

Quietscapes: Towards a sonic sensibility of place

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Abstract

In this thesis project, I question what a sonic sensibility brings to our understanding of contemporary life in a remote Wadden island. In particular, my sonic sensibility traces what tuning into the meanings of quietness adds to understanding islanders' relations with their home.

Taking place on the Wadden island Pellworm, an experimental research design is used combining a sensory ethnography which focuses on open listening, field-recordings and visceral sonic mapping as well as conducting interviews. The arts-based sonic sensibility included the production of a digital sound map and a sound walk composition. Both works of art took form in a bodily encounter with the island.

I argue for a multiplicity of quiet, as the meaning islanders attach to quietness reflects the fluidity, ephemerality and ever-changing nature of the concept. By deconstructing this multiplicity of relations islander's experience with quietness I show that these relations of multiplicity are part of making and maintaining sensory and bodily connections with the island as home. As an example, these homemaking practices include amongst others the constructions of the island's identity as quiet, facilitating access to wellbeing or being entangled in negotiations on the belonging of sounds and silences linked to mobilities and demographic changes. Based on these key findings I argue that there is a danger in promoting quiet places uncritically, without considering local meaningful attachments to place and sound.

Next to this, I found that tourism place-branding focused on using island quiet to produce the island experience as alternative to hectic urban lifestyle. Tourism promotion focused on the natural soundscape and on constructing island quiet as deceleration, wellbeing and accessing bodily quietness. Thus, place-branding focused on a selective part of the experience of quiet.

Finally, the sound art compositions engaged with the multiplicity of island quietness emphasize the connectivity and transformative potential of the island. Furthermore, the productions showed that island quiet is more than an idyllic natural soundscape by bringing into foreground the experience of commercial, traffic, cultural sounds next to the natural sounds. This sound art approach is rooted in the call to geographers to critically and creatively take part in the re-imagination of place. By creating an emerging possible sonic world of island life in the present, I enact a future oriented approach towards the temporality of knowledge and render knowledge accessible beyond a limited academic audience.

This thesis is part of the sensory turn within social sciences and atmospheric turn within tourism studies. This research contributes to current thinking on the role of quietness

and sensory based experiences, constructions and negotiations of place. Next to this, this thesis advances the call to geographers to take part in place-making and the re-imagination of place through a sonic art approach.

Part 1

Chapter 1 Introduction

Introduction to the case region

Pellworm is an island located in the north of Germany. 1380 people live on the island. In 2019, 25.000 temporary passengers, or tourists, put their feet on the island. And their sounds.

Nordstrand harbor, the point of departure to the island is 170 km northwest from Hamburg. A bit more than two hours driving. It takes around 40 minutes to get there by ferry from Nordstrand. Depending on the mood of the ocean and the wind. Sometimes more. Sometimes less. Sometimes the ferry does not sail at all.

Surrounded by the Wadden Sea. A sea that touches the island. Retracts. Touches. Retracts. With the rhythm of the tides. As defined by the UNESCO, the Wadden Sea is “the largest unbroken system of intertidal sand and mud flats in the world” (UNESCO, 2020a). The area is of “outstanding value” and 1,143,403 hectare of it are assigned World Heritage property. The UNESCO world heritage site covers the Dutch Wadden Sea Conservation Area, the German Wadden Sea National Parks of Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein, and most of the Danish Wadden Sea maritime conservation area. “It is a large, temperate, relatively flat coastal wetland environment, formed by the intricate interactions between physical and biological factors that have given rise to a multitude of transitional habitats with tidal channels, sandy shoals, sea-grass meadows, mussel beds, sandbars, mudflats, salt marshes, estuaries, beaches and dunes” (UNESCO, 2020b).

But beyond this ecologically oriented definition, it is a place where people with different mobility patterns navigate, make sense of and experience space. For example, they go to work on the island, they take the ferry to go to work on the mainland, meet other islanders at an event or festivity, do groceries, enjoy local gastronomy, walk through the mud, draw the sky, take pictures, watch animals, and so on.

Thinking back about my own everyday practice on the island, I shared many of these everyday activities with other islanders. However, if I should mention one thing that differentiated my own engagement with island life, it was my particular attention to sounds. All kinds of sounds. I listened to the varying intensities of the wind. The wind in rustling reed. The wind moving through my bathroom window. The wind moving against my body, making it hard to bike. I heard the wind leaving. Or becoming less. A day of wind silence. Suddenly, a strange silence was all over me. I heard my breath. I heard the ferry horn on the mainland. A little fly was LOUD and I finally met the crackling tiny sound of a moving Wadden Sea. I listened to the sounds of local commerce. The salutations by sales people to each customer. I listened to traffic. The little bump when cars load the ferry. A sign. People come and go. Some come back to the island because it is home or next year

another holiday awaits being lived. Some do not, as their home is somewhere else and there are other places awaiting discovery. The sound of humming machines of that the ferry brings. A sign of industry touches waves. Touches the ocean. Its sounds are becoming part of the ocean. I listened to tractors, ploughs, milk machines, and other agricultural machines. I listened to salutations between known faces and unknown faces. You hear two times “Moin” when people pass each other. A greeting in the local language. Acknowledging presence. I listened to beer taps and frying fish. I listened to the iconic Arp Schnitger Organ and much more. This attention to sound is situated in the broader more-than-representational approach to place and sound (Doughty, Duffy, & Harada, 2019; Thrift, 2008). In the following section, I will go into depth about my approach. This includes tracing back the motivation for geographers to consider sound and quietness as an important research subject.

