods (detailed in 3.4 Sonic Speculations). In phase three, I created a method for listening with others to explore the urban seaside sites and listening-back to elicit experiences and reflections on gentrification experiences. The method developed in phase three, within the specific restrictive Covid-conditions, is visually represented in Figure 3.1 below. This shows the key components and procedures of this method, the points of convergence and the areas of choice for participants. Phase four moved into listening on my own and using listening-back to data for analysis and reflection. This final phase also opened-up the potential for listening with readers in order to make writing up and the dissemination of findings noisier.

Figure 3.1: Research design overview

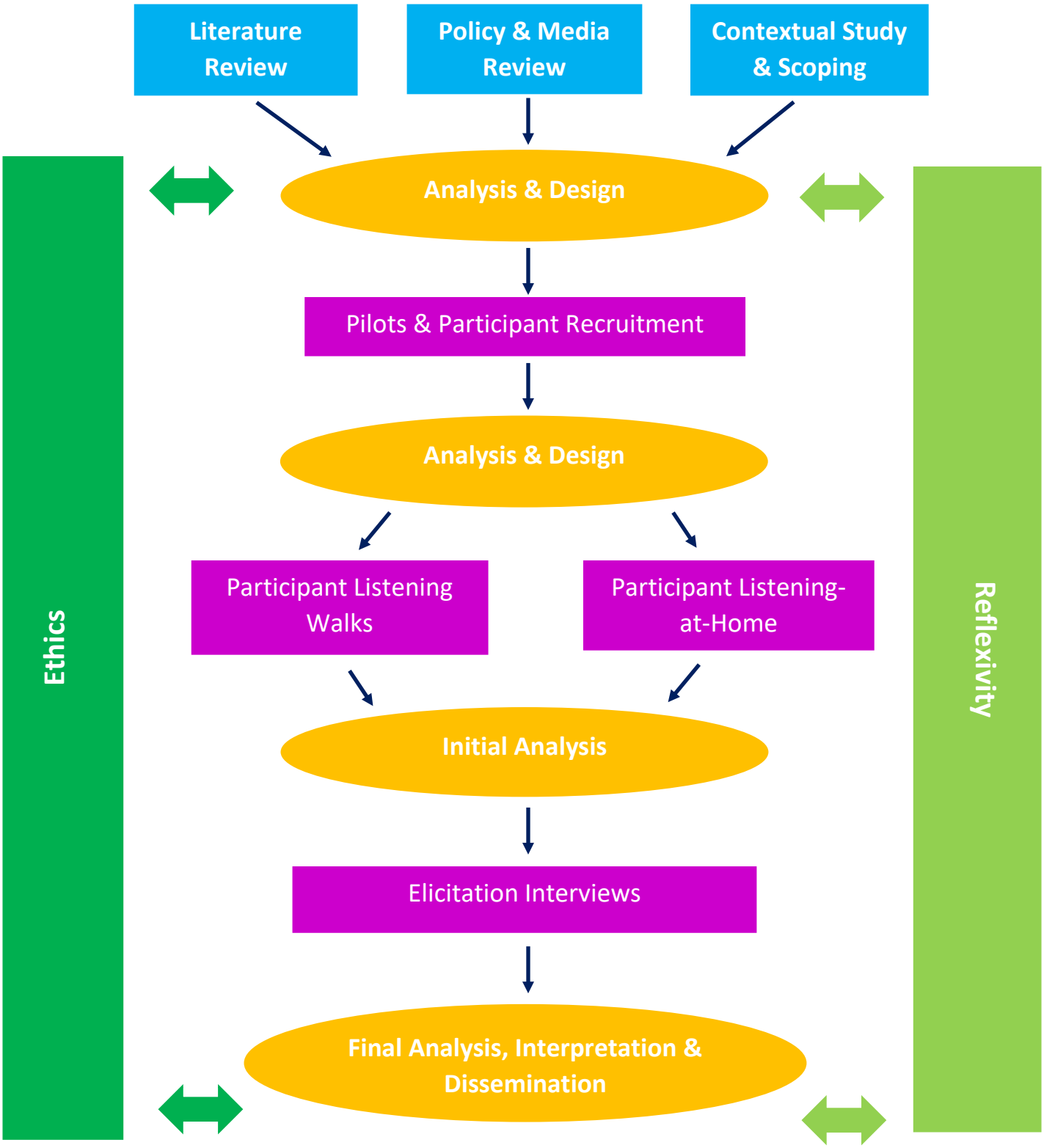
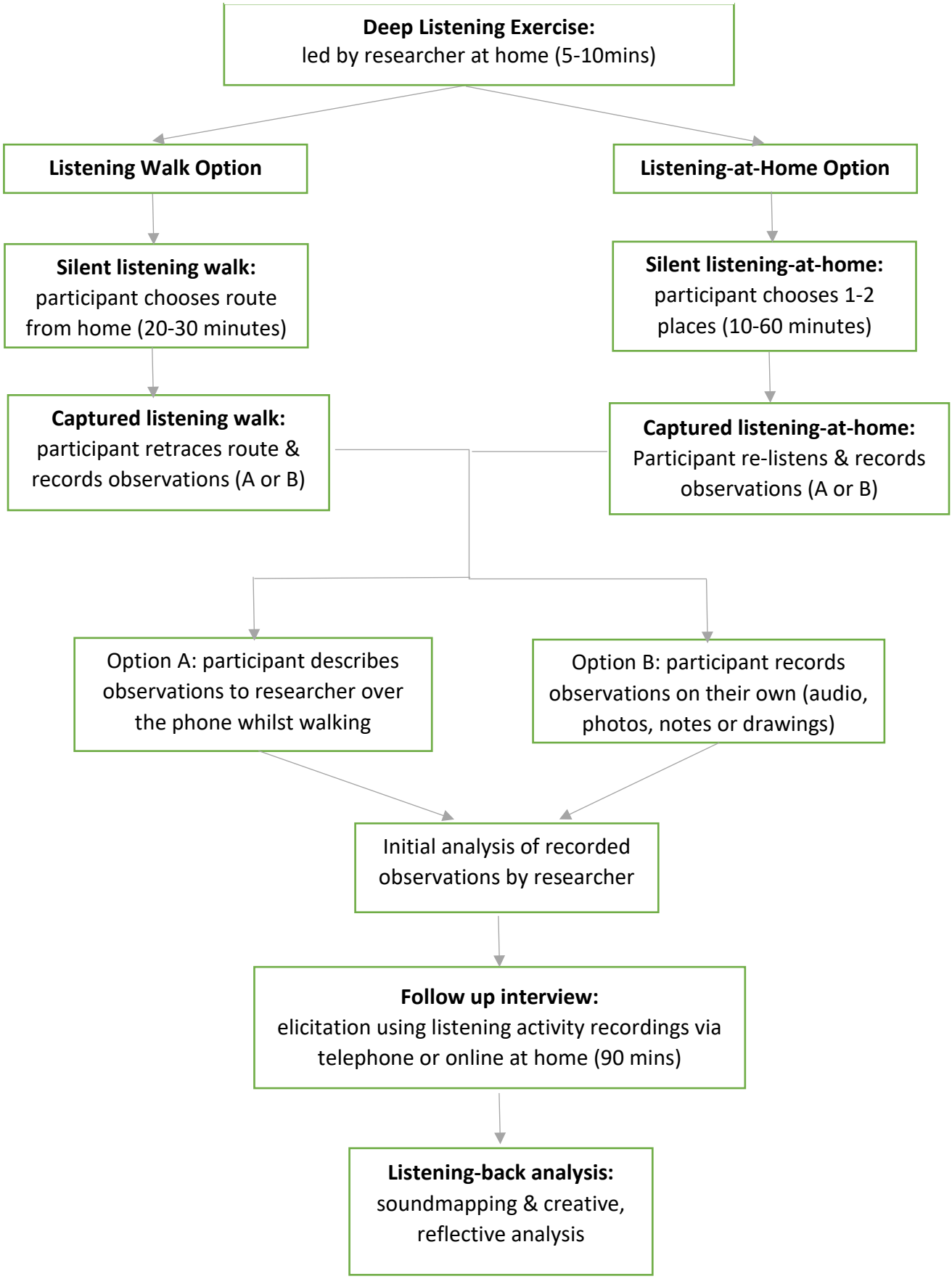


Figure 3.2: Listening-walking-elicitation method



As shown in Figure 3.2, there are four parts that all participants experience in this method: a deep listening exercise, an immersive listening experience away from the researcher, a way of capturing this experience and detailed discussion with the researcher about the experience. But there are two main options that a participant chooses: the type of listening activity and how they capture their observations about the experience. In addition, the participant chooses where they do the listening: either the route taken around the neighbourhood as a listening walk or where in their home they listen. As part of the decision over capturing tools, the participant also decides what technology to use, for the capture and to communicate with the researcher (see Appendix B *Participant Information Sheet* for available options). Enabling participants to have these choices in the data production is part of the participatory ethos within the methodology. But it also created the requisite flexibility for conducting research within a pandemic, allowing activities to take place during varying states of lockdown and restrictions to movement. Whilst being responsive to government policy, it supported participants to make their own assessment of risk, allowing those shielding or uncomfortable with walking around the neighbourhood to participate from their home.

Listening is the dominant practice that holds the method together. To begin with, participants are led through a deep listening exercise that combines deep listening techniques from Oliveros (2005) with 'ear cleaning' exercises from Schafer (1994) and soundwalking practices from Westerkamp (1997) and Drever (2017). This researcher-led exercise leads the participant through a series of rhetorical questions that asks them to focus on the specific qualities of the sounds surrounding them in that moment (see Appendix C Deep Listening exercise). Its purpose is to help the participant tune into their ears, preparing them for the immersive listening activity and slowing down their attention to the minute details of their surroundings (Schafer, 1994:208). Directly following this exercise, conducted via telephone or online app, the participant undertakes an immersive listening experience on their own.

For the listening walk option, the participant chooses a 20-30 minute route around their neighbourhood starting from their home. The way participants chose their routes in this study demonstrates the variety available: familiar walks that the participant undertakes regularly, new routes designed specifically to take in different sites and sounds or roughly

improvised wanderings though the neighbourhood. These walks can also be linear, aiming for a destination, or circular, ending back at the starting point. Once this walk has been undertaken the participant then retraces their steps, either re-walking the lap or returning from their destination towards home. This second walk forms the capturing part, which the participant chooses in advance. Either the researcher calls the participant who describes their walk over the phone, with the researcher making prompts about where they are walking and the sounds and sensations they are experiencing (option A). Or the participant chooses to capture their observations about the walk on their own using their own equipment e.g. audio recordings, photography, drawings and/or notes (option B).

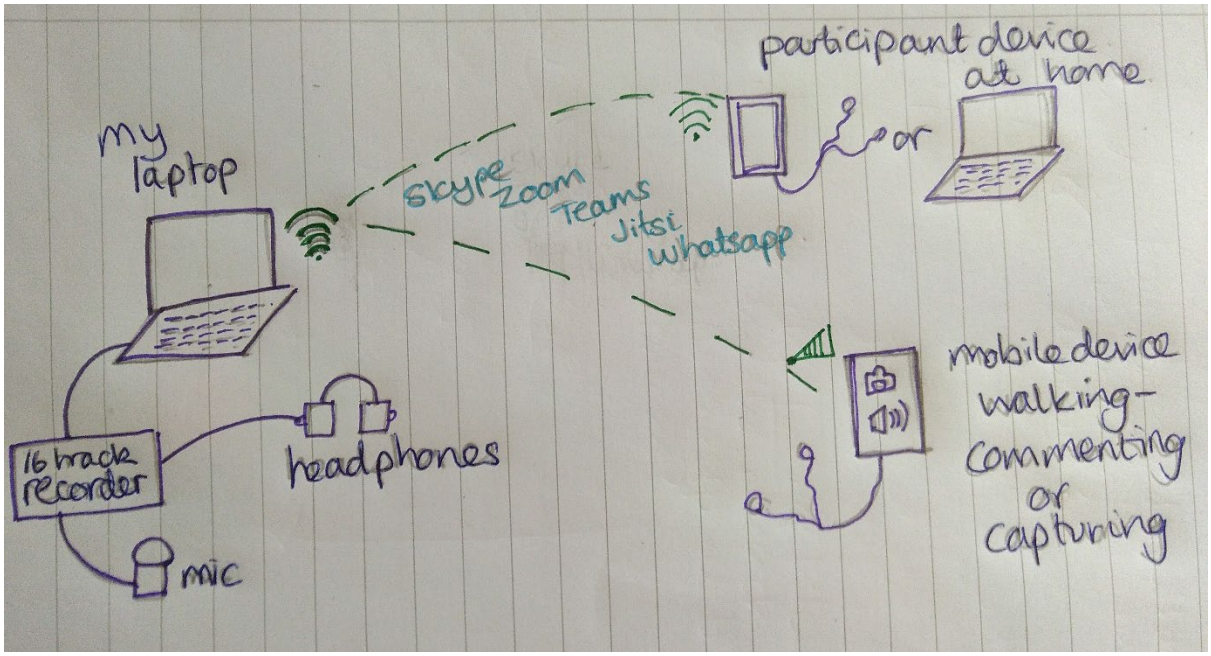
For the listening at home option, the participant chooses where and for how long they listen in their home, with a minimum parameter of one place for ten minutes. Static listening can be more intense and harder to access for a long period of time especially for those unaccustomed to listening (Schafer, 1994). This immersive activity therefore offers a shorter time-span. The participant has the same two options for the capturing phase, listening again in the same spots as they either describe their observations live to the researcher or make recordings on their own. This option was the most experimental as it was developed directly in response to the lockdown conditions and risks of Covid-19. The three participants who opted to listen at home all chose to record their observations themselves but there was a variety of ways they chose to capture, as will be discussed later.

Following these activities, the researcher then undertakes initial analysis of the participant's captured observations and artefacts. This initial analysis focuses on drawing out the key material for eliciting reflections and discussion in the interview. This material forms the basis of a semi-structured interview, conducted either over the telephone or using online software. This elicitation part makes use of the technology to plot out the routes taken by the participant and create a map together using Digimap[3] software. During online interviews this map is shared and forms the basis of exploring the neighbourhood together, picking out key landmarks, sounds and sensations from the listening activity to ask further questions about experiences of gentrification and displacement.

[3] Digimap Ordnance Survey Collection, https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/

Balancing accessibility for participants and the need to record and generate data for elicitation and analysis purposes was a challenge in developing the method for researching within a pandemic (see 3.4 Sonic Speculations for details). Figure 3.3 shows the technology set up. The equipment and software options were developed using the principle of supporting participants to make use of technology they already use and therefore familiar with. A detailed review of technology was undertaken to reach this set up (see Appendix D Review of technology). This approach minimised risks over data security but crucially maximised accessibility and thereby contributed to increasing the participatory aspects of the method.

Figure 3.3: Drawing of researcher and participant technology



Overall this method generated rich, nuanced and multi-modal data that surpassed my tentative adaptations during heightened uncertainty in 2020. The technology initially was an unwelcome intrusion into the pre-Covid methodology. But, as will be shown in the Sonic Interlude and Chapter 4, I came to embrace the distinct assemblage of practices this technological configuration engendered. The method draws heavily from soundwalking practices (Schafer, 1994; Westerkamp, 1997; Drever, 2017) and the procedures developed within urban ambiances studies for 'commented city walks' (Thibaud, 2013). The distinct qualities of soundwalking as a 'spatio-temporal, embodied, situated, multi-sensory and mobile practice' (Behrendt, 2018:252) still hold for the research participants, but are

mediated by technology for the researcher. In this respect it is the practices of listening that the researcher and participant both share throughout.

Table 3.1 breaks the method further down into its components, detailing the types of activities, technologies and practices involved. It shows how contact between the researcher and participant weaves in and out of the process, with listening, capture and analysis occurring solo and together. It lays out each technological element and where each activity can take place. An important aspect induced by Covid-19 conditions was the use of domestic spaces, with both the participant and researcher undertaking activities in their own homes. This was not originally part of the pre-Covid research plan and created both challenges and opportunities. Both the participants' and researcher's home are not always suitable for carrying out research activities, due to shared living arrangements or other conditions. However, it does create a more personal and intimate connection even if this occurs through the virtual realm, as will be explored in the Sonic Interlude. Table 3.1 also attempts to details each of the "tri-practices" of this socio-sonic-mobile methodology. Breaking down this method can help with understanding how the methodology becomes greater than the sum of its parts. Having provided a detailed overview of this methodology, the next section delves into the sonic speculations from which it developed.

Table 3.1: Method Breakdown

Part	Activity	Purpose	Who	Location	Participant technology	Researcher technology	Mobile practice	Social practice	Sonic-combined practice
Deep listening exercise	Questions designed to tune participant into their ears	Preparing	Participant + researcher	Home	Phone/online software	Skype/online software	Sitting	Perceiving	Static-listening
Silent listening walk	Participant chosen route 20-30 mins	Immersive listening	Participant only	Neighbourhood	None	N/A	Walking	Perceiving	Walking-listening
Commented listening walk option A	Participant describes observations to researcher over the phone whilst re-walking route	Capturing	Participant + researcher	Neighbourhood	Mobile phone	Skype	Walking	Describing	Walking-listening-describing
Commented listening walk option B	Participant records observations on their own whilst re-walking route	Capturing	Participant only	Neighbourhood	Mobile phone/camera/audio recorder/pen & paper	N/A	Walking	Creating & recording	Walking-listening-stopping-recording
Silent listening at home	Participant chosen location 10-60 mins	Immersive listening	Participant only	Home	None	N/A	Sitting	Perceiving	Static listening
Listening at home recording	Participant records observations on their own	Capturing	Participant only	Home	Mobile phone/camera/audio recorder/pen and paper	N/A	Sitting	Creating & recording	Static listening-recording
Initial analysis	Researcher initial anlysis of recorded observations	Analysing	Researcher only	Home	N/A	Play-back software + Nvivo	Sitting	Analysis	Static-listening back-perceiving-interpreting
Follow up interview	Discussion and reflections elicited using recorded observations	Eliciting & Analysing	Participant + researcher	Home	Phone or online software	Skype or online software	Sitting	Describing & reflecting	Static-listening back-describing
Listening-back analysis	Listening back to material for analysis	Immersive listening & capturing	Researcher only	Home	N/A	Laptop/pen and paper	Sitting	Perceiving, creating & recording	Static-listening-recording

3.4 Sonic speculations

My ability to steer towards a robust and responsive methodology during the project's journey stems in part from substantial time experimenting with the tools and techniques both pre- and during the pandemic. In this section, I overview the pilots through which I tested my initial imaginings about how listening could be used with residents to explore a place and generate discussion and reflections on their relationships to gentrifying neighbourhoods. I was encouraged and emboldened by each soundwalk, how adaptable the method could be and participants' rich and insightful responses. Each soundwalk generated yet more sonic speculations until sound started to seep into other parts of my methodology and I realised it could no longer be contained within one isolated method. From this point onwards, listening came to permeate and pervade my thinking about the research process, which I have subsequently moulded into a listening conceptualisation.

Pre-Covid, I piloted a series of soundwalks, which provided the foundations for which I grew this methodology. Table 3.2 provides an overview of the five soundwalks that I delivered in 2019, showing how the sites, participants, routes and designs varied. I drew on a range of material to critically reflect on these experiences and develop my soundwalking practice. Reflective practice has been an important element within my approach. For example, I took reflective notes at the time of each walk, considering informal discussion with participants during and post-walks and audio recordings and photos captured by myself, with reference to those generated by participants. Hugely influential on my thinking, I also undertook a doctoral internship that focused on soundwalking. This project brought together a community music organisation, Brighton & Hove Music for Connection[4], and a sound heritage programme, Unlocking Our Sound Heritage, to pilot soundwalking and sound foraging activities for community engagement purposes. I worked on a pilot project, Sounds To Keep, and drew on the evaluation report (Prosser, 2019) which included analysis of participant feedback and partner reflections for pilots #3 and #4.

[4] The organisation at the time of the internship was called Open Strings Music.

Table 3.2: Overview of Pilot Soundwalks 2019

Title	**#1 Gentrification Walk**	**#2 Gentrification Soundwalk**	**#3 Coldean Listening Walk**	**#4 Bevendean & Moulsecoomb Listening Walk**	**#5 Fort Soundwalk**
Date	May 2019	September 2019	October 2019	November 2019	November 2019
Purpose	Part of University Research & Enterprise Group launch event: participatory and creative activity to showcase methods & generate academic discussion on urban injustices	Interactive session for Community Psychology Festival: festival theme 'out on the streets'	Sounds to Keep pilot activity: to engage local residents, bring to The Keep and raise awareness of sound collection	Sounds to Keep pilot activity: to engage local residents, bring to The Keep and raise awareness of sound collection	To showcase creative qualitative methods to other PGRs as part of PGR-led Research Methods Festival
Participants	PGRs, academics, interested practitioners	PGRs, academics, interested practitioners	Residents	Residents	PGRs

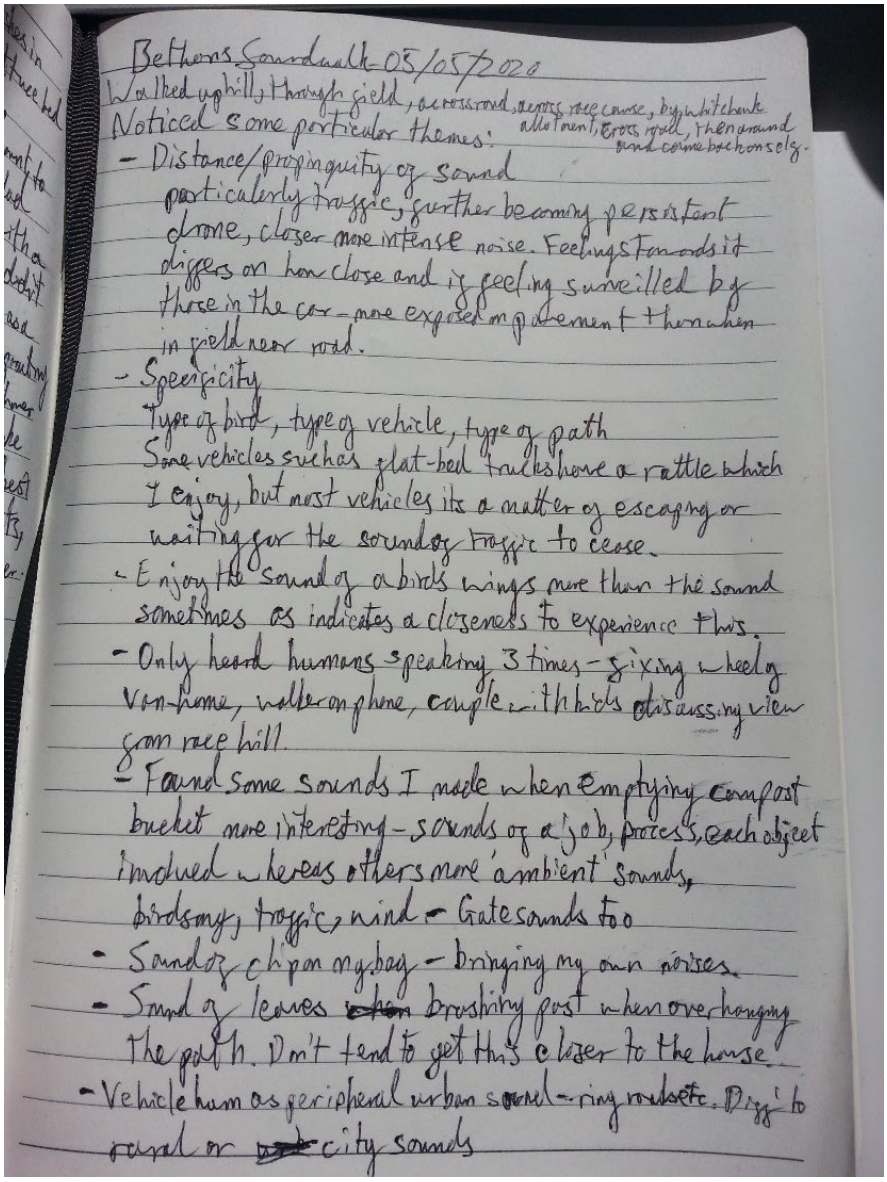
Site	Brighton: Kemptown fieldwork site	Brighton: bordering Kemptown fieldwork site	Brighton: Coldean & Moulsecoomb	Brighton: Bevendean & Moulsecoomb	Portsmouth: Fort Pulbrook
Route	Two 20-minute circular laps: simple route around Edward street & St James street	Two 35-minute circular laps: complicated route from university campus, around Tarnerland & Circus Street developments	One 30-minute circular lap: around The Keep	One 60-minute destination-oriented linear walk: Bevy pub to The Keep	One 30-minute linear walk: from inside Fort through tunnels up to the ramparts
Design (listening-talking-walking-stopping)	Silent lap (walking-listening) + discussion/capture lap (walking-talking)	Silent lap (walking-listening) + discussion/capture lap (walking-talking)	Walking + discussion (walking-talking) with listening spots (stopping-listening)	Mixture of discussion, (walking-talking) with listening spots (stopping-listening) and 2 silent short walks (walking-listening)	Mixture of discussion (walking-talking) with listening (stopping-listening) and discussion spots (talking-stopping) and 1 silent short walk (walking-listening)

The multiplicity of soundwalking is demonstrated in these pilots. As Table 3.2 shows, the five soundwalks were used for different purposes and topics at academic conferences or for community projects. Participant experiences also varied, which corroborates scholars' proclamations over the value of soundwalking (Drever, 2013; Brown, 2017; Behrendt; 2018). The five traits identified by Berhendt (2018) remain useful for covering the multiplicity of the practice: spatio-temporal, situated, embodied, sensory and mobile. My pilots in this pre-Covid stage focused on the relationship between listening and walking; however, they did not focus on elicitation or static listening. The method was originally conceived as a group experience followed by a participatory focus group, in which I planned to use creative tools to build group trust and collectively reflect on the experience.

The experience of facilitating a variety of soundwalks in 2019 laid a solid foundation from which to adapt my method for researching during the pandemic. When the pandemic hit, I was propelled into making a series of adaptations to the research plan and entered a second phase of sonic speculations. Although at the time it must be recognised that making such a Covid-induced pivot was challenging, time-consuming and underscored by uncertainty and crisis (Prosser, 2020). It quickly became apparent that group research activities were too risky within the changing restrictions. I therefore turned to refining the process to work with residents individually. Having developed my skills as a soundwalk facilitator, it felt possible to be able to support individuals from afar to carry out their own listening walks. The key challenge was developing a process to generate and capture data for research purposes, as opposed to wellbeing or community engagement that had driven the first set of pilots. A lengthy review of technology was required to create an accessible and effective set up within the resources I had available. This review was guided by the key principles of accessibility, security, minimising risk, confidentiality and data ownership (see Appendix D).

Following this technological incursion, in June 2020 I undertook three more pilots with postgraduates to test out how these new procedures could work in practice. Two pilot participants chose listening walk option A and one chose option B. The range of detailed and nuanced material generated from these pilots immediately demonstrated the method's potency. Option B pilot participant created six short videos intended to capture six sounds heard during the walk and a page of written notes. Figure 3.4 shows the in-depth reflections generated by the listening walk experience.

Figure 3.4: Pilot participant's notes (Pilot Listening Walk 02)



The participant picks out differing emotional responses depending on the proximity of sounds, 'particularly traffic' which they found 'differs depending on how close and if feeling surveilled by those in the car' (Pilot LW02). These types of observations indicate how listening opens up a whole range of reflections and emotions about the place being traversed. Thus overall, the substantial time spent piloting my methods created solid foundations from which to build my socio-sonic-mobile methodology and work towards my research aim and objectives. The next section will detail the experiences of recruiting to these research activities and give an overview of the participants who took part in the study.

3.5 Participant recruitment

The shift from emplaced ethnographer to remote researcher had implications for recruiting urban seaside residents to take part in the research activities. In this section I outline my recruitment strategy and give an overview of the 22 participants that took part. As a qualitative study, I did not set out to recruit a representative cohort. As place-driven research, the only criterion was that the participants were living, at the time of the research activity, in one of the urban seaside corridor sites that I designated. Although the research design did not target, nor was it tailored to any, specific minoritized groups, my participatory ethos and justice framework shaped my intentions to recruit people from a range of different social groups. Therefore, it is an important aspect of my methodological discussion to look at the demographics of the participants involved. Remaining open and attentive to different social group identifications and needs subsequently has become a valued part of the research in developing my listening approach as will be discussed in the findings chapters.

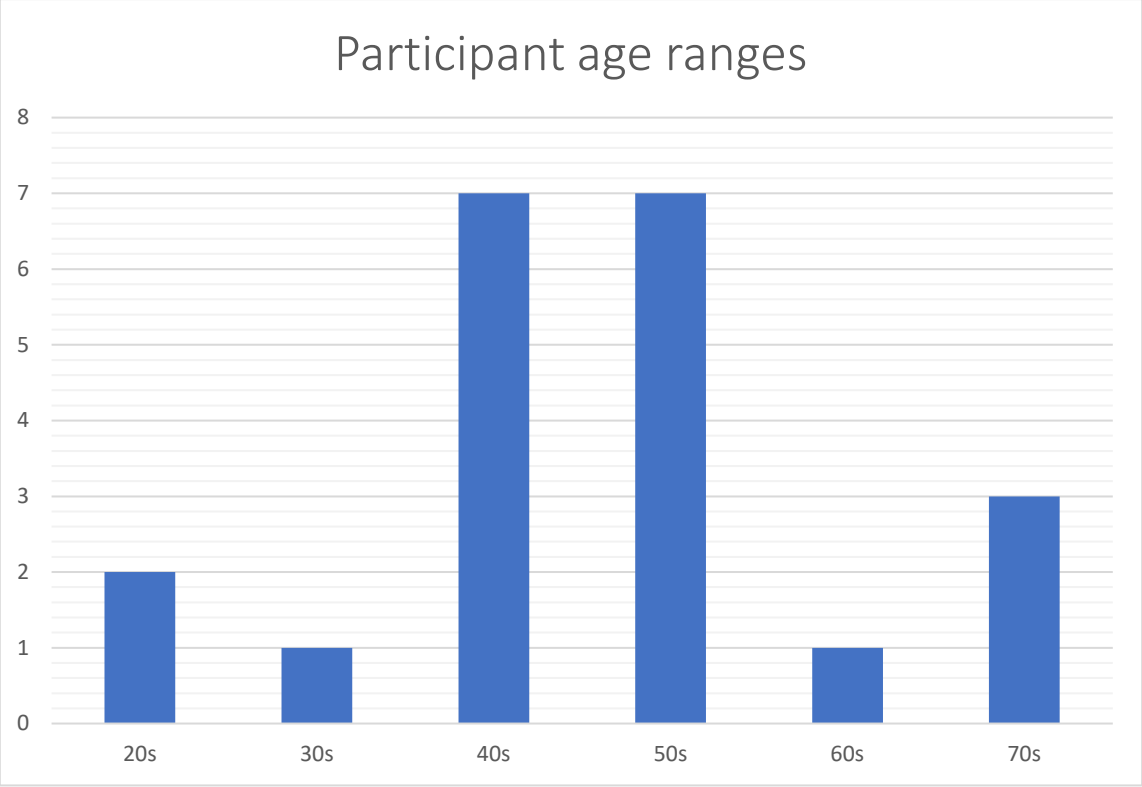
With regard to recruiting participants, unable to visit the sites I had to rely solely on remote recruitment tools. As shown in Figure 1.5, digital flyers were designed for the first round of recruitment in the style of a seaside postcard. I started with social media call outs through my own social and professional networks as well as emailing contacts in the three sites. This was relatively successful with over 50 enquiries over several months. But this approach required participants to be on social media or connected into these social networks. Recognising that this presented a narrow reach, I then developed a second round of recruitment using a printed version of the postcard flyer and targeted two streets in each neighbourhood with a mailshot. As can be seen in the summary of participants (see Appendix E), I recruited an even spread of residents across each site with seven residents living in Brighton, seven in St Leonards and eight in Worthing.

During recruitment I primarily ascertained participants' residential location and any needs or risks with regard to the method. It was therefore during the research activity that I asked participants to self-identify social group characteristics rather than use prescribed categories or any monitoring form. I started the interview with 'Tell me a bit about yourself' and finished with confirming details they had told me, asking if there was anything they

would like to add and checking preferred terminology (see Appendix F Interview Schedule). I opted to ask people to self-identify because this felt less intrusive and ethically compliant and appropriate for the topic. This does present some challenges for assessing and addressing any exclusions of the method as I primarily relied on participants sharing what they felt were significant social group identifications. This did not comprehensively cover all social groupings across all participants. Identities that might be considered "default" and unmarked as part of a societal majority were sometimes left unsaid by participants, for example not having any disabilities or being cis-gendered.

From the information shared with me, I have collated that thirteen participants identified as female, nine as male and no-one identified as non-binary. No-one disclosed their sex as different from that assigned at birth. There were significantly more participants in their forties and fifties than in other age categories, as shown in Figure 3.5:

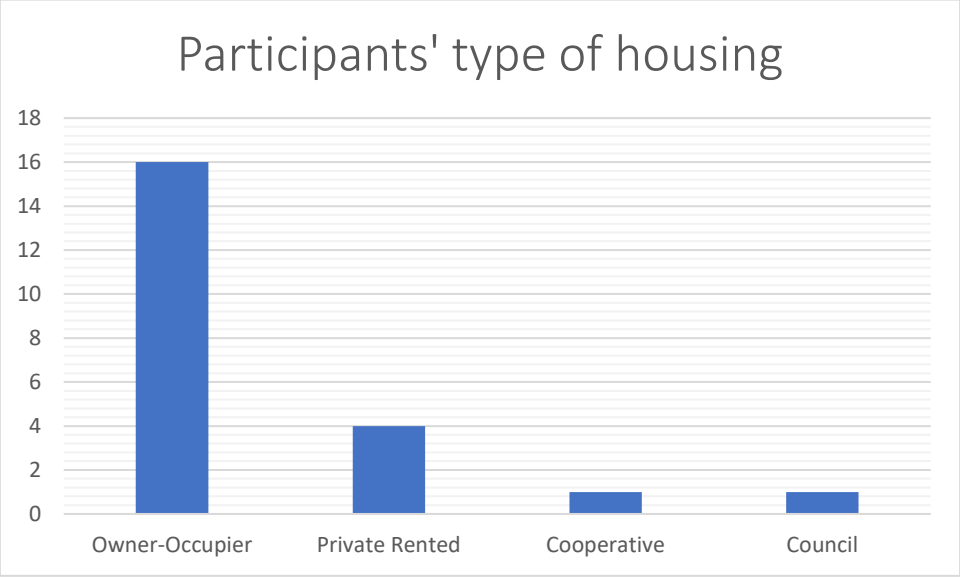
Figure 3.5: Chart of participant age ranges



In terms of ethnicity, eighteen identified as white with one person specifying White-Welsh and another person White-Other with Spanish heritage. Two participants identified as Asian, specifically one as American-Asian and another as French Asian-Other. Two participants identified as mixed parentage, this included one person with Indian and Scottish heritage, and another person specifying their heritage as White and African. From those that disclosed their sexuality, fifteen identified as heterosexual, two as gay men, one as a lesbian woman and one as a bisexual man. Several shared details of their disabilities, two used either a wheelchair or mobility scooter due to long-term illness and one person is partially sighted. With regards to listening ability, two declared hearing impairments; one person with tinnitus and another with deafness in one ear.

It is also possible to provide an overview of work status and living arrangements from what participants shared with me. The first round of recruitment resulted in more owner-occupiers. In the second round I tried to address this imbalance by targeting streets as most likely to house renters, based on participants' advice and scoping study findings. This second round did help to reach more renters, but in different circumstances and with more funded time this skew in housing type might have been addressed more fully. This resulted in the majority of participants being owner occupiers (16), with four renters, one council tenant and one in cooperative housing, as shown in Figure 3.6.

Figure 3.6: Chart of participants' type of housing



Within these types of housing, eleven shared that they were living with a spouse or partner, five were co-habiting with a partner and child/ren, and six were living alone. Although out of the latter, one had lodgers and another hosted Airbnb guests. Seven participants were working in the public or community voluntary sectors including one academic. Four participants were retired, three self-employed, three postgraduate students, three working in the arts/artists and two working in retail.

These demographics show a range, with some limitations, of social characteristics in this relatively small cohort. Part of my methodological journey has been to learn to compromise and accept certain restrictions and consequent shortcomings of the method and project design (Prosser, 2020). Researching in a pandemic has required emotional upheaval and a new set of ethical considerations, which I have had to orient myself within and come to terms with. More importantly though, these social identities and cultural backgrounds come to play a part in understanding how listening can generate knowledge about urban seaside gentrification. I delve into how these dynamics can be understood within a conceptualisation of listening that will be built in the next chapters.

Turning back to the method itself, these 22 participants took advantage of the whole menu of choices available. The more established and rehearsed option of the listening walk was chosen by 19 residents, roughly split in half between option A and B. Nine chose to capture the walk themselves, ten chose to describe the walk over the phone and one person combined the two, making notes and then speaking to me afterwards. The remaining three participants made use of the listening-at-home option. Table 3.3 lists each of the participants and their choice of research activity as a reference table to help navigation of upcoming findings discussion. Each participant was asked to choose their own pseudonym, resulting in some more creative names.

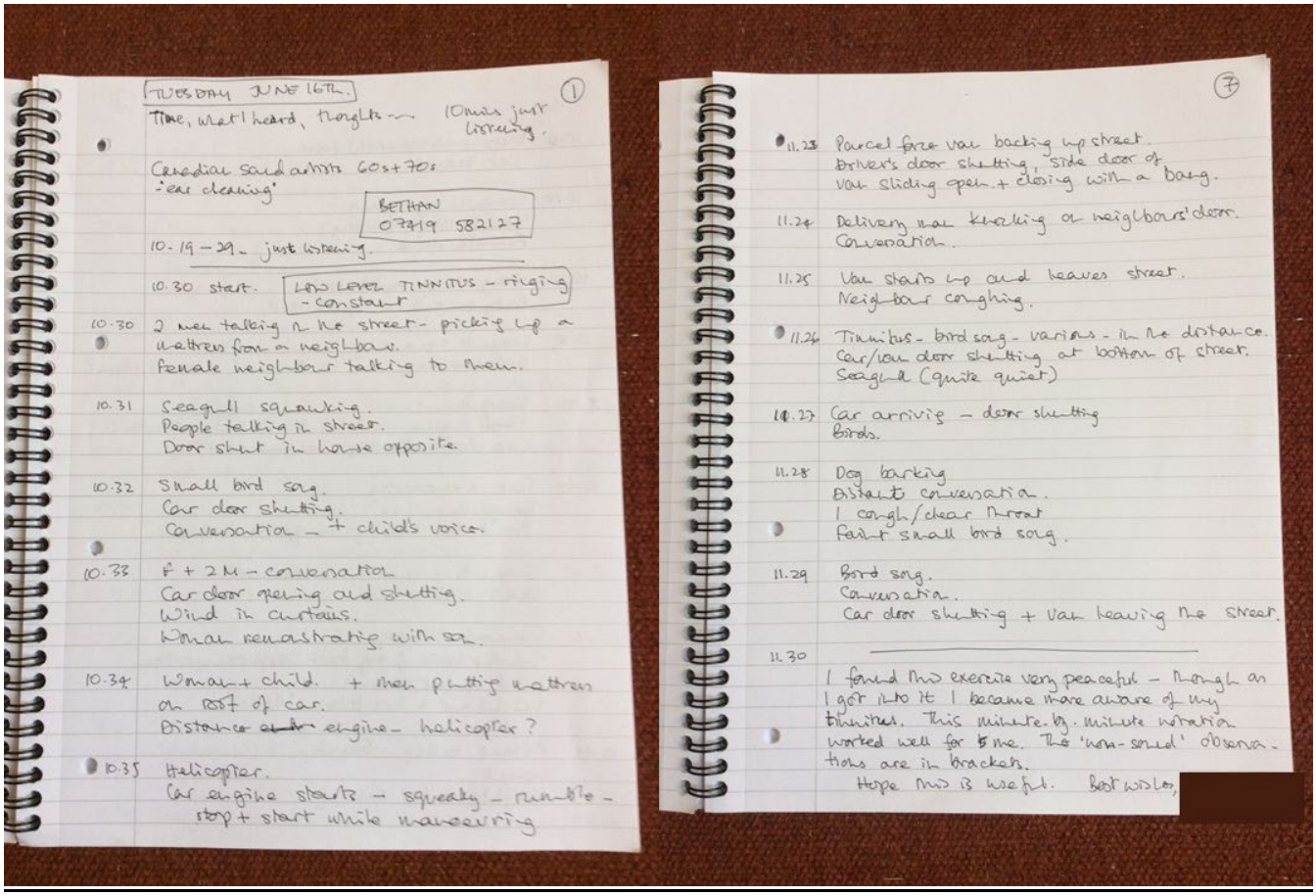
Table 3.3: Reference list of participants and research activities

#	Name	Site	Listening walk	Listening-at-home	Interview	Option
1	Jane	Brighton	LW01		FUI01	A
2	Myrtle	St Leonards	LW02		FUI02	A+B
3	Rafael	Worthing	LW03		FUI03	A
4	Llew	Brighton		LH04	FUI04	B
5	Tim	Brighton	LW05		FUI05	A
6	Mary-Jane	Brighton		LH06	FUI06	B
7	Grumpy	Worthing		LH07	FUI07	B
8	Joan	Brighton	LW08		FUI08	B
9	Georgia	Worthing	LW09		FUI09	A
10	Desdemona	Worthing	LW10		FUI10	A
11	Dr X	Worthing	LW11		FUI11	B
12	Jordan	Worthing	LW12		FUI12	B
13	Shirley	St Leonards	LW13		FUI13	B
14	Bennie	Worthing	LW14		FUI14	A
15	Virginia	St Leonards	LW15		FUI15	B
16	Chloe	Worthing	LW16		FUI16	B
17	Logan	St Leonards	LW17		FUI17	B
18	Barney	Brighton	LW18		FUI18	A
19	Polly	St Leonards	LW19		FUI19	B
20	Eric	St Leonards	LW20		FUI20	B
21	Raymond	Brighton	LW21		FUI21	B
22	Thorin	St Leonards	LW22		FUI22	A

Participants chose the listening-at-home option for different reasons and there was a variety of ways they chose to capture their experiences. Two chose this option specifically because of the pandemic risks. One person, Mary-Jane, was cautious of being outdoors in

June 2020 due to their age. Mary-Jane listened for ten minutes silently, and then took notes for an hour afterwards, making a record of what they could hear every minute in one spot next to a window. As shown in Figure 3.7, this 'minute by minute notation' thereby created a set of sound minutes, giving an insight into the micro everyday activity on the participant's street but also raised issues over the impact of hearing impairments (which will be discussed later). Another participant, Grumpy, was isolating with their partner who had Covid-19 at the time. Grumpy listened for 10 minutes on their roof terrace and then took three photos and wrote a page of notes. The third listening-at-home participant, Llew, felt the listening walk might be challenging in their wheelchair. He listened for 10 minutes at the front and the back of their flat, making brief notes afterwards.

Figure 3.7: Mary-Jane's photos of sound minute-taking (Brighton, Listening-at-Home[5] 06, Photos 01 & 07)



[5] Listening-at-Home activities will herein be referred to as LH plus the participant number

The in-depth material generated by listening-at-home demonstrates that this Covid-adaptation is methodologically effective and can be used for other research situations. Combined with the listening walk method, a wealth of material was generated through listening: 10 commented walk audio recordings, 17 participant recorded audio recordings, 235 participant photos, 53 participant video recordings, 22 pages of drawings and 5 pages of notes. This presented a methodological challenge to develop a creative analysis approach and generate knowledge about urban seaside gentrification. This is the topic of Chapters 4 and 5 that build the argument for a *listening-with* conceptualisation. Before I develop these ideas, the next section draws on both the literatures reviewed, the piloting and my experience of carrying out this method with 22 participants to reflect on the ethical considerations of the methodology.

3.6 Sound ethics and positionality

> Sounds provide a means for spaces, people, and objects to resound and articulate that the impossibility of closing an earlid is a possibility for more socially just, ecological methodologies. (Daza & Gershon, 2015:639)

There are scholarly assertions made about the qualities of sound and listening as a tool for 'more socially just, ecological methodologies', as expressed by Daza and Gershon (ibid). This raises the question of whether there can be something inherently ethical or good in using sound or listening methods. I have made the "ethico" dimensions guiding my methodological journey prominent from the start and continue to thread these through the project. As a musician and researcher coming to sound studies, I was enthralled by the potential of listening. However, as will be discussed, carrying out listening activities empirically has challenged some of my underlying assumptions and brought me to critiques of the universalising tendencies in sound methods (Robinson, 2020; Chaves & Aragão, 2021). This section dedicates discussion to the ethical considerations of the method of listening. I start to draw on the pluralising approaches to listening reviewed in Chapter 2 and think about positionality in relation to the research. I raise notable aspects that will be developed further in my conceptualisation of *listening-with*, within which positionality becomes significant listening.

Engaged scholarship holds the idea of directed or targeted listening as a way of bringing about change and transformative outcomes through research (Barinaga & Parkers, 2013). Certainly, acoustic ecologies and soundscape scholars created soundwalking practices through a desire to develop 'sonological competences' as a democratic endeavour to bring about improved acoustic environments (Schafer, 1994; Westerkamp, 2017). The work of Oliveros (2005) on deep listening develops this thinking into the therapeutic realm and asserts the wellbeing benefits of developing a regular listening practice. Thus, there are many claims in the literature about the unique ways listening and sound methods have qualities that can be used for social justice endeavours. My researcher positionality drew me to this potential of listening and sound methods, which resonated through the pilots and in many ways has played out in the empirical study. I therefore discuss positionality before considering notable ethical considerations.

Positionality

Given the political orientation I have declared towards knowledge production, it is important to acknowledge and make explicit my own positionality within the research. The concept of positionality draws a line from feminist scholarship through a decolonial lens gathering around knowledge democracy endeavours. As Haraway (1988:587) states:

> Positioning implies responsibility for our enabling practices. It follows that politics and ethics ground struggles for and contests over what may count as rational knowledge. That is, admitted or not, politics and ethics ground struggles over knowledge projects in the exact, natural, social, and human sciences.

Positioning connects to Ahmed's (2006:19) concept of orientation, which allows us 'to expose how life gets directed in some ways rather than others'. It also aligns with a belief in relational ontologies, such as detailed by the call from Tynan (2020:1) to 'live relationality with research'. This chimes with a feminist 'ethics of care' approach, which I am oriented by in consideration of research ethics (Conradson, 2003; Lawson, 2007; Milligan et al., 2007; Barnes, et al., 2015)

In trying to understand my own researcher positionality, it is possible to list off the social identities I subscribe to in a similar way to collating participant demographics; I identify as cis-gendered, white, middle class, pansexual, able-bodied, English-speaking woman. These

create my intersectional experiences of privilege and discrimination, which shape the ways I have come to be a postgraduate researcher and the ways I relate to the research. Early on in my studies these social group identifications and experiences oriented me towards feminism, and more recently have led me to assert trans-inclusive feminism. Working in the community/voluntary sector, and specifically in Black-led organisations, I learnt to challenge my whiteness, leading me to anti-colonial scholarship. Significant in this research, these identity characteristics and experiences also shape my listening practices, which will be interrogated in more detail in Chapter 4. For example, through my aural typical hearing I assumed in the design stages that residents with any hearing impairments would not want to take part in the listening activities, which was immediately challenged by two aurally-diverse participants taking part. My initial phonocentric assumption created an unnecessary exclusion, however, through carrying out this research, I have learnt to challenge and pluralise dominant ways of listening (Haualand, 2008).

My positionality encompasses the different roles and experiences that influence my ethico-onto-epistemological orientations towards this research topic. As a Brighton resident, I am entangled with the urban seaside. With time previously spent living in one of the neighbourhood sites twelve years ago, I am a co-inhabitant and neighbour of my participants. As a musician, I have already developed a set of listening skills and relationship to sound that orients me in a particular way. As a community practitioner, I bring a commitment to social justice and community engagement. As a social scientist, I have further drawn these aspects of myself together in developing my sonic competence and investigating how this can be shared with others to produce knowledge. As a doctoral researcher in the pandemic, these roles, sense of identity and experiences have helped me to be responsive and resilient. For example, I believe that spending time silently listening in my own neighbourhood and guiding others through deep listening exercises has increased my wellbeing and therefore emboldened my positive appraisal of the method. For these reasons, I endeavour to make my positionality noisy within appropriate times of the research process whilst also trying to keep open and person-centred towards my participants.

Ethical considerations

In ethically appraising the method, I have been continually struck by the variety of experiences it engenders and in particular the benefits of silent listening. These understandings are based on three years of supporting people with listening activities, including the 22 urban seaside participants as well as the 38 pilot participants. Starting with the pilots, informal discussions with the pilot participants and the Sounds to Keep formal evaluation indicate that walkers engaged with different aspects of soundwalking, which was underpinned by a mix of different interests and expectations. Across all the pilots, participants fed back how they were able to notice new things and be surprised by what they heard:

> Really interesting to 'tune in' to sounds and the sense of sound in my local area. Made me hear it in new ways. (Pilot participant quotes in Prosser, 2019:27)

Being 'situated' and 'mobile' (Berhendt, 2018:252), participants expressed how the walk had helped them get to know a new place or a familiar place in a different way. Many expressed their enjoyment of taking part in something unusual and out of the ordinary.

Curiosity became a theme in the Sounds to Keep delivery, with an emphasis on sparking creative and playful exploration of places through listening and sound interactions (Prosser, 2019:22). The Sounds to Keep evaluation thematically grouped positive feedback into comments specifying the walk/route, sound/sensory experience, heritage/topic and other wellbeing benefits (Prosser, 2019: 15-17). These wellbeing benefits resound with soundwalk scholars such as Westerkamp (2017) and Oliveros (2005) who have promoted the health and psychological benefits of this practice. For example, participants commented on how they found it 'meditative', 'grounding and relaxing' (Prosser, 2019:15). Similar comments have continued through into the study with urban seaside participants, who have often commented after the deep listening exercise how it felt mindful or reminded them of therapeutic or wellbeing activities. One participant in particular, Jordan (LW12, Worthing), described how she had been guided through a similar exercise during a cognitive-behavioural therapy course that required her to focus on different sounds whilst listening to a soundtrack.

Overall, there is a huge variety in the ways in which participants engaged with listening, the importance of which I discuss in more detail in the next chapter. For some, listening became quite a powerful experience, which brings distinct ethical considerations for this methodology. For example, Rafael (LW03, Worthing) found the listening walk so intense at one point that he described bursting into singing to release the tension. He attributed this to not being accustomed to walking around the neighbourhood without music or his dog and the cumulative effects of concentrating on the acoustic environment. When asked further about this in the follow up interview, Rafael explained:

> I think I did need maybe half an hour afterwards to kind of re-centre myself. Erm, I did go and sit and do some mindfulness and er think about where I was. Er cos you, er, it was such a genuinely intense experience, but it never felt dangerous or felt like it was damaging. (Rafael, Follow Up Interview[6] 03, Worthing)

This experience demonstrates the ethical challenges presented by carrying out research from afar and asking participants to undertake activities on their own. Although there are benefits to researcher-absent creative time spent by participants (Mannay, 2016), the researcher has no way of addressing any harmful or challenging incidents in the moment that might occur during that part of the activity.

A risk assessment was carried out prior to data collection to mitigate these challenges as part of the University of Brighton Tier 1 research ethics approval process. This included reminding participants to take care of hazards, being contactable during the activity, making clear the option of pausing or stopping if anything arose, and making sure all participants checked in after the activity. Across all 22 listening activities undertaken, there were no major incidents that occurred though there were two minor incidents worth raising. One participant, Myrtle (LW02, St Leonards), witnessed a minor traffic incident with a neighbour and had to pause the walk whilst assisting. Interestingly, Myrtle described choosing her route to avoid bumping into and having to engage with neighbours, but nevertheless was drawn into this incident. Another participant in Worthing, Bennie (LW14), noted being wolf-whistled at by someone in a car, which disturbed their listening experience. This prompted discussion in the interview about safety and the experiences of being an Asian woman in the

[6] Follow Up Interviews will be referred to herein by FUI plus the participant number

neighbourhood. This links to Warren's (2017; 2021) argument that mobile methods need to be tailored sensitively and take account of the gendered and racialised geographies of in/exclusion in urban public space.