Research topic and problem statement

In the last 20 years, sound has become an important subject for the disciplines of geography, sociology, and anthropology (Gallagher & Prior, 2014). The turn to sound is part of the sensory turn in geography and the geography of tourism in social sciences. Research has shown that sounds take up an important role in creating, performing and getting to know places. This happens both through representational meaning-making processes and multi-sensory engagements (e.g. Anderson et al., 2004; Cresswell, 2006; Wood et al., 2007). In particular, exploring people’s relations with sound provides access to the affective, visceral and emotional geographies of experiencing places (Doughty, Duffy, & Harada, 2016; Gallagher, Kanngieser, & Prior, 2017). Part of this growing interest in sound is acknowledging the importance of exploring people’s hearing and listening practices in everyday life (Duffy & Waitt, 2013; Duffy, Waitt, & Harada, 2016; Simpson, 2019). While much research has addressed the role of sound in assembling social life and the making of places, less attention is paid to silence and quietness in place-making processes.

In our contemporary society, the experience of silence is increasingly framed as a rare, unique, and quested experience (Han, 2019; Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, & Jauffret, 2019). Simultaneously, the experience of noise is increasingly being framed as a major socio-political challenge and health risk (Kagge, 2017; Novak & Sakakeeny, 2015). The rising quest for silence is linked with an important trend in contemporary society: the creation, promotion and preservation of quiet places and experiences (Bernat, 2014; Komppula, Konu, & Vikman, 2017; Scaff, 2006). The latter comes along with attempts to control ‘noise’ in quiet soundscapes, to maintain their recreational value.

Importantly, the making of noise and the definition of what is noise is entangled with wider social, cultural and political processes (Pickering & Rice, 2017). While rural remote places like Pellworm have become quested tourism destination to experience quiet, they

are also places to live and work and feel 'at home'. This diversity of practices and purposes of quiet places can create tensions and conflict over which sounds belong and who or what belongs to the quiet place more generally. While quiet places like Pellworm seem to gain an increasingly important role in an increasingly noisy world, we need to pay attention to the multiplicity of relations islanders maintain with their sonic environment.

Much research on rural quietness has often prioritized a focus on the natural soundscape (Komppula et al., 2017; Schafer, 1993), rather than the multiplicity of sounds that are part of everyday life. Listening out to all kinds of sounds, including traffic, commercial, cultural, industrial and natural sounds, needs to be taken seriously when it comes to experiencing and creating rural quiet; in particular, when planning more quiet places or preserving the remaining ones. Research on the experiences of quietness has also to a large extent overlooked how meanings and affective encounters with rural quiet are entangled with tourism. Furthermore, much research on sound has been following conventional methodological approaches, by focusing on methods such as interviews, written ethnographic field notes or discourse analysis (Gallagher & Prior, 2014). Written publications are still the main way in which sonic research is disseminated and finds its way back into the world. This highlights the dominance of text-based and verbal methods in the social sciences (Crang, 2003). Gallagher and Prior (2014) call for geographers to embrace the more-than-textual sonic worlds by using sonic methods.

This thesis addresses these 'deaf spots' by exploring quietness in relation to the wider relational socio-spatial processes of homemaking and place-branding on Pellworm. This includes listening out to a multiplicity of sounds and paying attention to how quietness is interwoven with experiencing and recreating the island. Furthermore, I answer Gallagher and Prior (2014) call by combining traditional methods with progressive performative sound and listening methods. My methodological approach is a sensory ethnography centered on listening walks, field recordings, interviews and sound elicitation techniques. A sonic art approach is taken to produce geographical knowledge and disseminate this research through creative means. This includes the production of a digital sound map and a conceptual sound walk composition.

Exploring the multiplicity of relations with quietness and sonic possible worlds on a remote island such as Pellworm, can inform the larger debate on the role of noise, silence and sound in our contemporary society.

Research objective

By addressing this gap in academic research, this thesis contributes to advancing knowledge on the sensory geographies and geographies of tourism of life in remote quiet places. The main aim of this thesis is to explore the multiple ways in which quietness is part of experiencing, constructing and composing contemporary life on Pellworm. More specifically, this thesis will explore the multiplicity of meanings islanders attach to quietness on Pellworm. This will involve exploring the way quietness is experienced, negotiated and constructed as part of wider relational socio-spatial processes of homemaking. Furthermore, this research will seek to uncover the construction and use of quietness in tourism promotion and place-branding. Contrasting this to quietness in homemaking, this perspective is useful to gain an understanding of how quietness is interwoven in the commodification of the island. The final engagement will center on a performative sonic art approach to uncover the multiplicity of meanings attached with the quietscape. Furthermore, this section creates a different engagement with the findings by allowing the listener to experience a mediated version of island quiet.