It is therefore crucial to be responsive to each participant and activity, drawing on reflexivity and continual negotiation of ethical dimensions as they unfold during the research process (Leaney, 2016:72-81). Aligning with a participatory ethos, I tried to take a position of learning from my participants as they used this method to explore their neighbourhoods. For example, it was through the notes about tinnitus made by Mary-Jane (LH06, Brighton), as shown in Figure 3.7, that I delved into Deaf studies' critiques of sound methods (Friedner & Helmreich, 2012; Harold, 2013;). As noted, I had not previously anticipated people with hearing impairments actively getting in contact to take part in the research. My hearing and able-bodied assumptions were heightened by not physically meeting my participants and relying on telephone or online modes of communication. Through listening attentively and with care to each participant's experience, I learnt to challenge these assumptions. I learnt to explicitly ask each participant if there was anything I should know about listening or walking that might negatively impact their experience or any adjustments I should make to the activities.

In this way, I was able to have open conversations with both participants who use mobility aids about which options would work best. One participant, Llew (LH04, Brighton) chose the listening-at-home activity and opted for audio notes, as their Multiple Sclerosis condition made writing notes or taking photos difficult. Logan (LW17, St Leonards) opted for using his mobility scooter to undertake a listening walk (option B), but fed-back that it was challenging to manage equipment for recording alongside negotiating inaccessible streets. He explained the route he took was dictated by the inaccessibility of some of the surrounding streets and also took one moving audio recording along the promenade to capture the sounds of his mobility scooter.

The differentiated experiences of the method are important for reviewing the potential exclusions of this method and better understand future applications and adjustments. A final consideration for this Covid-restricted method is digital exclusions. As already discussed, an in-depth review was undertaken of the technological options which tried to mitigate against these exclusions. My approach placed the burden of time and equipment

on the researcher away from the participant. I developed a hardware set-up that allowed me to audio record most online communication software so that I was not reliant on that software's recording functions and could adapt to what participants wanted to use (see Figure 3.3 and Appendix D). Therefore, the minimum equipment participants needed to take part was a telephone. A participant could conduct all the activities using a landline phone if they opted for Listening-at-Home option A and adaptations could have been made to make the Listening Walk option A work in a similar way. There were only two participants who opted to communicate solely via phone, but both used their own equipment to make recordings of their experience (a camera and a smartphone).

It has been important to discuss ethical considerations and researcher positionality in detail, as part of the methodological contribution of this project. The differentiated participant experiences of this method touched on in this discussion are significant and form part of my conceptualisation of listening. In the final part of the chapter, I move from discussion focused on listening as a method in the form of listening walks and listening-at-home, to look at how listening is embedded in the rest of the research process.

3.7 Sonic elicitation, analysis and writing

This last section will outline the final ways that listening is threaded through the research process as part of the socio-sonic-mobile methodology. I advocate re-listening or listening-back to enhance analysis, interpretation and dissemination practices. I briefly discuss ways that this can be done before demonstrating some techniques in the rest of the thesis. In designing the Covid-adapted methodology I felt a pull to re-listen and potentially re-walk participants' routes in sites and hoped I would be able to return to face-to-face research during the doctoral project. I was attempting to go back to my initially intended 'emplaced ethnographer' and situated researcher role (Pink, 2011). However, there was no methodological reason for this to occur and it became clear that the material generated was sufficient and Covid-restrictions would continue into 2021. Nevertheless, when these lifted, I took the opportunity to re-visit the sites and in Worthing experimented with walking whilst listening to two participants recordings. I reflect on this as part of my analysis in the next chapter and interrogating place-based research practices and assumptions.

Listening for analysis

The temporal quality of sound is commonly noted by sound and multisensory approaches (Pink, 2009; Drever, 2013; Behrendt, 2018), which can help transport a listener back to a particular moment, triggering memories. Attentive listening practices can therefore be enlisted to enhance analysis, such as drawing on the notion of "listening-in-search" developed by Truax (2001). Daza and Gershon (2013:641) propose the concept of 'resonance' as a way of thinking about this process:

> If everything resonates theoretically and literally, then sound methodologies can function like an omnidirectional microphone, acquiring the mess is-ness of the everyday that carries within braided signals of values, ideals and processes.

Resonance is a useful conceptual apparatus to help think about my approach to data analysis, especially thinking about themes and patterns across the listening-generated material.

A range of audio material is generated through the method and listening-back plays an important role in all stages of analysis, which I wish to make explicit within my methodology. This audio material includes moving soundscapes, participants' audio and audio-visual recordings, commented listening walk and interview audio recordings. Listening-back to this mix of researcher and participant captured material aided the initial analysis in preparation for the elicitation interviews as well as my more in-depth final analysis. Although laid out as a distinct phase in the research plan, in practice the stages of data collection and data analysis cannot be separated. Listening-back for analysis purposes begins during the research activities with participants, in particular with the preparation for the elicitation interview. I also listened-back with participants during the interview to prompt reflections and support some co-analysis of their listening experiences. Sound and listening are consequently part of the process of going back and forth between theory and the empirical. Drawing on ideas of emplacement and acoustic ecology, listening can be positioned as the mediating element in the complex ecology of research (Truax, 2001; Pink, 2011).

Listening-back necessitates phonographic methods. Gallagher and Prior (2014:269) argue that audio media can play a valuable role in geographical research by providing insights into

audible features. They helpfully conceptualise phonographic methods in terms of its purpose: for capture and reproduction; as representation; and for performance (ibid). The use of audio recordings in the analysis phase of the research is mainly about capture and playback in order to place the listener (the researcher and/or participant) in a particular scene (ibid:275). Although Gallagher and Prior (ibid) claim that fidelity and accuracy is crucial in this type of phonography, it is of less concern within this practice of exploratory listening. Listening-back therefore becomes a familiarisation tool, helping to cultivate the 'emplaced ethnographer' after time spent not *in situ* (Pink, 2009).

However, this method has also generated a range of textual and visual material alongside the listening capture, which created a challenge for analysis. I discuss my analysis strategy in more detail in the next chapter as part of making an argument for epistemic role of listening and my *listening-with* conceptualisation. This includes creating a layered soundmapping technique that interplays with thematic analysis of the follow up interview transcripts. Listening therefore starts to permeate from analysis techniques into dissemination, particularly apparent in the upcoming Sonic Interlude.

Listening as dissemination

The final research phase includes writing and dissemination, within which sound can also be embedded. Drawing on sounded anthropology, sonic ethnography and other multisensory approaches, audio material can be used to enhance the written form (Feld & Brenneis, 2004; Pink, 2009; Gershon, 2013,). Incorporating audio into academic outputs can be approached in different ways, adding into the usual text-based thesis format as well as opening-up other dissemination possibilities that may reach a wider non-academic audience. In its simplest form, audio clips can be inserted as reference material into the text similar to a photo or diagram, as I make use of in subsequent chapters. Deciding what materials are included requires editing and curating, and the researcher's role therefore needs to be made explicit. The choice of where to cut the start and end of the audio material makes this potentially more pronounced than inserting photo material.

Lastly, there are a range of existing examples of how sound can figure in research dissemination that I draw inspiration from. Feld (Feld and Brenneis, 2004) has led the way with collaborative creative outputs from sounded anthropology that have popular appeal,

such as the film Voices of the Rainforest (1983) and album Voices in the Forest (1991). Other less famous examples include sound installations in arts spaces or educational spaces (Gershon, 2013) or placed-based installations (Butler, 2006) that make use of the audio and other material to communicate findings or provocations to their audience. Soundwalks can also be used as a method to disseminate as well as generate research data, making use of the technology available. Miller's project *Linked* used transmitters on lampposts on the borders of a controversial motorway to broadcast testimonies from people who had been displaced by the development (Butler, 2006:895). Current technological developments aid such mobile storytelling, with various platforms that provide easy access to create soundwalks guided by mobile phone apps using GIS tracking. In a more static format, the Sounds to Keep project was able use make use of digital tools by creating a three-minute digital story as a way of communicating about the pilot to others (Prosser, 2019). This made use of audio, visual and audio-visual material collected during the project with narration from the partners. Consequently, there are myriad possibilities to make use of the creative tools being used in this socio-sonic-mobile methodology.

3.8 Concluding remarks

This chapter has made a case for my socio-sonic-mobile methodology, detailing its orientations and inspirations as well as offering up the methods, tools and techniques used. Whilst advocating for listening as a method, I have delved into the challenges, ethical considerations and potential exclusions. By sharing this methodological journey, I build the foundations for the next chapters that argue for a conceptualisation of listening and how this generates distinct knowledge about urban seaside gentrification. The methodological and epistemic role and potential of listening has been discussed, with opportunities for dissemination and contributions beyond this thesis. Through Chapter 3, 4 and 5, I therefore address how I meet my first objective, to create a listening approach that methodologically and conceptually reinvigorates understandings of residential experiences of gentrification and displacement injustices.

Having provided in-depth discussion of listening, I now invite the reader to listen. The Sonic Interlude offers a sound piece I created titled *Unintentiona*l *Ex Situ Listening*. A transcript

and description of the audio is included in Appendix G. This sound collage uses audio recordings that can be considered behind-the-scenes material. Samples have been clipped from audio recordings which do not make up the core research "data" analysed in the project, but are still part of the field recordings and research experience. I therefore intend to spark the readers' own sonic imagination and bring alive the methodological discussion from this chapter.

SONIC INTERLUDE

Unintentional Ex Situ Listening

I invite the reader to listen to this sound collage (5:16 mins) by clicking the play button below. A transcript with a description of the audio is provided in Appendix G.

Alternatively, the piece can be listened to through this link: https://soundcloud.com/user-334536613/ex-situ-listening

CHAPTER 4: Listening-with residents during the pandemic

4.1 Introduction

> Starting to become aware of the sounds around you: what can you hear?
> (Deep listening exercise clip, *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening,* 2020)

A central argument in this thesis is that listening can reframe understandings of urban seaside gentrification and its injustices. In the previous chapter, I started to open up the epistemic potential of listening, outlining the socio-sonic-mobile methodology developed to generate knowledge. This chapter further develops the methodological contribution, which includes offering up a set of resources for listening-based research. The sonic interlude provides a sound piece, *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening*, created to bring this methodology alive. It sonically explores the methodological journey of conducting place-based research remotely and digitally, which has engendered particular research practices. The piece is therefore intended to spark the reader's own sonic imagination as we move from methodology into findings. In this chapter, I use this sonic spark to dive into the listening findings. Putting these empirical findings into dialogue with the theoretical, I start to build a conception of listening that centres the unique dynamics created by researching in a pandemic. This culminates in the next chapter, which focuses more specifically on gentrification.

Early on in piloting soundwalks pre-pandemic, I identified the key challenge of connecting listening methods to the topic of gentrification, born out in my reflective notes:

> Difficult – stuttered, awkward, can't do it at the same time as walking, needs rehearsing and time. (Pilot#1 reflective notes, 2019)

Through creative and reflective practice, I have overcome these difficulties and transformed this challenge into a new understanding of how carrying out listening activities can generate distinct knowledge about residential experiences of gentrification and displacement. It is only through undertaking listening activities with participants that I have been able to grapple with what listening is and can be. I compose this understanding into the concept of *listening-with*. An abductive, 'defining in the doing' (Balloch et al., 2007:21) process drawn

from a participatory orientation to knowledge production has enabled me to develop its conceptualisation. By *listening-with* residents during the pandemic, I orient myself within existing theorisations. Driven by a participatory ethos, I have remained open, person-centred and supportive to a range of participant listening experiences and practices. Inspired by anti-colonial and diversifying approaches within sound and mobile methods, I have critically interrogated the significance of this plurality within the listening-generated material. I draw specifically from Robinson's (2020) powerful concept of critical listening positionality, which helps provide a way of making sense of this multifarious material. I open up the idea of plural listening positionalities in developing the conceptualisation of *listening-with* across this chapter and the next.

In this chapter, I focus on the dynamics of listening during the pandemic to argue for this conceptualisation of *listening-with*. I summarise what carrying out research *during the pandemic* encompasses for this research project. I use creative reflective analysis to explore how the pandemic research conditions have disrupted and brought about new awareness of research practices. Critically reflecting on *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening*, three narratives emerged through the process of creating this piece: the research, methods and research practice journeys. These sonic narratives highlight the participatory dynamics of this listening method fostered by the unique technological configuration of pandemic-induced remote research. I play with the continuum of *in situ* and *ex situ* in these narratives and use pluralising approaches and critical listening positionality to interrogate the entanglement of researcher and participant listening positionalities. I argue that, when applied to a research context, it is through making a commitment to a participatory ethos that critical listening positionality and the potential to listen otherwise becomes possible (Robinson, 2020). Therefore, this chapter proposes that *listening-with* can be viewed as a form of participatory listening research. *Listening-with* works towards answering my first research question to explain how listening generates multiple layers of meaning that fix our attention on distinct knowledge about urban seaside gentrification.

4.2 The pandemic times

It is crucial to recognise and interrogate the impact of the pandemic on all aspects of this research project. This section will briefly summarise these impacts to set the context before I delve into more detailed discussion of how these affect listening and the way listening produces knowledge in this pandemic research. The outbreak of Covid-19 has created unique and unanticipated conditions, dynamics and configurations for carrying out doctoral research, both in terms of the topic and the methodology. As an ongoing pandemic, many of these dynamics cannot yet be understood. However, as touched on in previous chapters, the pandemic offers an opportunity to think anew about gentrification, the urban seaside and listening. Carrying out research at the start of the pandemic in 2020 evoked immediate questions about gentrification: What impact will lockdowns have on this wave of gentrification? Are we about to move into a recession and how will this impact on gentrification? Does the pandemic act as a wave breaker or are we still in a fifth wave of gentrification? So far, as I write this thesis, a recession has not hit but we still face heightened uncertainty and insecurity with a new war in Europe and 'cost of living crisis' in the UK. As highlighted in Chapter 2, the pandemic reverberations are also felt within understandings of the urban seaside, producing re-configurations of existing media and policy narratives of health, wellbeing, tourism and regeneration. This includes ideas ranging from "pandemic tourism" through to the seaside as a resource or place of safety during a pandemic (Bland, 2021; Chapman, 2021).

Crucially, the pandemic disruptions are important when thinking about listening. Methodologically, I have already outlined the adaptations and adjustments I had to undertake in order to carry out research during the pandemic. However, this chapter grapples further with how these restricted research conditions affect what listening can tell us about urban seaside gentrification. The vernacular time-space of "the pandemic times" encompasses a distinct epoch but also a collective perception (Bryant & Knight, 2019:2). This collective perception includes sensory heightening that is connected to the restricted mobility enforced during different national lockdowns during 2020 (McCann & Tullett, 2021). Methodologically this can aid the facilitation of residents' engagement with the research activities and continue in the tradition of sensory place-based research (Pink, 2009; Thibaud, 2011; Murray & Järviluoma 2019). However, "the pandemic times" bring specific

dynamics to such research practices that are significant. This includes changing soundscapes, sound behaviours and perceptions of sounds, which raises questions about how sonic aspects of gentrification and displacement are shifting. What displacements and replacements occur during and after lockdowns and how does this shift our understandings of gentrification? “Lockdown listening”, which will be explored in Chapter 6, is one way that these disrupted listening experiences can be understood.

A noteworthy dynamic of the pandemic research context, amplified by the Sonic Interlude, is the idea of a researcher and participants being situated or *in situ*. Ethnographic orthodoxies place importance on immersive and authentic researcher experiences and positionings (Hammersley, 1992). These can thread into sensory place-based methodologies and assumptions underpinning soundwalk practices. As seen in Behrendt’s (2018:252) assertion that overall soundwalks constitute a ‘spatio-temporal, embodied, situated, multi-sensory and mobile practice’. When used to generate, for example, knowledge through ethnography or art practice through field recordings, there is often a focus on sensing the environment through the researcher/practitioner being physically *in situ*. This relates to wider onto-epistemological underpinnings for place-based sensory research; such as discussed by Pink (2011) when exploring notions of embodiment and emplacement within a theory of place:

> Thus, we might start thinking of the body as part of a total environment, and recognise that the body provides us not simply with embodied knowing and skills that we use to act on or in that environment, but that the body itself is simultaneously physically transformed as part of this process. (Pink 2011: 347)

Within Pink’s approach, multi-sensoriality is integral to both taking part in research and a researcher’s craft, including the idea of the emplaced researcher (Pink 2009; 2011; Lacey et al. 2019). Soundwalks within arts-based practice similarly place an emphasis on what can be generated through bodily sensations (Westerkamp, 2002; Mohr 2007; Brown 2017). Anderson and Rennie (2016) purposefully create narrated audio recordings to make explicit the presence of the recordist. Their view of field recordings as ‘subjective, expressive, meaningful and personal to the recordist’ (Anderson & Rennie 2016: 222) chime with Pink’s (2009:2) idea of the emplaced ethnographer.

Given this focus on being physically situated as a researcher/practitioner within soundwalk literatures, how can we make sense of listening-based research forced to be undertaken remotely? I have used soundwalk practices but supported them from afar, using new configurations of technology to connect with people and places separate from my own researcher location. These specific research conditions challenge the notion of "fieldwork" and position the researcher and participant differently from where they were originally intended to be. There are many examples in creative and participatory approaches of researchers removing themselves from the research activities. The absence of the researcher is used as a way for participants to have more control, power and/or creative time away from the researcher (Pauwels, 2010; Mannay, 2016). This includes photo voice (Wang, 2006), participatory video (Butcher & Dickens, 2016) and participatory mapping projects (Herlihy and Knapp, 2003). Many mobile methods make use of the increasing availability of mobile technologies to also support participants to capture research material on their own and away from the researcher (Fincham et al., 2010). The idea of being *in situ* in these research contexts shifts away from researchers or participants being physically present with each other or the places being researched. This reveals a continuum of *in/ex situ* possibilities.

However, in these research designs, the researcher and participants are where they were originally *intended* to be. In contrast, my listening methods were carried out online or via telephone technology due to external and unplanned restrictions. As an *unintentional* remote researcher, this created for me a feeling of being "out of place" or in a differently absented place. I therefore play with this feeling of being in an extreme *ex situ* position through the title of the sound piece, *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening*. This unintended *ex situ* researcher positionality and the *in/ex situ* continuum possibilities have so far been relatively absent in existing discussion within place-based sensory methods literatures. The pandemic disruption therefore opens up these methodological and conceptual discussions.

These researcher and participant positionings are important in thinking about what listening can tell us, encompassing unconventional *in/ex situ* dynamics and technological configurations. My conception of listening therefore centres these specific pandemic features and conditions. Sensory heightening is part of the pandemic research journey of this project. The technological configuration of the method is uniquely applied to

researching during the pandemic. Particular research practices and dynamics have emerged in response, with corresponding listening practices and experiences for both myself as researcher and for participants. To explore this research assemblage, I created the *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening* sound piece, prompted by a methodological commitment to making listening explicit throughout the research process. In the next section, I use critical reflections to analyse *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening* as a way into these practices and dynamics, leading into discussion about listening positionalities which underpins my conceptualisation of *listening-with*.

4.3 Creative reflections: Unintentional Ex Situ Listening

Through the process of creating *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening,* I was able to critically reflect on my methodology and how to conceive of the listening practices it has engendered. I started by sampling behind-the-scenes audio material[7] that I felt was significant to the method experience. This included sounds and content that frequently repeated or those that prompted curiosity or an emotional response. These samples might not otherwise have been considered part of the core research "data" to be analysed in the project. As I played with these samples, I realised that the most meaningful way to compile and share them for the purposes of this project was through the structure of the method sequence. Drawing on Anderson and Rennie's (2016) idea of field recordings being self-reflexive narratives, the piece is created as a linear narrative. I purposefully made use of my researcher voice to guide the listener through this narrative. In this way the flowchart visualisation in Figure 3.2 (Chapter 3) was used as a score, which the piece aims to bring alive, sharing the researcher experience of researching remotely during a pandemic.

Listening with the accompanying score[8] (Figure 3.2), there are two main parts used to depict methodological progression. Part 1 (00:00 – 01:52) is the deep listening exercise and commented listening walk option A. Part 2 (01:53 – 05:16) is the follow up interview. There is a clear difference in the amount of space given to the of these parts in Figure 3.2 as a visualisation, and the amount of time given in the piece as an "audiolisation". Five boxes

[7] Sample of participants' voices have been pitch-changed to protect their anonymity.
[8] See Appendix G for transcript and description of the sound piece as well.

(Figure 3.2) were required to adequately depict all the different elements of the listening activities and only one box to communicate the well-known interview method. Yet when explored using a self-reflexive narrative approach to field recordings (Anderson & Rennie, 2016), Part 1 takes only 1.5 minutes to illustrate the limited involvement of the researcher in these activities and also the intensity of experiencing listening walks remotely. It was through creating this piece that I was able to sonically explore the research practices, including the distinct *in/ex situ* dynamics, that have emerged for researching place during a pandemic. The sound collage therefore can be considered an "audiolisation" or "sonification" of the research practices. Three narratives emerged for me during this making: the research journey, the methods journey and the research practice journey. I will summarise these journeys to pull out the key reflective findings.

The research journey

The progression from Part 1 into Part 2 represents the research journey that many researchers will recognise, from the planned research design into messy data collection. This beginning sequence illustrates my researcher experience of moving from the controlled research design stage through anticipation to immediate stumbles and exasperation with the technology not working and/or participants' different uses of it. The invitation 'to close your eyes' (00:00-00.08) is sampled from a pre-recorded deep listening exercise made for a pilot workshop, in which the tone is calm, measured and deliberate. We hear a change in background atmosphere for the next question, which is sampled from a listening walk recording made before a Brighton resident took to the streets to silently listen on their own. From my voice recorded using a typical researcher's piece of equipment, an audio recorder (Zoom H2n), we shift to a voice recorded using the same recorder but this time connected to headphones, a multi-track recorder (Zoom R16), two laptops (mine and the participant's) and Zoom software. The introduction of this technology is made clearly audible as we next hear the beginning Skype calling tone (00:26), which is followed by a series of different dialling tones and a phone interference sound.

In this sampled instance, the failed Skype call made through the laptop was to a participant in St Leonards who resorted to phoning me on my mobile due to software issues. This broke us out of my carefully arranged and intended set up. Part 1 continues with this feeling, progressing through another jauntier Skype tone into a chorus of hellos. An upbeat tempo

moves us through these greetings, my prompting questions and a roar of distorted participant observations, before an abrupt quiet and tentative goodbye. Listening to this first part, the listener is made aware sonically of the raw, messy form that data presents itself. The careful research design is disrupted by the unplanned and unintentional as the methods are operationalised.

Part 2, in contrast, moves into a calmer atmosphere where my researcher voice is more present and the tone of interactions friendlier and relaxed. It starts with the now familiar Skype-calling tone (01:53-01:58), but the sounds of technology are less explicit throughout. The technology is made audible mainly through my own voice: narrating sharing the screen (02:10-02:20), leaving the call open during the break (02:27-02:30) and mentioning screen fatigue (04:32-04:35). During the break section (02:28-04:30), we hear the sounds of more familiar research technology, that of shuffling paper and scribbling pen. These sounds illustrate the progression through the research stages of organising material and starting to make sense of it. These sounds in this way "audiolise" the initial analysis box in Figure 3.2 as I circle important pieces of data that I wish to ask the participant about and analyse in more detail.

We can therefore see the progression through these two parts as illustrative of the research journey. What can this research journey help us understand about listening during the pandemic and knowledge production? The entanglement of technology and the researcher's *unintentional ex situ* position has led to artefacts of the research journey that we may not otherwise have had. Conducted in person, the research would have captured greetings, my guiding narration and, if captured during a walking interview, the environmental distortion sounds. It is less likely to have captured the behind-the-scenes material, such as the technology fails or the scribbling of notes. But more importantly, a focus on these "non-research sounds" and the heavyweight role played by the technology because of the pandemic brings particular research practices into earshot. The pandemic conditions disrupt conventional ways of researching place and create new awareness, in the same way that 'defamiliarisation' techniques are used in creative methods to generate knowledge (Mannay, 2016). The unfamiliar position of researching from afar offers a listening perspective that is different from conventional place-based research. This unusual positioning forces a rethink of the role of the researcher, the relationship with the

neighbourhoods and people being researched and underlying assumptions of sensory place-based methods. These methods will be reflected on in the next identifiable journey of *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening.*

The methods journey

Methodologically, the progression through Parts 1 and 2 depicts the movement from participatory listening to more conventional interview tools. The technological stumbles and chaotic distortion "sonify" how the process is less under my control as a researcher during the listening activities. I am led by the participants in their choice of activities, where they listen, the routes they take, what they decide to capture and what technology they chose. The participant takes up the position of being situated in the place being researched and the technology enables this place to be extended out and connected to my distant location. The participant is therefore physically exposed to the environmental conditions of that place, moving outside through their neighbourhood. Due to the project focusing on urban seaside gentrification, this frequently involved participants walking by the sea, on the beach and encountering high winds. These conditions can be heard in the quite painful distortion (01:15-01:46) which makes for uncomfortable listening.

As a researcher, listening through my headphones to participants walking in their neighbourhoods felt intense, which this distortion represents. There were many aspects to this listening experience that were out of my control including the nature of the soundscapes walked through and the behaviour of the technology. The distortion clips are sampled from a listening walk in Worthing on a very windy day. However, on a similarly windy day along the same strip of beach, another participant sounded clear and undistorted. Listening-back, there is an intermingling of different types of roars and rushing sounds surrounding the participant's voice. To my ears, I can make out the sound-sources of waves and wind but also something computer-generated and machine-like. The technology is also making itself heard. In amongst all of this, listening-back makes me remember how I pushed my headphones into my ears and closed my eyes to try and make out what the participant was saying. This "unintentional ex situ listening" experience was sensorially intense and remains vivid.

Part 1 helps us therefore explore the power and control dynamics of being a researcher utilising participatory methods. The pandemic adaptations made my methods more participatory. I was made to be more reliant on residents being situated in their neighbourhoods because I could not be. Often when participants pointed out a sound, asking hopefully, 'Can you hear that?', the technology did not allow me to hear that sound-source. This made the elicitation element of the method even more crucial to generating knowledge about experiences of urban seaside gentrification. Moving into Part 2, we can hear the elicitation and interviewing techniques. This includes my commentary on asking more questions about 'living by the sea and some more about the sounds and changes in the area' (04:39-04:47) and the sharing of a video as a reminder (04:50-04:52). The technology used for online interviewing effectively enabled this elicitation. Less frantic than in Part 1, the different parts of the interview are made clear in my narration. I lead and decide on the questions and structure, taking more control as the researcher within the interview process.

The break part of the interview would usually be viewed as unremarkable in an interview schedule. However, it is a significant section in this sound collage, lasting two minutes (02:28-04:30). The samples that are layered in this section could be considered "non-research sounds" as the recorder was left on out of convenience rather than with any recording intention. Yet these two minutes of layered break samples can help us think about being *ex situ* as a researcher. The "field" is extended by the technology, which raises interesting questions about what constitutes place methodologically and conceptually. During Part 1, the combination of environmental conditions and technology behaviour created distortion, resulting in an intense sensory researcher experience. During Part 2, this takes on a different dynamic, which is represented by the break. After the first door sound, we hear the 'Coo-uu' of one participant's wife calling to them followed by other domestic sounds from both the participants' homes and my own. We hear doors opening and closing, which makes prominent the sense of being in private indoor spaces. We also hear the sounds of children's TV, revealing family homes, as well as the intimate close slurping sound of drinking. This section therefore makes audible the ways our domestic spaces are connected and intermingled through the technology.

This break section also points to a researcher "out of place", unconventionally carrying out interviews in their own home. The use of a researcher's private space would usually raise ethical concerns pre-pandemic. Yet enforced working from home has disrupted our customary understanding of research settings and our corresponding research practices. Sonically exploring this method journey through *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening* therefore brings out the spatial aspects of carrying out remote research and the participatory aspects necessitated. It challenges underlying assumptions of what the "field" is in research and how the researcher and participants are positioned in relation to each other and the place being researched. This opportunity to think anew about research practices, roles and relationships have been created by the unexpected and uncertainty of the pandemic. Next, I will delve further into these pandemic-impacted research practices by looking at the third journey identifiable in the sound piece.

The research practice journey

In this final identified journey, I reflect on the research practices that have emerged in response to the pandemic whilst facilitating this specific method. As discussed, Part 1 is intended to feel more intense, messy and chaotic. This reflects the experimental feeling with which these methods were first undertaken. Just as the pandemic and first lockdown hit the UK, I was due to begin recruitment for group in-person soundwalks. Without knowing how long the restrictions and pandemic would last, the digital pivot was intended as a stop-gap. Viewed as temporary, these adaptive methods were undertaken with the awareness that they might fail. However, as we settled into the daily rhythms of living with Covid-19, it became apparent that these tentative experiments would need to constitute all of my fieldwork.

In Part 1, we hear the phrase 'Can you hear me?' repeated twice (00:56 and 01:20). This phrase has become a common trope in our everyday pandemic lives as many people moved to meeting through online platforms such as Zoom and Teams. The tone, taken when sharing a screen and asking what the other person can see (02:10-02:19), are phrases that became more commonplace as we increasingly used this technology. Consequently, the sound collage moves from the tentative into repeatable phrases to reflect how my research practice moved from experimental to rehearsed procedure. When listening-back to the audio recordings and deciding what to sample, it became apparent that there were

frequently repeated sounds. The different software dial tones became increasingly familiar. The phrases I used to guide participants also became more consistent. Even considering the unexpected nature of data collection, repeating the method 22 times created a particular way of doing things. Consequently, changes to my research practice were unavoidable.

At a basic level, I gained more competence with the technology, which is depicted in the decrease in explicit sounds of technology in the sound collage. We are more likely to hear the sounds of technology and notice technology when it is not working for us, as expressed in the frustrated sigh in Part 1. In this respect, I became more entangled with the technology, more accustomed to wearing headphones and pressing the right buttons whilst talking. It started to become less noticeable, perhaps like a Dictaphone in a conventional face-to-face interview, or a pen when writing ethnographically. Something shifted, from the disrupted unfamiliar to the mundane and everyday. The technology worked to facilitate the process in effective ways. For example, being able to share a map to plot the participant's listening walk route and sharing media that they had captured as a recollection tool.

As my research practice developed, I became more comfortable and crucially more able to develop good relationships with my participants despite the physical distance. Participants themselves became more comfortable with the technology as the months passed from July to November 2020. In my initial technology review (see Appendix D), I prioritised participants using software they already had and envisaged using a number of different platforms. But Zoom became the dominant software that most people recruited were already using. Interestingly, this was not differentiated by age as might have been assumed pre-pandemic (Seifert et al. 2018; Matthews et al. 2019).

As we reach the end of the sound collage, we hear my commentary on 'technology is a funny thing' followed by laughter and warm goodbyes (04:56-05:16). This "sonifies" the connection I was able to make with participants, which was facilitated by the method. Participants were given a degree of power and control over the listening activities, positioning them as experts of their neighbourhoods. Often participants readily took on the role of tour guides or journalistic reporters, whilst I eagerly took on the role of a restricted researcher hungry for information about the places they knew so well. By the time we met online or on telephone for the interview, there was therefore a more relaxed tone to proceedings.

Consequently, underpinning these dynamics is the importance of a participatory approach, which I was able to apply to this listening method. To some extent, my research practice developed through letting go of control to my participants, necessitated through trying to research places remotely during a pandemic. However, it still reflects the importance of sensory methods being situated. I placed continued importance on this *in situ* privileged position that residents could take, whilst I was forced to stay static by my laptop. This raises interesting questions about why researchers conventionally want to be *in situ* and use their own physically close senses. It indicates how researchers privilege being physically and sensorially close to the phenomenon or site as a valued position of knowledge when researching place. There is an underlying assumption in these research practices that knowledge production requires an element of being close to or having proximity. Participatory methodologies often relinquish the need for the researcher themselves to take up this position (Beebejaun, 2014). In this project, the democratising principles within such approaches have aided the ability to carry out research and produce knowledge in restricted pandemic conditions.

Overall, the narratives that have emerged within the *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening* piece have enabled me to explore the *in/ex situ* dynamics, researcher/participant relationships and the role of technology in this research assemblage. As researcher I have felt forced into an unintended and extreme *ex situ* researcher positionality. But crucially this raises questions over the power dynamics within the research, which relate to values and debates within participatory approaches. To develop this discussion further, I will now further interrogate listening positionalities and engage with the concept of critical listening positionality developed by Robinson (2020).

4.4 Critical listening positionalities

Playing with the dynamics of *in*/*ex situ* in the sound collage has amplified the different researcher and participant positionings within the research. As discussed in the previous chapter, positionality is a well-rehearsed academic concept making the explicit the researcher in the research process and advocating for reflexivity (Etherington, 2004).

Robinson (2020:10) powerfully applies these ideas to listening through the concept of critical listening positionality:

> Like positionality itself, engaging with critical listening positionality involves self-reflexive questioning of how race, class, gender, sexuality, ability, and cultural background intersect and influence the way we are able to hear sound, music, and the world around us.

My conceptualisation of *listening-with* makes use of this processual concept that allows for a continuum of listening practices. Creating and reflecting on *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening* is part of my engagement with critical listening positionality. But my researcher listening positionality needs to be put into dialogue and interrogated in relation to the participants' listening positionalities.

Reflecting on the pandemic research conditions and their implications on listening in this project has made me rethink research practices and roles. These considerations raise questions over dominant and normative "academic listening" practices. The relationship between the researcher and participants' listenings cannot be simplified into *ex* vs. *in situ* listening positionalities. Robinson's (2020:2-3) critical listening positionality makes us attentive to the ways our individual and collective experiences, backgrounds and ways of being in the world influence how we listen. In this section, I therefore interrogate the overarching listening positionalities of researcher and participant specific to the pandemic context in this project. This leads into discussion in the final section about the plural listening positionalities and how this constitutes the *listening-with* conceptualisation.

Researcher listening positionality

I first look at my own researcher listening positionality as a way into this entanglement. In the previous methodology chapter, I started to outline my positionality, as a way of exposing 'how life gets directed in some ways rather than others' (Ahmed, 2006:19). I listed my identity categories as a way of laying bare the intersections of privilege and discrimination that influence my way of relating to the research. But it is important to reflect on the aspects most salient to this research that intersect and influence the way I am able to hear sounds and the world around me (Robinson, 2020:10). My listening

positionality is moulded through the specific conditions of being a doctoral researcher, with experience of urban seaside gentrification and musicianship, embarking on fieldwork during the breakout of a global pandemic.

I already identified myself as a co-resident of the urban seaside. When I first moved to Brighton in 2006, I lived in a shared rental flat in Kemptown for two years, therefore previously inhabiting one of the neighbourhoods I have been researching. Continuing to live in Brighton as a renter has looked increasingly uncertain for me during the PhD, whilst I struggle with its unaffordability. I have frequently questioned my part in the problem of gentrification, moving originally to the city as a student. In this respect, I take seriously the dilemmas and responsibilities faced by urban researchers identified by Marcuse (2016) as a set of personal and professional ethics particular to researching gentrification where one lives. My musician experience and skills also heavily shape my listening abilities, for which I might be considered a sensory elite holding a degree of sonic competence in acoustic ecology terms (Chaves & Aragão, 2021).

Creating and analysing the *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening* piece was one way to engage with critical listening positionality. The narratives identified in the piece point to a degree of defamiliarisation created by the pandemic disruption that has allowed for a renewed look at research methods and practices. My pandemic-adapted methodology therefore creates the opportunity to interrogate what a "researcher listening positionality" might encompass. Critical listening positionality challenges normative and unmarked forms of listening privilege (Robinson, 2020:10). Thinking about normative forms that make up "researcher listening positionality" raises questions about what might constitute "academic listening". Robinson's term 'hungry listening' lays bare the potential hunger of academia, which is uncomfortable to grapple with in a doctoral project about listening (Couture et al., 2020:11). As noted by Randolph Jordan (ibid):

> We in academia are locked in a race to stake our territorial claims, our quest for proof of originality the substance of our mimetic rivalry: to coin a term, to claim our corner of the knowledge market, to make something useful for the knowledge production of others while requiring acknowledgement of our role in that production.

In grappling with what listening can tell us in this research, attempting Robinson's (2020) self-reflexive questioning on my own research listening positionality is an endeavour I consider vital.

To embark on this endeavour, and complementing *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening*, I now share reflections captured when I re-walked and re-listened to two different listening walk generated material in Worthing. The first (Listening Walk 03) involved listening back to the audio recording of the conversation between Rafael and myself as he walked his second lap of his circular commented walk. The second (Listening Walk 11) involved listening back to the audio recorded by Dr X as she walked back along her linear listening walk route. I tried to re-trace their steps in both, which was made easier in Listening Walk 03 because Rafael described each road he took. Dr X's recording mainly captured the acoustic environment with only a few parts of commentary, making it harder to re-trace exactly where this was recorded. Both elicited some "sound surprises", as shown in Box 4.1 and 4.2.

Box 4.1: Excerpts from audio note recorded just after re-walking and re-listening back to Rafael in Worthing (LW03) 14th October 2021

First time I've listened back as I've re-walked it. Really surprising and disorientating. So, it's amazing how quickly you're upon things as they mention something. The sense of the space, how everything connects and how it's just there. For me, as I've plotted them on the route on the map with people and then gone and done my layered mapping, they become like little separate entities that you focus on. But actually, when you're walking there you can see all these things. It's all there and you're upon them much quicker. They connect up, it's smaller, like the area covered is much smaller. Which is surprising.

Also, I guess wearing these headphones, they cut out all the noise. Cos it, I feel like I was floating through listening to what they were telling me, but, what I'm seeing doesn't connect, doesn't always connect up, in terms of e.g. the person doing the harp at the beach hut, the people there having the specific conversations overheard, the construction work. Even coming onto the main road, you have the pelican crossing, but it's not in use as I walk it.

Felt quite emotional seeing the big funny lamppost and then Pat Baring's blue plaque and plotting out like the nursery and the probation office. There was like this 'Oh, the thing'. These things have become so important, which is very, my emotional connection to them. They're significant landmarks to me. But everything, things look so different to how I imagined, even though I've looked on street view.

So, a lot of strange things walking around. Almost like a tour guide where you're walking around - as he talks about things:

'Oh, yea there's the probation office, oh there's the nursery, oh there's the lamppost, must have turned down here, oh he's just mentioned the Selden Road houses, he must have turned down here'.

And then, 'Oh he just must have turned down here'.

Like a little tour guide. A nice way to go back over things and absorb. But I'm not having any…it's almost complicating things by having me in it. I almost visualise everything through the maps. Like that's become what I see from hearing people. And the sounds people record or talk about. I have so much material with people talking about sounds sources rather than the sounds themselves. And it's so different putting yourself physically in the place.

Box 4.2: Excerpts of reflections written the next day: re-walking and re-listening back to clips recorded by Dr X in Worthing (LW11) 14th October 2021

Felt less disorientating walking along the beach on the shingle as I listened to Dr X's sea/beach-scape. I could feel the pebbles with her footsteps. The strength of wind and waves from her recording over-powering the calmer quieter sea today. It felt fitting with where I was, letting her seascape recording fill my ears as I crunch along next to the sea and look out. I was less worried about knowing if I was in the right place – how could I? Less markers and landmarks. Her recording is full of the sounds of the sea and wind. Her only words are about the emotional and sensory reactions she is having - the anger of the sea, sense of power and how she loves Worthing.

Is the seascape therefore a more distinct soundscape, a collection of sounds within parameters, an assemblage we can rely on and it fulfils our expectations? What does my own understanding of the beach and sea bring to this?

I wasn't looking out for landmarks on a guided tour. I wasn't looking out for what was or wasn't there. I was enjoying the sensation of feeling the stones and the wind and the effort of walking along the beach. I was enjoying the smell of the sea (thinking of Rafael commenting on this) and view of the waves and the big expanse stretching out to my left. And I was connecting to Dr X's emotional response to the experience - the awe captured by her recording.

Worthing beach feels the most 'natural' and immediate – it's right there, no cliff, no hills to get there, no big road. And my sense of that has come from participants' capturing of the seafront in their listening walks – Rafael's smell and waves as keynote sounds; Dr X's striking emotional response to the sea's roar; the distortion as Georgia tried to talk to me above the wind and waves. And I could feel that as I walked along the beach.

These reflections strikingly bring out the spatial and temporal qualities within my "researcher listening positionality". For the majority of the research activities, I have been positioned at my laptop, listening through headphones to residents in the fieldwork sites, which also points to the significant role of technology and tools I have employed that mediate my listening. This has created a 'sense of space' (Box 4.1) that, when physically in the fieldwork sites, becomes disorienting and at times disconnected. My understanding of each listening walk has become attached to the specific cartographic representations produced through the maps I have used for analysis, which create lines, cuts and snapshots

into the sites. Discomfort and disconnect surface when I try to connect these up by re-walking and re-listening the walks. This also points to being out of time and the temporal dimensions of listening through, with and back, creating a feeling of 'floating through listening' (Box 4.1). This engenders a complex and contradictory sensory experience. During the research listening activities, my sensorium mixes up my own environment with that stimulated by what I can hear from the participant's environment, creating a heightened and intense listening state. With that comes a heightened emotional response, made evident when re-listening and re-walking physically *in situ* when I come across places and sounds that have been made significant by the participant's experience and capture.

In the case of Rafael's listening walk, I felt excitement at discovering the material sites he had described. With Dr X, I took pleasure in the physical sensations of the beach which tuned me into the awe she had captured in her recordings. Her commentary is difficult to make out amongst the roar of wind and mingling of waves and pebble crunch, but she still conveys emotional intensity:

> I find it hard to talk about the sound -- [wind roar] -- cos its emotional. It's the sea, it's hard to grab hold of. I love this town, best thing I ever did was move here. The light, and the sea, and the sound of the sea. (Dr X, Listening Walk 11, audio 02)

It is at these times, when struggling to hear participants on their walk, that the technological aspects are made most apparent. The distortions, hums, computer notification pings, and calling tones are all non-research sounds compiled into *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening* that make the technological aspects of this listening entanglement audible.

What can these reflections tell us about my research listener positionality? Critical listening positionality is an ongoing and difficult process, which Robinson (2020) suggests can start with self-reflexive questioning but leaves open to individual practice. He wonders in his concluding remarks: 'Is it even possible to have one ear open to the unknown and another to one's positionality?' (2020:249). As a start, it is possible to locate my reflections within Robinson's existing discussion of settler listening positionality. Robinson (2020:2) describes one of its defining aspects as 'hungry listening', grown from historical Indigenous encounters with settlers as 'starving people' which referred to their bodily state and their

hunger for gold. Hungry listening continues in the content-locating practices that orient ears towards identifying standardised features and types (ibid:45). This harks back to listening typologies, touched on in Chapter 2, that construct a hierarchisation and potentially position me within 'higher listening' due to my music training (ibid).

In this project, the hunger is driven by the research itself, connecting to previously noted tensions within "academic listening" (Couture et al., 2020:11). My intense listening stems from a hunger for knowledge that is heightened by not being able to physically listen in my fieldwork sites during a pandemic. The capture asked of participants is a way of using residents' ears because I cannot use my own. This hunger is therefore relationally entangled with participants, who have embarked on their research activities with hungry ears. This hunger is determined by my research aims and academic institutions and structures I work within. But it is also driven by the particular motivations that each participant brings to taking part in the research. In their capture, each participant fixes our (mine and their) attention onto certain aspects, orientating our listening, which is influenced by their listening privileges, biases and abilities. Thus, in some ways the participatory aspects of the method transmit my academic hunger to participating residents. In Robinson's (2020:53) terms, it might also be said that I am a guest listener, invited into each resident's neighbourhood and guided by their listening positionality. These participatory dynamics therefore open up the possibility of bringing different listening positionalities together in interesting ways. It is hoped this application, outside of its originating purposes of reparative perception in the context of encounters between Indigenous sound performance and Western art music, offers generative and fruitful discussion.

Applying critical listening positionality to research practice offers another way to think about *listening-with* and furthermore more broadly reflects the influences of anti-colonial philosophy on this research (see Chapter 3). Drawing on Robinson's work on hunger and colonialism raises considerations over the colonising aspects of the topic being researched. Mehl (2020:66) points to the increasing interchangeable usage of the terms colonisation and gentrification, both used to denote 'processes whereby original members or participants in a culture face an influx of new arrivals'. This speaks to the social-spatial-mobility justice framework I have adopted to interrogate displacement injustices (Chapter 2), such as the

cultural imperialism face of oppression (Young, 1990), which I interrogate further in Chapter 8.

Participant listening positionality

The idea of a participant listening positionality needs to be analysed and interpreted in relation to my own researcher listening positionality, hence the reason for looking at this first. I cannot engage in critical listening positionality on a participant's behalf but critical listening positionality can still guide my way of listening to the material and approach to what listening-with residents can tell us. Here I therefore discuss some of the ways in which it is possible to think about the positionality of participants' listening, which will be developed further through this chapter and the next.

Each resident's social identity characteristics and cultural backgrounds form part of their listening positionality, which may encompass some non-normative listening practices. Critical listening positionality demands keeping attuned to filters of race, class, gender, sexuality and ability. As outlined in Chapter 3 (see Figures 3.5 and 3.6), participants self-identified social demographic categories at the time of the interview, which include their gender identities, age, ethnicity, sexuality and any disabilities. Cultural background aspects include type of housing, work status and living arrangements. The collated overview shows there was a range of social identity characteristics within the residents taking part and some are in minoritized positions within this group and in wider British society. However, it does not adequately address the complexities of intersecting identities and the way these 'influence the way we are able to hear' (Robinson, 2020:10). This requires more in-depth analysis work on each participant's listening-generated material.

Critical positionality keeps me open to learning about each participant's listening practices and experiences in the research. Participants in this study would fall into a category of 'non-accredited listeners' (Chaves and Aragão, 2021:191), and yet their deep reflections on their listening contradict the idea of required specialised ear training. *Listening-with* allows for an inclusive and person-centred approach to non-normative listening, as demonstrated in the cases of participants who experience hearing impairments. As noted in the methodology chapter, two participants would be considered aurally-diverse (Drever, 2019): Bennie with hearing loss in her left ear and Mary-Jane with tinnitus. These participants have helped me

recognise my own hearing citizen listening positionality and the hungry listening inherent to my academic ears (Haualand, 2008; Robinson, 2020).

In Mary-Jane's case, tinnitus is increasingly noted in her "sound minutes", yet she found the experience more enjoyable than expected and listened for longer despite this increase (FUI06). She downplays the impact of tinnitus on the listening-at-home activity in the interview. When asked about her experiences of tinnitus, Mary-Jane explains:

> If I'm in a group, I can't always hear what people are saying. Because they've got to penetrate the tinnitus and sometimes particularly the tone. There's a particular, there's something I do where there's a bell will ring at some point and I can't hear it. And I think it's just, you know, that tone that I can't hear. When I was at school, I remember there was a certain bell I never heard. (FUI06)

It might have been expected that silent listening would increase the tinnitus effects and make it an uncomfortable experience (Thompson & Hagood, 20210). However, Mary-Jane instead found this internalising aspect enjoyable:

> But, erm, it was that sort of, just being conscious of, of what's going on inside. That sort of, it was, I enjoyed it. It was quite, it was very pleasant and very peaceful. (FUI06)

In Bennie's case, she describes in the interview how her deafness did not affect her ability to take part in the listening walk. If I had not asked directly about hearing issues in the recruitment process, I am not sure she would have thought to volunteer this information. When asked about her experiences of deafness, she interestingly explains how it effects the way she visualises sound coming in, only on her right side. She further explains:

> If I hear something and I'm responding to it, I do tend to turn to the left more than I'll turn to the right, I guess. Um, but it doesn't, it doesn't stop me from hearing things or anything. Um, at least, you know, as far as I know it doesn't. Um, but yeah, I did think about that a little bit when I was on the walk. Um, but it didn't make me feel like I couldn't do it, or, or do you know, um, talk about it or anything. (FUI06)

A participatory ethos first guided my researcher practices to be open and person-centred to a variety of different listening experiences, demonstrated in these more explicit examples of

non-normative listening. Subsequently critical listening positionality and pluralising approaches in the methodology literature enhance our understanding of non-normative listening, which I endeavour to incorporate within my *listening-with* conceptualisation.

Understanding listening positionalities requires grappling with social aspects as well as the more embodied elements of listening privileges, biases and abilities (Robinson, 2020:10). One way is to interrogate the identity-building work being done by participants in their commentaries and reflections. Race, class, gender, ability and cultural background all influenced participants' reasons for taking part in the research and their hunger for listening in this project. When asked why they were taking part, some expressed an interest in the activity itself as something interesting in which to participate, especially in the beginning months when activities were restricted due to lockdown measures. For example, Georgia replied:

> I thought it was a bit of a challenge. I quite enjoy a challenge. The job I do at the minute is challenging me all the time. So erm, it's good for me. I find it very easy to settle into what I know. (Georgia, FUI09)

This kind of choice belies a degree of privilege in having the time, security and safety during the pandemic to be looking for something to different to take part in. Many were motivated by their investment in their town and neighbourhood, feeling that they had something worth sharing and/or attracted to activities related to their seaside home. As can be seen in Desdemona's response:

> Erm I'm quite invested in things that are to do with Worthing. Because I think Worthing's, erm, it doesn't get as much cultural attention as Brighton. (Desdemona, FUI10)

Some were also motivated by the topic itself, which drew together the phenomenon of gentrification and urban change within their seaside neighbourhood, like with Rafael:

> Er I was provoked by the word gentrification. And erm, I walk around Worthing quite a lot, and I do quite a lot of things in Worthing and I'm seeing it evolve in real-time. Not so much during Covid. But over the last 3 or 4 years… (Rafael, FUI03)

Participants' reasons for participating help us to understand the type of hunger that shapes their listening positionalites and reveals particular privileges, abilities and cultural experiences.

These different listening motivations bring together residents' relationships to their neighbourhoods, thoughts about change and continuity as well as other aspects of their identity. In Georgia's case, she makes reference to her job and a sense of herself as needing to keep pushing out of her comfort zone. Desdemona talks later in her interview about being an academic cultural historian and becoming 'a sort of Worthing ambassador' (FUI10). Her professional identity and pride of place therefore underlies her reasons for taking part and consequently shapes the way she listens: where she walks to listen, what she fixes our attention on and the reflections she shares. These responses to taking part can therefore be interrogated as part of participants' identity-building that help us understand their positioning, both their listening positioning and in relation to urban seaside gentrification and displacement injustices. These are complex and layered. As seen with Logan's response to the question:

> Several reasons. Erm, one is, as I said, I have been a researcher, so any research project is interesting to me from a selfish point of view, in that I like to know how people are approaching things, what methodology are they using…But also, I've lived here for, I've had a flat here for 15 years. I've lived here full time for between, well over five years. I really like it, it's really an interesting place and interesting place to do, various sociological studies. (Logan, FUI17)

Logan expresses continual pride and love for St Leonards throughout his listening walk material and the follow up interview. In the above quotation, he asserts how he listens with researcher and residential ears, bringing an academic and inhabitant way of knowing to the listening activity. He positions himself as spanning both researcher and researched identities that influence his listening positionality.

Listening positionalities therefore provide a way of bringing the social into dialogue with the sonic that is steered by my socio-sonic-mobile methodology. As a guiding practice, the adoption of critical listening positionality stems from my anti-colonial and feminist

orientations, and the theories of justice I draw on in my approach to displacement injustices. Critical listening positionality is about resisting the fixity of categorisations (Robinson, 2020:248), helping us remain open to what *listening-with* residents can tell us about gentrification. In the last section of the chapter, I will look at these listening positionalities as an entanglement together.

4.5 Listening-with: entangled listening positionalities

Overall, it is only possible to understand the listening positionalities in this research project in relation to each other. As Robinson (2020:248) states:

> There is a certain amount of stability in the expression and experience of positionality, but these are also provisional and shift depending on the who, what, and where of the situations we find ourselves in.

The two key overarching listening positionalities identified of "researcher" and "participant" include aspects that are unique to the pandemic-induced configuration in this project. These listening positionalities determine its findings, shaping what listening can tell us about urban seaside gentrification and displacement injustices. By engaging with critical listening positionality, it is possible to make the undertones of "hungry listening" more audible, which resonate out from dominant knowledge production systems and connect my researcher hunger through to participants. Understanding these dynamics is part of the theoretical orientations and commitments outlined in my methodology. In this last section, I use three brief examples from participants' listening walks to highlight how residential listening positionalities can be analysed to unpick their relationships to their neighbourhoods.