In essence, the thesis will take three main perspectives to uncover the multiple ways quietness is interwoven with and part of making contemporary island life. First, the perspective of islanders calling the island home. Second, an institutional perspective focusing on the island's tourism organization. Third, my own perspective: engaging with the island as a sound artist.

A qualitative approach, focusing on a sensory ethnography/sonic sensibility/visceral geographies of sound, will be used to gain in-depth insights into the meaning of quietness, and the role of quietness in place-making (homemaking and place-branding). Listening is used as central methodological approach to gain understandings about island life. Furthermore, a sonic art approach will be used to engage with experiential aspects of place and quietness.

Research questions

Main research questions:

What does a sonic sensibility bring to our understanding of contemporary life on a remote Wadden island?

Sub research questions:

RQ 1: What does quietness mean to islanders? (Chapter 4,5,6)

RQ 2: How is the concept of quietness constructed and used as a resource for tourism promotion and place-branding? (Chapter 7)

RQ 3: What can we learn about remote quiet places and the experience of quietness through a sonic art approach? (Chapter 8)

Relevance of the research

Scientific relevance

Gallagher and Prior (2014) call for geographers to use audio methods in order to create geographical knowledge. This thesis answers this call by incorporating audio methods into the research design. This will inform the wider geographical debate on the value of using creative research methods and explores the collaborative field between art and geography (Hawkins, 2013, 2015). In particular, my in-depth attention to two sound art methods, adds to our knowledge on the role of sound art in the making of and dissemination of geographical knowledge (M. Gallagher, 2015; Voegelin, 2015). As I follow an embodied, visceral and intuitive method, this research is further relevant to the field of sensory ethnography (Pink, 2008, 2015).

Another key relevance is that sound lends itself to trace the material and more-than-human activities in places (Duffy & Waitt, 2013; Gallagher et al., 2017). Thereby, I “re-animate the missing ‘matter’ of landscape, focusing attention on bodily involvements in the world in which landscapes are co-fabricated between more-than-human bodies and a lively earth”(Whatmore, 2006, p. 603). This adds to wider research on relational place-making (Massey, 2005) and the ways more-than-human actors are part of experiencing and making contemporary places.

Experiencing silence is increasingly framed as a rare and luxurious experience (Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al., 2019). This research contributes to a better understanding of the phenomenology of silence and the characteristics of quiet places. By exploring the multiplicity of meanings islanders attach to quietness, I hope to bring a holistic understanding of the various processes, human, more-than-human and multi-sensorial entanglements that are part of making the quiet place and facilitating experiences of silences. In particular, as I focus on the role of quietness in homemaking, I contribute to the sparse branch of research that examines the mundane politics of quietness, identity and space (Simpson, 2019).

Another scientific debate addressed in this thesis is the debate on noise and silence. Much research frames noise as a major socio-political challenge and a major health risk in our contemporary society (Kagge, 2017). It is mostly seen as an urban challenge as noise is mainly associated with appearing in built city environments and not with the sounds of nature (Novak & Sakakeeny, 2015). I address the making of noise in a rural quiet place, thereby revisiting the rather settled notions of noise and contributing to understanding the relationality between key concept in sound studies: noise, sound and silence.

Finally, by tracing how quietness is used and constructed in island tourism promotion and place-branding, I am contributing to a better understanding of the role of sound in economic geography of tourism. Paiva (2018) calls for geographers to pay attention to the role of sound in the touristification of places. According to Paiva (2018, p. 8) “sonic geographies must explore in greater detail the connections between the distribution of sounds, money, goods, and bodies, and their relation with practices of consumption, prosumption, financialisation, touristification and marketing” (2018, p. 8).

Societal relevance

By filling the research gaps mentioned, this research can help inform planners, regional development projects, and tourism organizations to create place-branding strategies. Understanding the multiplicity of meanings attached to quiet and the role of quietness in homemaking can provide valuable knowledge on how various place-making and place-branding initiatives might impact peoples sense of home. It also may help tourism organizations to understand which tourism practices are more in-synch with islanders homemaking practices.

Indeed, the findings of this thesis might help local planners and policy makers to accommodate islanders’ place relations and to minimize potential conflicts between local place-making practices and tourism experiences. This research can inform future inclusive place-branding practices by facilitating conversations around sensory experiences of place. It can also form a basis for planners, residents and politicians to discuss the belonging of sounds, practices and human and more-than-human actors on the island.

Furthermore, it can be of relevance for informing future collaborative practices between artists and geographers. Artists and researchers can build on this work to gain inspiration how geographical knowledge more effectively can become socially relevant. How meaning can matter more.