Listening-with furthermore generates multiple layers of meaning which is heightened when analysed across and within sites. Residential listening positionalities are viewed as entangled with the researcher's. This approach moves between scales, able to look in detail at normative and non-normative listening experiences as well as analyse how these layered meanings generate knowledge about the globalised phenomenon of gentrification, shown in the next chapter. My reflections in Box 4.2, which identify how listening-back feels like being

on ‘a little tour’, indicate one way the researcher and participant listening positionalities are entangled. The three following examples look at this aspect of why residents chose their routes and what they intended to share with me. These reveal certain participant positionings with their neighbourhoods, which shape their ways of listening in their neighbourhood, their residential listening positionalities.

Several of the walk recordings set up this relationship of myself as a tourist being guided around by the knowledgeable residents motivated by their various place investments. When asked about their choice of route, most participants explained this was in order to show me certain things in their neighbourhoods that they considered interesting and noteworthy. This included historical aspects, pleasing aesthetics, landmarks of wide appeal or personally significance, contrasting sounds or routes they frequented regularly. For example, Logan took pride in showing me hidden gems in St Leonards. This can be seen in the first audio and set of photos he stopped to take, examples of which are provided in Audio 4.1 and Figure 4.1.

Audio 4.1: Clip of Logan’s recording (St Leonards, LW17 audio 01, 0:24)[9]

[9] Alternatively, listen to this clip through the following link: https://soundcloud.com/user-334536613/clip-of-logans-recording-st-leonards-lw17-audio-01

Figure 4.1: Logan's photo of Mercatoria (St Leonards, LW17 photo 01)

Logan made the excursion into a small car park to capture the Mercatoria wall because 'it's a view that you won't actually see from the street obviously' (Logan, FUI17). He explained that he 'didn't want to go across the obvious places that people will see', choosing instead places that are 'local for local people if you don't know where it goes, you wouldn't know it' (Logan, FUI17). For Logan, this wall is significant as the original boundary between the upper-class houses (Burton St Leonards) and the working-class area (Mercatoria), as built by the Decimus family architects in the nineteenth century. Logan felt it important to show me the contrasts within a small area, taking in listening sites that many might miss but also drawing out historical significances:

> I mean, this is, this is my manor as you put it. I mean, there's, so it was skirting all of that. I mean I could have taken you to loads of places that are as interesting, as different and are changing all, all within that square. But I felt that that showed enough contrast, and similarity and one thing, perfectly obvious, but it's worth stating is this place was quite heavily bombed in the war. (Logan, FUI17)

His positioning in relation to the neighbourhood comes through strongly here, described as ‘my manor’, which shapes the way he listens, guides me through this listening and chooses to record it. Interestingly, when listening-back, it is the environmental sounds of gulls that is most striking which serves to sonically enliven Logan’s photographic documentation (Audio 4.1).

Although I felt a sense of being on a tour when re-listening to Rafael’s walking commentary, his choice of listening “score” was less explicitly about providing a tour than Logan’s. When Rafael was asked about his original choice of route, he explained:

> …my thinking behind it, where I originally walked, I think retrospectively was I wanted to walk erm, through green and through suburban. (Rafael, FUI03)

Rafael also wanted to take in ‘enough contrast’ (Logan, FUI17) of listening environments like Logan. But, for Rafael, this is described in terms of green and suburban. He also demonstrates a strong identification with his neighbourhood, and the town more broadly, stating early on in the interview that ‘I feel like I'm very Worthing’ (FUI03). I therefore felt like I was on a ‘little tour’ when listening-back because of the relationship set up by the method which positioned Rafael as an insider with knowledge that he was trying to share with me as an outsider to Worthing. This is reinforced when thinking about Rafael’s listening positionality, which is shaped by his particular relationship to the town. As he states, ‘Something about that feels very, Worthing feels very personal to me’ (FUI03).

In contrast, Dr X’s choice of capture creates a very different listening positioning. Dr X identifies herself as having a background in sound art, but having left that behind alongside the bustle of London life, she has started a new more peaceful life in Worthing stacking shelves in a shop (FUI11). There are ‘less markers and landmarks’ as well as less descriptive commentary in her recordings (Box 4.2 reflections). She brings in her knowledge of studying sound to capture her new found love of the seaside. Recording the layers of the sounds at the seafront, she adds in emotional vocal responses:

> Bye-bye sea, if only you weren't so angry, I could hear you. You can still hear it though. Oh, listen to the palms, the beautiful palm trees. I love that noise. (Dr X, LW11, audio 02)

Listening back to sections without voice over, you can make out the snap of Dr X's mobile taking photos alongside her own footsteps crunching on the pebbles:

Audio 4.2: Clip of Dr X's audio recording (Worthing, LW11 audio 01, 1:22)[10]

She chose not to share these photos, but these clicks clearly signal her presence and the act of recording within the seaside soundscape. Dr X does not take on such an overt tour guide role as Logan and Rafael, which is integral to the way she chooses to communicate her listening walk experience. When reflecting on her approach to recording, she ponders her minimal verbal commentary:

> I got very tongue tied as well. It was very strange. I, you know, I talk a lot, so I couldn't understand why I just, I just kind of shut down. It's very weird. (Dr X, FUI11)

This prompts her to reflect on her previous experiences of studying sound, where she had struggled to write about sound. She refers to a quote she previously heard that states 'the eye is all head and the ear is all heart' and goes onto note that to her sound is 'a very emotional, I think it's, it's quite a mysterious thing' (FUI11). Thus, Dr X's listening positionality is shaped by her previous academic listening experiences as well as her emotional relationship to sound, which is also echoed by her emotional relationship the seaside.

[10] Alternatively, listen to this clip through the following link: https://soundcloud.com/user-334536613/clip-of-dr-xs-audio-recording-worthing-lw11-audio-01

These three examples from listening walk material demonstrate the different ways each participant chose to carry out their listening, capture this and communicate it with me. Many of the participants showed a strong attachment to their neighbourhoods, though there were also a few with less attachment, as will be discussed in later chapters. Analysed through a listening positionalities approach, we can pay attention to different identity aspects that shape their listening experiences in this research. These interplay with residents' relationships to their neighbourhoods which help us understand their experiences of urban seaside gentrification and displacement. By detailing aspects of residential listening positionalities we may become clearer on what this may 'allow or foreclose' on (Robinson, 2020:60). For example, I have come to sense and feel that Worthing beach is 'the most "natural"' (Box 4.2) of the three fieldwork sites because of *listening-with* residents. The listening material within and across the sites therefore generates multiple layers of meaning that fixate knowledge about urban seaside gentrification. This is specific to the pandemic context and entanglement of these listening positionalities. When applied to the urban seaside, it also links into coastal liquidity, further helping us tune into the different ways the seaside becomes fixed or remains fluid.

A listening positionalities approach, which engages with critical listening positionality, is a way of trying to keep attuned to non-normative listening practices and experiences in the research. This approach attempts to not foreclose on ways of listening and what they may tell us, resisting fixity (Robinson, 2020:11-2). As asserted by Couture et al (2020:9), 'there is no essentialised listening'. The participatory dynamics within this methodology have supported this approach. By handing over a degree of power and control to residents, the research remains open to what listening can be and what can shape it. In this respect, I argue that a participatory ethos can support critical listening positionality when applied to research that uses listening to generate knowledge. I choose the term *listening-with* as a way of conceiving of listening in this research and a form of participatory listening research. As a different way of thinking about researcher insider/outsider positioning, I could be considered 'a guest listener' in the three neighbourhoods and residents' perceptual worlds (Robinson, 2020:53). This can be a respectful way to engage with the material generated, with the elicitation element an attempt to better understand residents' perspectives, positionings and ways of listening. This can also be extended to the reader, who is invited

into this entanglement and will bring their own listening positionality to what is presented in this thesis. I continue to build my argument for this conceptualisation of listening in the next chapter, which looks in detail at what *listening-with* residents *to* gentrification can tell us about urban seaside gentrification and displacement injustices.

4.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have elaborated on the *listening-with* methods and this entails and encompasses during the pandemic. The pandemic shapes this project and its findings in complex ways. The *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening* sound collage is offered as a sonic avenue into understanding these impacts. Critically reflecting on the research, methods and research practice journeys identified through both creating and listening back to this sound collage, I have explored the entanglement of technology and *in/ex situ* dynamics. The research journey suggests there are universal aspects to the researcher experience that persist in spite of the pandemic impact. However, my sense of being a researcher "out of place" created opportunities for reflecting anew on research practice. Reflections on the methods journey brings out the participatory dynamics of this method and the shifting control a researcher has over the unfolding research process. Being remote creates intense and potentially disorientating sensory researcher experiences whilst also creating new unconventional connections between researcher and participant domestic spaces. The research practice journey shows how this sonic exploration has allowed me to identify shifts in my research practice. As both participants and I became accustomed to the technology, my practice shifted from being experimental to rehearsed procedure. Identifying the significance of a participatory approach in all of these journeys opens up questions for place-based sensory methodologies. The pandemic has disrupted customary research practices for all researchers, regardless of their own positioning and created alternatives that may help us renew our research practices moving forwards.

Crucially these critical reflections have opened up how this pandemic listening method creates different listening positionalities in the research. I have focused in this chapter on two overarching listening positionalities, the researcher and participant, and engaged in critical listening positionality (Robinson, 2020). Though interrogating the entanglement of

these listening positionalities, I have started to develop the conceptualisation of *listening-with*, as a way of understanding what form can listening take and what it can generate. The participatory dynamics of my methodology have come to the fore in my analysis of the experiences using listening methods to research during the pandemic. I have drawn out the resonances between critical listening positionality (Robinson, 2020) and participatory approaches. Not foreclosing on what listening can be, it is possible to take account of and allow for a spectrum of listening practices and experiences, chiming with the democratising and person-centred approaches of participatory methods. Finding ways to name these different listening practices is important. As concluded by Wong, 'I don't think I can any longer write about "listening" without adjectives in front of the word' (in conversation with Robinson and Waterman, in Robinson, 2020:251). The plurality of sound material, listening experiences and practices generated in the research and what this tells us specifically about urban seaside gentrification will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: Listening-with residents to urban seaside gentrification

5.1 Introduction

> I wanted to ask you…a bit more about living by the seaside and some more around the sounds and changes in the area. (Interview clip, *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening,* 2020)

The concept of *listening-with* was introduced in the previous chapter as a way of reframing urban seaside gentrification and its displacement injustices. The multiple layers of meaning generated in the material have been conceived as an entanglement of listening positionalities, within which I have focused on the relationality of researcher and participant listening experiences. In this chapter, I strengthen the argument for *listening-with* by detailing how it can be applied to generate knowledge on 'living by the seaside…and changes in the area' (ibid). Specifically, I demonstrate how the multiple layers of meaning that constitute participants' experiences and understandings of urban seaside gentrification can be analysed and interpreted, thereby generating distinct knowledge about gentrification, displacement and its injustices.

As well as a participatory methodology, *listening-with* incorporates and contributes a creative listening analysis practice, generating a plurality of sound material, listening experiences and practices. A listening positionalities approach, engaging with critical listening positionality (Robinson, 2020), makes us recognise the significance of this plurality. There are increasing efforts to redress the universalising and potentially exclusionary tendencies within sound studies (Haualand, 2008; Bonenfant, 2010; Drever, 2019; Chaves & Aragão, 2021) and, as discussed in Chapter 2, "pluralising" is a useful umbrella term for these endeavours. To make sense of these plural listening positionalities, I use the idea of listening-captured material being self-reflexive narratives and documents of their makers (Anderson & Rennie, 2016). Analysed as self-reflexive narratives, the material can tell us how residents are experiencing their gentrifying neighbourhoods and crucially how they are making sense of these experiences themselves.

This chapter starts by discussing the plural sound material and outlines the layered soundmapping technique I have developed to tackle this rich multimodality. Within my

approach, sound is primarily analysed as a stimulus, therefore it is the range of responses triggered by residents' sonic encounters that is of interest. From this soundmapping, I have identified important sonic clusters resonating across this plurality. I secondly outline a four-fold typology of sound stimuli and map these onto listening practices and experiences: sound layers, sound surprises, sound sparks and sound stories. Through this discussion, I expand on the overarching researcher/participant listening positions to develop a plural listening positionalities approach that can be applied to understand residential experiences of gentrification. Finally, I pull together this creative listening analysis approach, that engages with critical listening positionality (Robinson, 2020) and the idea of listening recordings as self-reflexive narratives (Anderson & Rennie, 2016), in order to re-shape thinking on gentrification research (rather than sound art or listening practice). I expand and apply the conceptualisation of *listening-with* residents to the specificity of urban seaside gentrification experiences on the UK south coast.

5.2 Plural sound material: layered soundmapping

Listening-with residents has enabled plural sound material to be generated, which initially presented a challenge for this project. However, as this section outlines, I have developed a layered soundmapping technique that codes the multimodal material from both the listening activity and the follow up interview. This technique creates a way to analyse the multiple layers of meaning generated by each participants' listening experience as well as look across and between the urban seaside sites in order to contribute to research on gentrification. I explain this soundmapping and layering technique whilst raising the significance of the plurality of participants' listening experiences.

Each participant's unique research experience was amplified by the degree of choice made available to them (detailed in Chapter 3). Looking at the three listening-at-home activities, there is variety within the material they generated despite all choosing the option of recording their observations primarily through the medium of written or audio notes. Grumpy sent through a page of commentary and three photos taken from his roof terrace in East Worthing, starting rather prosaically with: 'Sitting listening intently to sounds that come and go – as well as some that stay' (LH07 participant notes).

In Brighton Kemptown, Llew made audio notes at two sittings, one at the front and one at the back of his flat (LH04). He decided that this was the most manageable form of recording because his medical condition made writing difficult in this set up. Also listening-at-home in Kemptown, Mary-Jane created written “sound minutes” (see Figure 3.7 in Chapter 3) which developed seemingly organically through the act of listening:

> I didn't, when I started I didn't intend to do it every minute. I was going to write the date, the time of when I heard a sound and I thought I might just do a line down for how long that sound continued or something. But it just happened. And it actually worked really well. It was really easy. (Mary-Jane, FUI06)

The different ways these three participants undertook this task speaks to the participatory ethos of the methodology but also to the experimental nature of making a Covid-induced pivot, which added static listening in response to lockdown restrictions.

The nineteen residents who chose the listening walk option also generated a large amount of different material (see Chapter 3). Even within the parameters of the listening walk options, the range of sounds participants chose to record and comment on is fascinating. Such multiplicity is applauded by sound scholars like Arkette (2004:167) who claims that ‘aural space 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’. Each resident participated in aural spaces that differed temporally and spatially from each other. Their listening took place at different times of day, between the changing seasons through July to November 2020, taking in several forms of lockdown restrictions from summer easing to winter circuit breakers (Brown & Kirk-Wade, 2021). Each route or place of listening was also spatially unique. Figures 5.1-3 show the residents’ walking routes layered together for each site:

Figure 5.1: Map of Brighton's walking routes

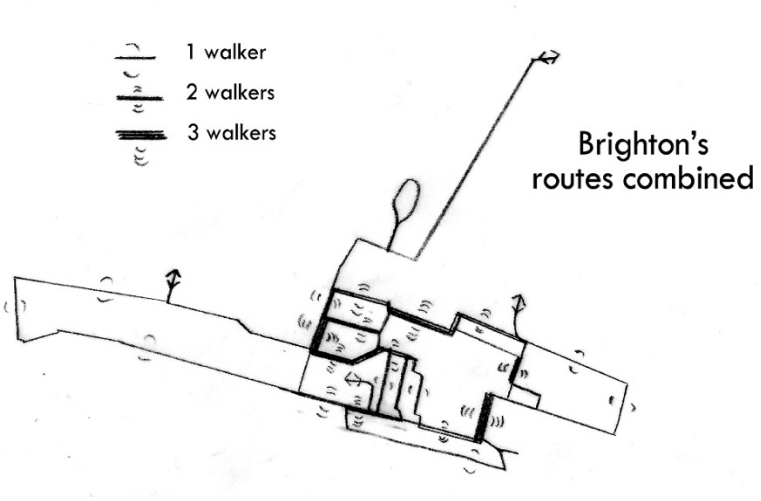


Figure 5.2 Map of St Leonard's walking routes

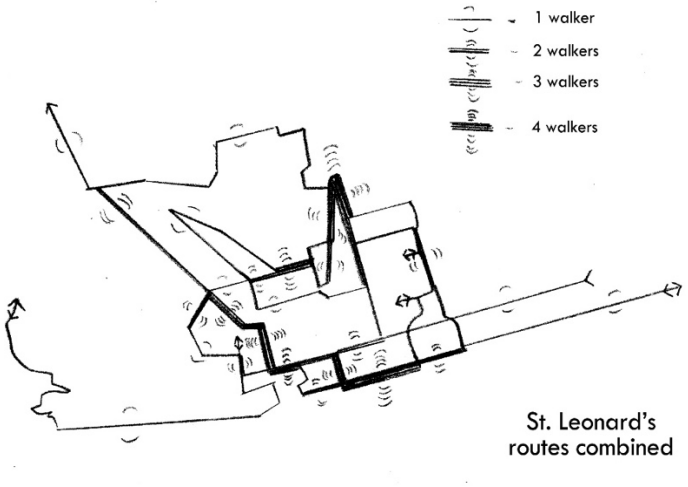
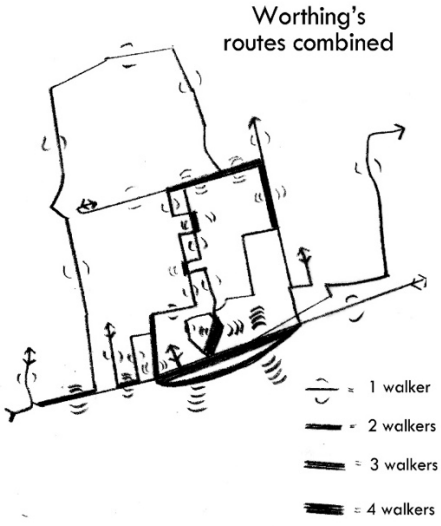


Figure 5.3: Map of Worthing's walking routes



These combined route maps have been abstracted from the cartographic street maps on which they were initially plotted to ensure anonymity of residents' home addresses. The maps show when walkers have overlapped with others through the thickness of lines and resonating symbols. Each site includes routes of up to seven walkers and show the variety of routes taken within a small area. The "noisiest" overlapping paths take in a maximum of four routes, so at no one point did all participants traverse the same path in their site.

Co-drawing the routes with each participant was an invaluable part of the follow-up interview. For most, this involved sharing the screen of a map and the participant giving me instructions to draw the route using the Digimap platform[11]. Whilst facilitating detailed discussion of the area, it also created an important listening artefact with analytical value. At a broad overview level, collated in ways such as these Figures 5.1-3, commonalities and differences between listening experiences are indicated across and within sites. Furthermore, using the co-produced route maps, it has been possible to plot the listening material for each participant's individual listening experience. I have created a layered soundmapping technique from these co-produced artefacts. For this layered soundmapping, I used layers of tracing paper to manually draw and notate sounds and sensations observed by the participant, by either listening back to their audio recorded descriptions or following the participant's own recordings. Below, Figure 5.4 shows the first and second layers and Figure 5.5 shows the first and third layers for Barney's listening walk in Brighton (LW18).

[11] Digimap Ordnance Survey Collection, https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/

Figure 5.4: Soundmap layers 01+ 02 (Barney, Brighton, LW18)

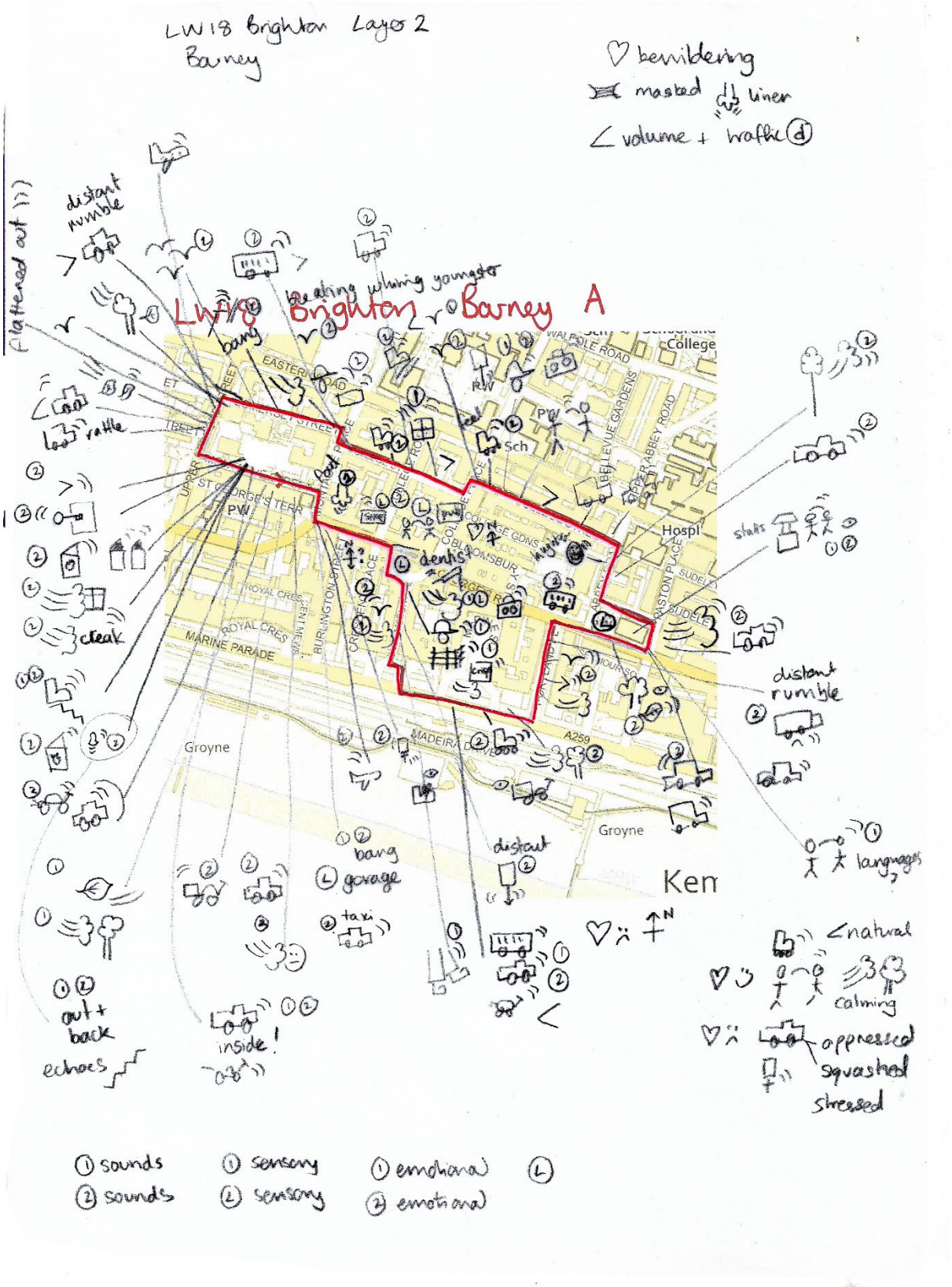
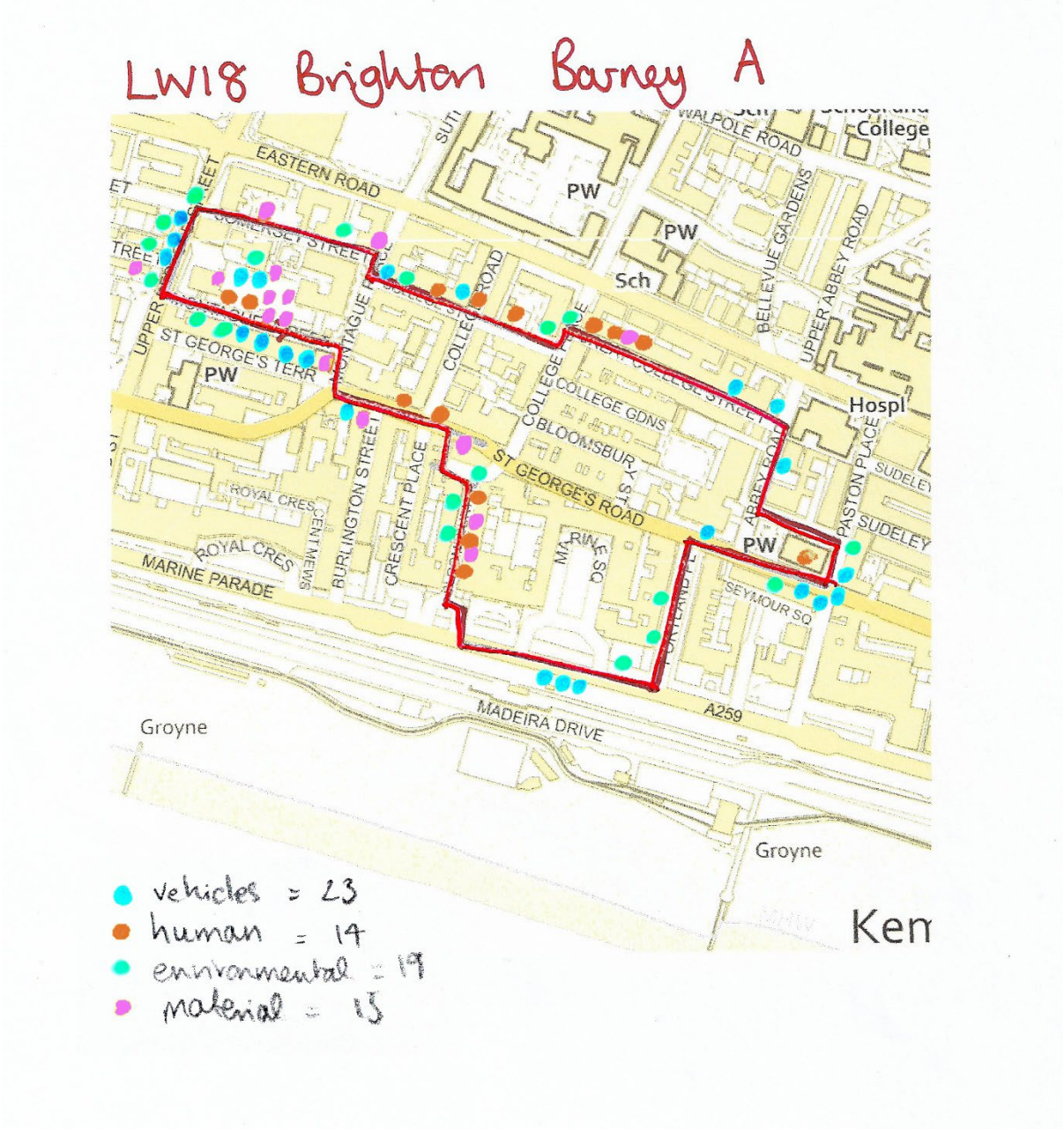


Figure 5.5: Soundmap layers 01+ 03 (Barney, Brighton, LW18)



The first layer of the co-drawn route map creates the foundation onto which subsequent layers of meaning can be added. The second layer (Figure 5.4) maps the material recorded whilst walking this route, using either the audio recording of the commented walk or participant's own recordings. This includes drawing symbols, writing key words and numbering recordings attached to particular sites. A third layer (Figure 5.5) is then made possible that colour codes the types of sounds sources identified with different colours of

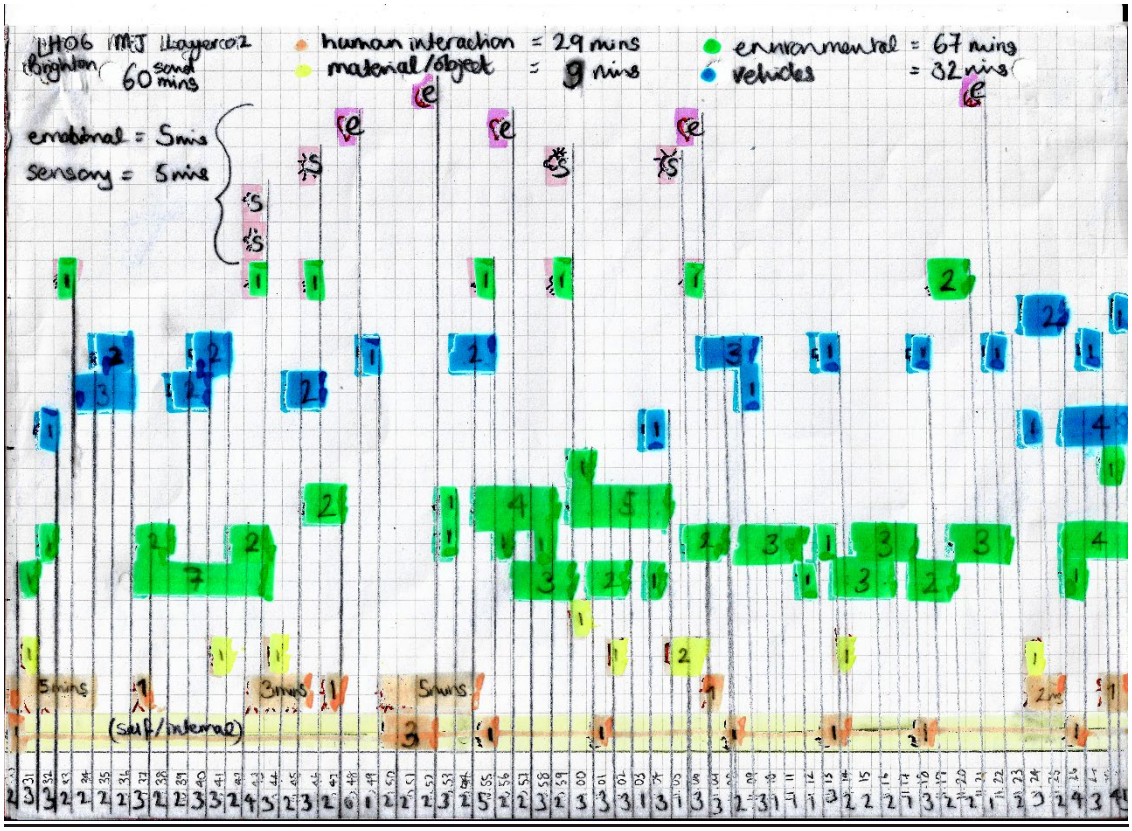
dots. I created this layered soundmap technique to be able to code the large amount of multimodal material generated in this research. The two main options (A and B) seemingly presented two different ways of recording listening observations and reflections and corresponding material. However, the differently captured material can be approached in the same way through this soundmapping technique. The second layer creates a way of spatially visualising and understanding the particular rhythms and experiences of each walk, highlighting striking events, incidents or landmarks.

For example, in Figure 5.4 it is possible to identify the prominence of traffic in Barney's listening walk and how this gets attached to certain emotional responses: 'oppressed', 'squashed', 'stressed'. Looking across different soundmaps, it is then possible to see certain commonalities and resonances, which include the prominence of traffic. In this way, the third layer allowed me to group the observed sound sources into colour coding, for example confirming the dominance of traffic. Four basic categories emerged: environmental/nature, vehicles/traffic, human interactions and material/objects. This way of demarcating between sound sources reflects participants' interview discussion; for example the sounds of the sea are pitted against the sounds of a car or the sounds of scaffolding poles are differentiated from the sounds of scaffolders calling out to each other.

Whilst the listening-at-home material did not lend itself to the same kind of mapping, other ways of layering sound material became possible. For Llew's and Grumpy's notes, a spatialised map still works as shown in Figure 5.6, where the noted sounds are represented around the house but not tagged to a specific site. Mary-Jane's "sound minutes" inspire a temporal rather than spatial representation in the form of a sound timeline, as shown in Figure 5.7. This timeline plots and layers the types of sounds, the number of minutes these were noted for, the number of different sounds noted for each minute and other sensations. The different kind of mapping required serves to bring to the fore the qualities of listening whilst on the move or staying still, which will be used in subsequent discussion about listening to im/mobilities and gentrification (see Chapter 7).

Figure 5.6: Soundmap layers 01-02 (Llew, Brighton, LH04)

Figure 5.7: Sound timeline layers 01-02 (Mary-Jane, Brighton, LH06)



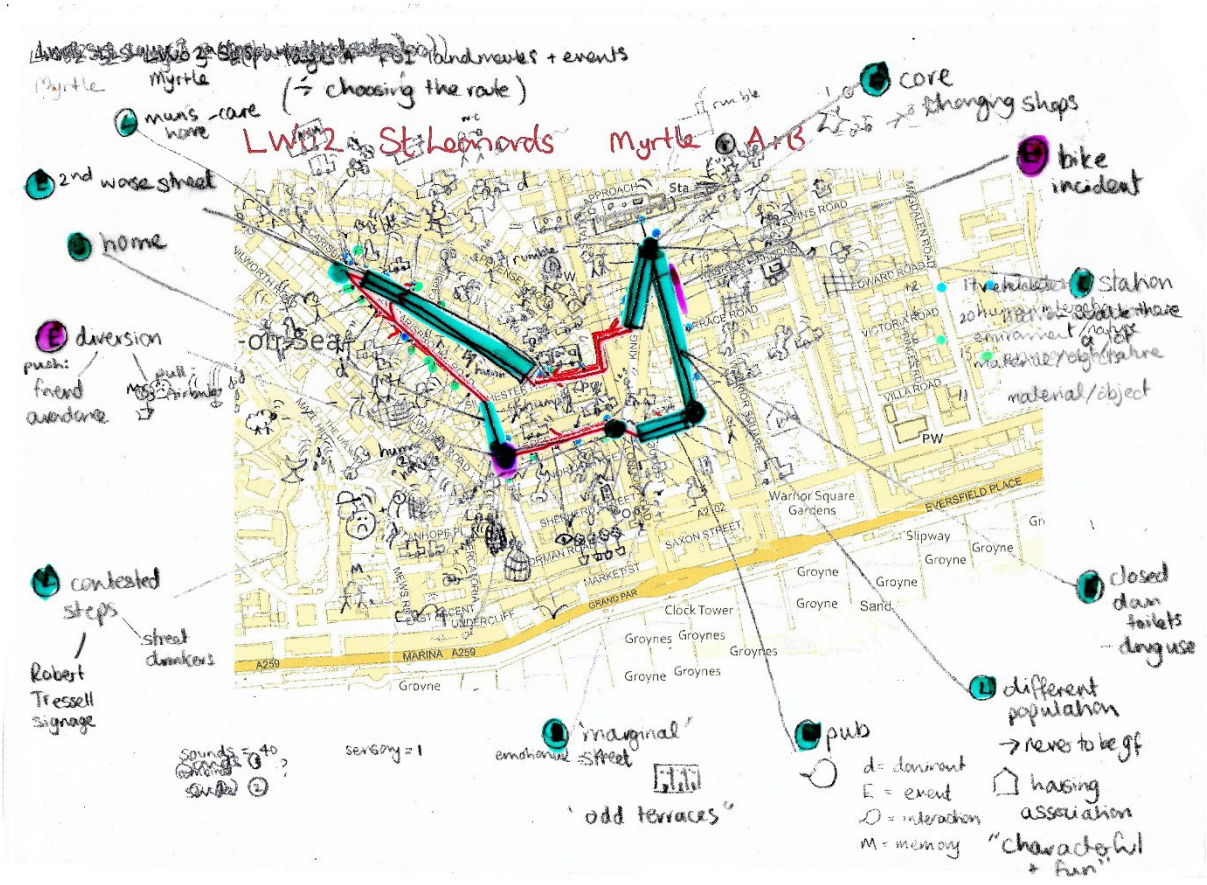
Using soundmapping techniques is more typical of sound audits within acoustic ecology, acoustic design and other similar disciplines that attempt to quantify and measure soundscapes and people's perceptions of them (Schafer, 1994; Carasco, 2015; Thulin, 2018; Ratcliff, 2020). But in this approach, the layering aids qualitative analysis and interpretation of the ways participants are navigating and making sense of their gentrifying urban seaside neighbourhoods. This technique allows us to see shared commonalities across the material, as noted with the basic example of traffic. This includes commonly observed sounds such as those coming from sites of construction, passing conversations, cafes, seagulls and activities on the beach. These start to become significant when we question how they might relate to the urban seaside and gentrification processes (see Chapter 6). Some of these sounds amplify these processes, such as the sounds of construction indicating ongoing renovation and upgrading of the built environment in each neighbourhood, which sparked participant discussion about gentrifying change (see further discussion in Chapters 6, 7 and 8).

Shared features identifiable in the soundmaps also includes more frequented routes, common landmarks, clusters of sounds, dominant or repetitive sounds, rhythms and patterns. But the soundmaps also reveal the comparative differences, such as the variety of routes taken, the dominance or absence of a particular type of sound and the range of emotional responses observed. This helps us attend to the "noisier" and "quieter" parts of each of the sites as notated by Figures 5.1-3. It becomes possible through these maps to look across the material, for example, investigating in more comparative detail where more or less participants chose to listen, and interrogate the significance of these spaces. For example, the seafront roads offer significant listening sites for participants, amplifying how certain features of the urban seaside are valued over others and how this is affected by gentrifying change. These soundmaps therefore point to patterns and resonances that will be explored in Chapters 6-8, such as the range of different construction sounds, the conflicting presence of environmental and man-made sounds at the seafront and how human voices are heard in public spaces.

The plurality of the sound material and participants' listening experiences is significant. The use of elicitation within the socio-sonic-mobile methodology means that in-depth critical reflections about these listening experiences were able to be generated. This provides participants' own commentary and reflections on their way of listening during the activities.

This provides a rich fourth layer of meaning that I was able to add to the soundmaps, which can be seen in Figure 5.8. I used an iterative thematic analysis approach to coding the interviews using Nvivo, which was driven by the listening activity material (Clarke & Braun, 2006). This focused on how and why participants identified and captured particular sounds and sensations, the sonic connections they made to change and continuity in their neighbourhoods and how they themselves made sense of these within the phenomenon of urban seaside gentrification. The plural sound material speaks to the different ways participants went about listening in their neighbourhoods. Through my analysis of these layers, I have sought to bring together the sonic, social and mobile in a way that is built from the empirical. Combining the soundmaps described above with the interview coding has created a way of investigating these layers of meanings. Through an iterative layered analysis approach, it is possible to identify resonances and try to make sense of harmonies and discordances.

Figure 5.8: Soundmap layers 01-04 (Myrtle, St Leonards, LW02)



Consequently, the layering within the soundmapping technique offers a way into the intermediality of the plural sound material, but also the myriad sense-making, narratings and navigatings that constitute participants' experiences of urban seaside gentrification. The four layers of the soundmaps are a way of making tangible the myriad layers of meaning that constitute participants' experiences of gentrifying change in their neighbourhoods. The use of layering can be found in visual creative qualitative research. For example, Balmer uses creative visual layering techniques to 'produce a sort of cumulative picture, layering together flashes of insights and moments of analytical revelation on top of each other' (2021:7-8). Layering chimes well with the fluid qualities of sound already discussed. This connects to ideas about palimpsestic listening, through which sound art scholars search for new meaning through trying to bring the undercurrent auditory phenomena to the surface (Daughtry, 2014; Cross, 2021; Robinson, 2021:58-60). When all four layers are combined, it generates a palimpsest effect, as demonstrated in Figure 5.8. My soundmapping technique of layers of tracing paper attempts to not erase the material that has come before. Instead, it builds up ways into the data, from the walking route to the personal individual sounds and sensations, through to the types of sounds to deeper reflections about gentrification and displacement elicited by the interview.

This spatialised layering can be looked at across participants' listening walk experiences within and between sites. For example, analysis of the material identifies how residents associate specific sounds with processes of gentrification in their neighbourhoods. Continuing the traffic example, Jane identifies and associates traffic with the increase of affluent neighbours moving in with 4x4 vehicles (FUI10). Different sounds observed in the listening activities are thereby associated by participants with continuity and change, which brings out distinct temporalities (see Chapter 6). As Desdemona ponders at one point in her interview and will be returned to in subsequent chapters, 'What might gentrification sound like?' (FUI10). This analysis therefore opens up ways residents are narrating, navigating and positioning themselves in relation to urban seaside gentrification.

The layering metaphor acts as a prompt for thinking about 'heightened listening mobility' and oscillating between different listening positionalities (Robinson, 2020:60). This idea of being able to move within ours and others' shifting listening positionalities has contributed to developing this analytical layering technique. It is possible to think of the movement like

a tuning fork, resonating amongst the listening-generated material to tune into findings about urban seaside gentrification. Significant within this layered interpretative approach has been identifying how sound encounters stimulate residents and what knowledge about gentrifying neighbourhoods can be identified through these sonic encounters. Through the mapping process, I have found another way of categorising sounds, rather than by their sound source type. This categorisation focuses on how sounds stimulate emotional sensations and responses as well as the trigger thoughts, discussions, stories or memories. These sound stimuli can mostly be clustered around what I call sound layers, sound surprises, sound sparks and sound stories. How these sound clusters can be related to residential listening practices and experiences and therefore connected through to knowledge about gentrification will be explored in the next sections.

5.3 Sound stimuli: plural listening practices

Sound stimuli are a way of thematically structuring the plural sound material generated by this listening approach, creating distinct knowledge about gentrification. The urban seaside soundmaps in these three sites show how the sounds observed and reflected on acted in specific ways on each resident during the listening activities. Each resident brought their own identities and experiences to this sonic encounter, which shaped their response. Within this plurality, it is possible to cluster these encounters into four main types of stimuli. This is based on the type of response and discussion the sound elicited in participants observations, discussion and reflections across their listening activity and the interview. From these sound stimuli, a range of listening experiences and practices are discernible. Examples of each of these will now be discussed to show the relationship between sound stimuli and listening experiences and practices. As will be highlighted, these lead us into residents' thoughts, ideas, judgements and emotional responses about gentrifying change at the urban seaside. The fluid, ephemeral qualities of listening to our surroundings shape the ways residents share their experience and knowledge of their neighbourhoods in this research, thereby generating distinct knowledge about urban seaside gentrification.

Sound layers

The first cluster of sound stimuli in the typology, “sound layers”, do not refer to a specific sound or sound source. They instead denote a notable aspect or quality to the sound or soundscape. These different facets of the soundscape include residents making note of a location being “quiet” or “noisy” and particular combinations of sounds or sonic divisions they perceive in their neighbourhoods. These are perhaps more akin to conventional studies of soundscapes and sonic competences that discern different sound qualities (Schafer, 1994). Many residents made social, spatial and sonic observations that divide their neighbourhood up. Often this formed part of how they went about their walk and recordings, as seen earlier with Logan’s and Rafael’s route choices intended to show me contrasts in the neighbourhood. This can also be seen in the notes written by Eric in St Leonards that were ordered street-by-street (LW20). An extract is shared below:

> Extract from LW20 notes written by Eric
>
> *Gensing Road*
>
> - *Renovated Victorian Houses painted in unusual colours (black, bright green)*
> - *Abandoned typical English Pub next to a building with scaffoldings*
> - *Quiet road, you can’t hear a sound.*
>
> *Norman Road (top part)*
>
> - *Trendy street full of galleries, independent shops and upmarket restaurants*
> - *The street is maintained and clean*
> - *Street Art on some walls*
> - *Music can be heard (jazz, electro music)*
> - *Buzzing, a lot of people are going out on this street*
>
> *Norman Road (bottom part)*
>
> - *Noisy, lots of cars driving through*
> - *Street littered with rubbish*
> - *You can hear different foreign languages*
> - *Community spirit, people are meeting and talking in front of convenience shops*
> - *A homeless man was sat by one shop*

As well as listing each road he traversed, Eric makes a distinction here between the two halves of Norman Road, which are separated by a main road. Although the notes are brief, you get a sense of the socio-sonic contrasts that Eric thought notable. Gensing Road is described as a place where you 'can't hear a sound' in comparison to 'noisy' Norman Road (LW20). Interestingly, the top trendy part is described as 'buzzing' but the bottom littered part as 'noisy' (ibid). When asked about this in the interview, Eric expands on this socio-sonic-spatial division and reflects that the people who frequent the boutique shops and art galleries at the top of the street are unlikely to go down to the bottom:

> I don't think they would dare to go on the other side of the road to be honest. Cause you could see by the way how people act and behave, how they dress there. (FUI20)

The differences in soundscape between the two parts of the road reflect their different cultural uses, who makes use of these spaces and the potential exclusionary dynamics of differentiated public spaces (Arkette, 2004; Atkinson, 2007).

These sonic qualities combine with residents' existing knowledge of the neighbourhood. For example, Eric's description echoes media coverage of the street, as shown in a spotlight pull-out from a local press that guides the reader first through the top part before reaching the bottom:

> What do you think so far? Pick an adjective: quirky, thriving vibrant, unexpected? Norman Road's lower section presents a very different prospect…it's more urban and frenetic. (Hastings Independent Press, 2021)

The degree of convergence between Eric's and the newspaper's descriptions indicates collective socio-spatial narratives of the neighbourhood, which are part of Eric's listening positionality as he navigates the area. As will be discussed in Chapter 8, *listening-with* residents generates understandings of how certain spaces become classed, gendered and racialised in the ways residents enact and produce space within urban seaside gentrification.

Asking about these sound layers in the interview process often drew out further discussion about the ways residents spatially organised and categorised the acoustic and social dynamics of the neighbourhood. For example, Polly, who is Eric's partner, also made distinctions about "noisier" areas that she expected to experience on the walk:

> I expected to hear like, often, it sounds rude but you find, you hear there's like a few groups of people. Like kind of like shouting, shouting, or like hanging around, like, you know, like noisily and I expected to hear some of that in some of the areas. (FUI19)

These two examples describe degrees of "noise" and ascribe this to groups of people and their behaviour. "Noise" can be viewed as a socio-sonic concept, combining levels of sound with expected behaviours within the rhythms of cities (Hetherington, 2013). The focus on sound traits rather than sound sources chimes with the category of 'specialised' or 'reduced listening' within listening typologies (Guillebaud, 2017). The way these observations divide up the acoustic environment could be described as "spatial listening" or "orientating listening". The way these observations often confirm existing knowledge or judgements and puts places in relation to others can also be termed "comparative listening" or "expected listening". How people and places get comparatively described through sound layers will be discussed as part of understanding the sites in relation to each other and "listening to im/mobilities" in Chapter 7 and 8.

Sound surprises

Resounding across the soundmapping analysis is the amount of "sound surprises" that are peppered across the listening walks and listening at home activities. These are identifiable through the emotion attached to a listening site (second layer) and reflected on in the interview material (fourth layer). Some listeners were surprised by what they could or could not hear, by the tension between their visual and aural sensations, and their unmet expectations and underlying sensory assumptions about their neighbourhoods. Some found listening transformative, whilst others found it difficult, struggling to engage with sounds over other stimuli or conversely finding it too intense. Sound surprises can be translated into thinking about certain forms of listening, such as "unexpected listening", "difficult listening" or "transformative listening".

Two incidents of sound surprises in Worthing show some unexpected difficulties residents came across when listening in their neighbourhoods. Jordan's listening walk took her along the seafront road near the pier, but as one of her videos swept across to capture the seaside attraction, her voice-over expressed frustration:

> Still can't hear the sea. There's some music coming from a bar there. I listened really really hard. It's just traffic. It's like it's been dubbed over, everything else. (Jordan, LW12, video 07)

As will be discussed in Chapter 6, the seafront acoustics surprised many residents, which links into their expectations of what constitutes the seaside and how it is changing through gentrification. Further inland Rafael surprised himself twenty minutes into his listening walk by suddenly singing out loud 'a non-sensical song about being ready for bed' (LW03). He explained during the walk and the follow up interview that singing was a reaction to the cumulative intensity of silent walking (LW03; FUI03). It was triggered by a particular combination of the sounds of a wheelchair and smells of a bin lorry passing by at the same time. In this instance the sound surprise brings in the olfactory, indicating the need to still consider sound within a multisensory approach.

Rafael's everyday walks along this familiar route would normally involve listening to music or taking his dog for a walk who he would talk to, but this experience was different:

> One thing, it became quite intense. It was, not anxiety provoking, but it became a lot. And I think part of my brain was going "I know a way to relief some tension". Erm, it was like humming in the lift. (Rafael, LW03)

For Rafael, the cumulative intensity of silent and focused listening built over time, which then erupted into this surprising incident. These dynamics of silence and lone listening are interesting to note in the context of the sonic impacts of lockdown, which shape residents' listening experience. Whilst talking to me on the phone and approaching the place that he had begun singing in, Rafael expressed further surprise at this listening experience:

> I'm unconsciously smiling. I've just realised. I have to say that I'm thinking about it and I'm smiling, thinking, "That now seems absurd". (Rafael, LW03)

Turning the familiar and everyday into the 'absurd' is an essential trope of creative methods which can trigger fresh perspectives on seemingly known experiences (Mannay, 2016).

Sound surprises are testimony to the defamiliarisation potential of silent listening, facilitated by deep listening (Oliveros, 2005), which can engender different forms of

listening experiences. Participants frequently commented on the unexpected or feelings of disorientation induced by focusing on sounds. This chimes with existing scholarship on soundwalks:

> The seemingly simple act of listening to the environment often leads to unexpected complexities of thoughts, sensations and emotions that are not always comfortable. On a soundwalk we may become aware of that fluid listening between inner and outer sound worlds that I mentioned earlier, and might find ourselves in a state of uneasiness as a result. (Westerkamp, 2017:37)

Yet for others, the surprise came in the degree of enjoyment of listening. Like in the case of Mary-Jane doing "sound minutes" who surprised herself by listening for an hour. She sat listening for longer than planned because she found it a nicer experience than anticipated, noting that there was 'more going on, maybe not interesting felt the right word, but there was more going on than I thought, than I was expecting' (Mary-Jane, FUI06).

The *listening-with* approach helps us attend to the unexpected in exploring residents' relationship to familiar places. As reviewed in Chapter 2, gentrification is an over-rehearsed phenomenon in academia and media narratives with tropes and motifs that dominate our understanding (Osman, 2016). Listening offers a different entry point into discussions with residents, with the potential to challenge their assumptions about how change is occurring in their neighbourhoods. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, analysing these sound surprises reveals these underlying assumptions and imaginings of aural spaces that are entangled with gentrification processes. As a category, sound surprises offer a way to see how participants are sensorially shifted, which serves to open up reflective discussions about their neighbourhoods, as seen in the next types of sound stimuli.

Sound sparks

"Sound sparks" operate differently but complement sound surprises and the experiences of "unexpected" or "difficult listening". It is the term I have given to sounds that trigger a resident to discuss and share their thoughts about a particular topic. Just as listening walks can be disorientating, they can also help us think through or bring a new perspective to issues of concern. In this research, the method enabled residents to think about their

neighbourhoods in a different way. Sound surprises often jolted participants, which facilitated the discussions that were then sparked about their relationship to and sense of place. Crucially these sound sparks often generated discussions about gentrification processes ongoing in their neighbourhoods.

For example, after walking around Brighton Kemptown, Tim reflected in his interview:

> Both walks, the one, the one on my own and the one then talking to you were quite informative because it's not often you walk round your local area trying to sort of listen and hear and try and put things in a sort of context. So I suppose, you could say that a lot of what I said I kind of knew already but actually that's not necessarily the case because it's only when somebody asks you to do something very specific that you bring these thoughts to the fore. (FUI05)

One of the thoughts that were brought 'to the fore' for Tim (FUI05) was the dominance of sounds related to redevelopment projects and construction. These made him think about the degree to which the area is dominated by redevelopments and in particular the impact of the private school, Brighton College. Tim was prompted to discuss how this private education institution has 'spread everywhere' (FUI05). He describes how they have been buying up local properties, built a new 'enormous' building and that the pupils are 'like a swarm of locusts' when they come to the shops (FUI05). The negative reputation of the school associated with redevelopment, privatisation and class tensions in the neighbourhood also appears in other Brighton residents' material, which will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

Like Tim, many residents found the sounds they identified in their listening activities caused them to think about an issue in a different or novel way. Myrtle, in St Leonards, discovered the sounds of human interaction made her think about how changing neighbourhood demographics affect the soundscape:

> As I went round, most of the sounds that I heard, most of the conversations were, erm, most of, yes, a lot of the people that I was hearing, was probably, I would say more, working class, or erm, older residents. Sort of people who'd been around St Leonards for a longer time. Erm, that I was hearing and it was only a road outside

> coffee shop that there was sort of posh, or owning class, or whatever (laughter) you know. The, the voices outside coffee shop were louder and different. (LW02)

This sparked Myrtle into discussing her perception of the class dynamics in relation to gentrification in a way that was different from what she initially envisaged when signing up to the research (FUI02). She reflected that hearing more working class or older residents 'was sort of a contradiction to the sense of, erm, of, er, a sort of shift in population' (LW02). Her aural perception therefore clashed with her preconceptions and sparked a different conversation about gentrification, which would have not been possible without this listening method.