Outline of the thesis

Following this introduction, the thesis is structured as follows:

2 Literature review and theoretical framework

In chapter two, an in-depth literature review will be provided. As part of this chapter, I discuss relevant concepts and theoretical contributions. The review includes theory relating to sound, silence, quietness, noise, quiet places, soundscapes, place-making, and place-branding. The chapter ends with distilling the key concepts into conceptual framework.

3 Methodology

In chapter three, the wider methodological approach and research methods are presented. Information about the data collection and analysis is given. In the final part, I discuss ethical considerations and positionality.

Findings

4 Everyday embodiments of quiet

In chapter four, the focus is on presenting everyday embodiments of quiet. The focus lies on deconstructing the multiplicity of ways quietness is entangled in the lived and mundane geographies of the island.

5 The construction of the home-quietscape

In chapter five, the role of quiet in the making of island identity is investigated. This chapter highlights in what ways quietness is constructed and used by islanders in recreating and constructing the experienced geographies of home.

6 Negotiating the 'right' quiet

In chapter six, the focus turns towards the negotiations of sounds in islanders' homemaking practice. Attention is paid towards the becoming of noise, understood as sounds and silences that are made 'out of place'. This gives insights on some of the tensions related to tourism.

7 Promoting quietness in tourism place-branding

In chapter seven, the construction and use of quietness in tourism promotion and place-branding is investigated. This gives insight into the interlinkages of certain elements of quiet and the touristification of space.

8 Composing quiet as a creative sonic method

In chapter 8, the role of sound art in understanding quietness and contemporary island life is explored. The chapter directly engages with the sound art compositions as a method to explore other sonic possible worlds and alternative understandings of quiet remote places.

9 Discussion and conclusion

In chapter 9, the discussion and conclusion is presented. As part of this final chapter, the findings are discussed in relation to literature. Recommendations for further research are given, as well as advice for practitioners.

Chapter 2 Literature review and theoretical framework

Introduction

This review includes contributions from various disciplines, covering a vast and broad territory in terms of the ontological and epistemological understandings on the realities of the sonic and geographical. I draw on work from neo-materialist and more-than-representational geographies of sound and tourism, feminist scholarship and philosophical research on sound and sound art.

Sound and the geographical

Affect. Atmosphere. Matter. Everyday. Multiplicity. Senses. [Sound][Silence]

Overall, there is an increasing amount of geographical research paying attention to the relations between sound and place (Doughty et al., 2016; M. Gallagher, 2015; Gallagher et al., 2017; N. Wood, Duffy, & Smith, 2007). As summarized by Paiva (2018, p. 7) „sound has been approached in a myriad of themes in human geography including arts, media, technologies, landscape, spatial representations, collective and personal identity, affect, emotion, the body, power, politics, policies, pedagogy, and research methods, among others.“ However very few contributions focus on the relations between silence, quietness, place-branding and homemaking. By examining one of the major ‘deaf spots’ of listening to the multiplicity of quietness in place-making practice and tourism place-making, I contribute to this growing field.

As this thesis anchors itself in progressive views on the sounds and silences of the world, it is part of the sensory turn in geography (Anderson & Smith, 2001; Pocock, 1993). This sensory turn, which also has reached the geography of tourism (Cragg, 1999; Edensor & Falconer, 2012), has shifted the disciplines, moving them from a focus on the visual dominance in organizing of spaces and tourism experiences, to one of activity (Low 2005), rhythm (Edensor 2010), visceral (Duffy et al., 2016), affect and atmosphere (Gallagher et al., 2017; Volgger & Pfister, 2019). The atmospheric quality of spaces foregrounds multisensorial engagements with and the vitality of lived space. By zooming into sounds and silences, affective and atmospheric notions, this thesis reverberates neo-materialist ideas about the importance of matter and their affective capacity to rework bodies and places (Boyd & Duffy, 2012; Duffy & Waitt, 2013).

I have taken inspiration from feminist geographies of the everyday, in combination with a sonic sensibility for open listening. In particular, Simpson (2019) work on listening to quietness and rural traffic, showed the relevance of everyday practices such as walking and driving as part of experiencing and making sense of the rural quiet. My work is further rooted in feminist scholarship’s attention to the everyday and mundane (Enloe, 2011) -

the taking for granted of the water, which we as fish, swim in for the most of our lives. Thereby, I make these concepts float together in a framework anchored in a sonic sensibility (Voegelin, 2010). This allows me to look at the relational making of bodies and place in ever changing quietscapes. In the following literature review, I show you how I got here.

I have divided the review in three parts, as described in the following:

Part 1

In the first part, I briefly review theoretical contributions sound and noise. I then continue with a review of contemporary conceptualizations of the nature of silence and ways of experiencing and relating to silence.

Part 2

In this part, I start with discussing literature on soundscapes and quiet places. Then I move on to the relations between place-making and sound by focusing on reviewing homemaking.

Part 3

In this part, I review literature on place-branding and examine previous work on tourism, sound and silence.