Sound sparks are the widest clustering of sounds across the sound material. This includes "absent" or "imagined sounds" that residents discussed in relation to a topic or location and open up interesting temporal dimensions (see Chapter 6). Consequently, there are many different adjectives that could be used to denote this type of listening experience: "speculative listening", "investigative listening", "political listening", "imaginary listening", "historical listening", "ghost listening" etc. These sounds and the type of listening associated raise questions about the degrees of agency within the relationship between sound stimuli and residential listening practices. The residents chose to record and communicate about specific sounds to me and thereby direct the discussion onto certain aspects of gentrification and their relationships to place. The sound in this method became a way for residents to tell me about something they found significant in their area, which I then probed further in relation to gentrification. This relates to ongoing debates about the ontological status of sound and our relationship as listeners to sound raised in Chapter 2.4 (Ihde, 2007; Ingold, 2007; Robinson, 2020; Truax, 2012). Thus, this approach can contribute to sound studies in helping to explore ontological and conceptual understandings of sound and listening. For this research project, analysis of these sound sparks is an invaluable way into residential experiences of gentrification and displacement injustices, in conjunction with the other sound stimulus types of which "sound stories" will be discussed next.

Sound stories

"Sound stories" are similar to sound sparks in the way they trigger a resident to discuss something important to them, but this term denotes when this takes an explicit narrative

form. Sound stories are therefore when a sound stimulates a participant to recollect and share a personal story or memory. The narrative form distinguishes it from the other sound stimuli by heightening the meaning-making undertaken by the resident that can be narratively analysed (Goodson & Gill, 2011:4-11) and this can result in more in-depth understandings of gentrification experiences. Sound stories therefore chime well with the idea of listening-captured material being self-reflexive narratives (Anderson & Rennie, 2016), which will be discussed in 5.4.

Some residents favoured this way of relating to sounds, such as Desdemona in Worthing. She frequently shared memories or stories in her interview that she associated with sounds she heard on her commented listening walk (option A). For example, as we came to the end of the listening walk, I asked if there were any specific feelings she had during the walk. She described how she had felt irritated with her neighbours during the deep listening exercise due to sounds triggering an 'old wound':

> We get on really well with our neighbours - and they moved in because we were living next door so, we know them really well…But they had, they decided a while ago they were going to cut down a tree in their garden. And I got really irritated about it, perhaps slightly irrationally irritated by it. Because erm, when I sit in that room, when I was at my laptop. Erm, that's, I mostly work in that room and I look out the window and I see birds in the trees and I hear birds in the trees. And when you were asking me to listen to what I could hear, I could hear, wind in the trees and birds in the trees. It started reminded me that I got so irritated that I thought they were going to cut that tree down. (Desdemona, LW10)

This sound story shows how sounds can stimulate memories in ways that are sensorially and affectively powerful for the listener (Thompson & Hagood, 2021). Desdemona was transported back to this dispute through focusing intently on these sounds, tapping into a specific emotional response that laid bare her strong relationship to the sound source of the tree and its inhabitants. Her previous experiences clearly shape the way she listens in the research, which can be understood as part of her listening positionality.

In this instance, this type of listening could be termed “emotional listening” or “reminiscent listening”. Given the way it places the listener in a specific relationship to this sound or sound source, it can also be termed “self-positioning listening”, “reflective listening” or “self-reflexive listening”. In a contrasting example, for another resident, Raymond, his difficulties in connecting to the acoustic environment and sound stimuli in itself prompted sensory memories and personal stories. Whilst walking around Brighton, Raymond took 48 photos and it became apparent that the visual dominated his experience over the aural (LW21). In the interview, he describes how he is ‘extremely cognitively biased to looking and thinking about what I'm looking at’. This reflection on his experience of “difficult listening” prompted him to share personal stories about his struggles with anxiety as well as formative experiences with his father growing up. He explains that he has anxiety issues that make sensory-focused activities difficult, because he is ‘constantly engaged in thinking about what I'm thinking about’ (FUI21). But he also attributes this visual dominance to the influence of doing an art history degree and his dad being an architect. He recollects many childhood holidays being taken by his dad to admire different architectural styles and approaches, such as social housing projects.

In both example sound stories, even if triggered by the absence of sounds like in Raymond’s case, it is still possible to glean aspects that shape residential listening positionalities. Sound stories show the ways *listening-with* can generate in-depth and personal reflections and discussions with residents. These are spatially and temporally multi-dimensional, connecting past memories and experiences through to the present place of listening. As will be discussed in the next chapter, these qualities are part of the distinct knowledge generated about urban seaside gentrification and displacement experiences that tap into coastal liquidity and shifting seaside temporalities.

Overall, this section has proposed a way to cluster different types of sound stimuli that attends to significant residential listening practices and experiences. These are not exacting or neat categories and this is not proposed as a listening typology, but instead as a categorisation to aid creative listening analysis. There are overlaps between how different sound observations can be categorised and one sound stimuli might engender different listening practices. For example, an “absent sound” that a resident might observe to be missing could be considered a sound surprise and “unexpected listening” and/or become a

sound spark or story and “reminiscent listening”. These sonic clusters are intended as a productive way of understanding the perceptual states of the listening residents that are generated form the empirical material. The format of adjective + listening has both emerged from the listening findings and been inspired by ‘hungry listening’ (Robinson, 2020). The approach is offered as a methodological and analytic tool to the reader. The proposed sound stimuli and the range of listening practices empirically identified are summarised in Appendices H and I for ongoing reference and future applications.

Within this project, these sound stimuli and listening practices are a way of understanding the different ways residents relate to sound sources, their acoustic environments and the neighbourhood as a whole. Residents’ listening practices direct us towards specific aspects of their neighbourhood experiences. This in turn fixes our attention onto distinct characteristics of urban seaside gentrification and displacement injustices. I have thereby developed a creative analytic framework for grappling with the plural listening material that can generate findings about gentrification. It offers a way of making sense of the layered and multiple meanings and looking across and within sites. The next section explains how a plural listening approach applied to the topic of gentrification can help us further understand how experiences of gentrification are increasingly permeating lives at the urban seaside.

5.4 Listening-with: sonic narratives of gentrification

Narratives persistently thread through this project, as a way of understanding listening and gentrification experiences. Narratives can be seen as a meaning-making endeavour and way of achieving coherence for things we consider significant (Goodson & Gill, 2011:4-11). In my literature review, I identified gentrification and seaside narratives through which academia, policy and media make sense of these phenomena. In Chapter 4, I also identified three narratives that emerged through creating the *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening* piece. All narratives are told to an audience and are therefore shaped by the relationship between the teller and the listener (ibid:4). The *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening* narratives were formed by my intentions to better understand the methodology through placing material into a linear sequence of events and sonically communicate this to my thesis reader. But I became aware

of these narratives through critical reflections, which allowed me to engage with critical listening positionality (Robinson, 2020). For participants, the methodology offered a way to critically reflect on gentrifying change in their neighbourhood through listening and communicate it to me through their choice of capture. I combine this altogether to create an innovative way to gain knowledge about residential experiences of gentrification: framing their capture as self-reflexive narratives, analysing though my layered soundmapping and taking a plural listening positionalities approach.

In this section, I discuss how focusing on the personal narratives of the plural listening positionalities in this research can generate knowledge specifically on residential experiences of gentrification. Through the *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening* piece, I previously explored the two broad researcher and participant positionalities set up through researching during the pandemic (Chapter 4.3). I have subsequently expanded these to a wider understanding of the participants' plural listening positionalities that can be interrogated to tell us about residential experiences of urban seaside gentrification. In the last section, I discussed how participants have engaged in a degree of reflective practice engendered by the *listening-with* approach. The sound stimuli and associated listening practices encompass reflections on personal memories, stories, experiences and place relationships. Following Anderson and Rennie (2016), this listening material can be framed as self-reflexive narratives, a form of reflective questioning that takes place within the research entanglement of researcher and participant listening positionalities.

As highlighted in discussion of the listening material, creative listening analysis shows that each resident brings their own listening positionality into the research oriented around urban seaside gentrification. Through the research process, participants and/or the researcher can become aware of aspects that constitute this residential listening positionality to different degrees. As shared in Chapter 4, Dr X's previous experiences of studying sound combine with her recently discovered love of the seaside to produce her distinct approach to capturing her listening walk (FUI11). Through recording the environmental sounds interspersed with expressive commentary, we are offered insight into her relationship to and sense of the urban seaside and the ways it continues to change (LW11; FUI11). In contrast, the pride Logan feels for St Leonards combines with his previous experiences of being a researcher and historical interests to produce a comprehensive tour

guide of the area with photos and audio recordings at 14 different spots (LW17; FUI17). Through an example from this chapter, we have seen how Raymond struggles with listening and provides instead a detailed visual tour of Kemptown, shaped by his own 'cognitive bias' and childhood experiences (LW21; FUI21). These different listening positionalities therefore shape what can be learnt about urban seaside gentrification. I argue in this thesis that they tell us about the ways residents are narrating urban seaside gentrification, navigating displacement and positioning themselves in relation to displacement injustices.

I have found it generative and conceptually apt to frame the listening material generated by participants in this research as self-reflexive narratives. Participants are aided by the listening-walking-elicitation method to reflect on their listening, which at times can bring about reflexivity. The style of audio recordings made by Dr X and Logan match this format of Anderson and Rennie's (2016) field recordings. They both chose to capture environmental sounds with a verbal commentary that expresses emotional responses and reflections. With Dr X, you can hear the emotions in the way the commentary is vocalised. Logan captures moments of striking emotional responses as well. At Logan's ninth stop, he recorded music playing from a café, a clip of which can heard below:

Audio 5.1: Clip of Logan's recording (LW17 audio 09, 0:23)[12]

[12] Alternatively, listen to this clip through the following link: https://soundcloud.com/user-334536613/clip-of-logans-recording-lw17-audio-09

On top of this music, Logan expresses with a sigh, ‘Yeah, sometimes you just don't want to move on’ (LW17, audio 9). This recording in turn evokes a response to the listener. In my listening-back, I sense the café atmosphere and hear Logan relaxing into and soaking this up as he enjoys this streetscape. In the interview, I was able to elicit Logan’s recollection of this moment, which confirmed this sense of enjoyment. This elicitation questioning can serve to engender a degree of reflexivity. In Logan’s case, reviewing this capture created awareness of how his strong attachment to the music scene of St Leonards shaped his listening experience in the research but also forms part of his understanding of neighbourhood changes. He experiences St Leonards as a vibrant place, which gentrification could threaten if it manifests like his experiences in London, bringing a homogenising mainstream culture (FUI17).

Other participants’ capture may not fit the exact Anderson and Rennie (2016) format of an audio recording with commentary. However, they can be viewed in the same way. Joan captured environmental sounds in one long audio recording, but her commentary comes in the form of drawings and written notes (LW08). Shirley uses her camera to film parts of her walk and created a series of audio-visual capture with a voiced-over narration (LW17). Jordan used photography, videos and notes to capture her observations and reflections (LW12). For example, she photographed her raincoated arm (see Figure 5.9) and sent a corresponding message stating ‘my personal sounds are the noise of my raincoat crinkling’ (LW12, photo 01 and WhatsApp message 01). This narration makes the listener tune into the sounds of Jordan’s coat that is captured in her first video walking in the rain. This positions Jordan in the material, making us more aware of how these artefacts are documents of their makers.

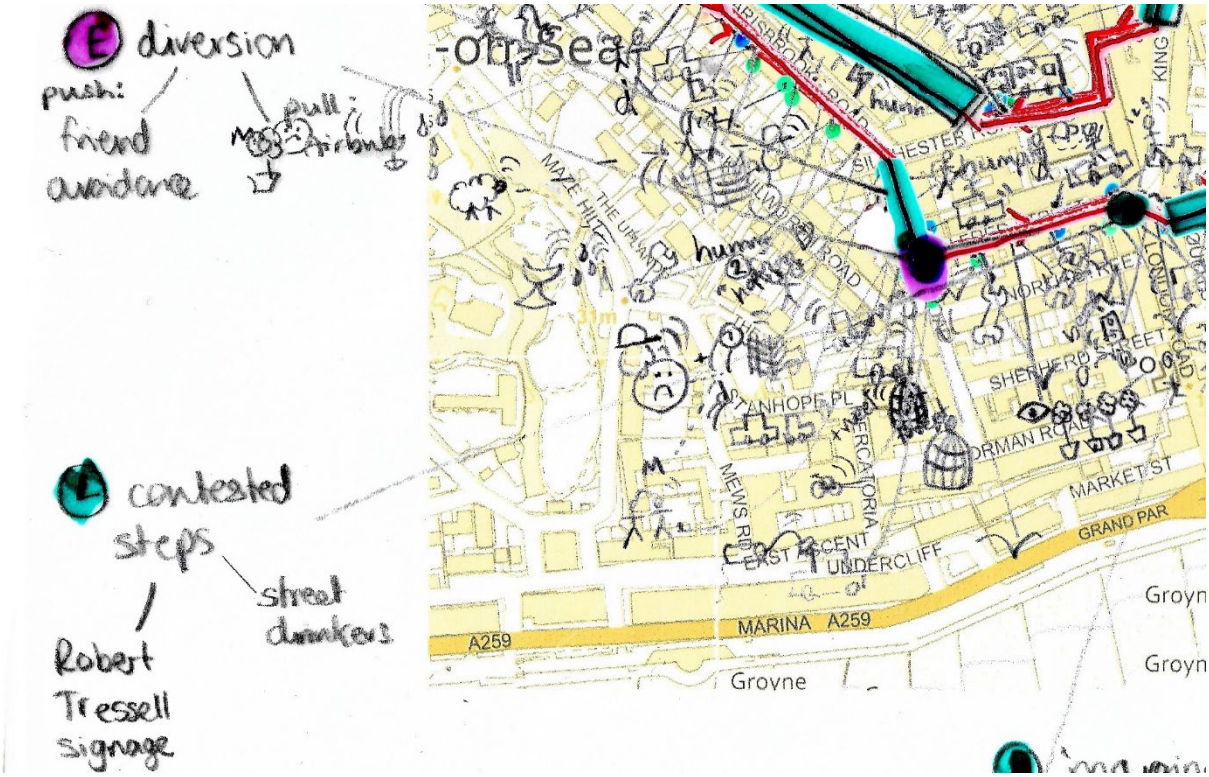
Figure 5.9: Screenshot of WhatsApp message from Jordan (Worthing, LW02, photo 01)

Furthermore, all the commented walks (option A) capture a live exchange that mingles participants' commentary of listening with my prompts as they walk with the background environmental sounds. These entangle the researcher listening positionality to different degrees, with the commented walks most explicitly incorporating my voice and input. In combination with the elicitation interviews, this material can constitute self-reflexive questioning about listening and "reflective listening" practices. This is evident in the significant number of reflections that participants undertake about listening in the material that also serves to position themselves in relation to their neighbourhoods. Because of the parameters of the study, this questioning centres on residents' positionalities within their gentrifying acoustic environments. Therefore, the research material can be understood as an entanglement of these specific listening positionalities oriented around urban seaside

gentrification. Viewed in this way, it is possible to identify findings that thread directly from listening through to residential experiences of gentrification and displacement injustices.

I use one final example in this chapter to demonstrate how this combined approach works and how it can generate understanding of participant's experiences of urban seaside gentrification. I look in detail at Myrtle's listening-generated material, represented earlier in Figure 5.8. I discuss this material by framing Myrtle's capture as a self-reflexive narrative and taking a plural positionalities approach, which I have analysed though my layered soundmapping technique. Moving between the layers, significant components of Myrtle's personal narrative can be drawn out that relate to her experiences of gentrification. Her walking route is the smallest across all the listening walks, yet it is packed full of observed sounds, sensations, emotions, sound sparks and sound stories. The most noted type of sound source is human interaction. This is indicative of Myrtle's encounters during the walk and the importance she places on friendship, sociability and a sense of close-knit community in her interview discussion (FUI02). In one part, Myrtle takes a different turning to avoid getting involved in a chat with a friend, an event which I have zoomed into in Figure 5.10:

Figure 5.10: Zoomed in portion of soundmap (St Leonards LW02)



Just about discernible in Figure 5.10, this event serves to divert Myrtle down a street in which she visually observes lots of sunflowers. In her interview she explains this neighbourhood aesthetic was coordinated by residents during lockdown. She reflects on how this street has been transformed in recent years, now housing many Airbnbs, including a recently opened boutique-style one. At the end of this street, she uses steps as a shortcut where she hears a child counting each step. These come to be marked as 'contested steps' in the fourth interview layer (Figure 5.10). Myrtle describes her love of finding Robert Tressell's signage still visible on the steps when she first moved in (see 1.4 contextual site discussion). But the steps have recently become a site of conflict over street drinking. She explains how street drinkers have been moved away from the seafront and now sit on these steps, but more affluent incoming residents are trying to get them moved on further still based on antisocial behaviour and noise. Robert Tressell, upheld by Myrtle as a locally treasured political figure, becomes intermingled in this current clash around the use of public space, serving to amplify the class tensions.

These listening walk encounters are given meaning through the discussion in the interview. The material documents Myrtle's journey on that day and come to tell a story of her listening experience. But it also encompasses multiple stories about her residential experiences of the neighbourhood. They reveal Myrtle's strong investment in the neighbourhood and her caring and activist roles in the community. Myrtle's community activism is an important part of her identity, which includes setting up a housing cooperative after experiencing homelessness and displacement from London, via Brighton, with her family. Her length of time living in the co-op enables her to discuss in minute detail the comings and goings of her street. She also undertakes the interview in her mother's house who lives close by and for whom she cares for.

Moving back into the second layer, it is possible to identify the significance of the sounds Myrtle encounters on her street and those close by. This includes the familiar sounds an autistic neighbour makes as he walks happily by with his support worker and the sounds of a garden fountain which reminds her of friends who have moved away (LW02; FUI02). Yet as noted in an earlier section, Myrtle is also surprised by other sounds of human interaction compared to what she expected to hear (ibid). She feels the effects of more affluent people moving into the area and rising house rents that have forced friends to move out (ibid). But

she is surprised to hear voices she perceives as working class and/or older residents, which indicate continuity rather than a change in population (ibid). This “unexpected listening” experience challenges her to reflect:

> And it's funny that, I also thought on reflection, on coming back, I thought, “Well it's interesting, that actually the soundscape of the sort of conversations people are having and stuff haven't changed”. So maybe it's my perception of erm, of “everything changes so rapidly, I can't deal with it”. But and then I was thinking, “Oh maybe, maybe that is, maybe for me I'm a much more visual than aural person”. (LW02)

Missing from the textual version of her quotation, aurally you can hear her using a differently pitched voice (represented by double quotation marks above) to indicate past or alternative thoughts as she deliberates on the issues. Myrtle therefore moves between different perceptual positions herself as she grapples with the impacts of change in her neighbourhood.

This discussion of Myrtle’s listening-generated material shows the rich, nuanced and layered meanings analysable through the use of layered soundmapping and framing of self-reflexive narratives. Looking across the material, key aspects become more striking in comparison with others. For example, being the smallest route, the high number of human interaction sounds observed, social encounters and sound stories are notable. The dominance of “emotional” and “self-positioning listening” is also prominent alongside the degree of self-reflexivity Myrtle undertakes. Put into comparison with other sites and residents, it becomes clear that Myrtle experiences the effects of gentrification and associated displacement injustices very keenly. This includes the loss of friends living locally and a sense that new incomers are taking over public spaces to the exclusion of others (FUI02). It increasingly permeates her everyday life, which she has become very concerned about, fearing for the future of St Leonards. This oscillation technique between listening positionalities works comparatively; in contrast it is possible to see how some other residents are less effected by ongoing gentrification processes.

These differentiated impacts are an important part of the findings, discussed in the next chapters. Myrtle's way of listening in her urban seaside neighbourhood and the reflections it elicits consitute one sonic narrative of gentrification amongst 21 other participants, each with their own listening positionality and entanglement of gentrification experiences. Understanding the entanglement of plural listening positionalities in this project orients the interpretative possibility for knowing-through-listening and what this can fix our attention to with regard to gentrification on the UK south coast. Resoundingly overall, I have found that gentrification increasingly permeates residents' everyday lives at the seaside. It seeps into and across their listening material, intruding in their neighbourhood lives. The pandemic disruption has created a chance for residents to think anew about this trajectory of urban change, which *listening-with* takes advantage of. Through this approach, I have identified three key structuring themes that group the different ways urban seaside residents are living with urban seaside gentrification and displacement injustices, summarised in the conclusion.

5.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has presented how distinct knowledge about experiences of urban seaside gentrification and displacement injustices is generated through *listening-with* residents. I have presented a creative listening analysis approach developed to tackle the plurality of listening material generated by *listening-with*. I have shared the layered soundmapping technique and the four-fold sound stimuli typology identified. These sound stimuli map onto different listening practices and experiences (see Appendices H and I). Applying critical listening positionality (Robinson, 2020) in combination with a self-reflexive narrative approach to listening-captured material (Anderson & Rennie, 2016), I have outlined how residential listening positionalities can be analysed to generate knowledge about participants' experiences of urban seaside gentrification. Listening across all sites, it is possible to see how gentrification increasingly permeates participants' everyday lives at the urban seaside. Participant residents are finding ways to make sense and live with urban seaside gentrification.

Through my analysis, I have identified specific listening practices and experiences in line with Wong's idea of adjective + listening (Robinson, 2020:251). In the next chapters I will interrogate the most notable listening practices for this project. Three are strikingly generative for listening to urban seaside gentrification: "lockdown listening", "listening to im/mobilities" and "reflective listening". I therefore thematically structure the following discussion chapters through focusing on these listening practices and propose these as a way of listening to displacement. "Lockdown listening" provides a way of understanding how participants are narrating urban seaside gentrification (Chapter 6). "Listening to im/mobilities" shows the different strategies residents are developing by way of navigating the spectrum of displacement (Chapter 7). "Reflective listening" reveals how participants are positioning themselves in relation to displacement injustices (Chapter 8). I argue overall that these findings show that *listening-with* residents fixes our attention onto distinct aspects of urban seaside gentrification and displacement injustices that resonate in ways we might not otherwise have known.

CHAPTER 6: Lockdown listening: narrating urban seaside gentrification

6.1 Introduction

Having established the conceptualisation of *listening-with*, I move to reframe our understandings of urban seaside gentrification and its injustices. In this chapter, I share the distinctive aspects of urban seaside gentrification that can be revealed through this listening approach (research question (ii)). In so doing, I amplify the social, spatial and mobile processes that are producing urban seaside gentrification on the UK south coast (objective 3). I argue overall that gentrification is increasingly permeating participants' everyday lives across the three sites of Brighton, Worthing and St Leonards-on-Sea. This permeation can be found in the ways residents are narrating urban seaside gentrification, understood through their listening practices, experiences and positionalities. Participants are making sense of their gentrifying neighbourhoods through engaging with existing seaside and gentrification narratives, reproducing seaside and gentrification imaginaries. Framed by "lockdown listening", I use this narrating theme to assemble the distinct features of urban seaside gentrification and propose four key motifs.

Listening lends itself to thinking more immediately about the urban seaside than gentrification. Seaside narratives often make use of our sensorium to conjure up "seasideness": 'tinted with sepia, it provokes remembrances of endless sunshine, ice creams, funfair rides, slot machines, playing in the sand and skipping carefree into the water' (House of Lords, 2019:5). Archetypal "seaside sounds" are audible in participants' listening material: music wafting over from amusement rides, pebbles crunching underfoot, waves crashing and seagulls squawking. Yet, as pondered by resident Desdemona, it is harder to think about 'what gentrification might sound like' (FUI10). I argue that "lockdown listening" is a way into this puzzle. As an umbrella term, it helps us attend to practices and experiences engendered by residents undertaking focused listening activities after the strict 2020 spring lockdown. I conceive of "absent", "returning" and "imagined" sound stimuli as particularly generative for understanding plural seasides, that take us beyond archetypal sounds, and the multi-dimensional processes of change, that constitute urban seaside gentrification.

In this chapter, I first outline “lockdown listening” and summarise the four proposed motifs of urban seaside gentrification: the significance of “seasideness”; the dynamics of coastal liquidity; the mutually supportive relationship between gentrification and tourism; and the presence of features from across the five waves of gentrification. Next, I delve into the “lockdown listening” material to critically discuss the complexities and pluralities of these motifs, looking at “absent”, “returning” and “imagined” sounds in turn. Through absent sounds, I explore contested public spaces, namely the seafront, parks and streets, and the ways “seasideness” interacts with participants’ experiences and ways of listening in urban gentrifying public spaces. In my discussion of returning sounds, I focus on participants’ reflections on redevelopments and tourism mobilities, which indicate different types and features of gentrification occurring. By examining imagined sounds, I tap into distinct seaside temporalities and how redevelopments are considered “out of place” at the urban seaside. I interrogate the degree to which the urban seaside becomes ‘fixed’ in residents’ narrations (Burdsey, 2016:20) as they grapple with change and engage with dominant representations of space (Lefebvre, 1991). Lastly, I discuss in more detail the four motifs and investigate how residents’ narrations can tell us what is distinct about shared resonances across the change in these neighbourhoods.

6.2 Lockdown listening: four motifs of urban seaside gentrification

“Lockdown listening” encompasses heightened and/or new awareness of neighbourhood acoustics caused by the pandemic disruption. Lockdown restrictions around the world gave rise to scholars proclaiming ‘a sensory revolution’ (McCann & Tullett, 2021). Ideas about changing soundscapes became popularised, with mapping projects and media coverage (Stollery, 2021; Cities & Memories, 2022), supported by research into altered behaviours and perceptions (Lenzi et al., 2021; Mitchell et al., 2021). This section briefly outlines “lockdown listening” and puts forward the conceptualisation of “absent”, “returning” and “imagined” sounds as ways into residents’ experiences of listening during the pandemic. Crucially I connect this directly to urban seaside gentrification and introduce its four motifs that will be explored in the chapter.

The renewed awareness engendered by “lockdown listening” operates for participants in a similar way to my researcher experience of “unintentional ex situ listening” (see Chapter 4). During the 2020 spring lockdown, participants had mostly been restricted to their neighbourhoods, so the listening activities were an opportune moment to capture how they perceived their soundscapes were changing as this eased. Many residents discussed sounds they associated with this early lockdown such as noticing more birdsong or the clapping for the NHS on their streets every Thursday evening. These striking acoustics were more commonly discussed by participants undertaking their listening activities earlier on the in the data collection. However, all residents’ listening reflections include discussion of the pandemic that centred on neighbourhood change, pre-, during and post-Covid. Participants’ experiences of the pandemic context therefore influence and intersect with their listening positionalities (Robinson, 2020). This form of listening helps us attend to how observations and reflections about the seaside and trajectories of urban change become renewed and refreshed in residents’ listening-generated material.

Alongside this more “unexpected listening” practice, “familiar listening” experiences are identifiable. It is worth noting how participants identified sounds associated with the urban seaside, aligning with existing collective narratives. For example, Raymond asserts, ‘If you ask me to describe the auditory environment in which I live, it's seagulls’ (FUI21). Participants described an ambivalent relationship to seagulls, accepted but not always liked, reproducing media and policy narratives that deem them ‘noisy, aggressive and messy at best’ (Trotter, 2019:7). Other expected seaside sound sources include amusement rides on the pier (e.g. Shirley, LW13), fishing boats (e.g. Desdemona, LW10), beach pebbles (e.g. Rafael, LW03), wind and waves (e.g. Georgia, LW09; Dr X, LW11; Virginia, LW15). Some sensory aspects of the seaside become part of people’s everyday lives to the extent they fade into the background. For example, Rafael in Worthing discussed feeling unsettled on a recent trip to a non-coastal town until he realised ‘what was wrong was that I couldn’t hear the sea’ (LW03). After living by the sea for over twenty years, it has become so entangled with his sensory expectations of everyday life that something feels wrong when absent.

However, interrogating the “unfamiliar listening” encompassed by “lockdown listening” offers richer understandings of the changing urban seaside landscape and residential experiences of gentrification. It attends to the surprises, tensions and contested aspects of

urban seaside spaces, revealing how residents expected a particular sensory experience that was challenged by listening during a pandemic. Participants were forced to reflect on tensions between their listening experience and their imaginings of their urban seaside neighbourhood, bringing distinct temporal dimensions to the fore. As described by Desdemona (FUI10), 'Time under Covid is doing strange, stretchy and contracty things'. Gentrification is a processual concept focused on change over time (Hackworth, 2002; Kern, 2016; Osman, 2016). The sound stimuli identified as most resonant with "lockdown listening" bring out these temporal dimensions inherent in thinking about change. Some directly related to lockdown changes, others are less explicit but the participant's sonic encounter is still shaped by the specific "pandemic times" context in which they were listening. Coastal liquidity can grapple with these disrupted seaside temporalities and the different degrees of stretchy fluidity and entanglement with existing seaside narratives (Burdsey, 2016). It allows for seaside plurality including being attentive to 'contested pasts, messy and unfinished presents, and uncertain futures' (ibid:20).

Significantly, sonic encounters with "absent", "returning" and "imagined sounds" enable us to interrogate the production of gentrifying space at the urban seaside. Absent sounds are those participants either anticipated hearing but found not there or observed that they would normally hear at a particular location. A form of "sound surprise", they challenge a resident's sonic expectations. The expectation to hear specific sounds expressed by many participants denotes a degree of familiarity with being in and moving through the neighbourhood. But it also taps into a resident's relationship to the seaside, how they think it should sound and entangles with their 'hungry listening' (Robinson, 2020).

Returning sounds are sounds that participants observed they were able to start hearing again after being absent during the strictest spring lockdown. These sounds are the most specific to "lockdown listening" and frequently observed as residents tried to make sense of "the pandemic times". There are variations in what participants perceived had stopped sounding during strict lockdown and which they chose to reflect on. "Returning" gives the impression of the environment going back to the "the before times", another pandemic 'vernacular timescape' (Bryant & Knight, 2019). However, participant reflections encompass a temporal and affective range, from welcoming back sounds through to sonic anticipation of uncertain futures.

Although much less commonly noted, imagined sounds further constitute a curious interplay between listening, place and time. They are sounds that residents conjured up in a specific location, often as part of wondering what it would have sounded like there at a different time. These are different from expected absent sounds because participants may not have ever heard those sounds or sound-sources at that location and be completely fictional. Participants often used these as a sensorial route into telling a story or memory, connecting vividly into personal and collective narratives.

Residents' sonic encounters with these three stimuli bring out tensions between their aural perception and other senses, and crucially their existing conceptions of what urban seaside should sound like. This dynamic between the imagined and sensory will be explored through this chapter, drawing on Lefebvrian understanding of the trialectical production of space (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 2010). By residents expressing how they think the urban seaside should sound, they share their imaginings of urban seaside space and engage with dominant representations of space (ibid). These dominant representations of space are understood through the existing seaside and gentrification narratives and themes reviewed in Chapter 2. Participants engage with these narrative as they make sense of gentrification, which can be read as their participation in the production of urban seaside spaces.

Through my analysis of the social, spatial and mobile processes within participant narratives, I have identified four key resonances of urban seaside gentrification, which I introduce here before more detailed discussion throughout the chapter. Firstly, the "seasideness" of this gentrification is significant in residents' experiences. I argue that the plural meanings encompassed by "seasideness" distinguish this manifestation from coastification or coastal gentrification (Shah, 2011). I build this argument by detailing the significance of seaside narratives and themes through this chapter. Secondly, connected to this "seasideness", I have identified the dynamics of coastal liquidity, which thread throughout residents' narrations. A degree of fluidity allows for re-imaginings and re-branding as well as a range of seaside temporalities. The contested pasts, unfinished presents and uncertain futures are open to different narrations that can "fix" sections of seaside heritage for commodification and consumption purposes (Lees & McKiernan, 2012; Burdsey, 2016; Ward, 2018). Coastal liquidity has the potential to be a seaside specific way of interrogating and understanding the uneven development that fuels gentrification.

Thirdly, there is a mutually strengthening relationship between tourism and gentrification. It appears that these phenomena are co-existing and mutually reinforcing in these seaside sites. Gentrification is not replacing tourism, as proposed within the coastification thesis (Shah, 2011), but neither is tourism the main cause of gentrification, as formulated by touristification or tourism gentrification (Cocola-Gant, 2018). As noted in Chapter 2, tourist cycles of investments and disinvestment and a history of place promotion align with gentrification processes. Seaside mobilities are a distinct feature of urban seaside gentrification that includes tourists, visitors and transient workers as significant mobile groups of people.

Fourthly, urban seaside gentrification appears to possess features attributable to all five waves of the gentrification waves model (Aalbers, 2019; Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Residents' narrations indicate that characteristics and structural forces from across each of the waves are occurring simultaneously. Different types of gentrification are present in their narrations, including classic, new-build and transnational gentrification, alongside existing gentrification archetypes and tropes. As will be demonstrated, some of these types of gentrification are narrated by residents as more "natural" and therefore unnoticeable than others which are deemed problematic and "out of place".

These proposed four motifs will be explored and demonstrated through critical discussion of the listening material. I use the framing of absent, returning and imagined sounds to explore the complexities and pluralities they encompass. I draw these threads together in the final section to look at the motifs through residents narrations of urban seaside gentrification, giving insight into their experiences of this phenomenon.

6.3 Absent sounds: seascapes, streetscapes and parkscapes

In the pandemic context, absent sounds are made apparent due to the starkly changed soundscapes created by lockdown restrictions. Not all of these sonic encounters are explicitly linked to the pandemic disruption in participants' listening material. As will be shown in this section, the significance of absent sounds consequently reaches beyond identifying the pandemic soundscape impacts. Their absence is perceived because of participants' imaginings, which tells us about the meanings they have ascribed to the urban

seaside. It is part of how they are “fixing” the urban seaside (Burdsey, 2016), through which we can glean the socio-spatial-mobile processes producing gentrification. I have identified a range of absent sounds, but here I focus on listening in public space, namely the seafront (seascapes), streets (streetscapes) and parks (parkscapes), clustered around the sounds of the seaside and lockdown.

Sounds of the seaside

Sonic expectations are integral to participants’ route choice, which form part of residents’ listening positionalities as a desire to find, capture and share specific sounds of their seaside neighbourhood with me. For example, Logan took on a role akin to tour guide but this did not preclude “unexpected listening” experiences. At Logan’s second listening stop, he recorded his surprise: ‘Funny, it's only 70 yards from the sea, but because of Marine Court right in front of us, can't hear it. It's quite displaced’ (LW17). Later Logan photographed Marine Court as a significant architectural landmark at a distance from the promenade (see Figure 6.1). For Logan, historic architecture is an important part of knowing and belonging to St Leonards (FUI17). Built to look like a cruise ship, aurally this building acts as a barrier to the sea and creates a sense of sound displacement. When Logan planned this part of the walk he expected there to be the sounds of the shoreline but the ship-like building instead blocks and absorbs these sounds.

Figure 6.1: Logan’s photo of Marine Court (St Leonards, LW17 Photo 41)

Logan's enjoyment of the built environment fits a restorative theme of the built environment in heritage narratives. As discussed by Steele and Jarratt (2019), this kind of *Seaside Moderne* architecture was built with notions of collective optimism and imaginings of "exotic" colonial lands. Marine Court brings certain class associations, designed in reference to a transatlantic cruise liner. But despite its intention as luxury flats within a vision of marine metropolis, it has a turbulent history of bankruptcy, which another resident, Polly, highlighted in her listening walk (LW19). Through photographing the back of the building, see Figure 6.2, she brings a different perspective and, in her interview, discusses its surprising neglect. Thus, Logan's acoustic disorientation resonates both with the architecturally intentioned illusion and historical turbulence of this landmark, encompassing the contested pasts and messy present of the seaside (Burdsey, 2016).

Figure 6.2 Polly's photo of Marine Court (St Leonards, LW19 photo 11)

The absence of sea sounds is identifiable in other participants' listening experiences, showing a tension between the sensory and the imagined. Many expressed frustration at not hearing the sea on traffic-dominated seafront roads, as seen in Jordan's difficult listening experience (see Chapter 5). Brighton resident, Jane, observed how her enjoyment of the seafront changed depending on what senses she focused on:

> But actually, sort of that day, when I was specifically listening, it made me realise that actually the sea, it definitely isn't as enjoyable from a sound point of view as it is from a visual sense. (FUI01)

Jane attributes this tension between her visual and aural senses to the busy seafront road. Through this difficult and unexpected listening experience, she realises that the sea is important to her 'from a visual point of view' (FUI01) which is the primary way she enjoys the seaside.

For the majority of absent sounds identified, these sound stimuli represent a challenge to something that participants would normally find enjoyable living by the seaside. For Jane, she enjoys the sea view but by focusing on listening her enjoyment is challenged and she becomes conscious of human-made sounds. In her interview, Jane explains how important nature is to her, which taps into restorative and wellness themes (FUI01). However, the disconnect between the sea view and the sea road sounds reveals tension for Jane between the natural and urban environment experienced at the seafront. Jane identifies as an activist, with involvement in climate change campaigns and anti-car discussions threaded throughout her interview. As noted in Chapter4, she explicitly links the problem of traffic with gentrification:

> … that's probably something I didn't mention, but it, it's a quite important part of gentrification. In that, gentrification can often bring in more traffic, and therefore sort of squeeze, start to squeeze some of this kind of pedestrian space and you know make it a bit like, just less safe really. (FUI01)

She explains this link to gentrification by describing how an influx of more affluent residents increases car ownership, in particular larger 4x4 vehicles, as well as construction sites requiring heavy vehicles. This focus on traffic challenges the interactions between the natural and built features producing "seasideness" found within more typical of seaside

narratives. Seaside literature on this theme usually draws on a tourist perspective and focuses on the pleasure derived from seaside buildings of the past (Steele & Jarratt, 2019; Brydon et al., 2019). Jane instead challenges these narratives by expanding the built environment to the mundanity of roads and connecting through to gentrification processes. This brings out the urban aspects of seaside settlements that includes issues of social, spatial and mobility justice.

"Seasideness" resonates through these absent sounds in how residents are sensorially experiencing and narrating their neighbourhoods. Existing seaside narratives and themes shape participants' sonic expectations, but their sonic encounters can also serve to disrupt and challenge these. Such encounters are connected but act differently to the "familiar listening" to seaside sounds discussed earlier. These sonic expectations are part of residents' listening positionalities, shaping how they perceive gentrifying change. Coastal liquidity dynamics can help us understand the plurality of the urban seaside, which can encompass these conceived, perceived and lived dimensions of urban seaside gentrification.

Sounds of lockdown

Other absent sounds identified by participants were attributed specifically to the lockdown and mostly concerned changes in public space, linking into overlapping seaside narratives and themes. Some residents observed how the "usual" human sounds in public spaces were missing and had been replaced by different ones during lockdown. As Jordan, who grew up along the Sussex coast, expressed:

> So it's an interesting time to do this experiment because there have been different sounds and it has been quieter, as if we've gone, it felt like, the very beginning of lockdown it felt like the 1980s again, it felt really, it felt like we'd gone back in time. (FUI12)

Jordan evokes a sense of nostalgia, a theme which abounds in seaside narratives. It is often understood as a reconnection to the past or different perception of time, reflecting a 'dissatisfaction with the present' (Steele & Jarratt, 2019:4). In contrast, Jordan refers to a nostalgia for a very recent past, chiming with a pandemic 'vernacular timescape' that creates a distinct "before times" (Bryant et al., 2019).

Joan, Jordan and Rafael provide other examples of grappling with changing public space soundscapes by contrasting the current with this recent past. Jordan describes how a seafront parkscape had changed due to homeless people congregating: 'bless them, they don't have anybody else, so they weren't socially distancing at all, because that's their bubble' (FUI12). Jordan tells of being a frontline mental health worker during the spring lockdown when it was often only herself and the homeless community on the streets. This created new awareness of exclusionary spatial practices and who space is being produced for.

Rafael, another Worthing resident, similarly describes a park changing due to people drinking and socialising outside: 'rather than being a lovely place to be, has now become a place where people, you know, are shouting and screaming' (FUI03). During lockdown restrictions, a pub had informally extended their pub garden into the park but this disturbed Rafael's usual enjoyment of the area. In his interview, he reflects on the 'hypocrisy' of different views taken of the street community drinking compared to others drinking on the streets (FUI03). Like Jordan, Rafael also positions himself as tolerant and sympathetic to the homeless community: 'the weird thing is, obviously there are, there is a street community in the area and they cause nowhere near as much bother' (LW03). Both have professional experience of supporting vulnerable people, Rafael in particular having worked in council outreach, which influences their way of listening to what might otherwise be considered antisocial sounds within changing public space soundscapes.

Brighton resident, Joan, also observed lockdown-induced absent or changed "sound layers". Joan described the quietness of lockdown in her neighbourhood 'like less people out drunk, less community, a lot quieter' (FUI08). Rather than lockdown making it peaceful, she felt a loss of sense of community as people interacted less, being instead 'on a mission walking down the street trying to get what they need'. (FUI08). Joan's experience contrasts Jordan and Rafael's observations about street drinking. Joan chose her route in Kemptown to include 'the kind of seedy resort town thing' (FUI08) but she was not able to capture these aspects in her listening walk. These example absent sounds show different residential perspectives and reflections on living by the seaside and the impact of lockdown. In anticipating or missing particular sounds, participants expressed their expectations of what their seaside neighbourhoods should sound like, interacting with existing seaside themes.

These observations of street drinkers and the homeless community chime with a less nostalgic seaside past, linking instead into themes of decline and marginality. Joan's (FUI08) attempts to seek out the 'seedy' side in her walk taps into a different type of pleasure within the tourism narrative, more akin to the carnivalesque and liminality themes (Shields, 1991). Another resident in Worthing, Chloe, also described seaside towns as having two sides:

> They still have the seaside element of people coming for weekends, tourists. And then they have like a more, uh, wealthy sort of side. They've always had that. I don't, I think Worthing's the same. You've got like an underbelly of like, like the people that live next door, who just sort of work hand to mouth. Uh, and then you've got people that are a bit wealthier who come like upstairs, really. (FUI16)

Chloe fixes this 'underbelly' as an enduring part of the seaside, drawing on the idea of liminality whereby different classes excitingly encounter each other and societal norms and boundaries are challenged (Shields, 1991; Walton, 2000). Yet Jordan and Rafael blur this narrative by taking on care and concern for those who might be considered othered as part of this 'underbelly' (FUI12; FUI03).

These examples show the range of residential engagement with existing seaside narratives and themes through these absent sound examples. Their engagement reveals the plural seaside meanings ascribed to their neighbourhoods as well as the different "fixings" of the urban seaside. This shows the entanglement of residents in the production of public spaces, which encompasses the social, spatial and mobility processes constituting gentrification. This entails expected behaviours and exclusionary practices, which will be explored further in later discussion on displacement injustices (Chapter 8). Having interrogated examples of absent sounds and discussed aspects of "seasideness" and coastal liquidity, I turn next to returning sounds.

6.4 Returning sounds: seaside redevelopments and mobilities

Returning sounds are a sonic counterpart to absent sounds and common throughout participants' listening material. Many residents became aware of particular sounds returning during the easing of restrictions in 2020. Although coming back from the past and

entangled with the present, interestingly these sounds often sparked reflections on possible future trajectories of urban seaside neighbourhoods. I focus discussion in this section on the sounds of scaffolding and the sounds of tourism. Scaffolding is a particularly striking sound source, frequently observed by participants, which entangles many of the distinguishing features of urban seaside gentrification. Participants' encounters with tourism returning to the neighbourhood bring a different perspective to that found within most tourism gentrification studies (Gotham, 2005; Cocola-Gant, 2018), discussed in the last section of this chapter.

Sounds of scaffolding

The re-introduction of scaffolding sounds, and more broadly construction, is a striking and frequently discussed returning sound in the listening material. As stated by Brighton resident Tim:

> What is very noticeable now is all the scaffolding and the builders are back. For a while there was hardly any of that, which is very unusual… You know, it's a noisy business putting up scaffolding. The whole seafront is all, the buildings are about 200 years old so it's not surprising they need a lot of work. (LW05)

Participant descriptions of scaffolding poles clanging, clamps being drilled and scaffolders calling out to each other is a vivid collection of sounds. As describe by Thorin in St Leonards, 'Scaffolders, you can always hear their ratchet gun somewhere in the area' (FUI22). Residents captured and discussed this in different ways. For example, Joan took 14 photos of scaffolding on her walk around Kemptown, 'to document every instance of scaffolding' (FUI08). Although none of the participants made audio recordings, to sonically bring these sounds alive a recording is provided below:

Audio 6.1: Scaffolding clip (recorded by researcher 28/10/2020 Brighton, 0:30)[13]

[13] Alternatively, listen to the clip through the following link: https://soundcloud.com/user-334536613/scaffolding-clip-recorded-by-researcher-28102020-brighton

The sounds of scaffolding returning to the neighbourhood commonly went hand-in-hand with observations about constant neighbourhood renovation. Several commented on how jarring these sounds appeared after a period of relative quietness. Llew, a Brighton resident listening-at-home, found the sound frustrating but also commented: 'I suppose it's a sign that people are back to normal and work is continuing despite the coronavirus.' (LH04)

Whilst there was new awareness of building works post-lockdown, most residents observed that this was a common part of their neighbourhood soundscape. This cluster of returning sounds sparked many discussions with residents about ongoing changes in the built environment. The construction sounds of larger redevelopment projects were also observed to be returning. This included the sounds of workmen, large vehicles and machinery with two main redevelopment sites frequently commented on: Bayside Luxury Apartments in east Worthing and the Royal Sussex County Hospital in Brighton Kemptown. There was less certainty about how these would unfold during and post-pandemic, compared to neighbourhood renovations. Though Dr X mentions how her neighbour who volunteers for the local preservation society had witnessed an unprecedented amount of planning application submitted since the spring lockdown (FUI11).

For residents, construction sounds signified a return to constant renovation, which is a classic gentrification feature. Tim and Llew both explained that grade-listed regulations necessitate regular redecorating of the exteriors of their own Regency seafront flats (FUI05; FUI04). These policies are part of a heritage narrative that views historic buildings as a tourist and place-branded commodity (Steele & Jarratt, 2019). However, the jarring nature of construction sounds commented on by residents show the heritage and tourism impacts on residents' everyday sensory experiences.

The reasons given for the constant sounds of scaffolding and private building works (as opposed to larger redevelopment projects) represent an interesting entanglement of changing urban seaside gentrification features. Many ascribe this to the salty wind conditions requiring extra up-keep of the Regency architecture; as noted by Jane in Kemptown:

> You know they constantly have to be repainted, you know balconies need to be fixed, erm. You know, like a lot of them have those canopies don't they? You know,

> like those wrought iron railings those fancy canopies and stuff, and they just kind of need to be maintained all the time. But I think the other aspect of the constant building work, the renovations is erm with the high turnover you know Kemptown, I suppose Brighton generally, is that, it's, it's, what do they call it? A transient, people refer to it as a transient city, don't they? (FUI01)

Jane refers here to the specific combination of Regency architecture maintenance and a highly transient population, citing the reputation of Brighton as a 'transient city', chiming with the seaside theme of marginality and seasonality. Others also attribute constant renovation to landlords upgrading to exploit a profitable rental market, especially in Brighton and St Leonards. A spike in DIY by homeowners post-lockdown was noted by several Worthing residents, attributed to more people working from home and therefore noticing the need and/or having the time for improvements.

Other drivers were also noted by one resident, Chloe, who offers a more pragmatic explanation for why scaffolding is increasingly noticeable in neighbourhood life:

> … it always feels like there's scaffold everywhere, but it's just because nowadays you can't just lean a ladder up against a building and replace the broken tile, or, you know, that's the health and safety law that's changed, which means it feels like there's scaffold everywhere. (FUI16)

The sounds of returning scaffolding therefore amplify and entangle environmental, historical, social and policy features that are distinct to urban seaside gentrification. The range of construction sounds indicates small-scale renovation, more typical of pioneer or classic gentrification, alongside larger redevelopment projects, representing new-build gentrification. This begins to highlight the presence of features from across the five waves of gentrification, of which tourism will be discussed next.

Sounds of tourism

Another cluster of returning sounds distinct to the urban seaside are those associated with visitors and tourism. In contrast to the quietness of Kemptown discussed by Joan with regard to absent sounds, she also notes how this had begun to change: 'But then this week it's just been manic and horrible with so many people visiting the beach and just sort of

coming into Kemptown to get food and drink' (FUI08). There was variation in how residents described tourism returning to the seaside. Mary-Jane in Brighton claims, 'there's quite a lot of pandemic tourism as well. There was quite a lot of Londoners on the beach at one point. I well, I kept well away' (FUI06). Some participants welcomed the returning sounds of people enjoying the beach and pleasure amusements, whereas others found the increase in visitors jarring. Shirley's listening walk in St Leonards took her from the pier along the seafront, capturing a busy day on the beach in her videos:

> What I've really noticed is the number of people that are out enjoying themselves. But that kind of steady reassuring sound of the sea, as the wind blows it into the shore. And then crinkling sound of shingle underfoot. I mean I expect there to be lots of people out here today, sunning themselves, even on a working day, but it's a Friday. But I guess there's a lot more people here than normal given the circumstances. (LW13, video 03)

The sounds associated with returning seaside visitors show a range of engagement with tourism narratives. This 'pandemic tourism' (Mary-Jane, FUI06) idea chimes with the fear-mongering and classed constructions of mass beach tourism playing out in the media at the time (Bland, 2021). As discussed in Chapter 2, early media reports expressed panic at irresponsible masses at the beach (Chapman, 2021). However, in contrast to these media narratives, Mary-Jane attributes 'pandemic tourism' to second home-owners from London breaking the rules during strict lockdown. She distinguishes this from the pre-pandemic coachloads of people that come from a variety of locations (FUI06). These show concerns over the take-over and negative consequences of second home ownerships at the coast and other rural locations strengthened by Covid-fears of the city (Tapper & Bearne, 2021; Fatsis & Lamb, 2022).

However, many other seaside residents welcomed tourists as a return to normalcy or at least tolerated this aspect as a necessary part of the seaside. As observed by Logan:

> Apart from the fishing, erm, generally the tourists are what keeps things afloat here. Believe me, it's been hard here over the past few weeks. But no, there's a bit of conflict with some ways, Airbnbs being used, and I don't think that's particular to

around here. There's even before this year, the amount of people that are visiting for a holiday cos it's a wonderful place to come. (FUI17)

Tourism is a defining aspect of the seaside and its economy, and therefore accepted by residents as part of living by the sea. Its revival as part of a staycation boom becomes positioned as a "natural" part of the seaside tourist cycles.

These rhythms of life by the sea link to another seaside dimension that some residents remarked on: seasonality. Life in the summer months were sometimes referred to as like being on holiday. Myrtle describes vivid memories of early summers after moving to St Leonards, noting, 'it felt like life was a holiday' (FUI02). Archetypal seaside leisure activities were described by residents, such as eating ice cream, swimming and promenading. In contrast to the summer months, Logan (LW17; FUI17) claims that most people could not cope with living out the colder months in St Leonards. Logan's commentary links in with themes of marginality and decline at the seaside. Through these returning sounds it becomes evident that the role of tourism in urban seaside gentrification is important. Airbnbification and second-home ownership are highlighted by some as problematic, linking to transnational gentrification features. But, as will be discussed later, it does not fit the relationship established by coastification or tourism gentrification, indicating something distinct about this site of gentrification.

Overall returning sounds therefore entangle gentrifying processes as participants grapple with the pandemic disruption on their sensory-environmental relationships. These disruptions bring renewed awareness to the constant upgrading and redevelopments in their neighbourhood as well as the nature of tourism mobilities. They tap directly into distinct features of urban seaside gentrification, fixing our attention onto the role of tourism and features from across the five waves of gentrification.

6.5 Imagined sounds: seaside temporalities

Imagined sounds are rarer than the other two discussed, and less explicitly linked to pandemic disruptions. But they offer a particularly interesting interplay between the senses, place and time, connecting to distinct seaside temporalities. In these sounds, the senses are

not in tension with participants' imaginings of the urban seaside, but instead enlisted to evoke these imaginings sonically. It is interesting to note that the main imagined sounds were observed by Worthing residents, which raises questions about whether certain places features might engender listeners to undertake "imaginary listening". The two main examples to be discussed reach back into contested pasts, demonstrating the important heritage dimension that constitutes the urban seaside. This also shows a longer historic timeline that frames some residents' thinking about change going back before gentrification was coined (Glass, 1964; Kern, 2016; Osman, 2016).

Two Worthing residents discussed imaginary sounds that drew on historical narratives of the seaside. Dr X, a resident who had moved down from London in her fifties, expresses wonder in her audio recording:

> Ah look at it, it's beautiful, imagine its hey-day, elegant ladies, can hear it now, carriages, genteel chatter, no swearing of course. Fabulous, look at it. Ahh, don't like the look of this. What's over there? The monstrosity they put up there. (LW11)

Dr X was listening at the Beach House park next to a Regency-style villa. Opened publicly in the 1920s, the park is described by the local authorities as 'Worthing's Premier Park' replete with bowling green and pavilion (Worthing Council, 2022). Dr X contrasts this seaside attraction with the new luxury apartment tower being built nearby, 'the monstrosity' (LW11). This new tower block, Bayside Luxury Apartments, features heavily in all of the Worthing residents' listening material as a contested site of brownfield redevelopment. Several participants captured the new building in photos, as seen in Figure 6.3. Dr X makes her feelings about this new-build very clear in contrasting it against Regency heritage, positioning the new as ugly and the old as beautiful and elegant. In her interview, she later describes the valiant efforts of the local preservation society to conserve the historic built environment and fight against this new-build (FUI11). Dr X clearly values this Regency past, taking pleasure in imagining how the 'genteel' classes would have sounded in the park (LW11).

Figure 6.3: Chloe's photos of Bayside Luxury Apartments (Worthing, LW16)

Desdemona, a historian who also moved to Worthing in recent years but from Brighton, combines actual and imagined sounds to discuss a different working-class history. Whilst walking on the beach, she notes the sounds of a mechanised hauling system for boats, which sparks a "sound story" about the local fishing community (LW10). She initially names this an 'enduring sound' but qualifies this by imagining how the industry might have sounded differently in the past without such mechanisation (FUI10). Desdemona goes onto recount how she volunteered for a local history project called *The Last Fisherman Standing,* premised on the last full-time working fisherman retiring in 2015.

Through imaginary and historic listening, Desdemona conjures up acoustic changes of fishing boats on the beach, including the frequency of fishing boats being used on that strip of the seafront. Alongside seaside histories, this fishing story also connects to tourism and pleasure. Desdemona describes the important local fish restaurant that was part of her decision-making in moving to Worthing. The project included activities happening at this fish restaurant. Thus, the fishing boat sounds connect into significant seaside features for Desdemona; the community history project and the fish restaurant both form important parts of her move between Brighton and Worthing and inhabiting the urban seaside. As

discussed by Brooks & Hubbard (2021:2) with regard to coastal gentrification, fishing and aquaculture aspects of the seaside and coast are valued for preserving "traditional" ways of life. They note that despite fishing activities taking place at sea, fishing still has a strong placed-based influence on land through the presence of boats and equipment in harbours and consumption of fish (ibid:3).

These examples of imagined historic sounds show how both residents place value on seaside histories in their relationships to the seaside. They draw on the well-known seaside storyline but take on different harmonies through evoking the sounds of the past. Dr X focuses on Worthing's past as an upper-class Regency resort whereas Desdemona discusses a lost working-class fishing industry. For Desdemona, it represents a significant experience of getting to know her new town, for Dr X such sensorial imaginings bring joy. Imaginary listening is deeply connected to historic listening and listening positionalities that orient towards the past. Yet sound and listening are never static and accessing the sounds of the past remains elusive (Schafer, 1994:9; Westerkamp, 2017:30). It is difficult to make claims of 'enduring sounds' (Desdemona, LW17) with few sound archives preserving the acoustic past (Prosser, 2019). Thus, the main way to access sound heritage during a listening walk is through imaginary listening, which, as a rarer type of listening practice shows the importance placed by these two residents on seaside pasts.

These contrasting class histories map across heritage, tourism and regeneration narratives, highlighting the contested pasts of coastal liquidity. Shared seaside heritage helps both understand the present changing environment and anticipate possible futures. For Desdemona it represents a significant part of her relationship to Worthing as a historian and newcomer. Desdemona discusses changes but does not associate this directly with gentrification (FUI10). She takes a longer timeline view whereby the original small fishing village has been transformed into a place for upper- and middle-class leisure and pleasure.

Dr X contrasts Regency sounds with present redevelopments of the seafront and the need for preserving this heritage. She discusses in detail how 'the monstrosity' luxury new-build is "out of place" at the seaside (FUI11). She associates 'shiny white towers' instead with London, dramatically describing them as 'an ode to everything that's wrong with our current political system' (FUI11). Thus, Dr X's enjoyment of Worthing's Regency heritage shapes

what is considered “natural” and fitting for the seaside, thereby rendering contemporary architecture and tower blocks monstrously “out of place”. Prioritising historic buildings over redevelopment fixes Worthing spatially and temporally, privileging certain class dynamics. Dr X expresses future fears of gentrification, desiring a different urban trajectory. However, the pandemic potentially gives a future reprieve to the spectre of new-build gentrification. She muses that, ‘As we're about to go into a recession, I don't see how any of this building's going to… I think there'll just sit on the land for a long time’ (FUI11).

In contrast, one other resident engaged in explicit “imaginary listening”, but in a very different way. Rafael noted scaffolding on his walk, but chose to extrapolate and liken it to sounds of boats: ‘as the wind rushes through it, it sounds a bit like a quay or a harbour, sounds like lots of sails’ (LW03). In this case, a fantasy sound-source is intentionally invented. Rafael knows the sounds are being made by ropes and other material flapping against the scaffolding poles but likens it to boats because he enjoys imagining living next to a quay or harbour. He states, ‘the sound of the scaffolding opposite is delightful. I really like it. It does sound like I live near a quay or regatta or something’ (LW03). This form of “imaginary listening” does not necessarily draw from the past but it signifies a particular imagining of living by the seaside. Regattas have an upper- and middle-class association as opposed to the working-class livelihoods represented by Desdemona’s fishing story.

These imagined sounds thereby tap into what residents think the seaside *ought to sound like*, sharing a characteristic with absent sounds. How Rafael hears and relates to the sounds of scaffolding are very different from other residents’ discussion of construction. Rafael was the only participant who liked Bayside for being ‘a practical and pragmatic solution to a difficult [housing] problem’ (FUI03). He chimes with the regeneration narrative, valuing the sound of construction as a defining aspect of urban living: ‘part of living in a town is that it's never finished’ (FUI03). But for other Worthing participants these sounds mostly triggered negative discussion of constant renovation and redevelopments in the neighbourhood. Although other residents recognised some benefits in new housing being built, they always discussed the controversies it had brought: the construction impacts, ruining the skyline, being unaffordable to existing residents and putting a strain on local services.

These examples show how residents draw on competing narratives which shapes what they consider “natural” or “unnatural” change at the seaside. Rafael claims that redevelopment

and associated sounds are just part of living in towns and cities: ‘If something was done, and this was how it would look forever, that would be rubbish. I wouldn't like that at all.’ (FUI03). This stands in contrast to Dr X’s discussion of the changing seafront buildings positioned in relation to the Regency seaside past. The construction signalled by scaffolding or Bayside immediately brings up reflections on the future. This includes fears over losing the seaside of the past and present (Dr X) and representing the seemingly natural trajectory of urban redevelopment (Rafael).

Constant changes to the built environment and Rafael’s description of town living strikingly embody the unfinished present of coastal liquidity. But for some the pandemic disruption appears to have opened the possibility of a different type of future. At the time of her interview, Dr X felt that a recession was inevitable, which would pause gentrification-related construction (FUI11). Other participants also wondered how public-private partnership redevelopments might progress post-pandemic. As Mary-Jane comments:

> I mean now after all this situation, I imagine councils will have absolutely no money for them to do anything. We're going to have completely rethink all sorts of things, aren't we? (FUI06).

This uncertainty expressed by participants mixes different future orientations, including speculation, potentiality and hope (Bryant & Knight, 2019).

These imagined sounds consequently lead us into a complex array of seaside and gentrification narratives and themes. Residents engage with dominant representations of space in their own personal stories, such as the restorative benefits of the built environment. The plural meanings ascribed to the seaside sometimes result in tensions and clashes, as shown in the contrast between Rafael and fellow Worthing participants’ views on Bayside and renewal. This discussion amplifies the coastal liquidity dynamics that constitute this form of gentrification. It also raises how certain forms of redevelopment become positioned as “out of place” at the urban seaside, in particular new-build gentrification.

Overall, through discussing these absent, returning and imagined sound examples, I have identified social, spatial and mobility processes that are part of the production of urban seaside gentrification. Participants’ “lockdown listening” shows a renewed awareness of

gentrifying change in their neighbourhoods. Participants engage with existing seaside narratives and themes to make sense of these experiences, such as the tensions between their sonic encounters and what they think the seaside should sound like. There are plural meanings ascribed to the urban seaside, and some residents are challenging and blurring existing narratives. Within this plurality, there is a degree of "fixing" identifiable, which shows the entanglement of residents in the re/production of urban seaside space. Analysis of these layered meanings acts as a "sounding out" of the urban seaside, through which gentrification processes become audible. This discussion has so far threaded through aspects of "seasideness", coastal liquidity, the role of tourism and different gentrification features. In the next section, I formulate these into four key motifs that I argue distinguish urban seaside gentrification from other manifestations, whilst also recognising the localised differences between the three south coast sites.

6.6 Narrating urban seaside gentrification

This chapter has looked in depth at residential "lockdown listening" by the seaside and thereby gleaned insight into their experiences of living in gentrifying neighbourhoods. By residents sounding out the urban seaside, they are also narrating gentrification. I argue that my analysis of the ways that residents are narrating the urban seaside shows that gentrification is permeating their neighbourhood lives. I have examined residents' narrations in the listening material and discussed some of the ways gentrification becomes audible. This section assembles this altogether to propose four key characteristics of urban seaside gentrification. Under each characteristic, I discuss gentrification archetypes, tropes and motifs from the material already examined as well as looking at how residents define gentrification, which was asked directly in the interviews. As has been noted, there are differences between Brighton, Worthing and St Leonards, but there are sufficient commonalities and patterns across these sites. This section therefore takes inspiration from rural gentrification scholarship assertions that gentrification concepts can emerge 'generatively through comparisons of singular cases that stimulate recognition of new issues and ideas' (Phillips & Smith, 2018; Phillips et al., 2021).

"Lockdown listening" discussion has predominantly focused on residential engagement with seaside narratives and themes; in this section I look in more detail at existing gentrification archetypes, tropes and motifs. As introduced in Chapter 1, the waves model is useful for understanding shared characteristics or patterns over time (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Lees, et al., 2008; Aalbers, 2019). Osman (2016:217) argues that 'today all residents are influenced by the memory of earlier waves of gentrification'. Gentrification has diffused into popular consciousness since its coinage (Glass, 1964) and it is possible to hear how tropes associated with different waves filter through into residents' narrations. When asked to define gentrification, residents answered in a range of ways that draw on, blur and challenge existing gentrification archetypes, tropes and motifs. Some defined it as a complete 'change of landscape' (Jane, FUI01) or 'geography' (Thorin, FUI22) whereas others were more specific in naming physical improvements, a shift in class demographics and/or displacement. Four included only structural drivers as part of their definition, five attributed it to demand-led causes and eleven mentioned a combination of these two. Residents often used specific examples of changes they had witnessed as a way of defining it, which included ten residents referencing London (e.g. Notting Hill, Dulwich and Tooting).

It is interesting to note how many residents showed a degree of uncertainty over claiming knowledge about gentrification, especially in comparison to claims of knowing the seaside. Residents often talked about needing to look the term up before or after the listening activities or downplayed their explanations. As expressed by Georgia after giving a comprehensive definition of gentrification: 'That's my probably very basic understanding of it' (FUI09). This reflects the complexity of the term and feeds into critiques of its conceptual chaos (Beauregard, 1984). It also might show the perception of the term as academic making residents feel self-consciousness explaining it to a researcher. In some cases, it serves to distance and dissociate participants from the phenomenon (see Chapter 8). This dynamic underscores the frequency with which residents therefore use existing gentrification narratives to help them explain this complex phenomenon. I draw on both residential and existing narratives to explore each urban seaside gentrification motif in the following discussion.

"Seasideness"

The "seasideness" of this gentrification is significant. It loudly resounds in the listening material, in which we hear the different harmonies and discordances of existing seaside narratives and themes. The plural meanings encompassed by "seasideness" are apt and open up interpretative potential to explain the place-specific features of these south coast sites. This characteristic connects to existing gentrification motifs, particularly within coastal gentrification or arts/led regeneration. This includes the notion of the 'coastal idyll' (Shah, 2011), a distinct built environment that is considered valuable and the elevation and commodification of seaside pasts. However, although sharing commonalities, I argue that these existing conceptualisations do not adequately explain or account for significant dynamics of urban seaside gentrification.

Looking first to the coastal idyll, I have identified elements that chime with this notion, including the role of the creative sectors, notions of escape and the commodification of the sea (Shah, 2011:172, 235-9). The importance of the sea-view for Jane (FUI01), Dr X's emotional commentary on the sea (LW11) and Desdemona's fishing boat story (FUI10) could all be framed as ways that the coastal landscape becomes a cultural commodity (ibid). The desirability of the sea is expressed by many residents, echoing media stories on escaping dense cities during the pandemic. As Chloe notes:

> Especially through something like lockdown people, so many people, said to me, "You're so lucky, you know, I miss the sea. I really want to see the sea". And I'd say to people, "Anyone can move anywhere!". (FUI16)

The idea of the coastal idyll potentially becomes strengthened by the new dangers represented by Covid-era city-life. However, the interaction between what are considered its natural and urban dimensions significantly thread throughout residents' narrations. In Jane's case, the impact of traffic, associated with the built urban environment is put in conflict with the natural. This challenges this idyllic notion of the coast, bringing out the specific dynamics of the urban seaside as opposed to the rural coast.

There are also aspects of coastification that are not applicable, which are most strikingly evident in St Leonards a decade on from Shah's (2011) original study. Pioneer gentrifiers are

not the only gentrifiers present in participants' accounts and their narrations of pioneer gentrifiers also diverge from Shah's (2011). In particular, all newcomers do not have a combination of high social or cultural capital and low economic capital as argued by Shah (ibid:143; 157), as seen in residents' discussion of global mobile elites (Myrtle, FUI02) and DFLs as affluent consumers (Virginia, FUI15). Furthermore, residential narrations of St Leonards also challenge Shah's (2011:241-243) findings over a slower pace of change occurring over ten years ago. Shah (ibid) attributed this pace to pioneer gentrifiers resisting gentrification progressing through different stages, concluding that direct displacement of longer-term residents was not occurring. In contrast, many residents in this study discuss the rapid pace of change felt in the area that has led to gentrification being a hotly contested topic (Virginia, FUI15; Thorin, FUI22; Myrtle, FUI02). Residents' sense of change and its pace varies between each site, which highlights the different stages and manifestations of gentrification across the seaside (see Chapters 7 and 8).

Crucially, "seasideness" threads these sites together, creating coherence for understanding the particular ways gentrification processes are manifesting along the south coast. This includes the valuing of a distinct historic architecture and built environment. Classic gentrification features include the restoration and renovation of historic buildings that have been neglected (Glass, 1964). Due to resort development, the seaside offers historic buildings that can be re-imagined within coastal regeneration (Lees & McKiernan, 2012:20). Marine Court in St Leonards and the Regency Beach House in Worthing are examples of this distinct architecture that is considered valuable, as we have seen in Logan and Dr X's listening material. This classic gentrification feature also forms part of several residents' definitions of gentrification. For example, Grumpy explains, 'Somebody once defined it to me as "Oh yeah, that means putting a coach lamp outside your front door on the wall"'. (FUI07)

The seaside's distinct historic past is a crucial part of the way residents narrate the seaside, which easily plays into its commodification within gentrification processes. In Brighton, pride is expressed in knowing about the architect Thomas Kemp's role in creating the neighbourhood, with landmarks such as the Royal Crescent and Sussex Square featuring in listening activities (Llew, LH04; Mary-Jane, LH06; Tim, FUI05; Raymond, FUI21). In St Leonards, residents similarly reference the architectural father and son duo of James and

Decimus Burton who created the resort for Regency London gentry (Logan, LW17; Polly, LW19; Shirley, LW13). In Worthing, its historic buildings are less explicitly linked to architects, but many residents express the need for preserving its Regency, Victorian and Art Deco buildings associated with notable literary figures (Dr X, LW11; Grumpy, FUI07; Desdemona, FUI10; Chloe, FUI16). Residents' frequent observation of antique and vintage shops in their listening walks also indicates commodification of the past. Raymond reflects about this consumption of the past, saying 'it's strange using the past for the interests of capital' (FUI21). Threaded throughout resident's narrations of the seaside is the elevation of the past as something to be valued and consumed, which is an enduring gentrification trope, even if it does appear 'strange' (Raymond, FUI21).

Thus, "seasideness" chimes with existing gentrification motifs but enhances conceptualisations of coastification and arts-led regeneration. I advocate for "seasideness" as a way of reframing and rethinking these motifs already identified by research carried out on gentrification-on-sea.

Coastal liquidity dynamics

Closely connected to "seasideness", I propose the second urban seaside gentrification theme of coastal liquidity dynamics. I have argued throughout this chapter that this concept helps us understand aspects of residents' narrations and the plurality of seasides. The degree of fluidity/fixity of these sites can usefully serve gentrification processes, particularly for commodification and consumption purposes (Lees & McKiernan, 2012; Burdsey, 2016; Ward, 2018). As discussed, imaginings of the urban seaside also contribute to positioning certain sounds, people, objects and changes as "out of place" or more "natural". This plays out in residents' narrations of gentrifying change in their neighbourhoods.

When defining gentrification, ten of the residents describe gentrifiers as outsiders, being called a range of terms from 'newcomers' (FUI16, FUI20) to people who 'weren't traditionally here' (FUI19). Those who would be victims of gentrification are similarly described in these terms. Eight residents describe gentrification victims being local, including 'people who originally lived here' (FUI10), 'the original community' (FUI08) and 'people who have got like longer roots in the community' (FUI01). Residents clearly demarcate those who cause gentrification and those who feel the worst impacts along lines

of local vs. outsider. Certain groups of people are therefore deemed more traditionally in and of the seaside. This is usually described in class terms: people on lower income, working class, trades people, older people, those more vulnerable and/or people in council housing or receiving state benefits. This demarcation brings an enhanced perspective to residents who place value on being local or having local knowledge of the area. Value is placed on local knowledge, but also implicitly on groups of people who are associated with being traditionally resident, namely the working class. Commodification and consumption of working-class culture is another gentrification trope that is therefore drawn on by residents (Hubbard, 2017).

Interrogating this fluidity/fixity of coastal liquidity further helps us frame and understand localised differences within a conceptualisation of urban seaside gentrification. The distinct seaside temporalities already identified give rise to a notable idea that several residents used to explain change at the urban seaside, that of "regentrification". There was an interesting use of the word "regentrification" in some residents' definitions and discussions. Raymond uses the word to describe different stages of gentrification (FUI21). This indicates that Brighton is seen as experiencing a mature level of gentrification according to stage models rather than the hyper-gentrification associated with London (Kertsein, 1990; Lees, 2003). But others took a longer historical view of the seaside, combining the seaside storyline with gentrification.

This "regentrification" thesis echoes across the three sites, through the seaside story timeline of fishing village transformed through Regency London elites. As Virginia questions (FUI15): 'St Leonards was re-gentrified wasn't it?' Similarly, Polly asserts that gentrification is not a new phenomenon in the area because the 'rich coming in has kind of been happening for like hundreds of years' (FUI19). The idea of a historical precedence for gentrification existing at the seaside is alluded to by a few residents across all three sites. This challenges dominant gentrification narratives such as the waves model timeline that begins with the 'back to the city' movement witnessed in 1950s America (Hackworth & Smith, 2002). It is a fascinating dynamic within residents' narrations, which aligns with Osman's (2016:216) calls for historical analyses to challenge the idea that gentrification is a 'break from the past'.

Interestingly, in Worthing a different localised explanation is evident that draws on another seaside archetype, that of retirement. When asked about who is moving out of Worthing, all residents call on the town's reputation as "God's waiting room" and put forward a population "replacement" explanation. Overwhelmingly, participants deny that anyone is being physically displaced, as pondered by Grumpy:

> I hadn't really thought about the people who've made the space, as it were, for the others to move in, but erm… I suppose, I don't know, it's a morbid thought, isn't it, that given that it was known as God's waiting room for many years when I first moved here, maybe that movement has been caused by natural er…, you know, aging and old people going into old people's homes and vacating houses or dying. (FUI07)

Most believe that increasingly young families are moving over from Brighton; however, this movement is viewed as 'natural progression' (Georgia, FUI09). Thus, although Bayside represents "out of place" new-build gentrification, the movements of families from Brighton is viewed as "natural". This immigration is not seen as harmful but instead a way of the town being rejuvenated as households seek more space that is "quieter" and family-friendly. This chimes with discussion of 'familification' as a form of gentrification that prioritises and values family in-migration (Goodsell, 2013).

Consequently, coastal liquidity helps us hear these distinct temporalities and seaside "fixings". This motif therefore could be considered a specific dynamic that encapsulates several features that fuel and strengthen urban seaside gentrification processes. It also connects to the next motif in thinking about tourism mobilities and opportunities.

Tourism and gentrification relationship

The role of tourism is inherent within "seasideness" and coastal liquidity dynamics. However, the particular relationship with gentrification warrants distinction as a third motif of urban seaside gentrification. From the listening analysis it appears that tourism and gentrification are co-existing and mutually supportive. Seaside mobilities are an important part of the processes producing urban seaside gentrification and these include tourists, visitors and transient workers. This reinforcing relationship is different from that set up within coastification or tourism gentrification. In this manifestation, gentrification is not

replacing tourism as found in coastification (Shah, 2011) and it is not solely caused by tourism as identified in tourism gentrification (Cocola-Gant, 2018a, 2018b).

As discussed under returning sounds, tourists are an integral part of residents' narrations of the seaside and their experiences of the neighbourhood. The presence of Airbnb and the important role of tourism in these sites indicate how these processes are playing out. This dynamic challenges Shah's (2011) coastification thesis whereby gentrification is seen to replace tourism. Shah (2011:238) describes St Leonards as coastal because the 'seaside resort town has experienced marked decline and evolved in functionality into a post-resort phase'. However, my research shows that the neighbourhood is experiencing a revival in tourism. This is most evident in the rise of short-term rentals, which each resident mentioned being aware of in the area (see Chapter 7). Airbnbs are positioned by both Myrtle and Virginia as problematic in the eyes of residents. Myrtle's choice of route was influenced by wanting to view a new 'boutique Airbnb' round the corner that was causing consternation from neighbours (FUI02). Virginia herself is an Airbnb landlady and discusses attending a local resident meeting about the issue (FUI15). The return of tourism through this digital platform is therefore a contested issue in St Leonards. In Brighton, it was accepted as part of the tourism infrastructure by residents but in east Worthing it was felt that there were few short-term rentals occurring in the neighbourhood.

However, tourism has not taken over to such an extreme that it predominantly accounts for gentrification and displacement. Therefore, tourism gentrification does not adequately account for the role of tourism in urban seaside gentrification either (Cocola-Gant, 2018; Cocola-Gant & Lopez-Gay, 2020). Residents are tolerating, or in some cases embracing, tourism as an integral part of urban seaside. Negative aspects of tourism mainly come out when framed as 'pandemic tourism' in the example from Mary-Jane (FUI06). This motif consequently is separated out from "seasideness" and coastal liquidity in order to speak to these existing conceptualisations and debates over the relationship between tourism and gentrification (Gravari-Barbas & Guinand's, 2017; Sequera & Nofre, 2018). The significance of tourism also aligns with conceptions of fifth wave or transnational gentrification (Sigler & Wachsmuth, 2016; Aalbers, 2019; Cocola-Gant & Lopez-Gay, 2020), which leads us to discuss the final motif and look at the waves model further.

Features from across the five waves of gentrification

The fourth and final motif of urban seaside gentrification that can be proposed from my analysis draws on the waves model of gentrification (see Figure 1.2). I have identified features attributable to all five waves of the gentrification waves model (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Lees, et al., 2008; Aalbers, 2019;). As highlighted in this chapter, residents' narrations indicate that a range of characteristics and structural forces are occurring simultaneously. These features fit early and classic gentrification, including pioneer gentrifiers rescuing neglected historic buildings, the liberal values of DIY and counter-cultures, and speculating investors. The role of the state is also present within regeneration funding and complements finance capital, features of gentrification since 1990s post-recession (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Pockets of new-build gentrification are also seen in redevelopment sites such as Bayside, which also come to represent the financialisation of housing (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). Characteristics of transnational gentrification become apparent with the presence of global mobile elites, digital platforms, such as Airbnb, and foreign investors connecting redevelopment capital to transnational housing demand.

Participants engage with existing gentrification tropes form across the consumption/production-side divide. There are several gentrifer archetypes alongside middle-class consumption behaviours described in their narratives. As already discussed, Desdemona's fishing boat story (FUI10) links into coastal specific consumption that draws on aquaculture and being a discerning middle-class consumer, as portrayed by the 'foodie identity' within 'oysterfication' (Hubbard, 2017; Brooks & Hubbard, 2021). Residents also discussed the rise of 'fancy coffee shops' (FUI11) and other tropes of retail gentrification such as wine bars, boutique and vintage shops. After posing the question of what gentrification might sound like, Desdemona suggests that one symbolic sound is that of a coffee machine or coffee grounds being bashed out (FUI10). The newer 'sheeshy' coffee shops (Dr X, FUI11) that these sounds indicate are frequently positioned against 'greasy spoons' or 'cafs' (Jane, FUI01) by residents. Similarly, local pubs or 'boozers' are pitted against 'posh wine bars' (Thorin, FUI22). These common phrases for changing local amenities denote a shift from working to middle-class demand and consumption (see Chapter 8).

Hipsters also feature, though in St Leonards the term “DFL” was more common and appears to be synonymous with the figure of the hipster. These newcomers are positioned very differently from tourist visitors in residents’ accounts. Hubbard (2016:1) discusses conflicts over hipster consumption and retail changes with some politicians claiming entrepreneurs catering for this demand have been ‘monstered’. Londoners become the archetypal gentrifier in this account across all residents’ discussions. But in St Leonards OFBs (Over from Brighton) also become entangled. Logan in particular makes a distinction that OFBs are more of a threat than DFLs to the neighbourhood. He explains that having already ruined Brighton, OFBs risk bringing similar changes with them, though this also speaks to his own positioning as someone who has come down from London (FUI17).

Related to these narrations of types of gentrifiers is the idea of DIY/pioneer gentrifiers. The discussion around the sounds of scaffolding alludes to the presence of many homeowners self-renovating. Specific aesthetics are associated with newcomers doing up the neighbourhood, especially in St Leonards. Shirley talks of the ‘greyification’ that has resulted in so many houses being painted the same colour (FUI13). She captures this in a video that sweeps over a grey painted terraced house with the commentary ‘St Leonards orrrr East London?', relating this aesthetic preference to London (LW13, video 14). Within all this discussion of gentrifiers, the archetypal pioneer gentrifier, does not appear to be particularly threatening. This sits in contrast to the DFL consumers depicted by Virginia (FUI15) or redevelopers responsible for ‘monstrous’ Bayside (Dr X, LW11).

Moving more into the realm of structural gentrifying forces, residential narratives indicate different forms of redevelopment capital circulating. Several residents express their concern over global mobile elites and foreign investors involved in redevelopment projects, who get designated as gentrification “monsters”. Dr X and Shirley explicitly name such investors in racialised terms as ‘oil barons in Saudi Arabia’ (FUI13) and ‘Chinese and Russian oligarchs’ (FUI11). Myrtle also describes a mobile elite class in a story about meeting a couple at a party in St Leonards who live between the United States and Sussex. She expresses her outrage at such an arrangement:

> They commute on a monthly basis (laughter) between Florida and St Leonard's. I was like, “Argggh” (laughter). (FUI02)

These tropes are part of transnational or fifth wave gentrification which connects redevelopment capital to transnational rather than local housing demand (Sigler & Wachsmuth, 2016; Aalber 2019). This is part of Dr X's declaration that Bayside is 'an ode' to a broken political system that allows the financialization of home (FUI11). The 'shiny white towers' are more typical of London as a global city that experiences hyper or super-gentrification (Lees, 2003; Butler & Lees, 2006) rather than a small seaside town like Worthing. This type of gentrification is positioned as "out of place" through the way that residents narrate the seaside and therefore becomes noticeable and objectionable.

These larger construction sites also tap into another gentrification trope, that of state-led or assisted regeneration. The state plays a role in all of the waves of gentrification, from funding gentrification, stepping back for private players to take a lead or complementing finance capital (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Aalbers, 2019). The bigger construction sites such as Archery Gardens in St Leonards can be attributed to private-public partnerships. However, few residents explicitly talk about the role of the state. Rafael's future-looking outlook and the need for ongoing redevelopment echoes gentrification as the 'new global urban strategy' (Smith, 2002), which could be argued shows how far these policies have infiltrated public consciousness. Only Chloe and Jordan explicitly talk about local authorities in defining gentrification, likening it to older slum clearance policies (FUI12; FUI16). The seaside regeneration narrative is also apparent in residents' engagement with the theme of decline. Myrtle for example describes having moved to St Leonards at the tail end of a degentrification cycle (FUI02). She notes the role of local council funding that gave renovation grants to homeowners, which improved the area and tied recipients into not selling these houses for a given period of time. However, she explains that once this time period ended, the housing market then boomed with many properties transferring from rental to owner-occupiers (FUI02).

These tropes chime with more classic forms of gentrification with public monies improving an area that landlords and outside investors benefit from. In St Leonards, estate agents were often placed as greedy, pushing up prices irresponsibly. However, the council overwhelmingly was discussed in terms of cuts, austerity and possessing limited power to act in gentrification processes. One resident, Llew, did express support for Brighton & Hove City Council in the way they have preserved the built environment (FUI04). In contrast, Dr X

felt that Worthing Council were miscalculating what attracted people to the seaside by replicating London tower blocks (FUI11). When asked whether they felt they had a say in changes around them, most residents felt fairly apathetic about local democratic processes. For example, Jane, who has worked for local councils and carried out consultations described cynicism of the power to change much locally: 'The council leaders are going to do what they want to do, so it's a bit of a waste really' (FUI01). These discussions speak to the uncertainty of the Covid-era as well as the impacts of austerity urbanism (Annunziata & Lees, 2016; Watt, 2018; Guillespie et al., 2021). These indicate the structural processes involved in gentrification and how residents feel the impacts at the neighbourhood level.

In sum, this final motif encompasses the many features that are recognisable from across the fives waves of gentrification. I have identified these within participants' narrations of urban seaside gentrification. The extent that each of these features exist and how they interact needs further interrogation. However, in combination with "seasideness", the coastal liquidity dynamics and strengthening relationship role of tourism, these co-present motifs make urban seaside gentrification a distinct manifestation.

6.7 Concluding remarks

This chapter has used sounds stimuli and residents' listening experiences to critically discuss how residents are narrating urban seaside gentrification across the three sites of Brighton, Worthing and St Leonards. I have coined the umbrella term "lockdown listening" to denote the listening experiences and practices engendered by the specific conditions under which residents undertook their listening activities in the months following the strict 2020 spring lockdown. This form of listening comprises increased sensory awareness of neighbourhood acoustics alongside attentiveness to the changes occurring at the seaside. Through identifying absent, imagined and returning sounds I have been able to interrogate the significant dynamics of "lockdown listening" and draw out how residents are narrating changing urban seaside during pandemic. Through this critical discussion, gentrification processes have become increasingly apparent, which I argue shows how such processes are permeating residents' everyday lives in their seaside neighbourhoods. In the latter part of chapter, I have drawn out the main gentrification archetypes, tropes and motifs from

residents' narrations. This has shown how resident are also engaging with existing gentrification narratives, clustered around seaside-related gentrification motifs and consumption and production-side oriented tropes.

I have offered four characteristics that constitute urban seaside gentrification according to residents' narrations. These key motifs help us position urban seaside gentrification in relation to existing gentrification scholarship. Firstly, I propose that "seasideness" is significant, making it distinct from existing conceptualisations of coastification (Shah, 2011). Secondly, through applying the concept of coastal liquidity (Burdsey, 2016), I have come to understand that the dynamics it encapsulates are entangled with gentrification processes occurring at the seaside to the extent that it can be usefully considered a key motif. Thirdly, I have found that there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between tourism and gentrification, which is different from tourism gentrification or touristification theses (Cocola-Gant, 2018). Fourthly, I have identified features in residents' narrations that are recognisable from across the five waves of gentrification occurring simultaneously.

It is important to note that this is a snapshot from 2020 and the local specificities of this manifestation of gentrification are constantly shifting. This is demonstrated when reviewing contrasting findings between this research and Shah's (2011) study spaced only a decade apart. It is interesting to consider what a sixth wave of gentrification may look like. For example, residents discussed how the pandemic may bring about a recession that pauses gentrification but at the same time predict that investors will continue to speculate on land (Dr X, FUI11). This corresponds with academic speculations on a possible sixth wave that include how investments are being shored up during the pandemic in anticipation of new opportunities (Lees, 2022). The pandemic does not appear to have yet acted as a wave-breaker and instead may have strengthened gentrification (ibid). Covid-era conditions such as working from home create a potentially conducive environment for gentrification sites outside of global cities; as Dr X notes:

> …an article from *The Guardian*, about how Worthing has become one of the, since the pandemic, because people realised they can work from home, they can work anywhere. So why stay in London where they're a bit scared because it's, you know, you're on top of everybody. (FUI11)

Acknowledging uncertain futures, this chapter's theme therefore uses the phrase *narrating* urban seaside to denote the ongoing, shifting and unfinished nature of this phenomenon generally and at the urban seaside.

Whilst attempting to be grounded and built from micro-level analysis, this chapter has therefore grappled with different interpretative scales. This includes individual residents' sonic encounters and in-depth interrogation of sounds such as scaffolding through to engagement with collective dominant narratives of the place and phenomena. This ambitious endeavour to move between these levels and across sites has culminated in proposing these four key characteristics of urban seaside gentrification. The next two chapters will further build on and analyse these dynamics and sub-themes in more detail. Chapter 7 will look at the seaside mobilities and housing infrastructures to understand the different ways residents are navigating the spectrum of gentrification-induced displacement. Chapter 8 will then take a justice approach to critically discuss how residents are positioning themselves in relation to the in/justices associated with this displacement.

CHAPTER 7: Listening to im/mobilities: navigating the displacement spectrum

7.1 Introduction

Having interrogated what gentrification might sound like in the previous chapter, the next two chapters tune into the audibility of displacement at the urban seaside. *Listening-with* residents to gentrification amplifies the spectrum of displacement. By "listening to im/mobilities" and analysing residential listening positionalities we can rethink the role of displacement in gentrifying urban seaside neighbourhoods (objective 2). 'Im/mobilities' is not an absence of movement but a means of highlighting the relationality of mobilities (Khan, 2016; Murray & Khan, 2020) and through this, the interconnectedness of displacement and mobilities. Displacement is 'a definitive constituent of gentrification' (Phillips et al, 2021:66), vital for 'retaining definitional coherence and a critical perspective on the process' (Slater, 2009:748). In this thesis, I argue that gentrification is increasingly permeating lives in urban seaside neighbourhoods along the UK south coast. This leads to questions about how displacement is experienced within urban seaside gentrification and plays out in relation to its four key motifs. The next two chapters grapple with these questions as I look at how residents are finding ways to live with these processes. Structured by the concepts of "listening to im/mobilities" and "reflective listening", I discuss how residents are navigating the spectrum of displacement and positioning themselves in relation to displacement injustices.

I continue to draw on conceptualisations that are expansive and multi-dimensional and avoid reducing displacement to a single event of movement (Marcuse, 1985; Davidson, 2009; Elliot-Cooper et al., 2019; Sheller, 2020; Phillips et al., 2021; Roast et al., 2022). The spectrum of im/mobilities, detachment and re-emplacement becomes audible by taking a mobilities ear. In this chapter, I start by considering how we might "listen to im/mobilities" and conceive of "mobile", "static" and "comparative listening" experiences and practices. These can be analysed as a way of understanding participants' relationships to home and their residential movements. My analysis shows a range of residential encounters with displacement, which reflects the varying degree to which residents are affected by gentrification processes. Some have direct personal experiences of being displaced, some

are witnesses to the displacement of others, some fear future displacement whilst some remain relatively unaffected. Within these differentiated experiences, it is possible to hear how residents are finding ways to navigate displacement across the three sites. I organise the ways residents are navigating displacement into two key strategies: residential mobility and mobilising resources to stay put.

7.2 Listening to displacement: a mobilities ear

I have previously established (in Chapter 2) that mobilities theory opens up the spectrum of displacement possibilities (Sheller, 2020:49). In calling for a redress of the neglect of lived experiences of displacement, Davidson (2009) pinpoints why displacement matters: because gentrification excludes groups of people from being able to enact and produce space. Mobilities theory helps us understand these processes through challenging dualistic thinking, such as forced vs. voluntary movements or mobile elites vs. displaced others (Franquesa, 2011; Sheller, 2020:49; Roast et al., 2022). Working across scales and complex relationality, this approach 'emphasises the entanglement of concepts such as (im)mobilities, (dis)placement, and uprootings/regroundings' (Sheller, 2020:43). However, Roast et al. (2022:3) reveal the politics of bringing mobilities and migration studies into dialogue with urban studies. While gentrification scholars might seek the 'precise measurement and visualization' of residential displacement, increased visibility may 'play into racist imaginaries of migrant "invasion"' in transnational migrations (ibid). The alternative sensorial path created through listening to displacement, empirically creates a way to rethink the role of mobilities in urban seaside gentrification.

Listening to displacement presents a challenge similar to the puzzle of sounding gentrification: how might we begin to think about what displacement sounds like. How can "displacement listening" exist as a practice? How can it be developed to generate knowledge but also for social justice purposes, such as to resist or act against displacement? Although reaching beyond the scope of this project, a *listening-with* approach brings these questions into earshot. This section proposes that listening to im/mobilities presents a different way into displacement. I introduce "static", "mobile" and "comparative listening" as practices and experiences that are empirically identified within this mobilities tuning.

The sounds of movement that might be immediately conjured up when thinking about mobilities are those of pedestrian and transport mobilities and infrastructures. Such sounds abound across the soundmaps and include the sounds of road vehicles, pedestrian crossing beeps, train station announcements, bikes whirring past and footsteps on pebbles. However, although worthy of investigation in and of themselves, these sounds did not sufficiently stimulate reflections from participants about displacement. I have found in my analysis that it is more fruitful to look for sound stimuli that generated discussion around participants' residential movements and relationships to their homes – the relationality of im/mobilities. This includes drawing on analysis and interpretations of self-reflexive narratives, as will be shown in the next chapter regarding "reflective listening".

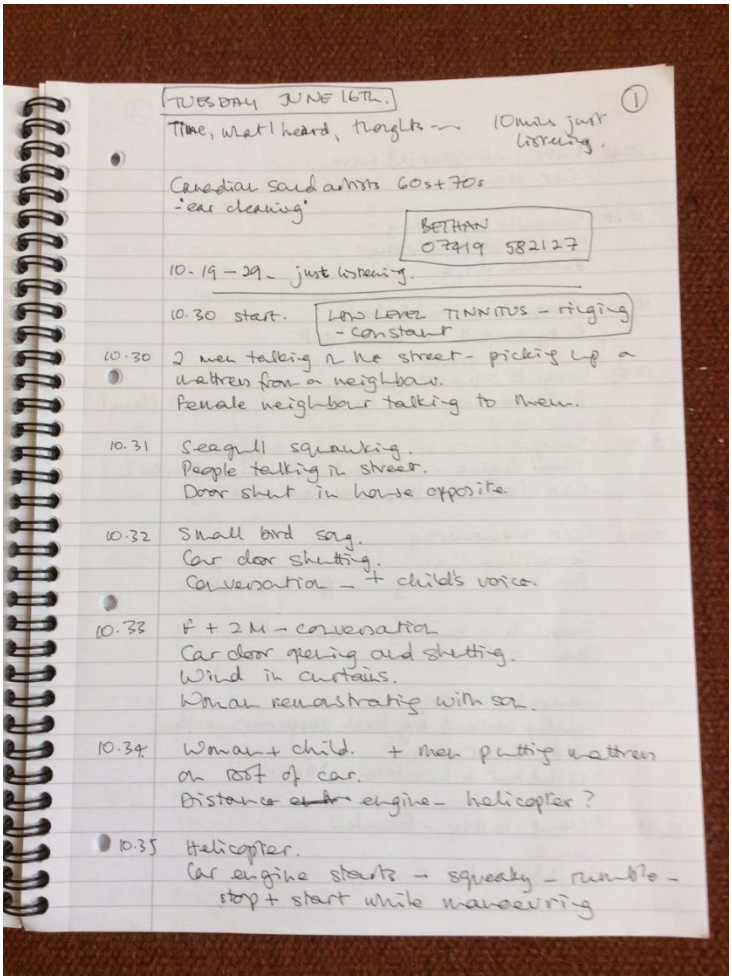
Pulling together mobile and sound methods has made me attentive to the relationship between movement and listening. One way we can consider how movement shapes residents' listening positionalities is by looking at how participants listened whilst moving or staying still. I initially broke down these components as a way of understanding my socio-sonic-mobile methodology, as shown in Table 3.1 (Chapter 3). But through my layered soundmapping technique, I have found that the dialectical relationship between listening and movement is empirically and conceptually significant. Within a listening positionalities approach, movement can act as another shaping influence and intersection. Movement figures in Robinson's (2020:58-62) discussion of oscillating between different listening positionalities as a way of expanding beyond one's own critical listening positionality. However, by taking a mobilities ear, I highlight the relationalities of movement as part of my approach to listening positionalities within a *listening-with* conceptualisation. I attempt to oscillate between the different scales of home, neighbourhood and regional scales as well as the temporalities of displacement experiences.

"Static", "mobile" and "comparative listening" listening are suggested as forms of listening to im/mobilities, which are empirically identified through my analysis. "Static listening" refers to staying or pausing in one listening spot and "mobile listening" denotes listening on the move. However, these are tentatively named as listening practices that help us pay attention to the role of movement without wishing to fall into false binaries. The listening walks, whilst mainly mobile, also encompassed many stops and pauses, caused by participants' ways of capturing, exploring and encountering their neighbourhood.

Interrogating the listening walk routes and different mixes of static and mobile listening that residents chose to incorporate offers rich discussions about im/mobilities and place relationships. There were eleven circular and eight linear walks, the variety of which has been discussed and plotted in (see Figures 5.1-5.3 in Chapter 5). This shows how residents either chose to loop around and back to their homes or were more destination oriented. Paying attention to the different combinations of static and mobile listening helps us understand significant aspects of participants' relationships and ways of navigating their neighbourhoods.

The listening-at-home activities, whilst predominantly static, involved residents potentially moving between different listening spots. For example, Llew (LH04) chose to sit at the front and the back of his flat. In contrast, the listening-at-home activities involved more static listening and consequently bring a different quality to the listening material. Over the three sets of listening-at-home material, the pace of capture appears slower with more detailed and longer observations captured. This sense of a different temporality is particularly accentuated by Mary-Jane's sound minutes (LH06), which includes several micro stories that play out over only a few minutes. For example, as can be read in Figure 7.1, a mattress being put onto a car roof and driven away is detailed in sonic stages across 10.30-10.35am notations. Consequently, static and mobile listening practices are best understood relationally and comparatively. They offer a way into looking at how residents navigate their neighbourhoods and relate to their homes. Interestingly, soundwalk literatures do not often interrogate the role of im/mobilities (Westerkemp, 2002; Brown, 2017; Drever, 2017), though some acousticians identify the technique of "soundsit" to measure indoor soundscapes (Torresin et al., 2020:17).

Figure 7.1: Mary-Jane's photo of notes (Mary-Jane, Brighton, LH06)



Across the listening material, residents frequently make reference to other sites and places as comparators. Their listening therefore extends beyond the place and time in which they listen. "Comparative listening" is therefore used to denote when a resident refers to a place or something else and thereby position what they are currently listening to in relation to it. It brings relationality to the fore and reinforces the notion of place as 'the coming together of the previously interrelated, a constellation of processes rather than a thing' (Massey, 2005:141). Comparisons with other towns and cities are clearest in the material but it is possible to also identify how different streets or parts of a street are compared. This aspect has already been noted in Chapter 5 when discussing sound layers. These socio-sonic contrasts are apparent in Eric's notes that describe a 'quiet' road, a 'buzzing' top part of a road and a 'noisy' bottom part of the same road within a small area of St Leonards (see Extract from LW20, Chapter 5). "Noise" and "quiet" figure prominently in the way

participants describe people and places and always in relation to each other. As will be discussed, these volume descriptors are not neutral in residents' listening. They serve to sonically "fix" certain places and people in ways that entangle value judgements and attitudes.

Thus, listening is a way of accessing and enhancing understandings of displacement as a spectrum. I offer listening to im/mobilities as one way of listening to displacement, through static, mobile and comparative listening, which are discussed in the following sections. Listening to im/mobilities highlights the range of encounters with displacement and the ways to navigate its spectrum. I explore what a mobilities ear offers in the rest of the chapter, in how it takes us beyond false binaries and holistically attends to the spatio-temporal complexities of displacement experiences.

7.3 Listening to urban seaside mobilities

Listening to im/mobilities can open up the myriad ways movement features in residents' lives and shapes the way they listen in their gentrifying neighbourhoods. In this this section, I look at participants' residential movements and consider urban seaside mobilities as part of navigating displacement within gentrification. All the residents had moved to live in their current town/city including Raymond, who is the only person born in the urban seaside sites in which he currently resides (Brighton). This immediately indicates the degree of residential movement within this group of participants. I argue that participants are using such movement to and within the urban seaside as part of navigating displacement. Plotting residential movements through visualisations (Roast et al., 2022) extends and connects these sites across the UK and globally. I explore how these mobilities connect to displacement by looking at residents' displacement encounters which include personal experiences, bearing witness and future fears. None of the residents take on the role of being a displaced "victim" and yet the majority have encountered and/or experienced gentrification-induced displacement. I argue that *listening-with* residents enhances our understandings of the interconnectedness of residential movements and experiences of displacement. I turn to static, mobile and comparative listening examples to explore these

dynamics. This helps us understand how moving is a strategy that residents use to navigate the uneven geographies of the urban seaside and thereby live with gentrification.

Plotting residential movements and displacement encounters

A range of im/mobilities are identifiable in residents' self-reflexive narratives, which is clearest when looking at how participants came to be living at the urban seaside. Figure 7.2 visualises the last residential move that brought each resident to their respective seaside town/city. I complement this visualisation with Table 7.1, separating out where residents have moved from on local, regional, national and international scales. This study does not attempt to be representative, but by plotting these movements it is possible to identify some stronger flows of movement.

Regional moves are the most frequent with nine residents moving from London. Experiences of living in London and other parts of the south coast region play out in participants' listening positionalities, as will be discussed in the comparative listening examples. This corroborates the strong connection and influence the global city exerts along the south coast, identified already in urban seaside gentrification narratives (Chapter 6). Local moves are also significant with mostly outflows from Brighton (six residential moves) and no-one moving locally to Brighton.

These observations echo residents' discussion of migration flows in their neighbourhood and region. When asked who was moving into the neighbourhood, Worthing residents predominantly identified former Brighton residents. Desdemona says she heard 'Worthing being described as Greater Brighton' (FUI10). This understanding of 'Greater Brighton' goes beyond the policy partnerships noted in Chapter 1, with Desdemona referencing the cultural dominance of 'self-mythologising' Brighton that often overshadows attention on Worthing (FUI10). I have already discussed the prominence of "DFLs" in residents' narrations of urban seaside gentrification in St Leonards, yet despite the strong flows from London to Brighton in Figure 7.2, Brighton residents did not use this acronym.

Figure 7.2: Map of participants' last residential move to current seaside town/city

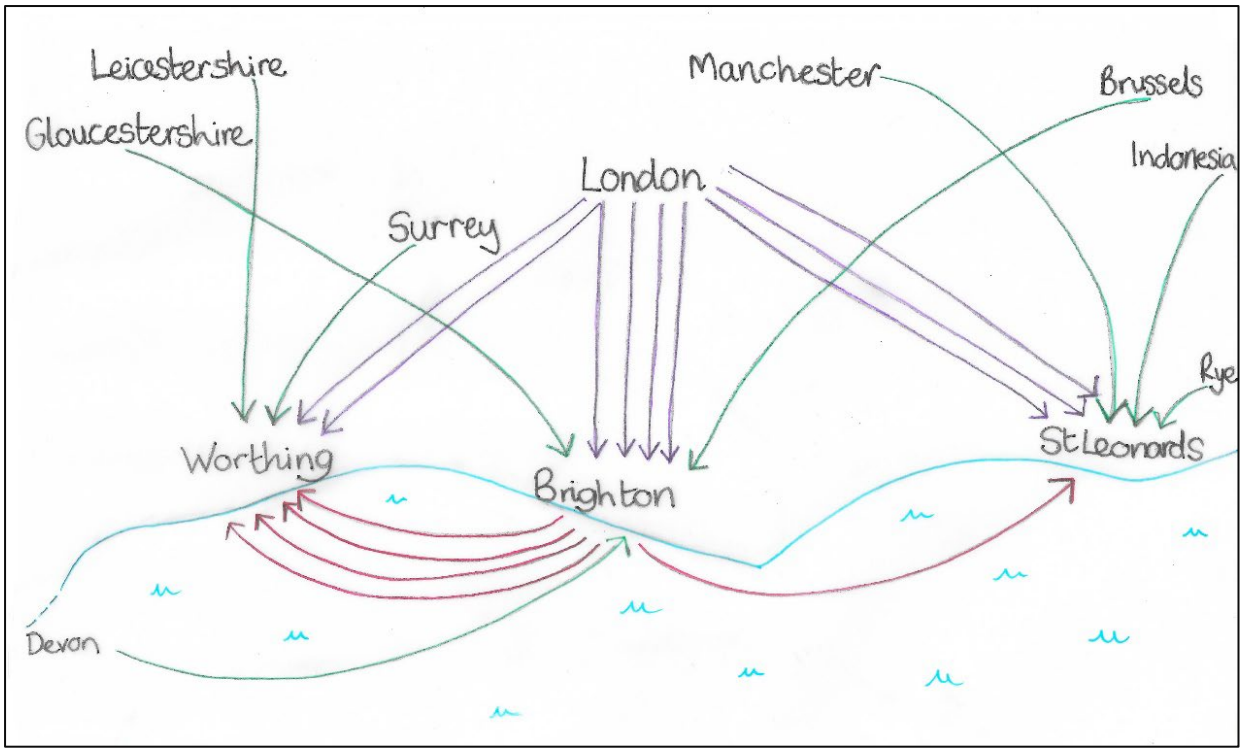


Table 7.1: Last residential movements by local, regional, national and international level

Site	Local	Regional	National	International
Brighton		**London**: Jane, Tim, Joan, Raymond	**Gloucestershire**: Llew	**Brussels**: Mary-Jane
St Leonards	**Brighton**: Myrtle	**London**: Shirley, Logan, Thorin	**Manchester**: Virginia	**Indonesia**: Eric
	Rye: Polly			
Worthing	**Brighton**: Rafael, Georgia, Desdemona, Jordan	**London**: Grumpy, Dr X	**Leicestershire**: Bennie	
		Surrey: Chloe		

These residential movements constitute participants navigating the uneven geographies of the urban seaside, speaking to the motif of coastal liquidity. Within critical geography, uneven development has long been identified as key to understanding gentrification, serving secondary circuits of capital that fuel gentrification processes (Smith 2002; Harvey, 2013; Madden & Marcuse, 2016). My analysis shows that there are differences between sites, who gets to move and how, which raises questions about the relationship between mobility justice and displacement.

Alongside these residential movements, it is possible to identify a range of displacement encounters in the listening-generated material. I have plotted the range of residents' encounters with displacement, tabulated in Appendix J using Marcuse's terminology for different types of displacement, based on the work of Phillips et al. (2021) (see Chapter 2). The table plots information participants shared with me: accounts of personal experiences of these displacement types; instances where residents have witnessed or currently witnessing; and future fears for their own neighbourhoods. There are some clear gaps evident. No resident shared that they had experienced physical, blocked, on-site or off-site displacement or talked about witnessing blocked, anticipatory or off-site displacement. Residents also did not express fear of on-site displacement occurring in their neighbourhood, which chimes with the idea of new-build gentrification being "out of place" at the seaside (see Chapter 6). Ten residents shared that they had experienced displacement. One participant (Jane) had previously experienced displacement when younger but for the other nine, it was part of the move to their current seaside town/city. Six residents had experienced at least one of these forms of displacement in connection to Brighton, seven to London and one to Surrey (though this was described as part of London commuter region knock-on effects).