The relations between silence and sound

In this section, I review definitions of silence, quiet and sound. Silence and sound are co-constitutive, so let us arbitrarily start with sound.

Conceptualising sound

Sound always surrounds. Transcends. Us. Right now. Ears do not have walls.
Sound is more. More than vibrational waves traveling through that space called air.
Sound does. Sound is.
Multiplicity.

An understanding of silence relies on sound and noise. Or from a sound centered perspective it will sound like the following. “Far from being constructed against noises, echoes, and silences, the domain of sound is constituted by them” (Novak & Sakakeeny, 2015, p. 3).

For now, I will pause silence and turn my attention towards building an ontological understanding of the nature of sound. I align my view on sound with a broad neo-materialist and affect-based perspective on sound that acknowledges its doing as active and sees sound as complex being. This complexity and multiplicity of sound resonates in Gallagher et al. (2017, p. 621) view on sound:

“Sound simultaneously creates, reinstates and breaks apart boundaries, impressions, and associations. It does more than one thing; indeed it often does many contradictory things, at the same time, to many different bodies. This complexity cannot be shied away from; sound cannot be reduced to make it easier to understand, or tied down to a set of consistent functions across different domains. The ephemeral, fluid, mobile and relational qualities of sound, while difficult to pin down, need this difficulty in order to function productively. Rather than reducing sound to fit a narrow set of listening practices, those practices must be expanded to encompass the diversity and multiplicity of sound.”

Sound is a vibratory force that comes into being through energetic movements, generating material encounters on its path (Hawk, 2018). That is why sound can be felt with the whole body. You can feel sound vibrating, when you speak and you can feel the bass touching your body. Passing you. Sound is thus “a vibration that is perceived and becomes known through its materiality” (Novak & Sakakeeny, 2015, p. 1). Sound is closely tied up to others bodies and materials, as it “requires matter to vibrate in and through, and materials shape sound through their physical properties” (Gallagher et al., 2017, p. 628).

As sound occurs through vibration in between and within human bodies and the more-than human world, it creates relations. These relations resonate that each being is being affected and affect simultaneously. Rather than sticking to a fixed pre-constituted identity, bodies connected through sound are always becoming and co-constitutive (Fast, 2010; Tiainen, 2013). Sound also brings attention to the concept of time. The temporality of the now is highlighted as “sound has no hindsight, it is always now and here” (Voegelin, 2015). Finally, sound is pointing our attention towards process, fluidity and the ongoing change in the world. In Ong (1969) words: “the world of sound is an event world”.

“Noise” originates from the Latin words nausea and noxia. Nausea refers to disgust and sickness of the stomach and noxia to hurt, harm and wrong behavior (Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al., 2019). Although noise is commonly used to describe “any loud sound” (Schafer, 1977, p. 273), the conceptual root, therefore, does not refer to a certain volume or intensity of sound, but rather to the body’s visceral reaction. Noise can be described as unpleasant, unwanted, unmusical, loud and pointless sounds, as opposed to silence (Schafer, 1993). This binary view on silence/noise is linked to the tensions between natural world and civilized world, the urban and rural and the nature/culture divide (Simpson, 2019). Most of the literature on noise treats it as common sense that noise is annoying and uncomfortable sound and silence or quiet is enjoyable and pleasant sonic atmospheres. However, this binary production of the concepts has been challenged by few.

While loud volume does indeed have a role in experiencing and associating certain sounds as noise, loudness alone cannot account for why certain sounds become unwanted “noise” (Pickering & Rice, 2017). Research on noise has shown that it is a relational and subjective experience, as people respond differently to so-called noise (Wissmann, 2014). He found that noise, here understood as loud sounds, have a touristic value and can be desired. Furthermore, the common sense nature of silence was challenged, arguing that while it may belong in, for instance, spiritual places, silence has another side and may also be unwanted in other places (Wissmann, 2014). I thus adhere to Pickering and Rice (2017) understanding of noise as “sound out of place”, due to the sound’s anomalous or ambiguous nature.

The conceptual multiplicity of quietness and silence

In the following review, I look at contemporary conceptualizations of silence. I discuss ways that silence is defined and how silence is part of shaping relations to self, others and the wider environment. The following review shows silence is geographical, as it is part of experiencing, knowing and creating places. It is not empty. It is full of stuff and it can do a lot. Too. Listen out. The review is structured as follows:

1. Silence is hearing sounds
2. Silence is spatial transcendence
3. Silence is presencing timelessness
4. Silence is listening
5. Silence touches bodies in place



Multiple definitions of silence exist. One of the main ones is a framing of silence as being the absence of noise or talking (Ephratt (2008). However, according to this understanding of silence, a complete experience of silence requires total absence of vibrational energy. Thus absolute silence does not exist (Ochoa Gautier, 2015).

A common understanding of quiet/quietness links the concepts to a low volume level and thus the absence of loud/loudness (Chepesiuk, 2005). Traditional approaches aiming to understand the relations between humans and their environments are inclined to use this Decibel focuses definition of quiet and silence. My notion of quiet, however, is not based on the absence of noise or the presence of a certain quantified decibel level, as I will show in the following sections.