However, these attempts to plot, visualise and tabulate miss the complexity of residential im/mobilities and experiences of displacement within urban seaside gentrification. Whilst giving some indications of patterns, it brings the immediate challenges of which movements to include, separating these out and missing other (Roast et al., 2022). Plotting residential movements that brought them to their seaside neighbourhood is, in many ways, reductionist. Some residents have moved within their neighbourhood, for example, Shirley moved from London to several different rental accommodations before buying her current

flat and Joan had moved between different rental flats in Kemptown. However, significant spatial dynamics are missed. Grumpy sold his London flat to buy in Worthing, but he also had a base in Ireland at the time having been transnationally mobile with work (FUI07). Bennie's migration story includes Korea, the United States, Leicestershire and Worthing (FUI14). Temporal dimensions are also hidden by this mapping. Some residents had moved from a relatively temporary location and had previously been moving more frequently whereas for others this was a move from a long-term home (see Participant Summary in Appendix E for lengths of stay). Participant moves to the neighbourhood span over a 25-year period, suggesting a kind of palimpsest mapping (like the soundmaps) might be a better way of visualising and analysing.

With regard to displacement encounters, I identified this material in residents' personal stories rather than from questions about gentrification. None of the participants explicitly claims an identity of being a "displacee" and yet many had experienced displacement. This includes two experiences of homelessness. Barney had been evicted from his rental property in Brighton and due to his medical conditions had been placed by the council in social housing (FUI18). Myrtle had experienced homelessness with her partner and son in London and moved to live with a friend in Brighton before setting up a co-operative in St Leonards (FUI02). These personal stories were stimulated by listening, without which these displacement experiences might have been missed, given how participants do not name their experiences in such ways. Experiences of having to move due to affordability and growing displacement pressures constitute social or anticipatory displacement and yet residents often minimised these or did not name as gentrification-induced movements. As can be seen in Jordan's movement account, she explains being evicted from her cheap flat in Brighton and having to 'find a place in the real world' (FUI12). She describes this trajectory of moving out of Brighton to Worthing as 'same old, same old' (FUI12), implying how widespread this experience is to the point of mundanity.

I argue for the importance of a mobility ear that can hear beyond false binaries that construct the narrow image of a displaced "victim". Whispers of displacement are audible in these movement accounts, considering issues of liveability, homelessness, stability, home-making, evictions and affordability. Listening holistically to the spatio-temporal complexities of residential movements we can see how gentrification permeates participants lives, but

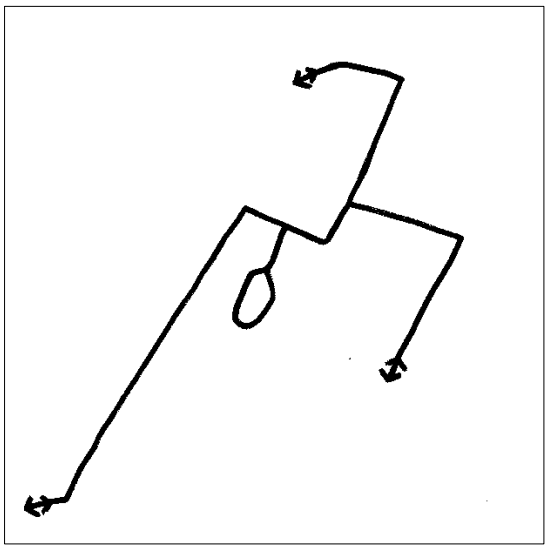
how they find ways to navigate. Next, therefore, I draw on analyses of static, mobile and comparative listening to amplify these whispers and sonically enliven our understandings of participants' residential movements and displacement experiences.

Static and mobile listening

Static and mobile listening analyses can enhance our understanding of residential experiences of displacement, which contributes to rethinking role of displacement in urban seaside gentrification. By listening to im/mobilities, our understanding of displacement encounters and experiences extends out spatially and temporally through participants' life stories. By taking a broader time-scape view of each participants' residential movements through their lifetime, it becomes clearer how this mobility becomes a displacement navigation strategy.

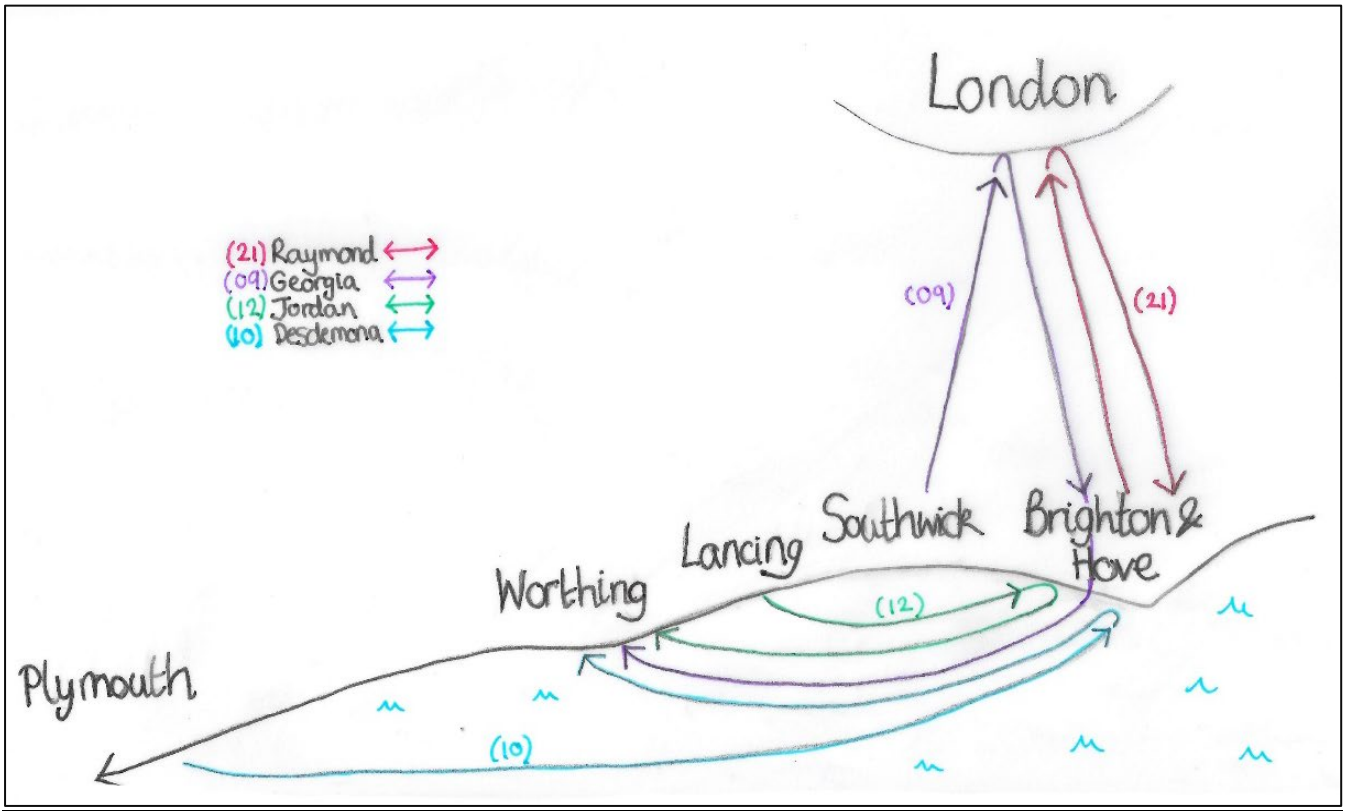
Looking at the static and mobile dynamics of participant's listening walks enhances our understanding of how participants navigate their neighbourhoods and their relationships to the urban seaside, which in turn connects to their residential movements. This is particularly seen in two contrasting examples from Raymond (LW21) and Chloe (LW16). Raymond's walk stands out from the other walks due its spider legs appearance, as shown in Figure 7.3. The map shows a linear walk but with branches off to several key landmarks. Raymond's route approach demonstrates his varied and layered connections to the neighbourhood and his desire to capture these (LW21; FUI21). Raymond's walk points out family landmarks, for example the site where his grandmother used to live or the church she used to frequent. Proudly claiming local knowledge through being a third generation Brightonian, this shows his very strong investment in and attachment to Brighton and specifically this neighbourhood. In his interview, Raymond explains how these attachments formed his reason for moving back to Brighton after living in London for a substantial amount of his adult life. Raymond's distinctive way of navigating and listening in his neighbourhood brings alive his movement away and back to Brighton. Finding London increasingly unaffordable, he used the opportunity to move back with his partner to his childhood home. Through having lived and worked in London, he found Brighton relatively more affordable in the uneven regional geographies.

Figure 7.3: Map of Raymond's route (LW21, Brighton)



All other residents taking part in the research were born outside of the three seaside towns, with four born along the coast (Raymond, Georgia, Jordan and Desdemona). Putting the listening-generated material into dialogue with mapping of movements, it is possible to see how the experiences of growing up along the coastline influenced these residents' regional migration decisions. Figure 7.4 maps how these residents either moved along the coast (Desdemona and Jordan) or moved away to London before settling back at the seaside (Raymond and Georgia). These returning urban seaside residents are missed by the previous mapping in Figure 7.2. For the Sussex-born residents, by moving away Raymond, Georgia and Jordan were able to gain resources that allowed them to move back with more security. For Desdemona, moving from Brighton to a more affordable part of the south coast, she was able to stay living by the seaside, which was paramount to her.

Figure 7.4: Map of seaside born residents' movements



Chloe's listening experience is strikingly different from Raymond's because it takes in one straight line along the length of East Worthing seafront (LW16). Her choice to listen whilst moving by the sea the whole time taps into her personal story of moving to the seaside (FUI16). A selection of Chloe's photos is placed next to the main part of her walk in Figure 7.5, which accompanied descriptive notes:

> The natural sounds are very much drowned out in this bustling chaos. There are a few quiet oases away from the road and a bit further where fewer people walk where you can hear the sea and tiny birds. Seagulls are always prevalent and this time of year have babies, that are very noisy. Its windy too today so that in itself makes its own sound. (LW16, participant notes)

Figure 7.5: Chloe's route with selection of participant photos (Worthing, LW16)

In the excerpt, Chloe describes a combination of "seaside sounds" that shape her sensory movement along the seafront, showing the importance of considering the whole acoustic environment rather than single separated out sounds. In explaining her choice, Chloe describes how much she values living by the sea: as a reason to move to Worthing two years ago, for her own wellbeing, and that of her daughter's (FUI16). They had specifically chosen to rent a flat right on the seafront as a fresh start away from difficulties her daughter faced in Surrey. Everyday Chloe walks by the sea, often with her daughter and grandchild. She also reminisces of childhood holidays spent along the south coast and values the historical and literary heritage of the town, showing role of tourism in bringing her there.

"Seasideness" is entangled with Chloe's residential movement and experience of the move to Worthing as transformative. Yet she also describes the gentrification of her Surrey hometown that made it unrecognisable and how her children have been priced out from moving back there (FUI16). She focuses on the pull factors in her decision-making, seen as equally or more important as what pushed her out of Surrey. This belies experiences that come under the spectrum of displacement: displacement pressures of increasing unaffordability and reductions in local services, and the current exclusionary displacement of her children. Chloe's embracing of her new town suggests processes of re-emplacement,

which has come after a couple of years of moving. In this way, an entanglement of the spectrum displacement at the urban seaside becomes audible through *listening-with* Chloe, which includes "seasideness", anticipatory, social and exclusionary displacement as well as re-emplacement.

The seafront was prominent for the majority of participants' static and mobile listening experiences, amplifying the "seasideness" motif. But it is interesting to note cases when "seasideness" is less explicit, showing the variety of factors involved in participants' decision-making to move into the area. Asking about the missing seafront in his walk prompted Raymond to talk about how Brightonians of his parents and grandparents' generation would not make use of the sea and beach, distinguishing them from newcomers to the city. His choice not to listen whilst moving along the seafront echoes this apparent long-standing Brighonian relationship to the sea, as taken-for-granted. Eric's route also did not go to the seafront and when asked, he describes forgetting about it and hardly ever going down there. Eric moved to the town from Indonesia specifically to be with his partner, who had temporarily been living nearby with family in East Sussex. Having grown up in France, Eric's descriptions of the seaside leave a distinct imprint of an outsider view on the "English seaside". For example, he describes gaining a negative impression of neglected seaside resorts after a school trip to Hastings (FUI19).

This cultural disconnect is echoed in Bennie's residential movement experience, which includes exclusionary displacement from Brighton. Bennie and her family moved to the south coast after her husband secured a job in Brighton, thinking initially they could live there until they realised its unaffordability (FUI14). She describes getting desperate and ending up in Worthing for convenience. But unlike her husband who has become attached to the neighbourhood, Bennie has found it hard to feel at home in the UK broadly, and Worthing specifically, as an Asian-American (FUI14). Eric and Bennie's migration experiences and degree of detachment form the urban seaside raise interesting questions about the "Englishness" inherent within constructions of the seaside and the racialisation of these spaces (Gray, 2014; Burdsey, 2016).

These examples demonstrate the complexity of residential mobility decision-making and the ways residents are navigating the uneven geographies of urban seaside gentrification. It moves beyond binaries of forced/voluntary movement and shows the spectrum of

displacement entangled in participants decision-making. This chimes with Roast et al.'s (2022) discussion on the idea of choice within the decision to move, which is structured by myriad economic, institutional and social forces.

Comparative listening

Comparative listening examples provide another way of bringing residential urban seaside mobilities sonically alive and understanding residential movement as a way of navigating displacement. Participants use "noise" and "quiet" in different ways as part of navigating their neighbourhoods in their listening walks. Many describe choosing quieter routes, which speaks to their valuing of quietness. For example, Shirley wonders if this is a universal experience: 'one unconsciously maybe chooses a route, that has less noise, maybe?' (FUI13). Barney's listening walk experience confirms this approach; he diverted from a busy road onto the seafront to find a quieter route only to be driven back inland by the loud sounds of traffic on the seafront road (LW18; FUI18). These volume descriptors get entangled in residents' descriptions of places they have lived and encountered as well as become part of their stories of residential movements. This can be seen in Georgia's account of moving from Brighton to Worthing after spending considerable time living in London:

> It was cheaper, Worthing. It was a bit quieter and erm, yea, it was a little bit more, just a bit quieter I think. And just a bit more family kind of oriented if we, you know, we were deciding if we were having children. It just seemed a good area and we could afford to buy a house, which is a big difference. (FUI09)

Quietness here forms part of the reasons Georgia moved along the coast and is associated with life-stage progression in settling down to have a family. Georgia connects quietness to a slower temporality, which she found initially hard to adjust:

> I was like, "Oh my, my God, why is everyone walking so slowly. People are just wandering. Why are they wandering around?" Nobody seemed to be going anywhere. (FUI09)

Worthing is frequently positioned as “quiet” by participants, including from other sites. For example, Thorin in St Leonards states ‘I always imagine Worthing to be much calmer and quieter’ (FUI22).

However not all sought out quiet listening nor elevate quietness in this way. For example, Logan clearly values music and the creative activities ongoing in the neighbourhood, seeking this out over quieter places (see Audio 5.1 in Chapter 5). The music he encounters on the listening walk sparks a story about music on Hastings Pier. He describes how a social media question about music levels on the pier resulted in overwhelming support for loudness being expressed by local residents (FUI17). He goes onto explain how accepting “noise” forms part of integrating into the neighbourhood:

> And again, the whole musical thing about it, if you live down here, it's going to be noisy, and people who don't respect that are not taken well at all. So, I think in order to appreciate everything down here, you have to have that attitude, you know, in order to appreciate it otherwise would be a miserable place to live. If, the places I lived in London, which had been just dormitory housing. This place is certainly not a dormitory town. So, gentrification in that there's more money here. Not, not, not necessarily a bad thing. (Logan, FUI17)

For Logan, “noise” is an integral part of living in St Leonards, which he contrasts with ‘dormitory’ London (FUI17). This sound story speaks to Logan’s experience of moving from London, shaping the way he listens to St Leonards and entangling gentrification processes. “Noise” is attached to the place, which incomers must embrace or risk not ‘being taken well’ by existing residents (FUI17).

As part of comparative listening, it is interesting to note how places get branded or constructed in terms of volume by residents and some become more audible than others. For example, Dr X describes her move from London to Worthing in terms of seeking a quieter life. Although this was a positive move to own a small cottage, Dr X also describes being evicted from the flat she was renting. At the same time, the tenant she was renting her smaller owned flat to decided to move out:

> …so then I was faced with this. Do I move back into that flat and although it was a very nice, flat, it was horrible living there. Cos there's loads of renters and it's very noisy. And, I couldn't decide what to do. (FUI11)

As seen in Chapter 5, Dr X describes herself as very sensitive to "noise" (FUI11) and the sonic dynamics are part of her residential movement experience. Dr X expresses surprise at herself, previously a 'party girl', for wanting to find "quiet" at the seaside (FUI11). Although she enjoyed visiting Brighton when she was younger, she was put off by it being busy, expensive and full of tourists (FUI11). Through this sound-related story, Dr X also reveals her starting to feel "out of place" in noisy London and her transition to quieter Worthing. These sound qualities of "noise" and "quiet" therefore become entangled with her experiences of social displacement from London, and possibly exclusionary displacement from Brighton.

It is possible to identify how "noise" and "quiet" furthermore become associated with life-stages and certain qualities by residents. "Quiet" is frequently valued, such as the changed soundscape of lockdown, and associated with having more space, being in nature and a later-stage in life, but also viewed as potentially boring with nothing going on. "Noise" is usually viewed as an annoyance and disturbance, being potentially antisocial, but also with younger generations. For some residents, it can represent vibrancy and be valued as part of the density of urban life. This cacophonic appreciation chimes with Hetherington's (2013) argument for the importance of the multiplicity of "noise" and sounding out the rhythms of cities and heritage. When thinking about listening to im/mobilities, interrogating how residents make use of these sound qualities takes us into the realm of residential mobilities and how residents are navigating gentrifying neighbourhoods. Whilst Worthing is positioned as "quiet", participants also associate it with an older stage of life, having the reputation of being 'God's waiting room' (Rafael, FUI03; Desdemona, FUI10; Jordan, FUI12). In contrast, Brighton and London are generally positioned as noisier places.

Residential moves associated with quietness are often part of home-making processes, such as buying a house as part of having children (Georgia, Jordan and Thorin), moving into a different stage of life (Desdemona and Dr X) or retiring to the coast (Grumpy and Llew). A key resonance within these residential movements is how moving through perceived life-stages are entangled with spatial re-locations (Leonard, 2016). Home ownership is

positioned as the epitome of stability, sought through navigating the relative affordability of the region or coastline. Quietness is a pull for retiring Grumpy and Llew as well as for Dr X and Desdemona who felt the busyness of London/Brighton less appealing as they have gotten older. Polly and Eric in contrast describe how moving to St Leonards could be viewed as an odd choice for a young couple but assert it as only temporary and convenient (FUI19; FUI20). Within complex life stories, these residential moves represent a way of getting something else that was not attainable in the previous location. This includes space, stability, life-style affirmation, co-habitation and education, within which assumptions about life-stage get attached. Ultimately for many they moved because they could not afford these desired aspects where they were living and felt the need to detach and find this elsewhere.

The *listening-with* and to im/mobilities approach has enabled displacement experiences and encounters to become audible, opening up the spatio-temporal complexities of urban seaside mobilities. Many participants do not often name displacement as part of their experiences, and yet it can be heard in the listening-generated material. This speaks to the increasing permeation of gentrification as a globalised phenomenon as well as its manifestation as urban seaside gentrification. It also indicates how the narrow conception of displacement is part of dominant gentrification narratives that shape participants' understandings. In listening to displacement, I have drawn out the ways that participants use movement to navigate displacement in its full spectrum. The capacities of participants to navigate the region's relative affordability raises issues of mobility justice. As argued by Sheller (2020:50), 'there is an uneven social distribution of exposure' to displacement, which will be discussed in Chapter 8.

7.4 Listening to urban seaside im/mobilities

I have so far explored how movement is a resource that can be used by residents to navigate the spectrum of displacement-induced by gentrification. I turn now to im/mobilities and how residents are able to stay put as part of their navigations. Roast et al. (2022:3) argue the importance of recognising the exchange value generated 'through the displacement of previous users of a space or resource', which requires a wide range of

infrastructures. Multiple resources can be used to enable the ability to stay put if they desire (Mata Codesal, 2018) and therefore use the full spectrum of im/mobilities, including staying or stillness (Bissell, 2011). In this section, I focus on a set of resources mobilised by residents that resonates strongly in my analysis: housing infrastructures. Gentrifying change can be welcomed by some or cause problems for others. Staying put can be seen as adaptive survival strategies and/or blocked displacement at one extreme or gentrifiers taking part in the production of space for more affluent users at the other (Marcuse, 1985; Hackworth, 2002; Watt, 2008). There are complex power dynamics therefore present within staying put, which is usually viewed as a privileged position requiring economic, social, cultural and other forms of capital (Franquesa, 2011).

Through listening to im/mobilities, I have identified a range of ways residents are mobilising housing infrastructures as part of living with urban seaside gentrification. Rather than separating out, as in the previous section, I synthesise this listening material in the following discussion. The "noise" and "quiet" place-brandings identified earlier serve as part of the ways participants are "fixing" the urban seaside. Some have the resources to enact and produce gentrifying spaces in ways that work towards this imagining of urban seaside space. Those with more housing security and higher up the housing hierarchies can mobilise more resources in these efforts, as will be shown.

Housing infrastructures are recognised in gentrification literatures as potential anti-displacement tools that can be used to resist gentrification processes (McStotts, 2004; Ghaffari et al. 2017; Broad, 2020). Practices that increase tenancy protection and duration as well as create community control and ownership are seen as significant in limiting gentrification impacts (Shaw, 2005; Ghaffari et al. 2017). Structured through types of housing, I organise these mobilisations into privately-owned housing (owner-occupation and privately rented) and more socially formed types of housing (co-operative and council housing). Although it becomes evident in the discussion that housing is always social to a degree rendering private vs. social a false dichotomy (Madden & Marcuse 2016).

Privately owned housing

Home ownership is entangled with gentrification and displacement and privileged within current housing hierarchies by participants and in the literature (Marcuse & Madden, 2016).

It is widely recognised that as gentrification progresses home-ownership increases (Shaw, 2005:176), which is echoed in Myrtle's in-depth description of changes to the streets surrounding her home through her listening in St Leonards. She describes a substantial change from private-rented to owner-occupation over the last twenty years, which has affected the neighbourhood aesthetics. One factor she attributes to this change is housing renewal grant agreements coming to an end, which has allowed the resale of properties by landlords who had benefited from upgrading their houses (FUI02; Shah, 2011). This change shapes her listening, for example, the sounds of water from a familiar fountain in a neighbour's garden trigger memories of friends who used to live in the area (LW02). Myrtle mourns the loss of numerous friends who have had to leave due a lack of affordable rental properties and increasing house prices (FUI02).

Within this gentrifying context, it is possible to identify a range of resources that can be mobilised by the sixteen residents with private housing ownership. However, experiences of securing ownership vary between participants. For example, Shirley asserts she 'had to go without things', living in several shared rentals after uprooting from London before owning her small flat in St Leonards (FUI13). Even those positioned already on the property ladder describe exclusionary experiences in ownership processes. Raymond describes how he was denied an endowment mortgage or life insurance due to 'actuarial prediction about gay men's lives because of HIV' when moving back to Brighton in the 1990s (FUI21). Llew, who identifies as upper middle class, faced a battle to get a ramp installed on his ground floor flat for his wheelchair in an expensive Regency square in Brighton due to the discriminatory 'red tape' preservation policies (FUI04). This highlights the differentiated experiences of housing ownership that is shaped by gender identity, sex, sexuality, race, ethnicity, disability and other social identity characteristics.

Five of the residents own flats rather than houses, which increases the infrastructures used to negotiate shared usage and responsibilities of communal spaces. These communal spaces attached to flats are sonically brought to life in the listening material by participants and become significant private spaces that require navigations. As can be heard in Joan's capture of the communal hall and stairs as she walks through:

Audio 7.1: Clip from Joan's audio recording (Brighton, LW08, 0:53)[14]

In most cases, these are converted Regency or Victorian houses that require particular maintenance (see Chapter 6), requiring owners to work together. Shirley, for example, describes difficult negotiations within her freeholders' association, which she has invested time in order to gain control and make the flat liveable (FUI13). Llew and Tim also describe their freeholder arrangements in Brighton, but they describe their experiences more positively, as a way of getting to know their neighbours and importantly to gain collective power.

Comparative listening and the sound layers of "noise" and "quiet" feature in a story shared by Tim about how owner-occupiers can collectively exert control over their neighbourhoods. Tim shares a "noise" based story about short-term rentals (STRs) that shows his ability to mobilise these collective infrastructures:

> I think it's got quieter because we used to have quite a few houses that were party houses and there's been a bit of a campaign to close them down or stop them from operating, you know, they used to have hens and stags staying and, you know, very... Well, you know, a hen weekend or a stag weekend, they're pretty noisy even when they're having breakfast, to be honest.... so we had to get in touch with them and say look, sorry, but you can't, you can't have a house with 17 beds in it and you know, 17 stags or 17 hens turning up for a weekend and just going crazy for a weekend then going away again, it's not on. (FUI05)

[14] Alternatively, listen to the clip through the following link: https://soundcloud.com/user-334536613/clip-from-joans-audio-recording-brighton-lw08

Tim goes onto explain that ‘once you get onto the owners’ as a group of local homeowners these Airbnb landlords can be persuadable to change who they rent to. Through collective owner-occupier involvement, they ‘feel more a part of the community perhaps’ (FUI05).

In this story, we see how “noise” gets attached to certain types of housing behaviours and becomes a way that Airbnbs become demarcated. Tim only identifies STRs as problematic when they reach a certain anti-social “noise” level, when asked about others he says they go unnoticed. When asked about Airbnb’s in their neighbourhoods, most residents knew of their presence through social networks, for example, knowing of friends using Airbnb as a tenant or owner. Several participants had looked it up on the digital platform, indicating an interest to know how common they are in their neighbourhood. As Jane questions, ‘they're not so visible are they? But I suspect if you logged in and you looked at a map of the area, you'd see a lot of Airbnbs’ (FUI01). Brighton and St Leonards residents identified an increasing amount of Airbnb’s in their neighbourhoods, whilst it was seen as ‘lagging behind’ in Worthing (Georgia, FUI09). There are only a few instances where they are deemed problematic, chiming with the discussion in the previous chapter of how residents tolerate tourism at the seaside. There appears to be a distinction between unnoticed and problematic STRs, with ‘a sort of party rental’ that could disturb the usual rhythms and noise levels of a street being less acceptable (Mary-Jane, FUI06). This suggests that Airbnbs become visible through their audibility.

In another example, Llew similarly describes owner-occupier collective infrastructures being used to regulate Airbnbs. He describes ‘disquiet’ over Airbnbs occurring in his Regency square, despite building management company bans (FUI04). This became apparent through misuse of the shared gardens:

> But the sensation is that people who come in, they come into use the gardens and they don't give a, you know, a care about the conservation or the use of it. (FUI04)

The sense that the gardens were being inappropriately used indicated to residents that Airbnb sub-letting was occurring, which led to a stricter implementation of this rule. This mobilisation of housing infrastructures at the private level is pertinent to debates over Airbnb policy regulation (Crommelin et al., 2018; Furukawa & Onuki, 2019; Cocola-Gant et

al., 2021). Owner-occupiers are findings ways to intervene to make their neighbourhood more liveable to fill this gap of policy regulation through mobilising these collective infrastructures. Their private ownership extends into governance of shared, public and other private spaces connected to their own. This echoes Tissot's (2015) research in Boston that shows how neighbourhood associations are successfully mobilised by upper middle-class residents to enact control over changes in their neighbourhood.

In contrast, renting residents do not have access to the same kinds of collective infrastructures and negotiating power in changes in their neighbourhoods. Issues of "noise" and antisocial neighbours were mentioned by several participants as regular negotiations in their lives. Chloe, renting a flat in Worthing, describes efforts to make her street more liveable by contacting the council for assistance:

> I'm literally endlessly on the phone to the council about, um, and you know, police about people like drug taking drugs, dealing, bin issues, stuff like that. (FUI16)

However, when asked about her sense of security or plans to keep living in the neighbourhood, Chloe shares:

> I could never afford to buy this place. This place is probably worth more than half a million quid. So, I'm just living in the moment I have to Bethan, you know, so much gone on that I've had to really become, uh, you know, thank God everyone's alive and live in the moment. I can't really think about the future. (FUI16)

Chloe expresses a position of precarity stemming from housing tenure, affordability and family traumas, which is accentuated by the global pandemic. Her adaptive strategy is to 'live in the moment' and rely on personal resilience as a resource in her navigations.

Eric and Polly, the younger couple renting in St Leonards, also describe the precarity they face as renters with fewer housing infrastructure resources to mobilise (FUI19; FUI20). Eric feels that one day they will be priced out and ownership is out of their reach:

> But for my younger generation, like I think like being an owner is like a big chimera it's like really impossible. It's like hard to imagine now. (FUI20)

The ‘big chimera’ suggests the imaginings of housing that also become “fixed” as ownership is asserted as the dominant way to gain security and entangled with notions of home. These listening-generated examples show the variegated residential experiences of privately-owned housing. Some participants higher up the housing hierarchy can mobilise resources to more successfully navigate the effects of urban seaside gentrification.

For some others, residents’ homes and associated infrastructures become a resource that can be mobilised to stay put. Two of the participants are landlords themselves, one taking in lodgers (Thorin) and another taking in visitors through Airbnb (Virginia). Being landlords has allowed these residents to move into St Leonards and improve their living situations. Thorin moved from London to be near his children after his ex-wife re-located. Virginia’s move from Manchester constitutes a ‘life-style affirming migration’ (Leonard, 2016) seeking different experiences for the later stages of her life. Airbnb allows Virginia to make income from her house which she invested in through the relative affordability offered by moving regions. Though, as will be discussed in the next chapter, this places her in a difficult position in the neighbourhood, feeling ‘two-faced’ for pushing up house prices (FUI15).

Airbnb threads through several of these examples and chimes with the role of tourism as a motif of urban seaside gentrification. In some ways, “noisy” STRs resonate with the sounds of scaffolding in the way they make urban seaside gentrification and displacement audible in these neighbourhoods. Both constitute entangle environmental, social, economic and policy features of urban seaside gentrification. Discussion of Airbnbs taps into the housing infrastructures that can be mobilised by residents, either in regulating their usage to make the neighbourhood more liveable or to generate income to be able to stay in the neighbourhood. Having looked at the predominant ways participants are navigating displacement through privately-owned housing, I next look at the alternative strategy afforded by socially-owned housing.

Social/collectively owned housing

Co-operative and social housing are prominent in anti-displacement literatures and represent an alternative housing strategy in navigating displacement (McStotts, 2004; Ghaffari et al. 2017; Broad, 2020). Only two participants live in housing not owned by a private individual household or landlord: Myrtle in St Leonards and Barney in Kemptown

Brighton. However, these participants experiences represent are important in understanding such alternative strategies and im/mobility. In the UK, social housing and council estates have traditionally offered residential stability and stood in the way of gentrification until more recent swathes of state-led regeneration and estate renewal (Lees & White, 2020). Council estates have thereby become one of the last frontiers against gentrification in London, offering housing infrastructures that have historically allowed residents to stay put (Cooper et al., 2020). As seen in research that mapped displacement from the Heygate Estate state-led renewal, different types of tenure affected the displacement experiences of residents whereby council tenants were displaced within London, but many leaseholders were priced out of London completely (London Tenants Federation et al., 2014; Lees & White, 2020; Lees, 2022). This speaks to the importance of tenure type, which was highlighted in earlier discussion.

The security offered by council tenancies is borne out by Barney's experiences of living in a council-owned tower block in Kemptown. The building, with its echoey stairways, loud doors and buzzer systems features heavily in Barney's listening walk (LW18). He describes several changes to the building since he moved in, such as a shift from older and disabled residents to the tenants becoming younger families and more ethnically diverse tenants moving in (FUI18). Barney fully recognises that gentrification is 'counteracted somewhat by the part in which I live, which is council-owned land' (FUI18). But Barney also notes that increasingly council tenants are buying their properties as a retirement investment (FUI18). He describes the soundscape around him as dominated by maintenance works, which has negatively impacted on him but accepts as necessary for future housing security:

> It's become a regular soundscape of, of work on my own doorstep. Um, and I, I guess I feel, you know, it is an inconvenient at times, but I also feel that the work that is being done, is sound investment in buildings that needed it, and I personally campaign to get work done here. So, it was a price worth paying. (FUI18)

He feels secure in the building because of recent renovation investments by the council, which he played a part in through being an active member of the tenants' association. He had worried the building was getting into a bad state and therefore pushed 'that agenda with the council' (FUI18). Barney therefore mobilises the housing infrastructures available to

him as a council tenant to make his flat more liveable and increase future security of the building. He accepts the difficulties he has had with neighbours as part of a 'long-term view' and worth it for the stability he has gained through council housing (FUI18).

There are echoes of social housing in other participants' listening-generated material. Raymond supports Barney's assertion that it dilutes gentrification in Kemptown by running parallel to the gentrifying housing market (FUI21). Myrtle also describes the effects of a charitable social landlord in St Leonards in providing cheap stable tenancies, especially for disabled residents. Many of their properties were substandard, with Myrtle joking 'as a good landlord, it was a very bad landlord' (FUI02). But it recently sold off such properties and, without any rehousing, its tenants were pushed out of the area (FUI02). Many other residents were not sure if social housing existed in their neighbourhood. Desdemona was only made aware of council housing through a buyer's report that listed it amongst other risks:

> I was completely horrified by that, cos I thought, that's being perceived by an estate agent, as some kind of risk to security or, value or something of your home. I thought that was completely appalling. (FUI10)

This speaks to the vilification of council housing, the tensions within housing hierarchies and between different infrastructures (Hollow, 2010; McCall & Mooney, 2018). What might provide stability and the ability to stay put for one resident, may negatively impact on another's ability to mobilise the resources tied up in their housing.

As another type of social/collectively-owned housing, co-operatives offer an alternative housing infrastructure that is advocated as an anti-displacement strategy (London Tenants Federation et al., 2014; Quiñónez, 2019). Collective ownership is underpinned by principles of mutual aid and bottom-up decision making, working towards a communitarian ideal (Yasmeen, 1990; Quiñónez 2019). For Myrtle, setting up a co-op over twenty years ago was a lifeline to her family after experiencing homelessness in London (FUI02). After first looking in Brighton for a suitable property, they settled on St Leonards because at the time it was affordable enough to balance cheap rents and mortgage repayments. Myrtle and her partner mobilised their social capital as political activists in the peace movement to escape

the desperation of homelessness and continually moving. Her partner found it particularly hard moving out of London, being horrified at the prospect of the seaside town where he initially encountered racism as a Nepali. However, it is clear, through Myrtle's way of listening to the neighbourhood, how deeply invested and attached she feels (see Chapter 5). It makes audible the re-emplacement she has experienced after displacement from London, which was made possible through mobilising the housing infrastructure of co-operatives. Myrtle continues to mobilise such resources by lobbying the council and offering support to others interested in setting up housing co-ops, which she explains has increased in the last few years due to the desperation others are facing in the housing market.

These examples of privately and social owned housing show the different ways residents are able to mobilise housing infrastructures to stay put. Security in housing tenure is recognised as 'playing a vital role in limiting gentrification' whilst also embedding communities longer-term (Shaw, 2005:177). Predominantly participants gain stability through home ownership, but Barney and Myrtle are examples of public or community housing that can provide tenure longevity. My analysis has shown that it is not just tenure but the ways in which residents can mobilise the collective associations to assert control over the liveability of their flats, houses, buildings, streets and neighbouring areas. These home-making processes have become audible through *listening-with* residents, which brings deeper insight into relationships to home, neighbours and the surrounding streets. The majority of residents are invested in living by the sea, taking actions to stay there, as will be explored further in the next chapter. Renters are unsurprisingly the most precarious, but the examples of Chloe, Polly and Eric show different approaches to this precarity. Chloe is deeply invested in living by the sea but takes a living in the moment approach; Eric and Polly are much less invested and remain relatively detached to the urban seaside. This brings to the fore the relationship between residential mobility justice and displacement that resonates strongly in my findings.

7.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have reviewed the different ways residents are navigating displacement-induced by urban seaside gentrification. I have argued that our understanding of

displacement is enhanced by taking a mobilities ear, which opens up its spectrum possibilities. Listening to im/mobilities challenges false binaries, such as forced vs. voluntary movement, or the narrow construction of displaced ”victims”. The static, mobile and comparative listening examples I have discussed make audible the complexities of migration decision-making and the power dynamics of moving and staying put. Through this listening approach, I have therefore identified a range of residential im/mobilities as part of the ways participants are navigating the spectrum of displacement entangled with urban seaside gentrification. Within the complexity of residential movements, I have shared the ways urban seaside residents are experiencing displacement, the injustices of which will be explored in the next chapter. Widening our spatio-temporal attention, these movements extend beyond the urban seaside and include past, present and anticipated experiences of gentrification. This chapter therefore contributes to rethinking the role of displacement in urban seaside gentrification.

Crucially, through my analysis I have identified the differentiated capacities of residents to navigate the effects of urban seaside gentrification and the displacement spectrum. For those who have experienced displacement, there are many stories of re-emplacement, with residents integrating and investing in their neighbourhoods. I asked at the beginning of this chapter how we might understand displacement within urban seaside gentrification and its key motifs. These have resonated throughout my discussion. “Seasideness” influences and shapes residents’ im/mobilities, which has been discerned through listening. This includes “seasideness” playing a part in residents’ decision to move to the area or motivating their ongoing investment in the neighbourhood. The role of tourism is evident in residents’ relationships to the seaside, such as recalling previous nostalgic family holidays, and opening up available resources, such as Airbnb income streams. The different features from across the waves of gentrification also echo within these im/mobilities with pioneer gentrifiers, lifestyle and transnational migrants, Airbnb and the financialisation of home all evident.

The motif of coastal liquidity dynamics is the most resonant within residential navigations of displacement. These are audible in the uneven development entangled in residential mobilities that navigate the relative affordability of the coastline but also in the differing sound levels of “noise” and “quiet” attached to places. However coastal liquidity is most

prescient in making us attend to the differing capacities of residents to be mobile and embrace opportunities (Burdsey, 2016:20). As Burdsey (ibid) states, 'some people, places, and processes can be more fluid, viscous and mobile than others'. The spectrum of im/mobilities is key for residents who have gained relative stability over displacement risks and plays out within other intersecting identity privileges. Many have a degree of agency and power over their circumstances through economic, social and cultural capital but they have also used movement and/or mobilised these resources to stay put. Even residents who express a degree of precarity also share their sense of im/mobility in being able to move when the time comes and enact agency in these movements. Taking a mobilities ear and considering the relationship between im/mobilities and displacement therefore raises important questions, which are addressed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8: Listening reflectively: positioning displacement injustices within the urban seaside

8.1 Introduction

> When you step somewhere you don't notice the *what* it is you step upon…the perception of change is different if it's, if, you've noticed what's previous.
>
> And, do you know, so that sort of relationship, do you know it's very, very complicated (laughter)? You know, emotionally complicated because you go, "Yes, but I didn't used to live here and now I live here". So, do you know? (Myrtle, LW02, St Leonards)

Myrtle's questioning has stayed with me since her listening walk, resonating the ethical complexity and emotional turmoil of displacement injustices. Through *listening-with* residents, I have found a range of differentiated and complex perceptions, responses and relationships to gentrifying change in their urban seaside neighbourhoods. In Chapter 6, I discussed how residents are making sense of change through their narrations of urban seaside gentrification. Chapter 7 demonstrated how, as change increasingly permeates their lives, residents are finding different ways to navigate the spectrum of displacement it induces. This chapter expands further on the injustices associated with displacement through residents' "reflective listening", showing the ways residents are positioning themselves in relation to displacement injustices.

Like Myrtle, the majority of residents identify exclusionary processes produced by gentrification in their neighbourhoods and struggle to understand their entanglement in such processes. Displacement matters because it excludes groups of people from being able to enact and produce space (Davidson, 2009), which, in social justice terms of domination and oppression, limits self-determination and self-development (Young, 1990). Every resident has a differently evolving entanglement in these processes of exclusion and a corresponding perception of how they fit within these changes. Interrogating the ways participants are reflectively listening brings us close to residential listening positionalities, which makes audible participants' value judgements, normative assumptions and ethical positionings. The previous chapter reviewed residential displacement encounters that range

from personal experiences to being relatively unaffected. This threads into residents' ethical positionings with some directly affected, some feeling responsible and others placing themselves at a distance. In this chapter, I use the social, spatial and mobility justice framework, introduced in Chapter 2, to understand identified injustices and participants' ethical positionings (Young, 1990; Soja, 2010; Sheller, 2018). This reveals how dominant displacement narratives of "monsters" and "victims" permeate residential understandings of injustice and are entangled with their imaginings of the urban seaside.

I begin by outlining 21 injustices associated with displacement identified by *listening-with* participants, interrogating these in terms of social, spatial and mobility justice (Young, 1990; Soja, 2010; Sheller, 2018). I argue for the need to sonically enliven our understandings of residential experiences of these injustices through analysing "reflective listening" and residential listening positionalities. I structure the listening material into two clusters: listening to redevelopment and listening in public spaces. Within these clusters, I explore residential listening positionalities and how they are being shaped by intersecting social group identities (Robinson, 2020). Lastly, I interrogate the different positionings of residents in relation to displacement injustices, ranging from personally being impacted to feeling culpable to distancing themselves. The way residents make sense of the pace and drivers of change highlights both the localised nuances between each neighbourhood as well as their relationality, captured by the motifs that constitute urban seaside gentrification. Together with Chapters 6 and 7 this chapter rethinks the role of displacement injustices and amplifies the social, spatial and mobile processes that produce urban seaside gentrification.

8.2 Identifying social, spatial and mobility displacement injustices

Injustices related to gentrification-induced displacement thread throughout the listening-generated material. These injustices are identifiable in participants' definitions of gentrification and manifest in how they are narrating urban seaside gentrification and navigating displacement. In this section, I discuss the displacement injustices identifiable in this study in relation to theories of social, spatial and mobility justice (Young, 1990; Soja, 2010; Sheller, 2018). I argue that listening to displacement opens up a distinct way of understanding experiences of such injustices. Interrogating participants' "reflective

listening" opens up the ethical dimensions of displacement encounters, which compliments listening to im/mobilities.

Following on from the discussion of injustice in Chapter 2, displacement injustices are understood as a spectrum of exclusions from enacting and producing space that impact on self-development and self-determination (Young, 1990; Davidson 2006; Soja 2010; Sheller 2018). These exclusions are differently experienced according to 'multiple, cross-cutting, fluid and shifting' social group identifications (Young, 1990:48), which speak to the range of participant encounters and experiences empirically evident in this research. Through their narrations and navigations, we can hear how participants are involved in "fixing" the urban seaside. Their imaginings of space chime within the trialectical production of space (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 2010), which can help us understand how displacement is imagined as well as lived in the production of urban seaside gentrification. Understanding participants' different exposures to displacement is also a matter of mobility justice (Sheller, 2020).

Crucially, displacement injustices are structural:

> Structural injustice exists when social processes put large categories of persons under a systematic threat of domination or deprivation of the means to develop and exercise their capacities, at the same time as these processes enable others to dominate or have a wide range of opportunities for developing and exercising their capacities. (Young, 2006:114)

Structural injustices raise questions about culpability and how individuals or institutional moral agents should conceptualise their responsibility in relation to displacement injustices (ibid:102). There are a range of participant responses to these questions to which I apply the social responsibility model (Young, 2006) later in the chapter. Revisiting these conceptions of in/justice helps to frame the chapter discussion, through which I will evidence this articulation of displacement as key to positioning participants' understandings and experiences of urban seaside gentrification.

In my creative listening analysis, I have identified 21 injustices related to the spectrum of displacement. These injustices are tabulated in Appendix K, which outlines the type of justice each can be predominantly grouped within and its main areas of impact. These are

mapped across Young's (1990) faces of oppression, which help us understand the underpinning processes and practices. As the table shows, forced movement and exclusionary displacement are the most easily recognisable injustices associated with displacement. Nine participants include forced movement as part of their definitions of gentrification and nine describe exclusionary displacement within their displacement encounters (see Chapter 7). When inhabitants are forced out of a neighbourhood there are knock on effects for those remaining who lose friends, neighbours and social networks. While five residents raise this injustice as part of defining gentrification only one resident, Myrtle in St Leonards, expressed experiencing this personally in their neighbourhood.

Myrtle discusses the behaviour of those moving in as objectionable when they 'step' on what existed previously without care or concern, referenced in the quotation that starts this chapter (LW02). This inspires the fourth injustice, which takes us into the realm of gentrifiers' behaviour and privilege. This is echoed in Thorin's inclusion of clashing values in his definition of gentrification: 'the different values that come with different money' (FUI22). Dr X takes this further in discussing the entitled and exclusionary attitudes of those taking ownership without due regard for others. She states, 'there's a way that those people have behaving, that they own everything and you don't belong there' (FUI11). Disregarding others implies the threat of losing what came before, raising issues of heritage, what should be preserved and who decides. The fifth injustice deals with how this privileged position is gained through some groups of people accessing income from non-local sources that existing inhabitants may be excluded from. This is a feature of transnational gentrification, accounting for participants' discussion of foreign investors and mobile elites (Sigler & Wachsmuth, 2016). These figures are often positioned as outsiders and gentrification "monsters". For example, the naming of 'oil barons in Saudi' (Shirley, FUI13) and 'Chinese or Russian oligarchs' (Dr X, FUI11) or Myrtle's shock at meeting a couple commuting between Florida and St Leonards (see Chapter 6).

The reduction of services (6 in Appendix K) is a key part of displacement pressures, (Marcuse, 1985; Cocola-Gant, 2018a, 2018b). This ranges from the retraction of public services through to changes in retail. It goes together with other social displacement injustices such as the restricted availability of affordable goods (7). Several participants also identify the institutional and social practices facilitating these conditions. Four participants

name price inflation as problematic and attribute it to property developers, speculators and estate agents (8). Issues of privatisation are explicitly discussed by a different set of four residents (9): the selling of council housing (Barney), private-public partnerships that make use of public monies (Dr X) and hospital redevelopments (Raymond and Jane). Three of these social displacement injustices make explicit the political dimensions of affluence (10-2). Residents often position those with more affluence as outsiders in their gentrification definitions. The injustice comes from incomers being prioritised over lower income inhabitants, who in turn are positioned as "original" and working class. This prioritisation is seen to risk worsening the situation of existing lower income residents (11). For example, when thinking about the benefits of investment in Kemptown, Raymond states 'it's extremely rare for gentrification to have any significant [positive] impact on the wellbeing of people on low incomes' (FUI21).

Three residents discuss an associated injustice (12) that goes beyond the lack of benefits to name the exploitation of those who have built up and invested in the neighbourhood thereby contributed to its desirability. This links to the idea of stepping on what has come before (Myrtle, LW02) as well as existing gentrification research into the role of artists who act as early gentrifiers (Ley, 1996; Cameron & Coaffee, 2005). Raymond discusses this specifically in relation to the appropriation of working-class culture, which relates to the figure of the hipster (Hubbard, 2016). These practices can lead to a lack of diversity and monoculture (14), which two residents name as the most objectionable aspect of gentrification. Rafael includes an 'absence of places' in his definition of gentrification and harks back to classic forms of gentrification in New York (FUI03). Logan discusses this as part of the hyper-gentrification of London that has rendered it a 'dormitory town' compared to St Leonards (FUI17) (Chapter 7).

Many of the injustices already discussed have spatial dimensions, however this becomes most explicit when addressing issues of public space and redevelopment, discussed in the next two sections. Lack of diversity and monoculture (14) can lead to a reduction of spaces that cater for all and therefore cultural and public space exclusions (15-16). This is most pronounced in participants' discussions of homeless people being increasingly moved on from public spaces as they become gentrified, including seafront promenades (see Chapter 6 and 7). Rafael complains how this 'rankles with me. Because they're always going, "We

need them gone, doesn't matter where they are, just gone"' (FUI03). This all contributes to the idea that places become less and less liveable for some groups of people because of gentrification (17), another tenet of displacement pressures (Marcuse, 1985).

Alongside these public space exclusions, many participants also discuss the unfairness and unequal distribution of housing resources and redevelopments (18-21). Dr X and Jane both specifically name the injustice of homes remaining empty whilst there are people experiencing homelessness, viewed as a shocking aspect of society's current housing system (FUI11, FUI02). This links again to positioning foreign investors and second/multiple homeowners as gentrification "monsters". As discussed in Chapter 6, new-build gentrification is positioned by many residents as "out of place" and objectionable. This translates into injustices 19 and 20, associated with redevelopment projects that have unequal impacts, such as "noise" and air pollution, on existing residents as opposed to outside investors or those moving in post-construction. Redevelopment projects bring a political dimension about the decision-making processes behind. Several residents express a degree of apathy at democratic processes, which are seen as merely tick box exercises (20). The final injustice (21) encapsulates a common criticism of state-led regeneration and gentrification policies that aim at attracting, and make investments on behalf of, people from outside a neighbourhood. This taps into associated processes such as studentification or touristification that aim at outsider, incoming and (potentially) temporary students or tourists (Smith, 2005; Cocola-Gant, 2018b).

Overall, this review of injustices empirically identified in participants' material indicates a spectrum of social, spatial and mobile displacement injustices. This does not necessarily mean that residents are experiencing or observing all of these injustices in their neighbourhoods, nor is this an exhaustive list of possible injustices that can be associated with displacement. They can be linked to social, spatial and mobility justice theorisations to help us unpick the different processes involved. For example, all of Young's (1990) five faces of oppression are present in these injustices. Through my discussion another way of categorising the injustices emerges relating to the instigation and impacts of the injustice: the degree to which it is "victim" or "perpetrator" focused. For example, several focus on the specific negative impacts felt, such as forced movements or unaffordability, whilst others emphasise the behaviour or action of gentrifiers. This taps into issues of

responsibility and culpability, which is a key theme that residents are grappling with to varying degrees in their ethical positionings. However, by adopting Young's (1990, 2006) approach to oppression and domination, we can pay attention to the underpinning social and institutional processes, practices and conditions.

Naming and summarising the displacement injustices that participants discuss in this research is a useful starting point, but, its contribution to further understanding experiences and how they are playing out at the urban seaside, is limited. Listening to displacement helps us hear beyond the oversimplification of gentrification "monsters" vs. "victims". Attending to "reflective listening" is a way of sonically enlivening our understandings of displacement experiences in order to gain a deeper understanding. As discussed regarding sound stories, participants' capture often places them in a specific relationship to a sound or sound source and prompted reflective practice, which I proposed as "self-positioning", "reflective listening" or "self-reflexive listening" in Chapter 5. Reflective listening practice makes audible the ways a participant becomes aware of themselves or something significant in their acoustic environment, thereby prompting reflections.

For example, Joan's audio recording of her walk in Brighton captures her leaving her flat and making her way through the communal areas, as can be heard in Audio Clip 7.1 (Chapter 7). In her interview, Joan is later prompted by this capture to reflect on her relationship to the communal area acoustics (FUI08). She describes feeling conscious of her sonic interactions:

> I was wearing trainers when I did the recording but I usually wear heeled, like sort of slightly heeled boots, so the sound of me walking along that corridor's really, really loud and I feel quite, it always, I think also because of that whole, with films and things that sort of echoing of a hallway always makes you think of something quite grand and I'm always sort of trying to walk on tiptoes down that tiled hallway so that I don't disturb the neighbours. (FUI08)

This example shows how Joan positions herself within this private but communal acoustic environment but also how it sparks reflections on her relationship to her rented flat and her neighbours. The 'echoing' evokes feelings of grandeur but also concerns about disturbing her neighbours (LW08). Later in her interview, Joan explains how 'posh' she finds her new building after living in a place that was 'really, really rough studio digs' on the same street

(FUI08). But as a renter she is looking to move imminently to find somewhere more affordable and therefore views it as only temporary, indicating anticipatory displacement and associated injustices (e.g. 8, 10 and 17 in Appendix K). This example shows the ways we can expand our understanding of participants experiences and navigations of private and public spaces and connections to displacement injustices through listening.

Analysis of residential reflective listening can allow us to hear and pay attention to the different ways participants are ethically positioning themselves in relation to issues of justice in their neighbourhoods. These listening experiences reveal how tensions arise over contested issues in everyday neighbourhood life and the ethical dilemmas residents face in navigating displacement. How residents are listening to, relating to and reflecting on these issues form part of their listening positionalities. Having reviewed and identified displacement-related injustices I now turn to look at how these are playing out at the urban seaside and can be understood through listening-with residents. I have chosen the following two clusters of sounds and listening experiences as a generative path into displacement injustices positionings: listening to redevelopment and listening in public space. The ways that participants are listening to redevelopments amplifies their imaginings of the urban seaside and how this serves to fix and reproduce injustices within gentrification. Listening in public spaces makes audible the relational positionings of urban seaside spaces and the differentiated encounters and experiences that are entangled with displacement injustices. I thereby interrogate the instigations and impacts of injustices and participants' positionings in relation to these aspects of displacement.

8.3 Listening to redevelopment: fixing the seaside

We have already encountered the sounds of redevelopment in Chapter 6, which includes those caused by scaffold, equipment and tools, construction workers and increased usage of heavy vehicles. These sounds represent ongoing and constant changes to the built environment and elicit different responses and explanations from residents, including a direct links to gentrification. Scaffolding appears emblematic of urban seaside gentrification in the way it entangles "seasideness" with distinct environmental, economic, social and policy aspects. In this section, I further drill down into these sonorities of "seasideness" to

look at how they are entangled with displacement injustices. Questions of in/justice might ask who is investing, for what purposes, for whose benefit and who or what is thereby excluded or negatively impacted. These sounds entangle a range of social and institutional actors, practices and conditions. In/justices lie in the ways these redevelopments are happening and impacting on a person or social groups' ability for self-determination and self-development (Young, 2006:113). Rather than finding definitive answers to these in/justice questions, I am interested here in how participants understand and experience these ethical complexities. I therefore look at what might be shaping participants' ways of listening to redevelopment and specifically focus on new-build projects.

I have so far identified how several residents attribute renovation investment to pioneer gentrifiers, landlords and investors exploiting a rent gap (see Chapter 6). At the same time, many residents explain the need for preserving Regency architecture against seaside degradation. The processes underpinning these sounds immediately link into the policy context, such as grade-listing heritage policies, planning and building regulations and housing regeneration grants. However, redevelopment projects resonate differently within participants' listening material to private small-scale renovations. We have already seen how redevelopments, like Bayside in Worthing, become contested sites and problematic. Within participants' narrations, larger redevelopment projects are predominantly positioned as "out of place" at the urban seaside, at odds with certain imaginings and "fixings". These sites also more explicitly involve institutional actors with contested planning processes and local council strategies, therefore new-build projects offer rich opportunities for exploring participants' listening and displacement positionings.

Through my *listening-with* approach it is possible to interrogate how the contested nature of new-builds shapes the way participants listen to construction and brings to the fore the value judgements layered into their listening. Bayside comes to represent this in Worthing, the most prominent redevelopment site in the research. Other redevelopment sites past and present also crop up in Brighton and St Leonards. In Brighton, sounds related to the redevelopment of Sussex Hospital are captured and other developments are discussed such as those previously undertaken by Brighton College or by the council on social housing. Redevelopment sites are less present in the St Leonard's material apart from Archery Gardens housing development, as seen in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1: Polly's photo of Archery Gardens redevelopment (St Leonards, LW19)

These new-build projects have different purposes, sets of actors and financing behind them: investment in a public good (Sussex Hospital), private education (Brighton College), private-public partnership housing (Archery Gardens) and privately financed housing (Bayside). But the sounds associated with redevelopments are mostly heard by residents as a disruption. This chimes with the injustice identified earlier of unequal impacts and benefits of redevelopment project (9 in Appendix K). As noted by Tim when discussing the hospital redevelopment in Kemptown:

> …but it must be quite difficult to live in a small, terraced house and have this great monstrosity built right next you. Of course, you have to live through the period of the work being done but then you have to live forever with what's there afterwards and I think it, I think it would be difficult to. (FUI05)

This shows that the impacts of new-builds are not necessarily differentiated by residents according to private or public investment or intended benefits. Several Brighton residents discussed the hospital redevelopment impacts with some concession to it being worth it in the long-term to have improved services. Though Jane, who is involved in local NHS campaigning, explained she had heard that private beds were also planned in this investment and that it was therefore not all being redeveloped as a public resource (FUI01).

This raises the spectre of public investments being privatised and thereby degrading their social value (8 injustice).

Strikingly in the quotation above, Tim uses the same terminology as Dr X to describe new buildings: 'monstrosity' (see Chapter 6). This suggests that buildings, not just people, can take on the role of being "monsters" within gentrification processes. Revisiting Dr X's proclamation that Bayside is 'an ode to everything that is wrong with the political system' (FUI11), this indicates that buildings can become representative of structural forces and injustices. In the imaginings of the urban seaside space, new-builds can therefore take on the menace of being "monsters". Even redevelopment projects not as strikingly visible become anomalous and contested within fixed imaginings of the seaside. For example, Polly took several photos of Archery Gardens, a social housing development, because she believes they 'don't normally happen that much' at the seaside (FUI19). She expects retirement housing to be built but not family or social housing developments, revealing her "fixing" of the seaside as a place for the later stages in life (Leonards, 2016).

It is significant that tower blocks resonate across the listening material as problematic. The objections raised by participants to the new-builds, in particular that of Bayside, can be heard as part of their "fixing" the seaside. New buildings represent possible future directions for the urban seaside neighbourhood, within which some are deemed more objectionable than others. 'Shiny white towers' are named by Dr X as simultaneously odious and an ode to unjust housing systems (FUI11). As previously discussed, Rafael is the only participant who embraces this redevelopment as part of urban living, shaping his enjoyment of listening to the sounds of scaffolding (see Chapter 6). This links into existing research on mixed housing policies and the associated demonisation of council estates and tower blocks (Bridge, Butler & Lees, 2011; Hollow, 2010; Mooney & McCall, 2018; Thoburn, 2018).

Just as Dr X and Tim harmonise with 'monstrosity' (FUI05; LW11), Georgia and Desdemona both describe Bayside as a 'beacon' (FUI03; FUI09). Georgia expresses disbelief at 'how tall it is' and 'how out of place it looks, along that coast' (FUI09). But her main objection is its conflicting position next to temporary accommodation for people in housing need:

> And kind of have that as a beacon outside their house, to just highlight, just the inequality that there is in the area is really, it's really, really difficult…Being housed because they have nowhere else to live. And it literally is in the shadow of (sigh). You know this really does highlight the differences of where, you know, how people live. (FUI09)

For Georgia, Bayside resonates as a beacon of injustice, mainly the unfair distribution of resources (no.18 injustice). Desdemona has a different take on its "beaconess", critiquing the way it has been marketed:

> And I'm also interested in the sort of difference between the fantasy and the reality and it was being described as a lantern that was, offer a sort of beacon and a gateway to the town, and using this sort of erm, you know, rather overblown language of architecture and estate agency and development (laughter). I do remember that term "lantern" I thought was rather preposterous.(FUI10)

Both use 'beacon' negatively as a way of describing how it is both "out of place" and problematic but with different emphases. Desdemona is concerned with the top-down placemaking manipulation and exploitation of seaside narratives, for example complaining about how the name "Bayside" has no topographical basis in Worthing (FUI10). Whereas Georgia is more concerned with how socio-spatial inequalities of housing are being built into the neighbourhood. Both objections are connected, with the placemaking exploitation suggesting unjust imaginings of the urban seaside and the socio-spatial housing inequalities representing the unjust lived experiences.

These examples show how value judgements are entangled in and elicited by how participants listen to new-builds. Participants' reflective listening reveals the significance of redevelopment projects in their understandings of change in their urban seaside neighbourhoods. Bayside also features prominently in Chloe's listening walk (see Figure 6.3), which elicits complex positionings as she makes sense of this contested redevelopment. Chloe supports Bayside's potential to attract more affluent people into the local economy, influenced by her professional expertise in retail (FUI16). But she raises objections to it aesthetically, going as far to compare it to the case of the brutalist Tricorn Shopping Centre

in Portsmouth that she recalls was infamously called 'a barnacle on society' (FUI16). It clashes with her love of Regency and Victorian seaside heritage and romantic notions of literary figures that have traversed the Worthing promenade (FUI16). However, whilst Chloe puts forward the idea of a historical seaside 'underbelly' in tangent with this artistic past, she also raises issues about Bayside's unethical employment practices:

> They've done no pass, right to work checks, which everyone has to do now…. but they did this swoop where they had over 30 immigrants working illegal immigrants, working there and yeah, the impact, the impact.

As shown with her previous explanations of changes in health and safety increasing scaffolding, Chloe's family works in construction which potentially makes her more aware of such issues. Consequently, we can see how Chloe draws on a range of experiences and resources to make sense of this redevelopment that inform her imaginings of urban seaside spaces: new-build policy narratives of positive regeneration effects, professional retail experiences, media coverage of controversial coastal redevelopments, dominant seaside heritage narratives, her relationship to the seaside and family work experiences.

"Seasideness" therefore plays a part in shaping participants listening to redevelopment within urban seaside gentrification, as seen with another Worthing residents' reflective discussion on Bayside. Grumpy was an active member of the campaign against Bayside that managed to reduce its height, which he describes as made up of 'NIMBYs' (FUI07). Redevelopment projects raise issues of who gets to decide what should be preserved and what new things should be being built (injustice no.20). In reflecting on why he objected to its development, Grumpy draws on seaside archetypes:

> I suppose there was also an element of thin end of the wedge, you know. If this one gets the go-ahead then, you know, what's next? Are we going to have a Benidorm-type seafront? (FUI07)

Benidorm is one of the most renowned mass tourism destinations, which conjures up the image of skyscrapers at the seaside as well as working class Brits abroad-style holidays (Nolascoa-Cirugeda et al., 2020).

Llew in Brighton also echoes concerns for resisting development along the south coast:

> They managed to keep the kiss-me-quick element of a lot of seaside towns, out of Brighton…They have resisted quite a lot of development, particularly on the sea front. They've managed to preserve a reasonable frontage against all sorts of threats really. There is a very active Kemptown society, which wants to preserve Sussex Square as it was. And fight against from building any tower blocks and the Marina and all that sort of thing. (FUI04)

Llew views the Brighton Marina, with its 'horrible Asda car park' at the foot of Kemptown, as the 'ugliest' in the country, contrasted against the nicely preserved Regency seafront townhouses (FUI04). Llew's 'kiss-me-quick element' (FUI04) chimes with Grumpy's Benidorm concerns, tapping into seaside themes of pleasure and criticisms of crude, unpleasant working-class leisure activities (Feigel, 2009:15-34). Both express concern about what 'any tower blocks' (FUI04) might signal for future trajectories of their urban seaside neighbourhoods in ways that have strong class undertones. As upper/upper middle-class residents, they denigrate tower blocks as ill-fitting their ideas of seaside heritage and what should be preserved. In Grumpy's case, this has translated into action and mobilising resources to exert influence and control over changes to the urban seaside.

It is clear that value judgements, social identities and fixed imaginaries of the seaside, therefore shape how residents listen to redevelopment constructions. In a contrasting example, Raymond takes a photo of what he calls the 'forgotten tower blocks' in his listening walk (see Figure 8.2).

Figure 8.2: Raymond's photo of tower block (Brighton, LW21)

This constitutes a relatively large social housing stock in Brighton, nearby to where another participant, Barney, resides. For Raymond he wishes to point out that while Kemptown is associated with Regency landmarks, it actually has 'quite high density, social housing' that gets forgotten (FUI21). Raymond describes the 'big migratory population of people with very low income, who are hidden because most of the migration is about middle-class people from London taking up well-paid jobs' (FUI21). Raymond's listening in his neighbourhood draws on different seaside narratives (Ward, 2015) but it is also shaped by his socialist and activist commitments and a strong identification with his Brightonian working-class family origins. Whilst having been a public sector professional himself, with a father who was an architect, Raymond expresses a strong connection to his grandparents' working-class experiences of Brighton. This comes under what Friedman et al. (2021) describe as 'intergenerational self' that values working-class origins and social mobility as part of a relational understanding of class identity. This intergenerational class identity supports Raymond's political activism as a way of being able to speak on behalf of working-

class people in the neighbourhood and express the injustices they may be facing in the neighbourhood.

Barney offers another perspective as a council tenant residing in one of the 'forgotten tower blocks' (Raymond, FUI21). Barney's identity as a theatre artist challenges the classed constructions of council tenants in demonised tower blocks, often associated with state welfare and criminality (Hollow, 2010; Lees & White, 2020; McCall & Mooney, 2018). As discussed in Chapter 7, Barney accepts the necessary redevelopment works on the towers as necessary for future housing security. Both Raymond and Barney are supportive of public monies being invested in social and supported housing in their neighbourhoods as part of fairer redistribution of resources (working against injustice 18 in Appendix K). This adds a different way of relating to redevelopments that complicates the ideas put forwards by other residents as what is appropriate for the seaside. Barney, through his council tenancy, and Raymond, through his political commitments and intergenerational working-class identity go beyond the pitting of Regency or Victorian built seaside heritage vs. "out of place" new-builds. This taps instead into valuing social housing as an alternative strategy to displacement that resist gentrification (see Chapter 7).

All of these examples show what reflectively listening can tell us about seaside imaginaries in relation to new-build redevelopments and in turn what this says about a process of gentrification that is particular to the seaside. There are a range of concerns that participant express: preserving the upper-class built heritage, impacts on neighbourhood aesthetics, impacts on lower income people, illegal construction practices, unequal societal processes and mass tourism impacts. These can be mapped onto a range of social, spatial and mobility displacement injustices, which I have highlight in this discussion.

One interesting resonance across this listening is how residents' sense of the pace of change resonates strongly, though differing, between neighbourhoods. A perceived slower rate of change threads through residents' depiction of Worthing as "quiet". In contrast, a sense of urgency is attached to St Leonards. This indicates a different affective temporality to Shah's (2011) earlier coastification research that found gentrification progressing relatively slowly. This sense of urgent change has brought calls for action, community meetings and alternative housing solutions (Virginia, FUI15; Myrtle, FUI02). The temporalities of change in

Brighton appear to differ again in participants' listening material, suggesting a longer timeline of gentrification across the neighbourhoods, progressing at a gradual pace. This raises questions about the relationship between seaside imaginaries, perceived paces of change and residents' sense of injustice. Linking gentrification rhythms and in/justice chimes with Kern's (2016) calls for gentrification scholarship to pay more attention to time.

Crucially these examples show how listening is entangled with the different positionings residents take towards redevelopment. Rafael enjoys the sounds of scaffolding through his imaginings of a regatta and appreciation of constant urban change; for others they grate and signal structural processes of inequality or disrupt and warn of unfavourable changes to the seaside. The examples drawn from new-build redevelopments highlight classed undertones as well as the different ways residents are "fixing" the seaside. Their expressions of concern reveal how participants position themselves in relation to injustices. Mostly this is expressed as a concern for others or what these changes represent, with personal impacts focused on aesthetic enjoyment. For example, Bayside is built on a brownfield site so there are no direct displacement "victims" from its construction. Responsibility is attributed to bigger players such as investors and developers or institutional conditions such as state policies. In many ways their objectionableness is made easier by residents not feeling responsible. Residential involvement can come from mobilising resources to campaign against on the grounds of planning and impacts on the urban seaside as a public or tourism resource. These dynamics change when we look at the next cluster of sounds and reflective listening in public spaces.

8.4 Listening in public spaces: relational positionings

I have so far argued that interrogating the ways the residents are listening to urban seaside redevelopment makes audible value judgements, ethical reflections, social group identities and spatial imaginings. These entangle with the social, spatial and mobility injustices associated with displacement and resonate with the distinct motifs of urban seaside gentrification. In particular, with regard to "seasideness" and coastal liquidity dynamics, we see how participants are "fixing" their neighbourhoods in ways that might be exclusionary and reproduce displacement injustices. By examining residential listening positionalities, it is

possible to hear the different positionings participants are taking towards such injustices and understand the ways in which fixed seaside imaginaries are reproduced. I turn now to look at a different cluster of sounds and how listening in public spaces tells us about the relative positionings of and differentiation within urban spaces, which produces particular understandings of gentrification injustices.

The listening walks primarily took place in public spaces, traversing streets, parks, seafront promenades and beaches with only some residents capturing their private domestic spaces at the end or beginning of a walk. Whilst the listening-at-home activities occurred in private spaces, all the listening activities stimulated abundant reflections about public spaces, including the piers, promenades, cafes, pubs, shops, restaurants, artist studios, galleries and community centres. In this section, I focus on encounters in and sound stories of public spaces, looking at some of the ways such spaces become gendered, classed and racialised.

Sounds occurring in public space signal who is using these spaces and their usages, who is absent and excluded, how interactions change and are contested. Soja (2010:96) asserts that 'the normal workings of everyday urban life generate unequal power relations, which in turn manifest in inequitable and unjust distributions of social resources across spaces of the city'. Public space considerations go straight to the heart of displacement injustices and the production and enaction of space, shaped by societal and institutional practices and conditions (Lefebvre 1991; Soja 2010). Looking across the injustices reviewed earlier, it is possible to see how some injustices relate to public space in different ways. For example, injustice 15 in Appendix K clearly refers to the reduction or absence of public and cultural space and their diminishing availability for all inhabitants. This reduces the possibility of encountering others, which is seen as a key attribute of urban public space (Valentine & Sadgrove, 2012). Public space therefore becomes critical in the defence 'against forces of commodification, privatisation and state interference' (Soja, 2010:45). To delve into such issues, I discuss participants' listening in the different urban centres along the south coast that were under investigation.

Differentiated encounters in public space

Participants' listening walks are an interaction in public space that I have already critically discussed in relation to the themes of narrating and navigating. I have identified a range of

different listening experiences and practices through which residents relate to public space that contributes to understandings of gentrification and suggests urban seaside gentrification as a distinct phenomenon. For example, in Chapter 5, I discussed Myrtle's "unexpected listening" to older and working-class conversations that contradicted her perception of population changes, which taps into displacement injustices such as changes to a sense of community (3 in Appendix K). I also shared Logan's pause to enjoy the King's Road café ambience (see Audio 5.1 in Chapter 5), which raises questions about changing cultural spaces, gentrifiers' behaviours and liveability (14, 15 and 17). Delving into these interactions, we can explore the ways public spaces are changing in relation to each other, processes of exclusion and residential positionings.

Through layered soundmapping, I identified human interactions as a cluster of sound sources common across all participant's listening experiences. Just as Myrtle in St Leonards picked out what she perceived as differently classed voices, several residents marked out conversations they heard where different languages were being spoken, which are positioned in line with the relationality of urban spaces. When asked how she found the walk, Virginia immediately thinks about the voices she encountered:

> I mean, there was a lot of chat. I mean, we have quite a lot of, um, uh, migrants down here. Um, so there's loads of different languages being spoken here. Yeah, which is interesting. And then we have a lot of these DFLs, which are the Down from Londoners, or the OFBs, which is Over from Brighton…so yeah, it's, it's, it's, it's really good with all the different speeches and talks and languages that I hear. Real mix. (FUI15)

Virginia harmonises with Eric in the way she picks out the bottom of Norman Road in St Leonards (see Chapter 5) as full of 'different languages' with Kurdish shops that she likes to frequent (FUI15, FUI20). Virginia makes a distinction between migrants and DFLs/OFBs (FUI15), which tells us about the sensing of differentiated encounters. Migrants are noted as speaking non-English languages, but differences in affluence, class and race are implicit in this discussion of 'different speeches and talks' (FUI15). Several other participants talk about different languages being spoken in the neighbourhood. For example, in Brighton, Barney

identifies this as an absent sound due to the impacts of lockdown travel restrictions on language schools (FUI18).

These conversations serve to bring out judgements about diversity from residents, which speaks to social and spatial displacement injustices and issues of cultural imperialism (Young, 1990). In particular, the example above highlights the racialised dimensions of public space – shared across all of the sites. By commenting on these types of conversations and voices they become marked, and potentially stigmatised. When connected to ethnic minority-run businesses, these voices are marked as different to the English-speaking and assumed default white majority residents. As argued by Burdsey (2020:112), the English seaside has predominantly been 'imagined, represented, and consumed as "white spaces"'. In amongst this potential racialisation of voices, residents however also assert a positive value placed on diversity. Chiming with the 'good' positioning of different languages (Virginia, FUI15), all participants discuss the value they place in living in a diverse neighbourhood.

However, it is important to interrogate what is meant by diversity and how it is constructed. Mary-Jane claims her street is 'a real mix', explaining how important this was in choosing the neighbourhood after living in mainland Europe for many years and identifying as 'white other' with Spanish heritage (FUI06):

> We're a complete, we're a sexual orientation mix, a good mix like that. We're single people. We're young families. Erm, we're not racially diverse. But then Brighton isn't very, is it really? (FUI06)

Here we see how racial diversity is disregarded as part of 'a good mix', positioning Brighton as racially homogenous in the process. Mary-Jane goes onto talk about an older neighbour, whereby she struggles to find the right words for describing class:

> I don't know whether we use the term here, I don't know what terms people use these days. Erm, but he was lovely and he'd been in the air force and various things, erm. But he was probably the last, of that erm, that kind of person living in there, in the street. Since then, I mean there's a, there's a whole mix of people. There's a whole mix of people. Cos there's teachers and there's lawyers and there's film-

> makers and there's designers and there's ermmm, actors and… a therapist. And so I don't know how much that is a classic Kemptown mix, but it's erm, what I would call arty middle class, does that make sense? (FUI06)

The professions listed are all middle-class occupations, which Mary-Jane names as 'classic' 'arty' Kemptown, Brighton, sitting in contrast to the 'last' working class resident (FUI06). Yet this is still construed as a 'mix' that chimes with many other residents' descriptions of diversity and how they value the current demographics of their neighbourhoods.

Diversity is described by many residents in ways that fit a cosmopolitan approach to positive encounters with difference (Valentine & Sadgrove, 2012). This links to Tissot's (2015) work on the gentrification of diversity in Boston that reveals the ways upper middle-class residents co-opt diversity in ways that are palatable and controllable. However, this valuing of a cosmopolitan-style seaside is mainly discussed by white participants, with the participants identifying as Asian, of African heritage or in mixed parentage families bringing different perspectives. Myrtle describes the racist abuse that her Nepali partner and mixed parentage son received when they first moved to St Leonards, but how this has dissipated in recent years (FUI02). Bennie describes having people yell 'fake Chinese babbling' at her in the streets of Worthing, though she minimises by calling it occasional and explaining that she's 'had worse' (FUI14). Also in Worthing, Dr X describes the differentiated treatment she receives as the 'whitest one' in her mixed parentage African-English family:

> …people wouldn't look at me when I walk down the road. But I see people looking at my mom and my sister when they were here. It's very interesting. And in London, that wouldn't happen because, you know, as I say, London is such a mixed cosmopolitan place, but that's not a problem. I'm not saying there's not pockets of racism. There is but, not it just, not in the same way, because there's just everybody in London and you really notice when you come here and, um, you know, it's a very white town. (FUI11)

However, Dr X believes these experiences are not 'just about whiteness':

> Cause I mean, I, you know, I stack shelves for Wilko and I work with a lot Polish girls, um, and they get a lot of attitude from other members of staff. Because when

> they're all together, they talk Polish. Um, and they, you know, there's, people who've complained about that. It just mind boggles me. They can talk in their own language if they want to. Come on. (FUI11)

In this quotation we return to the sound of different languages, but a very different example. Dr X describes the policing of workers speaking 'their own language' in the workplace (FUI11), contrasting the apparent value of hearing it on the streets that is asserted by other residents in their listening walks. This indicates the exclusions that resonate out from imaginaries of the urban seaside that "fix" it as a homogenous cultural entity.

These examples show how racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, experiences and encounters shape the ways residents listen in public and private spaces across the urban seaside sites. This indicates more shared commonalities than might be suggested by their different positionings in the urban hierarchies, in relation to each other and to London. Diversity is valued by residents and increasing homogeneity has been identified by many as a displacement injustice (e.g. 14). But the way diversity is constructed can mark and exclude certain groups of people, which plays out at the urban seaside in distinct ways. For example, Mary-Jane, in Brighton, asserts positive diversity in her street but describes a dominant mono-culture of 'arty middle-class Kemptown' (FUI06). This indicates a lack of diversity and risk of cultural imperialism and marginalisation. In turn, this plays into coastal *stasis* and the "fixing" of the seaside as white (Burdsey, 2020). These examples of human interactions reveal complex entanglements of social group identities, normative assumptions, seaside imaginings and injustices as well as seaside geographies. Next, I look in more detail at these dynamics by focusing on participants' sound stories of public space as a way of understanding how they are listening in public spaces.

Sound stories of differentiated public spaces

As well as the encounters discussed above, there are several significant sound stories about public spaces revealed through participants' reflective listening. These stories from across the different sites continue to show commonalities in the way certain public spaces become differentiated in terms of gender, class and race, highlighting further their relationality. Myrtle's listening material is striking for the micro-level detail of her street soundscape, past

and present, as noted in previous discussions. In reflecting on changes over her twenty years of residence, Myrtle describes how early on the street had ‘a very, very, aggressive, unpleasant soundscape’ and the loudness might be ‘the same’ now, ‘but the emotions were completely different’ (FUI02). These sound memories prompt her to remember nostalgically past neighbours. She jokes kindly about a neighbour who was a retired male sex worker and used to walk around crying out 'La di da di da St Leonards, la di da di da' as the neighbourhood started to gentrify (FUI02). She explains friendly interactions increased when a block of temporary bedsits was made into supported living for autistic tenants, who openly say ‘hello’ to everyone on the street. Feeling torn by the street changes, she describes how DFL middle-class residential immigration is changing the ways she knows people, as shown in this interview excerpt where she moves from describing middle-class neighbours to a tradesman:

> They were both professionals from London and erm, and everything was changing and I was feeling like. But they had been very kind, you know? And, we have a guy who paints our house, who we've known for, forever, who is, from Sidley in Bexhill. So Sidley is the poorer area of Bexhill and comes from a rural Sussex family. And he's very, so everything, so he knows a lot a lot of people…So he also was a way of social connections between people, because he sits on the scaffolding and he talks to, he talks non-stop to everybody. So he also, like the autistic men, he also would make those connections. So that was one of the, he was also an important part of knowing people. (FUI02)

Street interactions are very important to Myrtle and the Sidley painter is valued for his social connections and a keeper of heritage. During her listening walk, Myrtle also claims that scaffolders ‘have an aural sense of where people are with the poles and stuff…so they have a culture of, of a lot of communication’ (LW02). Scaffolding here plays a different sound stimulus role, revealing the human interactions that impact on public space enabled by its structures. They create a kind of working-class presence in the street, though temporary and intermittent, as the inhabitants themselves become increasingly middle class.

Another set of prominent sound stories of public space cluster around changing café culture across the three neighbourhoods, which are particularly striking for thinking about how

participants are navigating their ethical positionings. Just as Bayside resonates as a beacon of new-build gentrification, cafés come to represent retail gentrification and the loss of accessible public space (14, 15 and 16 in Appendix K). As seen in Chapter 5, Desdemona claims that the sounds surrounding coffee machines are a potential soundmark of gentrification (FUI10). In his walk around Brighton, Raymond took several photographs of one street to contrast social housing against the expensive cars, antique shops and cafés as shown in Figure 8.3.

Figure 8.3: Collection of Raymond's photographs (Brighton, LW21)

In his interview, Raymond explains:

> I think there's a large number of people who are in privatised caring environments who socialise within that environment, but don't necessarily use the economic and social facilities around. And when you look at the nature of, of, of, um, uh, social things in, in, in Brighton, in this area of town, the, the there's been, I mean, my partner thinks this is an index of gentrification, which is, the number of places with greasy spoon cafs are now, uh, uh, interesting coffee or ethnic food outlets.

As Raymond describes, many participants show concern for the loss of 'economic and social facilities' that older and/or working-class residents might have frequented in the past (FUI21). Participants frequently mark out older working-class cafes as 'greasy spoons' or 'cafs' (FUI21) as opposed to 'fancy', 'posh' 'cafés' (Dr X, FUI11). The contrast of 'greasy spoon cafs' against 'interesting coffee or ethnic food outlets' (FUI21) shows the differential imaginings of displacement. 'Ethnic food outlets' in other neighbourhoods or in other imaginings of displacement might signal the original communities that are being pushed out by white gentrifiers (Eck et al., 2020) but this is used differently by Raymond in urban seaside spaces that are fixed as white and racially homogenous.

Jane in particular recalls a 'greasy spoon' that catered for older people when she first moved into Kemptown (FUI01). Run by an older gay couple, Jane expresses concern for older isolated residents who have lost somewhere they could afford to go:

> And what struck me was it was really cheap, you know, you could probably get a cup of tea for 50p. Erm, but of course it went, a while ago. It's now an estate agent, or it used to be - (laughter) which tells you everything. And erm, what I think is really sad, is that, people like me can afford to go and pay £2.50 for a cup of coffee, but there's a lot of older people on a low income that would go there and they would, they didn't just do fry ups, they did like, you know, meat and two veg for lunch whatever and you know like traditional food. And, you know, if you're an OAP and you really don't want to cook and you're on a low income. And you want to get out and be sociable and talk to someone. It's a really important thing. And I, it always struck me as really sad that that went. (FUI02)

This story of this lost café shows Jane's sense of injustices playing out in her neighbourhood (FUI02). She believes this is impacting on low-income older residents' ability to access affordable public spaces which increases their social isolation and loneliness (injustice nos. 11 and 15). Seen as 'traditional' (FUI01), the food described assumes a "whiteness" that stands in contrast to Raymond's 'ethnic food outlets' that are replacing these 'cafs' (FUI21). This is pitted against the replacing 'estate agents', used by Jane to indicate privatised profits over public goods.

But within this concern for others, Jane also distances herself as 'people like me' who can afford the more expensive dominant types of cafés (FUI01). In Raymond's discussion, he similarly jokes how he enjoys frequenting more expensive cafés and is a connoisseur of coffee (FUI21). Thus, whilst naming this change and highlighting the injustices, neither resident is affected negatively. They name these exclusionary changes in their listening but are simultaneously taking part in this shift in café culture. Their navigations of this ethical tension play out in their listening material. For Jane it becomes a story of the lost features of the neighbourhood, which evokes sympathy but nostalgic telling fixes it in the past and keeps it distant. This echoes Mytle's positioning of working-class tradesman as keepers of the past (FUI02).

Other sound stories are prompted by hearing different public space sounds in participants' listening material that delve into retail gentrification. For example, in St Leonards, Polly (FUI19) and Thorin (FUI22) use the term 'hobby shops' to denote someone setting up retail for the pleasure of the activity rather than making any money. This specifically refers to DFLs who set up 'hobby shops' with excess monies made from selling housing in London and buying up cheap on the south coast. Thorin explains these shops are usually temporary and, in his opinion, provide little enrichment to the area (FUI22). He also bemoans the loss of 'Tony's Caf' that he believes authentic compared to the incoming chains:

> So from Tony's Caf, um, we might get, we get art galleries and we get a different type of thing, which changes, you know, boozers to go from boozers to, to wine bars and that kind of thing. And so people who remain in the area feel less connected because they don't have as many places or people, they know people, they would go places where they would go. (FUI22)

Thorin's fear of the trajectory of retail gentrification in the neighbourhood is shaped by his experiences of living in Greenwich and simultaneous love of what he considers a traditional 'boozer' (FUI22). However, Thorin's gender positioning in relation to these diminishing spaces sits in contrast to another St Leonards resident, Virginia's, take on local pubs:

> They're not the best place. They're great characters, but you don't kind of go and drink with them a lot. They're really nice, but they're very leery too, when they have

> a few drinks. And it's probably more, a woman on her own is probably better off not going in there.

In these two examples we see differently gendered relationships to the same changing public space. One values and fears the loss of existing pubs while the other feels uncomfortable using such amenities and would advise women not to use due to the 'leery', assumed male, 'characters' who dominate (FUI22; FUI15).

These stories of changing street soundscapes and lost "cafs" prompted by reflective listening show the contestations, differentiations and relative positionings encompassed by public spaces. These different examples show the ways public spaces become racialised, gendered and classed by listening participants across the three sites. These imaginings of space are significant because they reproduce exclusionary spatial practices and lived experiences within the structural injustices of urban seaside displacement. Within these "fixings" of urban seaside spaces, one interesting resonance is how working-class people, places and activities often get positioned in the past. Boozers, cafs and previous neighbours are described as "traditional" and the "last", at risk of being lost to the future middle-class neighbourhood trajectory. This raises important questions about class temporalities. As discussed by Friedman at al. (2021:729), there is often 'a distinction between the value afforded to working class identities of the past and present – with the "heroic workers" of previous generations nostalgically counterposed to the "demonised" working-class identities of today'. The way classed discussions thread throughout listening to redevelopment and in public spaces chimes with Friedman et al.'s (ibid:30) findings that 'affiliations to working-class identity are largely rooted in stories and symbols located' in the past. This might suggest that stories of upward social mobility could play out similarly to places and neighbourhoods as they do to people and families. The "last" working class neighbour (Mary-Jane, FUI06), visiting tradesman (Myrtle, FUI02) or fisherman (Desdemona, FUI10) might be viewed nostalgically. But in contrast, interrogating participants' listening to redevelopments reveals fears of Benidorm-style present and future tower blocks of the urban seaside. This plays into the appropriation and commodification of working-class culture and increasing monoculture named as displacement injustices (nos. 13 and 14).

Overall, in this section, I have used participants' reflective listening as a way into exploring the displacement injustices playing out in urban seaside public spaces and how participants are ethically positioning themselves within. I have discussed how participants are listening to human interactions as well as significant sound stories about public spaces. These clusters of sound stimuli show value judgements and ethical positionings that resonate across the three sites, indicating their relationality and interconnectedness. Participants' social identities and interactions with seaside narratives shape the way they listen to these sounds. These entangle with "fixings" of urban seaside and the classed, gendered and racialised imaginings of public spaces that can reproduce injustices. We have seen how certain social groups get marked while characteristics, such as whiteness, maleness and middle-classness, remain assumed as the default majority at the gentrified urban seaside. The last section will pull out the range of positionings in relation to displacement-related injustices, looking at the degree to which participants feel affected, involved and/or culpable in these processes.

8.5 Displacement in/justices: "victims", "monsters" and distancing

This chapter is concerned with how the displacement injustices of urban seaside gentrification are sensed, conceived and lived. I have put the 21 identified injustices into dialogue with the listening material and explored how reflective listening highlights urban seaside gentrification across the south coast of England. This last section pulls this altogether to outline residents entanglements by returning to the concept of injustice according to its instigations and impacts. I look first at the impacts and the positionings of displacement "victims" and secondly at responsibilities and the positionings of displacement "monsters". I finish with looking at a third positioning of how participants distance themselves from these processes, looking again at the localised explanations of "regentrification" and "family replacement".

Through interrogating participants' listening and displacement positionings, I have exposed underlying ethical tensions and dilemmas intruding into their everyday lives. As discussed in Chapter 7, none of the participants take on the role of being a gentrification "victim" or "monster". Yet some participants are more affected by displacement injustices than others

or feel more culpable. Furthermore, there are many expressions of care and concern for those experiencing such impacts. Thus, normative reflections thread throughout the listening material that point to a degree of engagement with displacement impacts.

Many residents directly or explicitly engage with displacement injustices, thereby positioning themselves closely through ethical reflection. Myrtle in St Leonards and Dr X in Worthing express the strongest emotive responses in listening to displacement. Myrtle's shows a deep connection and sensitivity to changes that are impacting on longer-term inhabitants (FUI02). Yet through cooperative housing, Myrtle feels relatively secure despite experiencing displacement pressures (FUI02). Similarly, Dr X has experienced feeling 'very out of place' in gentrifying Tooting, London and concern for others in Worthing (FUI11), which she expresses through questioning the fate of lower income displacees: 'And where are those people supposed to go?' This stands in contrast with her own positioning as someone who was able to leave London and move to Worthing.

I have also opened the temporal spectrum of displacement in identifying how participants have past or potential future displacement encounters (see Chapter 7), which is another type of positioning towards injustices. Participants at risk of physical displacement often express a pragmatic response: Chloe describes 'living in the moment' in the face of rental insecurity and family difficulties (FUI16) and Eric distances himself from lower income neighbours but expects to be priced out himself (FUI20). Eric positions residential movement as natural to progressing through different life-stages (FUI20). His motility is enhanced by his French nationality and Asian heritage that connect him to other locations (FUI20). Other residents who position themselves closely to displacement impacts are those directly engaging with injustices as part of their political identities and activism, such as Jane, Raymond and Shirley. For example, Shirley studies sustainable place-making and through her interest in the spatiality of power harmonises with Dr X's future fears for increasing physical displacement:

> There's not, I mean St Leonards and Hastings is one of the last places in the Southeast people with low income can go, so where on earth would they go? (FUI13)

This questioning demonstrates a fear of extreme spatial injustice whereby hyper-gentrification takes over the region leaving nowhere for lower income people to reside.

Within displacement residential positionalities, it is possible to building a profile of archetypal "victims" according to participants, with most concern shown for those being physically displaced. From participants' definitions of gentrification, "victims" belong to the neighbourhood, the original or existing urban seaside residents. They usually hold a degree of vulnerability through experiencing poverty, accessing benefits, being disabled or older. There is the corresponding expectation of "victims" being working class, which allies with gentrification scholars asserting the need for critical class analysis (Slater, 2006). Through my previous analysis of characteristics that go unmarked in participants' discussion of listening in public space, "victims" also appear to take on a default whiteness within the racialisation of the urban seaside (Burdsey, 2016). Through listening to displacement, I have therefore identified that dominant gentrification archetypes filter into participants' understandings which reduce displacement to a single physical movement with only extreme cases of people impacted.

Turning to the other side of displacement injustices, I have also identified archetypal "monsters", linking into participants' understandings of displacement responsibilities. "Monsters", like "victims", are also classed and racialised in participants' discussions. Predominantly, those causing displacement are stereotyped as foreign investors from the Middle East, Russia or Asia, affluent white DFLs or hipsters. Other accountable agents include estate agents, second-home owners, landlords and Airbnb hosts. However, many participants attribute displacement injustices to societal and institutional structures, practices and conditions rather than singling out individuals as wholly responsible. As expressed by Barney, 'I don't think it's as black and white as saying, "Oh, these fascist people are changing our city by, uh, as sinister design"' (FUI18). These discussions chime with Young's (2006) conception of structural injustice and the social model of responsibility.

Participant grapple with these ethical dilemmas in a number of ways. A significant proportion raise the ethical dilemma of being 'part of that problem' (Dr X, FUI11). Chloe, Dr X and Virginia explicitly question their culpability by virtue of moving to the urban seaside, but with different emphases: Chloe as a London commuter (FUI16), Dr X as a DFL

homeowner (FUI13) and Virginia as an Airbnb host (FUI15). This ethical questioning supports Young's (2006:102-3) social connection model of that posits responsibility 'all agents who contribute their actions to the structural processes that produce injustice have responsibilities to work to remedy these injustices'. By virtue of 'belonging together with others in a system of interdependent processes' (ibid:119), many participants feel the need to contribute in some way to the neighbourhood. Alongside preservation societies, freeholder and tenants' associations, many participants are also involved in volunteering or activism. This includes roles in foodbanks (Jane, Raymond and Georgia), girl guides (Joan), homeless shelters (Polly), Covid-19 support (Virginia), climate change initiatives (Shirley, Jane and Bennie) and political campaigning (Jane and Raymond).

Others grapple with the ethical tensions of feeling both part of a community and potentially contributing to the structural processes causing injustice. For example, this ethical tension prompted Virginia to participate in community gentrification meetings as well as the research:

> I mean I bought a house down here and I wouldn't be able to afford what I've got here, up back in Cheshire. But, um, it's but at the same time, you know, the locals we do get on with the locals. They're very inclusive, but you can see there's a lot for unemployment and it's, um, you know, there might be animosity at times. (FUI15)

Virginia's sense of responsibility is calmed by her ability to integrate and make friends in the neighbourhood (FUI15). She also differentiates herself as an owner-occupier Airbnb host as opposed to buy-to-short term rent absent landlords who are positioned as morally deficient FUI15).

I have identified a hierarchy of responsibility in these residential ethical positionings. For example, Shirley positions herself strongly against displacement injustices and also expresses discomfort as a flat-owner (FUI13). Harmonising with Virginia, she distinguishes herself as an owner-occupier who struggled to gain a mortgage against those buying 'as an investment to make money on it' or estate agents who immorally 'hike up the prices' (FUI13). In many of the participants' ethical positionings, there are degrees of culpability and "monsterness". This resonates with Young's (2006:125-30) idea of responsibility

parameters to aid reasoning over actions. This includes the amount of power a person can exercise over structural processes or privilege they have gained from the injustice in question (ibid). For some participants, understanding their own privileges within these structural injustices is at the core of their ethical discomfort. For example, Polly describes herself as 'a socially minded person', who is unsettled by gentrification (FUI19). This plays out in feeling uncomfortable that her neighbours potentially thought of Eric and her as young affluent gentrifiers:

> Like Eric said once like, "Oh, I think everyone in the street thinks we're like really posh". Cause like I think also it was bad because we, before…it was for sale and then it didn't sell, so we quickly like rented it. Um, but yeah, I think they probably think like, "Oh, you're like quite young and you managed to actually, you know, have a flat and everything". Um, yeah. So I do worry a bit like people would think that I'm like that when I'm, I'm not wanting to, you know, do that. But, but then I have more opportunities than other people, so yeah. It's conflicted, isn't it? (FUI19)

Thus, reflective listening makes audible the ways in which participants are trying to make sense of their own privilege and positioning within a hierarchy of accountability.

In contrast to the above ethical questioning, there are some participants who position themselves at a distance from displacement injustices. For example, when asked about her personal engagement with neighbourhood changes, Mary-Jane repeatedly asserts that she remains unaffected, stating: 'It's neutral. It doesn't affect me, badly or well really' (FUI06). Self-questioning why she has not witnessed much change in twenty years, Mary-Jane wonders whether 'it might just be that I've lived…sheltered life in a way' (FUI06). Mobility justice understandings of differentiated exposure to displacement (Sheller, 2020) prompt questions over what shelters a person from displacement injustices, both their impacts and a sense of responsibility. This could include a perceived lack of change, substantial resources and privileges, and/or limited social connections that might affect a sense of responsibility. I consider in this section how different ways of explaining gentrification might also contribute to a distanced positioning. For example, in Worthing, Desdemona questions if gentrification is occurring in the neighbourhood (FUI10) and Rafael sees many change processes as simply the "natural" progression of living in an urban area (FUI03). Consequently, the ways

residents are narrating urban seaside gentrification have implications for how involved or entangled they feel within its processes.

I have previously discussed the localised differences in explaining processes of urban change (Chapter 6). I argue that these can serve to distance residents from any displacement-related injustices. The idea of "regentrification" positions current changes within a longer historical timeline that entangles "seasideness" and coastal liquidity dynamics. This is most prominent for St Leonards residents, as seen with Polly's questioning of gentrification:

> I think like with gentrification and stuff, people always give it like a really bad name, like, because they're like saying the pushing the, you know, the original people out and I'm not saying it is good, cause it's not good when you know, house prices rise and everything. But I do think that it's had a tradition of being a very grand place anyway and not really affordable. (FUI19)

Here we see how, by "fixing" the seaside, certain class dynamics become a 'tradition' in the neighbourhood. For example, when describing buildings being changed for more affluent users, Logan questions whether it is 'gentrification, because it's gone back to its original usage' (FUI17). When asked about displacement, Logan asserts that the neighbourhood is 'self-selecting' and population turnover is due to incomers failing to make social connections or enduring the seasonal variations and 'privation' that occurs in a seaside town (FUI17). Thus, Logan "fixes" the neighbourhood by drawing on seaside narratives, within which he has been able to integrate where others cannot. This place-fixing and idea of "regentrification" as a historical precedence serves to neutralise discussion of displacement injustices and culpability.

This "regentrification" thesis echoes across the three sites, through the interrelated seaside story timeline of fishing village transformed through Regency London elites. In Brighton, many residents place value on its socio-spatial-mobile history. There is a sense of accepting the mature gentrification trajectory of the neighbourhood because such processes had started prior to them moving in. "Regentrification" relies on "fixing" the seaside and particular imaginings, which underscores the antagonism towards new-build redevelopments discussed in Chapter 7. Despite several residents being involved in political

campaigning, there is a sense of powerlessness against the generalised and globalised phenomenon of gentrification. Framings that extend the historical timeline of gentrification serve to further push the responsibility for displacement injustices both up to the macro structural level and back temporally.

In Worthing, the localised explanation differently neutralises displacement injustices. As already discussed, many participants assert that no displacement is occurring because families are simply replacing the older population, framed as a "natural" demographic shift. As seen in Figure 7.2, all Worthing participants are newcomers and four moved from Brighton with family. This explanation therefore fits with many participants' own residential movements, but its "naturalness" diminishes the need for ethical self-reflexive questioning. This "naturalness" belies heteronormative assumptions about life-stage progression and what constitutes family life (Allen & Mendez, 2018). This chimes with Goodsell's (2013) work on 'familification' that interrogates how family in-migration is justified within gentrification processes by policymakers and residents. This is a different imagining of the urban seaside within which participants assert the need for revitalisation, playing into dominant narratives that posit gentrification vs. decline.

Overall, in this section, I have critically discussed the different ways residents position gentrification in relation to themselves and others. I argue that listening and displacement positionalities are relationally connected but are similarly complex and shifting. Some participants distance themselves as relatively unaffected or through explanations that serve to neutralise in/justice discussions. Some position themselves closely to displacement-related injustices through their emotional responses to their impacts and concern for others. Many participants feel ethically challenged by the structural injustices occurring in their neighbourhood, which shapes their community and social activism. Through grappling with the degree to which residents feel "part of the problem", a hierarchy of "monsterness" and culpability starts to emerge. Young's (2006) work on the social connection model of responsibility resonates within this discussion. Questions are raised about how the pace of change affects residents' sense of injustice and how we might bring gentrification temporalities to bear on social, spatial and mobile dimensions of displacement injustices.

8.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have critically discussed the ways residents are reflectively listening to redevelopment and in public spaces to understand their experiences of the injustices of urban seaside displacement. Through the ethical reflections, value judgements and social group identities that constitute their listening positionalities, I have been able to identify how residents are positioning themselves in relation to displacement injustices. The spectrum of displacement expands the associated injustices, demonstrated through the 21 injustices identified. Through taking a social-spatial-mobility justice approach, I have similarly expanded the differentiated positionings that participants are taking towards these injustices, which are relationally sensed, imagined and lived across the three sites. This constitutes part of the ways in which participants are living with and entangled in urban seaside gentrification as it increasingly permeates their neighbourhoods. The "seasideness" of gentrification occurring in these neighbourhoods continues to be significant in participants' imaginings of space, which entangle with reproductions of structural injustices.

Analysis of reflective listening can give insight into normative listening habits engendered by urban seaside gentrification. Urban seaside gentrification itself shapes residents' listening norms and assumptions across the south coast, which could be considered a different type of injustice. This prompts further questions over the possibility of "ethical listening" or "self-reflexively listening" to displacement for justice purposes, raised at the end of Chapter 7. Residents move between different complex positionings as they try to make sense of the gentrification changes and impacts. A resident may feel concern for others and in grappling with their culpability also identify bigger "monsters" and larger structural processes with which they can calm their feelings of responsibility. Ideas of "regentrification" echo through St Leonards and Brighton while population "replacement" rather than displacement is used to explain Worthing's changes. I argue that ethical dilemmas and tensions are intruding on the majority of the participants' everyday lives, shown in their grapplings with these changes and their positionings. However, participants' entanglement in "fixing" the seaside serves to reproduce exclusions along the coastline, relationally reinforced between these sites. "Self-reflexive listening" and critical listening positionality could take residents' own understanding further in their ethical grapplings and displacement positionalities.

Many aspects of this chapter's discussion chime with my own positioning as a fellow inhabitant of the urban seaside. I have witnessed others' displacement and considered my own responsibility as socially connected within the urban seaside (Young 2006). But despite experiencing increasing displacement pressures, I, like other participants, would not name myself a "victim". I also hold my own imaginaries about the urban seaside, entangling me with "fixings" and reproductions of structural injustices. This shows the challenges of embracing the spectrum of displacement that moves beyond false binaries and reductive understandings. Listening to displacement is therefore offered as a way forwards, which requires critical self-questioning of our listening and displacement positionalities. Sheller (2020:50) calls for us to 'oscillate in mobile places and displace ourselves to make room for others' within a mobility justice approach to displacement; I take inspiration from Robinson (2020) in arguing that we need to make room for listening to others and oscillating between listening positionalities within the realm of displacement.

CHAPTER 9: Conclusion

9.1 Listening-with

> Compassion and understanding comes from listening impartially to the whole space/time continuum of sound, not just what one is presently concerned about. In this way, discovery and exploration can take place. New fields of thought can be opened and the individual may be expanded and find opportunity to connect in new ways… (Oliveros, 2005:xxv)

At the beginning of this research project, I set out to be creative, participatory and hopeful. Listening has allowed me to do that. I have been inspired by creative practitioners, such as Oliveros (2005), to open up new fields of thought and expand the potential of listening for research purposes. By embracing my musicianship as a researcher, I have composed an interdisciplinary and innovative project that compels us to think anew about gentrifying urban seaside landscapes. By committing to a participatory listening ethos, I have grappled with the shifting power imbalances and positionalities entangled within research practices to persist beyond what my own ears were 'concerned about' (ibid). By aspiring to new ways to connect through listening, I have been able to pluralise reductive and fixed understandings of in/justices and amplify the shifting complexities of human experience to generate new knowledge. I have offered *listening-with* as a form of participatory listening research that can stand alone as a methodological contribution to academia and practice. But in creating this listening approach, I go further to reframe urban seaside gentrification and its injustices through listening to displacement with residents on the UK south coast.

In this final chapter, I reflect on how I met my aim and objectives, structured through discussion of *listening-with*, displacement injustices and urban seaside gentrification with concluding reflections to end. Through my findings, I make empirical, methodological and conceptual contributions to the scholarly fields of sound, gentrification, displacement, mobilities, in/justices and the seaside, as well as reframing gentrification within an interdisciplinary project. I start with the project's resonating heartbeat of listening. Methods and findings are conventionally thought and written about separately. I embarked on an ambitious endeavour to create a listening approach that both methodologically and

conceptually reinvigorates understandings of residential experiences of gentrification and displacement injustices. This first project objective began with embedding listening throughout the research stages. I make listening explicit in design, methods, analysis, reflections, interpretation and dissemination. It germinated through the creation of my socio-sonic-mobile methodology. Oriented by critical feminist scholarship and relational socio-spatio-mobile ontologies, I combined sound and mobile methods to create a set of tools, techniques and resources. In responding to the pandemic disruption and undertaking place-based sensory research remotely, I was compelled to reflect anew on the roles, relationships, infrastructures and positionalities that constitute knowledge production. My creative and reflexive approach transformed the methodology into the *listening-with* conceptualisation. I created the sound collage interlude to sonically convey this ambition of making listening central to knowledge production and spark epistemic curiosity in the reader's ears.

Melding methods and findings, I am able to answer how listening with residents during a global pandemic generates knowledge about gentrification (research question (i)). While agreeing with Oliveros (2005:xxv) that understanding comes from listening 'to the whole space/time continuum of sound', this requires nuance. 'Listening impartially' is a utopian ideal to which practitioners may aspire but where researchers may shed doubt (Oliveros, 2005:xxv; Robinson, 2020:249). As a researcher, knowledge comes instead from valuing, interrogating and learning from the multiple layers of meaning and subjectivity that listening generates. In hyphenating *listening* and *with*, I denote the epistemic attempt to lean into the plural positionalities of listeners and amplify their role and status in knowledge production. By emphasising *with,* I protect the space for participatory forms of research that are person-centred and value different knowledges. In this conceptualisation, I bring pluralising and non-normative approaches from sound art into the geographies of gentrification and displacement. I generatively engage with the processes of critical listening positionality (Robinson, 2020) and the framing of participant material as self-reflexive narratives (Anderson & Rennie, 2016) to create layered analysis of urban seaside gentrification. The plural listening positionalities entangled in this research fix our attention towards distinct knowledge about urban seaside gentrification and displacement.