Due to the lack of coherent in-depth qualitative research on the conceptual differences and similarities between relational, fluid and holistic views on silence and quiet, I have decided to use the terms mostly interchangeably. Nonetheless, I recognize the subtle differences and delineations of both terms, for example that silence is less useful to describe people's bodily behavior and more useful in characterizing the atmospheric quality of space (Böhme, 2020). Other synonyms of silence or closely related terms are quiet/quietness, calm/calmness and still/stillness, tranquil/tranquility (Böhme, 2020; Quaedvlieg, 2020). Quiet is more useful to describe delineated quiet places and silence is understood as noncontained – a quality of the whole (Böhme, 2020). I am using silence and quietness as mostly interchangeable concepts. For me both quietness and silence are sonic concepts that carry the potential for creating subjective experiential and discursive meanings. They shape our bodies' experience in the world and are sonic metaphors for talking about the ways we navigate our surroundings. The latter links to the ways the discursive is part of shaping and expressing our visceral experiences to sound (Duffy et al., 2016; Novak & Sakakeeny, 2015).

Silence as hearing ambient sounds

Theoretical understandings of silence have been dominated by the seminal work of John Cage. According to Cage, silence is understood as “all the sounds we don’t intend...it is not the opposite of sound but the encompassing of all sound” (Fleming, 2016, p. 23). Silence is thus not understood as the absence of sound. According to him, silence does not exist and the perception of silence is impossible. Going beyond a definition of absence, John Cage made a crucial contribution to ways of understanding the relationship between silence and ambient sounds.

His conceptual ideas resonate in his famous “silent” composition 4’33” (1952). The musical score instructed the performer to not play their instruments during the four minutes thirty-three seconds long piece. In the concert hall, a musical silence emerges that renders audible the ambient sounds of the listener’s bodies and the concert hall. The experiential composition is playing with the anticipations and expectations of the listeners. John Cage understands silence as the background from which and against which music or sound emerges. Cage thereby questioned traditional Western musical conventions seeing silence as a break or pause and there is no doubt that he advanced a new musical aesthetic promoting soundscape compositions.

Cage’s definition is also reverberating more-than-representational relational thinking as the experience of silence is affected by how the relationship between the listener and the listener’s environment is understood. The latter attends to how knowledge is produced in embodied ways between people and the places they navigate in (Crouch, 2000).

But as Voegelin (2010, p. 80) argues, his musical silence is not a sonic silence as: “Cage’s interest in silence lies in establishing every sound within the musical register. It does not invite a listening to sound as sound but to all sound as music.” “What we experience now is the outline of silence rather than its materiality, which is locked into rather than freed by the time code“. Voegelin argues that in a contemporary context, silence is about listening to all kinds of sounds, rather than establishing sounds within musical register and against the expectations of musical convention.

Silence as spatial and sonic transcendence

Silence is described as a quality of a space, a spatial character, “the tuning of a space’ (p. 3). It is a paradoxical phenomenon, as if silence is experiencing nothingness and we have to argue that nothingness cannot be perceived. I am asking Böhme, what is the somethingness we encounter in silence? How do we come to know it or better said feel

it, as silence cannot be created through rationality, but has to be experienced through the body?

By challenging and 'correcting' Cage's seminal work, Böhme (2020, p. 16) echoes an answer here:

"the statement of John Cage's, that absolute silence does not exist, sounds trivial. If absolute silence is nothingness consequently it does not exist. Actually Cage wanted to indicate with his sentence that each space of silence gets filled - be it with the physiological sounds of the listener himself. But he was wrong thinking that you actually hear sounds instead of silence. Rather you get aware of silence in transcending what you hear."

This key thought highlights that perceiving silences is always an embodied experience in space. Rather than being a rational endeavor this transcendence has to be experienced: "You cannot think silence, it must be experienced (lauschend)." How? Lauschend? What is that? The answer follows. *Lauschen* - a German term referring to the listening to silence. A term that resonates what Nancy coined listening as *methexis* (participation). This listening is attentive. Stretching the listener's body towards opening itself to the world. Hence, it is a form of bodily presence.

Silence is not temporally contained in 4 minutes 33 seconds, neither it can be locked in a room. The spatiality of silence is understood as unlimited. Sounds are part of making silence happen. For example, it is through the definite character and singularity of "the barking of a dog during the silence of the night, which makes one perceive silence as the background of such a sound" (Böhme, 2020, p. 189). I found this work inspiring, as this contribution points at the co-constitutive nature of silence and sound. Their relationality. That they are nothing without each other. That they happen simultaneously. That silence becomes through sound. Is born through the materiality of sound. That silence cannot be contained, but rather is transcending bodies and space. Approaching silence is approaching the invisible, somehow ungraspable, but Böhme wiped away some dust on my glasses, by making the ungraspable a bit more graspable.

What Cage, Böhme and Voegelin's conceptualizations of silence share is a relational approach to understanding the concept. One that acknowledges the relationality between sound and silence, that silence makes sound and sound makes silence and that we listeners, although to varying degrees, are part of the picture and not detached from the experience of silence.

Silence and time(lessness)

"Time and space are not neutral frames into which humans insert themselves and their activities. Rather, time and space gather relevance in relation to the interaction between

a subject and her environment (which includes the physical world but also other subjects), relating at a fundamental level to the kinds of activity in which she is engaged—it is on this basis that ideas of ‘quick’ and ‘slow’, ‘far’ and ‘close’ are established” (Gallagher, 2008, p. 41).

By focusing on the relations with quietness and time, the following paragraph reviews work that inspired me to understand the experience of silence as active component in reworking the relationality of time and space. Rather than separating the concepts of space and time as two separate entities, I found that literature on silence, time and space challenges Western constructs of linear conceptualization of time. The ways silence relates and reworks within and with temporality are furthermore resonated its fluid, untraceable, formless fullness, rather than supporting the idea that silence is absence and nothingness.

As Hempton and Grossman put in *One Square Inch of Silence*, “Silence is not the absence of something, but the presence of everything. It is the presence of time, undisturbed” (Hempton & Grossmann, 2009, p. 2). Picard (1952, p. 18) expands on the spatial expansiveness of silence, its self-presence and self-sufficient nature:

“Silence contains everything within itself. It is not waiting for anything; it is always wholly present in itself and it completely fills out the space in which it appears.”

“Time is accompanied by silence, determined by silence. Its quietness comes from the silence that is enclosed within it. Time is expanded by silence. If silence is so preponderant in time that time is completely absorbed by it, then time stands still. There is nothing but silence.” (Picard, 1952, p. 107). According to the latter, silence appears as timeless without an end or beginning. It is only present to itself. This view on silence resonates the link with silence and mindfulness, as accessing a state of being present in timelessness. This view on silence as important in mindfulness practice in order to reach a deeper sense of self and connecting with our place in the world is brought forward by authors such as LeClaire (2009).

“In every moment of time, man through silence can be with the origins of all things” (Picard, 1952, p. 22). Picard helped me to perceive the power of silence to engage us into the materiality of the world. Of turning our attention away from disembodied ways of being in place and the ignorance to the material world. Silence confronts and emplaces the listener into the realm of origin. Silence works through presenting the materiality of the world to us in an immediate bodily experience. This experiential nature of silence resonates in the recent work of Böhme (2020): “You cannot think silence, it must be experienced” (Böhme, 2020).

In the following, I review literature that helped me to understand silence as a bodily experience, inseparable from the world we inhabit, opening up a flat ontology that breaks subject and object dualism, by focusing on the ways silence encourages particular ways of listening as methexis.

In Nancy's words: "Sense opens up in silence" (Nancy, 2009, p. 26). I follow Nancy's description and understand silence as a bodily experience capable of facilitating an opening of the senses. Silence emphasizes our embodiment, the way our body is part of making sense and participating in places and our everyday life.

By referring back to Aristotle, Nancy describes sensing as "feeling-oneself-feel [se-sentir-sentir]" pointing towards listening as a process of engaging with the self. Listening is approached by Nancy as participation, interpenetration and sharing (methexis), rather than mimesis, and takes place in the tension between the inside and the outside world. This ontological perspective implies the impossibility to objectify sound and create a distance between sounds as objects and the listener as subject. **Listening as an event of resonance blurs subject object division by drawing in the listener into the fluid bathtub where both sound and the listening body float in methexic movements of mutual resonance**

The viscosity of sound and how it relates to our bodies reverberates in Nancy's conceptualization of listening. Listening is different to hearing as it engulfs the body, rather than merely the ear as vibrational air pressure. Going beyond the cochlear approach to perceiving sounds or silence, it allows us to further rethink subjectivity in relation to silence.

Silence encourages a kind of listening that reworks people's relations with their bodies. This notion is described as "the silent 'I' or 'sonic subjectivity'" (Voegelin, 2010, p. 92). Sound artist and researcher Salomé Voegelin expands on embodied and participative listening, by expanding our understanding of silence, the quiet place and the becoming of subjectivity.

Voegelin (2010) reflects on how this process of active listening produces a fluid and formless sonic subjectivity. A sonic subjectivity that is drawn in "an enforced, oppressing silence that censors and endangers its subjects; and a positive, inwards, centering silence that allows for creativity and opportunity" (Gerard, 2017, p. 205).

"This sonic subjectivity is drawn in silence. It is fragile and tender and full of doubt about hearing and the heard. My 'I' hears within the quiet soundscape, through its silence, my sounds. My subjectivity is produced in this intersubjective act of listening to silent sounds that meet me in the snow. It is this fragile relationship

that sounds, neither me nor the silence, but our continual and fluid embrace. This relationship is complex, intertwined and reciprocal, we produce each other. Silence shapes the subject in his sonic form. In a sonic life-world, the 'I' is produced as ephemerally as the sounds that sound the world perceived." (Voegelin, 2010, pp. 91-92).