Through *listening-with*, I therefore crack open the listening practices that can ambitiously attend to the whole space/time and mobile continuum of gentrification-induced displacement and its injustices. The sensory heightening of the pandemic created the opportunity to interrogate "lockdown listening" practices and experiences. These listening practices, which encompass "imagined, absent and returning sound stimuli", reach through 'the contested pasts, messy and unfinished presents, and uncertain futures' of the urban seaside (Burdsey, 2016:20). We are therefore able to hear how participants are making sense of urban seaside gentrification by drawing on dominant seaside and gentrification narratives. These narrations can fix the seaside in ways that problematise particular people, activities and infrastructures as "out of place" whilst rendering others seemingly "natural" to the environment. This speaks to the ways that gentrification is increasingly permeating residents' neighbourhood lives, working across multiple scales and temporalities. Taking a mobilities ear, I advocate for listening to displacement as a spectrum within this permeation. Identifying the ways that participants navigate displacement raises the significance of residential motility and questions of mobility justice. Thus crucially, *listening-with* residents has generated "reflective listening" that compels a rethinking of the role of displacement and its injustices at the urban seaside.

Whilst the conceptualisation of *listening-with* unifies my approach into a methodological and conceptual whole, a collection of practical resources is offered up alongside these findings, which may have many uses in future research. I have expanded the empirical applications of Robinson's (2020) critical listening positionality as well as the framing of audio fieldwork as self-reflexive narratives (Anderson & Rennie, 2016). Running with the proposition to 'no longer write about "listening" without adjectives' (Wong in Robinson, 2020:251), I have identified and named 25 listening practices in the research material. I have conceptually explored and critically discussed six of these practices: unintentional ex situ listening, lockdown listening, static listening, mobile listening, comparative listening and reflective listening. These are listed in Appendix H alongside a four-fold sound stimuli typology (sound layers, sound surprises, sound sparks and sound stories) in Appendix I. The socio-sonic-mobile techniques I have honed through my methodology and in response to the pandemic are also detailed (Chapter 3) alongside the creative listening analysis that includes layered soundmapping (Chapter 5).

With this offering, I must acknowledge the limitations encountered in this project. Although a listening advocate, I fully accept that listening cannot tell us everything nor is it of interest to everyone nor accessible to all. By drawing on Deaf studies scholarship, I recognise and endeavour to understand and work against the phonocentrism embedded in our societal structures and practices (Haualand, 2008; Friedner & Helmreich, 2012). Taking a participatory approach helps to embrace and support non-normative forms of listening and relationships to sounds, but these methods still entail exclusions, especially of D/deaf citizens. The pandemic adaptations of the methods also produced potential digital exclusions and restricted the recruitment reach of the project. As discussed in Chapter 3, urban seaside residents experiencing multiple marginalisations are less represented in this study. There are many social groups not involved in this research who experience and are subject to increased surveillance, policing and exclusions; for example, people in greater housing or work precarity, younger people, migrants facing English-language barriers, trans and non-binary people and learning-disabled people. To further develop *listening-with* and understand the complex relational shapings of plural listening positionalities, further research needs to be undertaken with a wider range of social groups. One way this could be achieved is through expanding the participatory nature of the methodology and working with more marginalised people to design and lead on the research. Although guided by a participatory ethos, the project has only incorporated a few participatory elements. Due in part to the institutional parameters and restrictions of a PhD, this research was not co-designed with others. Co-production in the form of recruiting co-researchers, participatory analysis and non-academic outputs could not be retrofitted to the approved project within the funded time.

I take these limitations as stimulation and encouragement for all the ways participatory listening research could be formulated and explored in future academic work. This project has myriad wider implications that have been discussed throughout this thesis. I have embraced the pandemic disruption to usefully rethink research practices. As explored through my critical reflections on the *Unintentional Ex Situ Listening* sound piece, this disruption challenges assumptions and conventions surrounding the research "field" as well as researcher/participant/place positionings and relationships. There is the need to continue pluralising listening and understand normative listening practices and their impacts. I have

explored the “hunger” that threads through my own listening in this project. This raises questions about what constitutes normative “academic listening” and how this forecloses or keeps open to different ways of knowing. As asked by Robinson (2020:249), ‘Is it even possible to have one ear open to the unknown and another to one’s positionality?’ For research purposes, I believe participatory listening holds substantive potential to explore this question. But there is much future work to be done on what such a scholarly terrain could look and sound like.

9.2 Displacement injustices

> Rational reflection on justice begins in a hearing, in heeding a call, rather than in asserting and mastering a state of affairs, however ideal. The call “to be just” is always situated in concrete social and political practices that preceded and exceed the philosopher. (Young, 1990:5)

I have reframed urban seaside gentrification and its injustices through listening to displacement. This is a more literal interpretation than Young likely intended when she wrote on the need to hear and heed ‘the call to “be just”’ (ibid). I go beyond her proposition in arguing that reflection on justice does not only begin in a hearing. It must keep hearing and, in so doing, critically interrogate the different ways we hear the call and embrace the potential for plurality in its calling. Sitting at the intersection of gentrification, listening and justice, I have designed this project to listen to displacement and hear the complex calls of displacement in/justices at the urban seaside. *Listening-with* entails reflection and participatory aspects that eschew ‘asserting and mastering’ and ensure a degree of humility in what precedes and exceeds the researcher (ibid). Bringing social, spatial and mobility justices into listening to displacement allows us to hear the social and political practices that constitute its injustices. But through listening, it is not only the ‘concrete’ practices we hear (ibid). Through investigating the ways that the urban seaside is fixed and foreclosed by listening residents, we can attend to the ways that displacement injustices are being reproduced through spatial imaginings. The imagined space of the urban seaside is significant and displacement injustices are dialectically shaping the landscape (Soja, 2010; Lefebvre, 1991).

In this respect, I meet my second objective to rethink the role of displacement and its injustices at the urban seaside through interrogating residential listening positionalities. *Listening-with* residents to displacement provides a way to refresh the spectrum of displacement and the injustices it encapsulates. My socio-spatial-mobile justice approach expands the relational complexity of how displacement injustices are re-produced in urban seaside spaces and experienced by its residents. I therefore answer my third research question by identifying the differentiated impacts of displacement injustices, focusing on participants' im/mobilities and ethical positionings in their urban seaside neighbourhood lives. Through analysis of their listening positionalities, we can hear the different residential ethical positionings toward displacement injustices. This reaches across past personal encounters, present feelings of culpability and future fears for an increasingly exclusionary coastline. These positionings also include justifications and practices that serve to distance residents from displacement injustices occurring nearby. Just as there are a multitude of influences that shape residential listening positionalities, displacement positionings are also constituted by intersecting social identity characteristics. The ways residents are listening *to* urban seaside redevelopments and *in* public spaces demonstrates how the urban seaside becomes classed, gendered and racialised and the relational positioning of these sites to each other and London. These aural impressions and inscriptions can serve to reproduce the marginalisation and exclusions entangled with displacement injustices.

I argue that urban seaside gentrification increasingly permeates residents' lives. Thus, even for those who might be more sheltered and or put themselves at a distance from its injustices must find ways of living with displacement. Listening to im/mobilities allows us to hear the navigating strategies residents are developing. Participants are moving to and within the seaside to navigate and take advantage of the changing opportunities of relative affordability in the region. Residents' im/mobilities also includes the ability to stay put through mobilising resources, which I have discussed through looking at housing infrastructures. This speaks to the coastal liquidity dynamics of urban seaside gentrification. It raises important questions about coastal liquid motility and the ways residents are restricted from or able to enact and produce urban seaside spaces.

Carrying out research that aims to reframe displacement injustices through listening during a pandemic does encounter some limitations. The recruitment challenges led to a more

limited cohort than I had first aspired to, forcing me to rely on professional and social networks over any face to face engagement. The participants constitute a relatively privileged group of urban seaside residents with time, health and resources to take part during a period of crisis. Although I query and complicate the binaries of gentrification "monsters" and displaced "victims", the research does not involve people facing the harshest edges of structural injustices. However, *listening-with* a group of residents who possess a high degree of privilege has nevertheless generated rich findings and still has the capacity to rethink displacement injustices. This strengthens my argument that gentrification is permeating neighbourhood life at the urban seaside. I have demonstrated my own researcher motility in maximising the participatory and sensory benefits of "lockdown listening" to displacement.

Rethinking displacement injustices through listening launches myriad wider implications and future research potentials. My findings have started to explore the relationship between plural listening positionalities and ethical positionings towards displacement injustices, but there is more to investigate. How can we further develop the practice of listening to displacement? More research needs to be conducted into plural displacement listening positionalities. Listening to displacement raises questions over the meanings and potentialities of aural displacement as a contribution to geographies of displacement. Following in line with critical listening positionalities (Robinson, 2020), my findings also make offerings to theories of justice. Overall, I have demonstrated what social, spatial and mobile justice approaches can offer to each other in combination, riffing off their shared genealogy of ideas. As touched on above, I show the continued relevance of Young's (1990) approach to social justice. For example, many participants echo her social model of responsibility in their ethical reflections on displacement injustices (Young, 2006). In the realm of spatial justice (Soja, 2010), listening to the spectrum of displacement has caused the Lefebvrian conception of imagined-conceived-perceived space to vividly resonate (Lefebvre, 1991). The ensuing ripples and waves could follow many directions from this resonance, including further researching the fixing of imagined urban seaside spaces. *Listening-with* has synergies with rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre, 2013), indicating the different rhythms and paces of displacement injustices that could be further developed. My findings on residential capacities to move and/or stay put also point to urban seaside mobilities as

an under-researched site to explore mobility justice issues. Lastly, the notion of aural displacement prompts questions about sonic and aural justice, which are timely given the critical and 'dynamic transdisciplinarity' sweeping through sound studies (Robinson, 2020:251).

9.3 Urban seaside gentrification

> …Deep Listening is the attempt to listen to everything, everywhere all the time. It is a meditative practice, but definitely not a kind of navel gazing – the ear stretches outward to listen at the edge of perception, and also inward to pay attention to the intimate and internal, and back to the global.
>
> (Ellen Waterman in conversation with Dylan Robinson & Deborah Wong in Robinson, 2020:244)

In this project I was inspired by the ambitiousness embedded in deep listening practice that attempts 'to listen to everything, everywhere' (ibid) and applied this drive to researching residential experiences of urban seaside gentrification. Framing *listening-with* as a form of participatory listening research has helped me keep my researcher ears open to participants' own listening experiences, practices and positionalities in their gentrifying neighbourhoods. While rejecting impartial listening, I follow both Robinson (2020) and Burdsey's (2016) thinking by interrogating what ideas and practices create foreclosure and the implications of such fixity. Through my methodology, I have supported participants to stretch their perception both outward and inwards and challenged my analysis to listen to the intimate, internal and global. Although building in reflexivity I have sought to guard against navel gazing. Multi-scalar and multi-dimensional, this project has taken an encompassing and relational comparative approach to the urban seaside and the three neighbourhood sites in Brighton, Worthing and St Leonards-on-Sea. Mapping the socio-sonic-mobile from methodology through to findings, I have thereby met my third objective to amplify the social, spatial and mobile processes that produce urban seaside gentrification on the UK south coast through listening with residents.

Listening-with has provided a new approach to a globalised, generalised and contested phenomenon. Putting gentrification into dialogue with the urban seaside responds to persistent calls to better look at intersections of gentrification with other research areas and for more cross-disciplinary conversations around displacement (Lees et al., 2008; Goodsell, 2013; Roast et al., 2022). Although ambitious, I must acknowledge the ways I have not been able to 'listen to everything, everywhere' (Robinson, 2020:24). Through my scoping, I chose the three sites due to their proximity to each other and London and relationality between, which was valued both logistically and conceptually. My findings demonstrate their interconnectedness and the significance of intersecting seaside im/mobilities in residential experiences of displacement. But the study does not therefore empirically reach outside of Sussex on the south coast. In hindsight, given the digital pivot induced by Covid-19, the research could have extended further along the coast with no significant impact on the project's resources. Moving forwards, this highlights my methodological contribution to comparative research. Another aspect that has not been rigorously listened to in this research is how policy and institutional actors are entangled in urban seaside gentrification. Although policy materials were used to contextualise the research, in-depth policy analysis was not undertaken. Local and national policies resonate in the listening material (for example see Chapter 6 discussion of scaffolding) which indicates that "policy listening" could be developed in future research.

Despite these limitations, I have been able to answer my second research question and share the distinctive aspects of urban seaside gentrification that can be revealed through listening. Nuanced, micro detailed discussion is offered in my findings chapters of residential experiences of urban seaside gentrification, thematically structured around the ways they are narrating, navigating and positioning themselves. I go 'back out to the global' (Robinson, 2020:244) in proposing of four resonating motifs that constitute urban seaside gentrification. Crucially I argue that "seasideness" is significant in this form of gentrification. Since Shah's (2011) study in St Leonards, coastification no longer holds and the plural meanings encompassed by "seasideness" commands more interpretative potential than that offered by coastal gentrification. Participants' engagement with seaside narratives and themes and their role in fixing seaside space establishes the significance of this

"seasideness". *Listening-with* has enabled this reframing and generated knowledge about this distinct aspect, which flows into the other three motifs.

This reframing opens up the need for future research into urban seaside gentrification in other seaside urban sites around the English coastline and beyond. How is the seaside being fixed in ways that reproduce displacement injustices in other urban seaside places? By pronouncing the "seasideness" of this gentrification, it is possible to attend to the second motif, the dynamics of coastal liquidity. Coastal liquidity dynamics enhance our understandings of this "seasideness" directing us to distinct seaside temporalities, differentiated residential capacities to take advantage of this liquidity and the implications of fixings of the seaside. In engaging with seaside narratives and themes we hear the ways certain people, ideas and infrastructures more or less problematic. A third motif that has implications for future research is the mutually supportive relationship between tourism and gentrification. In this current manifestation of, gentrification is neither replacing tourism (Shah, 2011) nor predominantly caused by tourism (Cocola-Gant, 2018b). Participants are tolerant, and in some cases embracing or taking advantage, of tourism as part of seaside mobilities and heritage that includes tourists, visitors and transient workers. This leads to the fourth motif that identifies features that are attributable to all five waves of gentrification (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Lees et al., 2008; Aalbers, 2019). *Listening-with* residents shows how some features are seen as "out of place" at the urban seaside, such as new-build redevelopments, whilst others are more acceptable, such as classic pioneer gentrifiers.

These proposed motifs immediately raise the question of how applicable this conceptualisation might be to other English seaside sites. Who is taking advantage of the opportunities presented by coastal liquidity and how? Can this reframing be applied to other sites of touristification? What will a sixth wave of gentrification herald for the urban seaside? In the context of the ongoing global pandemic, we are yet to see how this form of gentrification may be impacted. Another significant area arising in these findings is the distinct seaside temporalities and what these can offer to wider understandings of gentrification. Within these common motifs, each site offers localised differences that require further investigation. What can we learn from the "regentrification thesis" that resonates strongly in residents' narrations of urban seaside gentrification? What are the

implications of 'familification' claimed in Worthing by participants (Goodsell, 2013)? There is more to learn about the normative assumptions underscoring judgements on who are worthwhile newcomers and who are unwanted outsiders in gentrifying neighbourhoods. These questions and many more follow from meeting my aim of reframing urban seaside and its injustices through listening. Overall, it is hoped that these empirical, methodological and conceptual contributions will be utilised by future researchers to enhance the areas of sound, gentrification, displacement, mobilities, in/justices and the seaside.

9.4 Concluding reflections and resonances

Audio 9.1: Clip of Cheap Side of the Pier, song by Pog (demo recording 2022, 1:32)[15]

Being creative, participatory and hopeful, I believe academic, practice-based and personal impacts will continue to resonate from this project beyond the thesis. The last audio clip offered above to the reader's ears is a demo recording of a song about urban seaside gentrification created by the band Pog in which I play violin. My research resonates through the band's storytelling lyrics, which uses the trope of the hipster in contrast to the "greasy caf" (see Appendix L for full lyrics). Listening to displacement is expressed through this couplet:

> They brought the noise from London now they took up all the room
> Now it rings out down the coastline, more an echo than a boom
> (*The Cheap Side of the Pier,* Pog lyrics)

[15] Alternatively, listen to the clip through the following link: https://soundcloud.com/user-334536613/clip-of-cheap-side-of-the-pier-song-by-pog-demo-recording-2022

This was not an intended consequence of the PhD, but nevertheless this song adds to a repertoire of music created to explore issues of social in/justices through this band. This research shapes and will continue to influence professional and practitioner areas of my life. Consequently, it has impacts outside of academia, the clearest example of which is my collaborative work with a Brighton & Hove Music for Connection on sound heritage projects. Undertaking a PhD internship, I was able to pilot listening walks and techniques through the Sounds to Keep project (Prosser, 2019). Since this internship, our community-university exchange has continued into other projects[16], which has shaped my academic understanding of listening. But encouragingly this exchange has also influenced the practices of my fellow community music and heritage practitioners, the benefits of which extends out to local community wellbeing, social connection and creativity.

Whilst the wider academic contributions and implications have already been discussed, I have developed myself as a researcher with future scholarly aspirations. I am interested in the participatory potential of *listening-with*. The methodological success of this project has cemented my interest in co-methodologies and in particular what participatory listening research could be. As acknowledged earlier, the participatory elements of this research are limited, however this could be advanced. For example, *listening-with* could be designed as action research, working closely with a targeted group of people as co-researchers to explore a topic or place using the set of listening resources developed in this project. The methodology could also be used as it is to carry out resource-effective comparative research through its remotely-based and digital techniques. *Listening-with* can be utilised for many other research purposes. In particular, I believe it lends itself well to exploring heritage topics, other justice areas such as climate or environmental and expanding into post-humanism and non-human species relationships.

In terms of dissemination, there is much scope to work with existing and new participants as well as new collaborators to creatively engage with and communicate the findings. The co-creation of soundwalks using geo-locative mobile technologies would be an apt coda to this project. Interactive listening activities such as soundwalks would be a highly effective way to engage people both inside and outside of academia in discussing urban seaside

[16] For details of other projects see: https://musicforconnection.co.uk/listening-walks-and-sound-forages

gentrification. This research engagement can be situated in these three neighbourhoods but has the potential to reach along the coastline and beyond. Furthermore, although this project offers answers to its research questions, there is still much material generated that goes beyond the scope of this thesis. The project simultaneously generates new puzzles and questions to be listened with, and to, further.

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Appendix A: Email communication with SCDTP Office (05/07/22)

From: scdtp <scdtp@soton.ac.uk>
Sent: 01 July 2022 15:08
To: Bethan Prosser <B.Prosser2@brighton.ac.uk>
Subject: RE: south coast region profile?

Hi Bethan

Our definition of the South-Coast steered award is below, we purposely keep it fairly open as we want to encourage a wide range of projects that could fit within this steer.

The South Coast region features coastal communities suffering from deprivation and marginalisation. This problem is well recognised in the Government's policies for economic and social development in coastal communities, and the SCDTP is well placed to address local social and economic challenges through its research. Each year, one studentship will be designated to focus on the South Coast and these challenges.

I hope this helps.

Best wishes

Gemma Harris

South Coast DTP Manager (Interim)

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http://southcoastdtp.ac.uk/

Appendix B: Participation Information Sheet

Title of Study: Urban seaside gentrification on the UK south coast: living with displacement injustices
Researcher: Bethan Prosser

You have been invited to take part in this research project. Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If so, you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?
I am doing a PhD in social sciences at the University of Brighton. I am carrying out research into gentrification on the UK south coast for my PhD project.

I am interested in finding out how people in Brighton, Worthing and Hastings are experiencing the effects of gentrification. Gentrification refers to changes when a neighbourhood is renovated and more affluent people move in, which can result in less affluent people moving out. I want to find out about the social and cultural changes happening in seaside cities/towns because of gentrification.

Why have I invited you to take part?
Because you live in one of the neighbourhoods in Brighton, Worthing or Hastings I am looking at.

Do you have to take part?
No – it is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

What will happen if you take part?

You will be asked to go on a listening walk and take part in a follow-up interview. If you would prefer not to go on a walk or cannot leave the house, you can do a listening exercise at home and then a follow-up interview.

The walk will take no more than 60 minutes. During the lockdown, this will be undertaken as your outdoor exercise and must adhere to social distancing. The follow-up interview will be via telephone or video conference call and take 60-90 minutes. Beforehand, I will ask you to sign a consent form and we can talk about the project if you have any questions.

1.a) Listening walk

You will go on a walk on your own around your neighbourhood. You will choose a route that takes 20-30 minutes. If it is a circular route, you will take 2 laps of the route. If it is a linear route (A to B), walking to your destination will be the first lap and walking back will be the second lap.

Pre-walk: Before you go on the walk, I will guide you through a 'deep listening' exercise via telephone or video conference call. If you opt for a video conferencing call, you can choose which software you would prefer: Skype, Zoom, Jitsi, Teams or Whatsapp.

First lap: You will walk silently and focus on listening to the environment. If possible, you will make an audio recording of the walk on your mobile phone.

Second lap: On the second lap, you will retrace your steps and look in more detail at anything you have noticed during the listening walk. I will ask you to record your observations. You can choose how you want to record these:

- *Option A:* Whilst you are walking, I can call you on your mobile phone and you can describe these to me. I will audio record our conversation.
- *Option B:* Whilst you are walking, you can take photos, audio recordings, make notes or drawings on your mobile phone or on paper. You can then send these to me by email.

1.b) Listening at home

If you would prefer to listen at home, I will guide you on the same 'deep listening' exercise via telephone or video conference call. If you opt for a video conferencing call, you can choose which software you would prefer: Skype, Zoom, Jitsi, Teams or Whatsapp. You will then silently listen in your home and can choose where you do this. After listening, you can choose how you want to record your observations:

- *Option A:* After listening, I can call you and you can describe these to me. I will audio record our conversation.
- *Option B:* After listening, you can take photos, audio recordings, make notes or drawings on your mobile phone or on paper. You can then send these to me by email.

2. Follow-up interview

On another day, you will be invited to take part in a follow-up interview. This interview will be via video conference call or telephone. You can choose which video conference software we use: Skype, Zoom, Teams, Jitsi or Whatsapp. I will audio-record our discussion, which I will transcribe afterwards. I will not record the video or any images of you.

The interview will be informal and we will discuss how you found the walk and the topic of gentrification. We will talk about your experiences of the changing neighbourhood.
I will use the material you have captured during the listening walk e.g. if this is a video conference call, I can display photos or notes.

Will you be paid for taking part?
I will offer you a voucher as a thank you for taking part: £15 for the listening walk/exercise and £15 for the follow-up interview. This will be a voucher that you can choose from either a supermarket, Amazon, WHSmiths or Boots.

Are there any benefits to taking part?

There are no direct benefits to you taking part in this research. However I hope that you will find it beneficial to share your experiences and that you will be interested in what I find out. I can share my findings with you if you are interested.

Are there any disadvantages or risks to taking part?

If you choose the walk, there are the everyday safety risks of walking around the city. If you have any mobility or health issues, we can discuss this beforehand and make appropriate adjustments e.g. taking a shorter walk or doing the listening activity at home.

Because we are talking about your personal experiences and about potentially sensitive topics, we may talk about things that could be upsetting. I will be sensitive to this. If you don't want to talk about certain things or answer some questions, that is fine. We can pause or stop the listening activity and/or interview at any point.

If you choose to use video conference software for the listening activity and/or follow up interview, please review their privacy policies:

- Skype: https://www.skype.com/en/legal/
- Zoom: https://zoom.us/privacy
- Microsoft Teams: https://www.microsoft.com/en-us/microsoft-365/blog/2020/04/06/it-professionals-privacy-security-microsoft-teams/
- Whatsapp: https://www.whatsapp.com/legal/?eea=1#terms-of-service
- Jitsi: https://jitsi.org/security/

Will your participation be confidential?

Yes - all the information you share will be treated confidentially and protected following the Data Protection Act (2018) and EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). The only exception is if you disclose information that indicates the threat of potential harm to yourself or others, which may necessitate this information being shared with a relevant authority. If this is required, you will be made fully aware.

I will use a false name when I write up the recordings from the interview, in my analysis and the final thesis. With your consent and permission our conversations will be audio-recorded. I will be the only person writing up our conversations into a transcript, which you can review.

Your data will be securely stored on the University's One Drive storage system for a minimum for three years, until the postgraduate project is awarded. This is password protected. The only people to view your transcripts will be myself and my supervisors. Excerpts from anonymised versions of your transcripts may be viewed by other academics as part of the project process.

Three months after the end of my postgraduate award, I will submit the transcripts to the UK Data Service archive. Your anonymised data will be kept indefinitely for re-analysis in future research. For more information please see (https://ukdataservice.ac.uk/).

What will happen if you don't want to carry on with the study?
You can choose to withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason. You can receive a copy of the transcript. You will have up to 14 days after receiving the copy to raise any queries or withdraw this data. After this date, this specific data cannot be withdrawn as the analysis process will have begun. However, if you decide you no longer want to take part after 14 days, your personal data will be deleted and all of your data will be anonymised in the analysis and written outputs.

What will happen to the results of the project?
The results of this research will be published in my doctoral thesis, academic and non-academic journal articles. It will be made available online via the University of Brighton library database for PhD theses. Additionally, findings may be shared through presentations at events and conferences and online via blogs and other social media. You will be offered the opportunity to see the results of the study. I can send you a summary of the findings and a copy of my final thesis.

Who is funding the research?
The Economic & Social Research Council South Coast Doctoral Training Partnership.

What if I have a question or concern?
If you experience any problems or concerns please contact:
My lead supervisor: Dr. Lesley Murray, L.Murray@brighton.ac.uk
Chair of the Ethics Committee: Dr Apurv Chauhan A.Chauhan@brighton.ac.uk
Data Protection Office: Rachel Page R.J.Page@brighton.ac.uk Telephone (School of Applied Social Sciences): 01273 643988

Who has reviewed the study?
The Research Ethics Committee of the School of Applied Social Science, University of Brighton.

Contact details: Bethan Prosser
Email: b.prosser2@brighton.ac.uk
Telephone: 07419582127
School of Applied Social Science, University of Brighton, Watson Building, Falmer, Brighton, BN1 9PH

University of Brighton

Participant Consent Form

Project: Urban seaside gentrification on the UK south coast: living with displacement injustices

Name of Researcher: Bethan Prosser

	Please initial or tick box
I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study, and have had the opportunity to consider the information and ask questions.	
The researcher has explained to my satisfaction the purpose, principles and procedures of the study and any possible risks involved.	
I am aware that I will be required to take part in a listening walk and a follow-up interview or a listening activity at home and a follow-up interview.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary. I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without incurring consequences from doing so.	
I agree for our listening walk/listening activity and interview discussion to be audio-recorded.	
I understand that I have the right to review and edit the interview transcript up to 14 days after I have received the transcript.	
I agree for the data that I collect (photos, sound recordings, drawings and notes) during the listening walk/activity can be used for research purposes but will remain confidential.	

I agree that this anonymised visual and audio material can be used at conferences and in research publications. ☐

I understand how the data collected will be used, and that any confidential information will normally only be seen by the researcher and not be revealed to anyone else. ☐

I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

I would like a summary of the findings and give consent to be contacted by the researcher after the research activities (no later than December 2021). ☐

……

Name of Participant, Date & Signature

……

Name of Researcher, Date & Signature

Appendix C: Deep Listening exercise

Purpose: To help you tune into their ears and get used to listening, because this is not something we often do.

Process: Going to ask a series of questions for you to think about, but not answer.

Invite you to close your eyes – you can turn off your video if this makes you feel more comfortable.

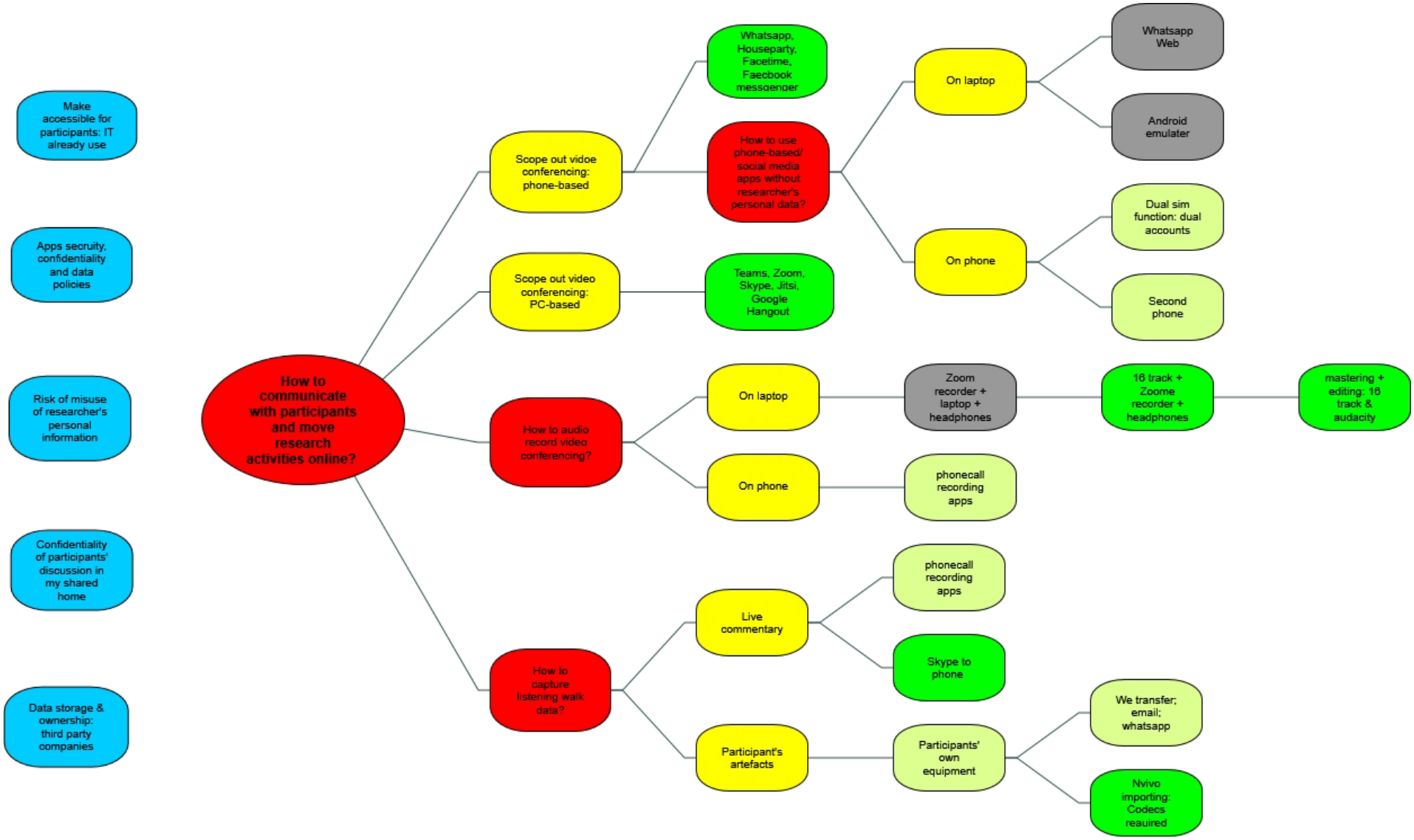
1. First listening to the body first: what internal sounds can you hear? Can you hear yourself breathing, your heartbeat?
2. Then becoming aware the sounds around you: what can you hear?
3. Are there any continuous sounds?
4. Are there any rhythms? Beats? Intermittent sounds?
5. What's the loudest sound you can hear? What's the quietest?
6. What's the highest pitched sound you can hear? And the lowest?
7. What else can you hear?
8. Are these sounds near to you?
9. Are they far away?
10. Can you identify where these sounds are coming from?
11. How do these sounds make you feel?
12. Do you like or dislike any of these sounds?
13. How do they effect your other senses? How do the sounds connect to what you can feel? What you might see?

I'd like you to carry these questions with you when you go for your walk.

You can open your eyes now.

Think about these questions and the relationship to your neighbourhood as go on your walk…

Appendix D: Review of technology



Appendix E: Summary of participants

#	Pseudonym	Site			Residency	Housing type				Gender			Age range						
		Brighton	Worthing	St Leonards	(in years)	Owner-Occupier	Private Renter	Cooperative occupier	Council tenant	Female	Male	Trans/NB	20-29 yrs	30-39 yrs	40-49 yrs	50-59 yrs	60-69 yrs	70-79 yrs
1	Jane	1			10	1				1					1			
2	Myrtle			1	21			1		1						1		
3	Rafael		1		3	1					1				1			
4	Llew	1			5	1					1						1	
5	Tim	1			25	1					1							1
6	Mary-Jane	1			17	1				1								1
7	Grumpy		1		12	1					1							1
8	Joan	1			3		1			1				1				
9	Georgia		1		13	1				1					1			
10	Desdemona		1		4	1				1					1			
11	Dr X		1		5	1				1						1		
12	Jordan		1		11	1				1					1			
13	Shirley			1	11	1				1						1		
14	Bennie		1		14	1				1					1			
15	Virginia			1	2	1				1								

16	Chloe		1		2		1			1						1		
17	Logan			1	5	1					1						1	
18	Barney	1			21				1		1					1		
19	Polly			1	1		1			1			1					
20	Eric			1	1		1				1		1					
21	Raymond	1			29	1					1					1		
22	Thorin			1	12	1					1				1			
22		**7**	**8**	**7**		**16**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**13**	**9**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**7**	**6**	**2**	**3**

Appendix F: Interview schedule and consent form

Semi-structured participatory walking interview: submitted for University of Brighton ethics approval - Project 2305

Structure	Topics	Location
Opening	• Welcome: thank participant, recap on activity details & participant information sheet • Purpose: summarise purpose of study, topics to be discussed, check route going to take, any amendments required e.g. mobility issues, weather conditions, additional needs • Consent: recap PIS, any participant questions/queries, check/sign consent forms	Static: in agreed public meeting place Timing: 5 minutes
Warm up	• Opening participant personal information: tell me about yourself • Research participation: Why did you decide to participate? What interested you in the topic? Why chose this route?	Mobile: as set off, beginning of route Timing: 10 minutes
Living, moving through and using the site	• Current living situation / residence: where, type, with who, for how long • Current use of site: work situation, studying, leisure activities (as appropriate) • Other connections to the site: family, social networks • How has this area changed? How is it changing?	Mobile: walking through site, responsive and flexible to external environment Timing: 15 minutes
Life course im/mobilities	• Past: where born, lived previously, what instigated these moves • Current: why living in current situation • Future: desire to move or stay? Ability to move or stay? • How have changes in the area affected you?	Mobile: walking through site, responsive and flexible to external environment Timing: 20 minutes
Urban Seaside	• What's it like living at the seaside? Likes/dislikes/preferences • Relationship to coastal region/other seaside places • How has/ is this changing? • Relationship to London /wider region	Mobile: walking through site, responsive and flexible to external environment Timing: 10 minutes

Gentrification	• What do you understand by the term gentrification? • Is there gentrification occurring in this site? • At the seaside? In other local places? In this region? • How do you feel about these changes?	Mobile: walking through site, responsive and flexible to external environment Timing: 10 minutes
Dis/placement & injustices	• How does gentrification affect you? Others close to you? • Do you feel you get to input into these changes? • Any experiences of displacement pressures: Affordability? Changing access to services? Changes to public spaces? Engagement with local democracy/politics? • Have you previously been forced to move? Do you think you will be in the future? Experiences of others close to you? • Sites of conflict: any conflicts/disputes? Who is most/least affected by these changes? • Responses: Who gets a say/doesn't? Whose responsibility is it to intervene in these changes? Is there any resistance? • Are these changes just / unjust? In what ways?	Mobile: walking through site, responsive and flexible to external environment Timing: 20 minutes
Closing	• Summary of key points: anything like to add? • Next: transcription, analysis & write up phases; recap on consent & how can withdraw, any issues arising after the interview • Thank the participant for their time: check if they would like transcripts, summary of findings, to be updated on other outputs, final thesis.	Static: agreed public finishing place Timing: 5 minutes

Appendix G: Unintentional Ex Situ Listening transcript and description

Part 1: Listening Walk

[00:00:00]

Researcher voice: So, if you're sitting comfortably, I invite you to close your eyes.

[Background room noise hum starts and quality of voice changes, feels like the speaker is at a distance]

Researcher's voice: and then starting to become aware of the sounds around you. What can you hear?

Researcher's fingers: Click-click

[Background humm increases with a scuffle and shuffle of an object next to the mic]

Skype: De-dwunk-de (start up tone)

Skype: Dhudub dhudub dhudub dhudub wwyeer (heartbeat pulsing of calling tone followed by not answered end tone)

Researcher's voice: Ohh

[scuffle and shuffle of an object next to the mic]

Researcher's phone: dededezzzzzz (interference) dum dum duuum dum dum duum dede (musical ringtone)

Researcher's voice: Ohgh (exasperated sigh)

[clunk, scuffle and continued interference)

Researcher's voice: Hello (tentative)

A participant's voice: Hello (muffled words)

Researcher's voice: Hiya.

Researcher's voice: Is that, can you hear me again ok? Um, so yeah. So where are you now? Do you mind, um, retracing your steps or going for a little bit of the walk whilst you talk to me?

Skype: Dum de dum – de- (jauntier but distorted calling tone)

A participant's voice: Hello? (muffled through phone)

Chorus of voices: HelloHello|Hi|Oh hi|How you doing?

Researcher's voice: So do you want to start retracing your steps? So where are you now, are you outside your house? (distorted echo increasing)

Can you hear me okay?

A participant's voice muffled by loud uncomfortable distortion: whudjzsshhmm|that's something I| quite umm|whudjzsshhmm|quickly|whudjzsshhmm

Researcher's voice: Yea?

A participant's voice muffled by increasing loud distortion roar: WHJSZHZHZHZ|by steps|WHJSZHZHZHZ|walking along|WJWHUMWHJ

[crackling rushing sounds behind]

A participant's voice muffled by loud distortion roar and crossed wires sounds: ZHSHZHSHZHS|feels quite quiet but|ZHSHZh

[distortion stops and sudden quiet]

Researcher's voice: Bye, bye (tentative)

A participant's voice: Yea (awkward short laugh)

[quiet clunk]

Skype: dje-wjuum (end call tone)

Part 2: Follow Up Interview

[00:01:52]

[quiet computer click]

Skype: p-p-p-puwm (starting tone) dumm-de-dumm de-dum-de (jaunty calling tone with beat behind)

[clacking picking up sound]

Researcher's voice: Hello?

Chorus of two higher pitched voices: Hi|hi

[child's indistinct 'wooo' in background]

Researcher's voice: How you doing? |gone through, listening to the recordings and I've got a kind of crib sheet of questions|

Researcher's fainter voice: I wonder if I can...?

[quiet room humm]

Researcher's fainter voice: Yeah, I might just shaa-re screen rather than share a particular screen. Okay. So hopefully can you see...?

A participant's voice: Cool

Researcher's voice: So hopefully, can you seeee…?|Right I'll stop sharing the screen|

[faint dull computer thud]

Researcher's voice: Right I'll err, stop sharing the screen?| Uh, so it's ten to three now, if you want to take, like till just after five to..?| I'll leave it on (awkward laugh)
[background humm, scuffle of object, creaking of chair, faint distant clatter, chirping of birds]
Distant echoey voice: Coo-uuu
[background humm, scribbling and scrawls of pen mixed with scuffle of turning, faint shuffles and plods, click-clack of door handle and clack of door opening and closing,
background humm increases, faint and louder slurps, distant conversation turning into shriller higher pitched and mechanical voice, scribbling and scrawls of pen continue,
chirrup of birds starts up and keeps a regular rhythm, distant distorted wafting music with mechanised singing, deeper distant conversation,
dull computer bluup,
distant distorted wafting music with mechanised singing continues,
thud thud of footsteps, scuffle, clank, scrhuch-schruch, bash-clack
click-clack door closing, scuffle thwack nearer to mic, creeeak-creeeaack of chair
echoey twack twack, scuffle-shuffle, scrawl-scribble]
Closer echoey voice: hm-hm-hm-hm-hm-humm-humm-humm-hm
Researcher's voice: It's helpful just because the other whole screen fatigue, it's good to just have a break for a minute. And also it gives me a chance to kind of tick off what I've kind of| And, um, I wanted to ask you after a break a bit more about living by the seaside [scuffle-shuffle of papers] and some more around the sounds and changes in the area| So I've got actually, I've got up the video that you did of the-
A participant's voice: Yep
Researcher's voice: So I could just play that quickly to remind you|this uncertainty and limbo we have to live with now, which is
Chorus of two voices laughing
Researcher's voice: Oh, thank you. (laughter) Yeah. Technology is always fun.[00:05:00]
Researcher's slightly echoey voice: Brilliant yes, well stay safe in these strange times. And er, thank you again-
Chorus of interspersed voices: Yea |Yea se ya|Bye|Bye-bye|See ya|Bye|Byyye|Cheers|Bye
Skype: dje-wjuum (quiet end call tone)
A final participant's quieter muffled voice: Bye then, thank you, bye-bye
Skype: dje-wjuum (louder end call tone)
Click-clack

Appendix H: Listening practices and experiences

Adj + Listening	Definition	Discussion
unintentional ex situ listening	Listening undertaken from an unintended and extreme remote position from where the sound sources are occurring.	Chapters 3 & 4
plural listening	Overarching term for taking account of and recognising the different forms that listening can take, including non-normative listening.	Chapter 5
unexpected listening	Listening that surprises the listener and was not anticipated (developed from sound surprises).	Chapter 5
difficult listening	Listening that is uncomfortable and challenging (developed from sound surprises).	Chapter 5
transformative listening	Listening that creates new understandings or significant feelings (developed from sound surprises).	Chapter 5
speculative listening	Listening that is curious and uses sound to wonder, suppose and conjecture (developed from sound sparks).	Chapter 5
investigative listening	Listening that aims to examine and explore something through sound (developed from sound sparks).	Chapter 5
political listening	Listening that aims to bring issues of politics, power and/or governance to bear on the sound (developed from sound sparks).	Chapter 5
imaginary listening	Listening that creates, fantasises or envisages sounds that are not currently being heard (developed from sound sparks).	Chapters 5 & 6
historical listening	Listening that aims to place sounds being heard or imagined in relation to the past (developed from sound sparks).	Chapters 5 & 6
ghost listening	Listening to sounds that are no longer there (developed from sound sparks).	Chapters 5 & 6
emotional listening	Listening that creates, taps into and/ or induces specific affective response or feelings (developed from sound stories).	Chapter 5

reminiscent listening	Listening that aims for or engenders nostalgia and personal memories connected to sounds (developed from sound stories).	Chapter 5
self-positioning listening	Listening that places the listener in a specific relationship to the sound (developed from sound stories).	Chapter 5
orientating listening	Listening that orients the listener, places and/or other aspects in relation to each other (developed from sound layers).	Chapter 5
spatial listening	Listening that focuses on issues of space (developed from sound layers).	Chapter 5
expected listening	Listening to sounds that are anticipated or familiar (developed from sound layers).	Chapter 5
layered listening	Listening to the layers of our individual positionalities as a relational act (taken from Robinson, 2020:58)	Chapter 5
lockdown listening	Umbrella for heightened listening practices and experiences engendered by strict Covid-19 lockdown restrictions (2020).	Chapter 6
displacement listening	Listening to the spectrum of displacement including im/mobilities, detachment and re/emplacement.	Chapter 7 & 8
listening to im/mobilities	Listening to spectrum of movements and stillness, tuning into the interconnectedness of how, when and where we move and dwell.	Chapter 7
static listening	Listening whilst staying or pausing in one spot.	Chapter 7
mobile listening	Listening whilst on the move.	Chapter 7
comparative listening	Listening that refers to another place or something else and positions current sounds in relation.	Chapter 7
self-reflexive listening	Listening that engenders deep critical reflections and self-questioning about oneself, one's assumptions, biases, privileges and personal experiences.	Chapter 5 & 8
reflective listening	Listening that facilitates critical reflections about oneself and personal experiences	Chapter 5 & 8

Appendix I: Typology of sound stimuli

Typology	Example	Definition	Discussion
sound stimuli		Sound(s) that are recorded by the listener and prompt a significant response.	Chapter 5
sound layers		Sound(s) that the listener describes as having a notable quality.	Chapter 5
	e.g. noise and quiet	Sound(s) described by the listener through contrasting volumes.	Chapter 7
sound surprises		Sound(s) that is unexpected by the listener.	Chapter 5
	e.g. absent sounds	Sound(s) that the listener anticipated hearing but found not to be there.	Chapter 6
sound sparks		Sound(s) that triggers the listener to discuss and share their thoughts about a particular topic.	Chapter 5
	e.g. returning sounds	Sound(s) that a listener has started to hear again after being absent.	Chapter 6
sound stories		Sound(s) that stimulates the listener to share a personal story or memory in narrative form.	Chapter 5
	e.g. imagined sounds	Sound(s) conjured up by the listener.	Chapter 6

Appendix J: Table of participants' displacement encounters

Displacement type[17]	Description	Personally experienced	Witnessed	Fears for current neighbourhood
Physical displacement	Building demolished or landlord under maintenance or forcible harassment		Georgia (London); Chloe (London); Dr X (London); Logan (London)	Dr X (Worthing)
Economic displacement	Costs of occupancy rise above occupant's ability to pay	Myrtle (London); Jane (London); Jordan (Brighton); Barney (Brighton)	Myrtle (SLS); Jane (Brighton); Jordan (Brighton); Raymond (Brighton); Llew (Brighton); Dr X (London)	Myrtle (SLS); Eric (SLS); Shirley (SLS); Dr X (Worthing); Jordan (Worthing); Chloe (Worthing)
Social displacement	Resident becomes insecure, threatened or deprived of facilities, services or support networks	Desdemona (Brighton); Chloe (Surrey); Dr X (London); Jordan (Brighton)	Myrtle (SLS); Virginia (SLS); Jane (Brighton); Raymond (Brighton); Georgia (London); Thorin (London); Chloe (Surrey); Eric (Brussels)	Myrtle (SLS); Shirley (SLS); Jordan (SLS); Thorin (SLS); Dr X (Worthing)
Exclusionary displacement	Household similar to previous prevented from moving in	Myrtle (Brighton); Chloe (Surrey); Dr X (Brighton); Bennie (Brighton)	Llew (Brighton); Tim (Brighton); Jane (Brighton)	Dr X (Worthing); Shirley (SLS)

[17]Based on Marcuse's (1985) terminology and the work of Phillips et al. (2021).

Displacement pressures	Area becomes less and less liveable	Desdemona (Brighton); Jordan (Brighton); Shirley (London); Dr X (London)	Myrtle (SLS); Shirley (SLS); Thorin (SLS); Virginia (SLS); Jane (Brighton); Raymond (Brighton); Tim (Brighton)	Myrtle (SLS); Shirley (SLS); Thorin (SLS); Eric (SLS); Dr X (Worthing); Georgia (Worthing)
Blocked displacement	No reasonable alternative location options to move to			Barney (Brighton); Myrtle (SLS); Georgia (Worthing)
Anticipatory displacement	Move due to reasonably expecting impending detrimental actions and consequences	Desdemona (Brighton); Joan (Brighton); Rafael (Brighton); Shirley (London); Raymond (London): Chloe (Surrey)		Eric (SLS); Polly (SLS); Barney (Brighton
On-site displacement	Physical and direct movement because of the changed use of a unit or site		Georgia (London); Dr X (London); Chloe (London)	
Off-site displacement	Changes produced by a development project effecting the surrounding neighbourhood			Georgia (Worthing); Chloe (Worthing); Dr X (Worthing); Jordan (Worthing)

Appendix K: Table of displacement-related injustices

#	Injustice identified	Type	Main impacts	Oppression process	Participants' material
1	Some people have to move against their choice	Mobility	housing, economic	violence, marginalisation	Llew; Tim; Joan; Georgia; Barney; Polly; Eric; Raymond; Thorin
2	Some people are not able to move into a neighbourhood where they have a connection through friends / family / jobs	Mobility	housing, economic	marginalisation	Myrtle; Chloe; Llew; Barney; Bennie; Dr X; Tim; Jane; Shirley
3	Loss of local friends / neighbours / social networks that changes the existing sense of community	Mobility	social demographics	marginalisation	Myrtle; Joan; Shirley; Chloe; Polly; Thorin
4	People coming into an area stepping on what's come before and taking ownership without care or consideration	Mobility	heritage, political	cultural imperialism	Myrtle, Thorin, Dr X
5	Unequal access of jobs / income through national / transnational commuting that creates non-local circulations of capital	Mobility	economic, environmental	marginalisation, exploitation	Myrtle; Chloe; Thorin; Shirley; Virginia
6	Replacement of existing amenities, facilities and services that creates a lack of appropriate infrastructure for some groups of people	Social	infrastructures, public space	marginalisation, powerlessness	Jane; Georgia; Desdemona; Thorin; Virgina
7	Some people can't access or afford necessities or goods due to rising costs or reduction in local amenities	Social	economic	marginalisation	Llew; Polly; Eric

8	Price inflation of housing for the benefits/profits of a minority at the cost of others	Social	economic, housing	exploitation	Shirley; Virginia; Barney
9	Publicly invested monies are privatised for use by a minority and social value thereby lost	Social	economic, infrastructures	exploitation, powerlessness	Barney; Dr X; Raymond
10	People with money are prioritised over those with less in policies	Social	economic, infrastructures, political	powerlessness, cultural imperialism	Jane; Eric; Dr X; Jordan; Raymond
11	Worsening of conditions for lower income residents that fuels inequalities	Social	economic, housing	marginalisation, violence	Polly; Raymond
12	Exploitation of those who have contributed to a neighbourhood becoming desirable	Social	economic, cultural	exploitation	Barney; Dr X; Virginia
13	Appropriation and commodification of working-class culture	Social	cultural, heritage	exploitation	Raymond
14	Lack of diversity through increasing homogeneity and monoculture	Social	cultural, social demographics, public space	cultural imperialism	Mary-Jane; Rafael; Grumpy; Desdemona; Logan
15	Reduction in / absence of public and cultural spaces available for all inhabitants	Spatial	cultural, infrastructures, public space	cultural imperialism, marginalisation	Jane; Rafael; Virginia; Barney
16	Groups of people increasingly excluded from using public spaces such as parks or seafront promenades	Spatial	infrastructures, public space	marginalisation	Dr X, Rafael, Myrtle, Shirley, Jordan

17	Less and less liveable places available for those without affluence	Spatial	social, housing, economic	marginalisation, violence	Georgia; Joan; Dr X; Tim; Shirley
18	Unequal distribution of housing resources resulting in some housing left empty whilst others are homeless	Spatial	housing, economic	marginalisation, exploitation	Dr X; Jane
19	Unequal impacts and benefits of redevelopment projects	Spatial	infrastructures, housing, economic	marginalisation, exploitation	Dr X; Chloe; Jordan; Jane; Georgia; Desdemona
20	Lack of input or opportunity to shape redevelopment projects that impact on liveability	Spatial	infrastructures, political, housing	powerlessness	Chloe; Jordan; Dr X; Jane; Raymond
21	Money invested in the area is not intended for current inhabitants	Spatial	economic, infrastructures	exploitation, cultural imperialism	Jordan; Dr X

Appendix L: The Cheap Side of the Pier, Pog lyrics by Paul Stapleton

My friend used to say that no matter how they're fed

the gulls make do with chips as they would sourdough bread

And though it makes no difference, I wish we were the same

We're finding it harder to digest the changes

round here

The library became another restaurant

The place you click your fingers and promptly get what you want

The market swiftly followed, and so did the pool

Door by door we're getting shut out of it all

And once these things are gone, they're gone

We can see them from here

from the cheap side of the pier

We run this cafe, held the wheel for years

now driving ever faster just to outrun the arrears

And we see them troop in, from the money part of town

bigging the place up while simultaneously running it down

You can see it on their faces that drop as they fall in

their confidence at odds with the disquiet in their skin

The gingham on the table, the grease on the knife

They love it on their Instagram feed, not so much in real life

And once these things are gone, they're gone
Will they make their way here
to the cheap side of the pier

[Audio 9.1 clip from instrumental]

They brought the noise from London now they took up all the room
now it rings out down the coastline, more an echo than a boom
And though we never planned it, our menu is now a manifesto
To rally round the last place that our sort can afford to go

They've started sourcing local now the locals have all gone
We keep our prices low for the ones that carry on
We make do paying more for ever less as their empire creeps near
We might last the month but we've no chance of making the year

And once these things are gone, they're gone
Now they've made their way here
there's no cheap side of
they crept right on
they bought our side of the pier