I agree with Voegelin, that silent sounds do not require a low Decibel volume. They can be loud, "but they do not deafen my body to anything but themselves, and instead include me in their production."(Voegelin, 2010, pp. 81-82).

This resonating intertwinement of the "I" with the quiet soundscape remind me of Nancy's work on listening as *methexis*. By drawing on a visual metaphor describing silence as mirror "that shows this formless subject to himself: echoing back from the shiny surface of ice and snow he hears himself as listener in his surroundings"(Voegelin, 2010, p. 93), Voegelin's work echoes Nancy's "feeling-oneself-feel" as the experience of silence enables listening to oneself listen. This subject is neither confident, nor territorial but in doubt of its rather awkward position, as the "I" *always* is positioned in the middle of all the sounds that are heard in the quiet soundscape (Voegelin, 2010). Quiet is furthermore often understood as bodily stillness and being free of movement or to keep quiet in stressful situations (Böhme, 2020).

I found Voegelin's concept of "the silent 'I'" inspiring to pay attention to how the quiet place can shape islanders' bodily awareness and relations to the self.

Place-making sound, silence, noise

In this section, I start reviewing contemporary understandings about soundscapes and the quiet place. Based on this review, I propose the concept *quietscape* as referring to a relational orientation towards quiet, silence, space and place. Next, I position my research within a broader relational socio-material practice of homemaking and processes of negotiating sounds.

Soundscape and quiet places

'As place is sensed, senses are placed; as places make sense, senses make place' (Feld, 1997, p. 90).

A concept bringing together the sensory experience of places is soundscape. The rural soundscape is frequently described as quiet, tranquil, silent. In the following, I discuss the notion of soundscape and define my notion of it.

“The soundscape makes accessible, audible and thinkable, alternative states of affairs that allow us to rethink and relive the materiality and semantics of the real world.” (Voegelin, 2014, p. 45)

The term soundscape is contemporarily associated with having a broad meaning being used in multiple ways to refer to the linkages between space and sound. Originally, Schafer (1993) defined soundscape as the sounds from a given space. At first, this resulted in understanding soundscape as representational; a sonic mirror of a given space. The researchers’ role was to create an archive of this space’s sonic identity. As argued by Simpson (2019, p. 98) “at the center of Schafer’s soundscape project is the sharp divide between rural/natural, urban/amplified place and sound”. Schafer’s ideological agenda focusing on listening and preserving natural ‘quiet’ sounds. This not only resonated an urban prejudice by judging industrial, traffic and commercial sounds as “sonic pollutants” (Arkette, 2004, p. 161), but also a rural prejudice, by neglecting the complex ways in which the everyday experience of living in the rural is connected through sound (Boyd & Duffy, 2012; LaBelle, 2015; Simpson, 2019). Despite its usefulness of creating an archive of sounds, it is prone to overlook the mundane experience of rural sounds and silence (Simpson, 2019). My approach towards rural quiet foregrounds the entanglement of sound and everyday life.

Indeed, if we only listen to this natural soundscape, we are neglecting a more meaningful and holistic engagement with the experience of silence and how it manifests in the beautiful and messy practices of everyday life. Simpson (2019) research on rural quiet challenged the rather settled notions of peacefulness, tranquility and quietness. Paying attention to traffic as a defining experience of silence advanced an understanding complexity of rural remote spaces, identity and place-making practices. It is therefore relevant to pay attention to a diversity of sounds, including traffic, industrial, touristic, cultural, as all sounds are part of characterizing places and our experience of them (Arkette, 2004).

Schafer (1993) original conceptualization of the soundscape was challenged over the past years. As listeners are always ensounded, the soundscape cannot be thought of and experienced as an objective collection of a place’s sounds (Berrens, 2016). Rather than removing the practice of listening from understanding the soundscape, research highlighted that listening is always part of making the soundscape. Soundscapes are always change at the same rate as everything else does. I acknowledge this criticism, as my view on soundscape is relational, affect-oriented acknowledging the multiplicity of sound and our entanglement with the soundscape as *metexis* through participative listening. This sonically sensible understanding of soundscape as a constantly moving experience, resonates Berrens (2016) work on emotional cartographies of resonance. Nonetheless, due to the immediate simplicity of the term soundscape, I prefer to use the term soundscape rather than emotional cartographies of resonance.

In terms of overarching grand place-based narratives, most contemporary research associates quiet and silence with the rural and remote places and noise with the urban. This is mainly embedded in descriptions that link the rural with natural quiet soundscapes and the urban with noisy civilization soundscapes. Nonetheless, some research has challenged this binary approach and also looked at everyday places and built material places such as toilets, cars and urban churches (Bijsterveld, 2010; Böhme, 2020; Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al., 2019).

Quiet (built) places

The toilet. The car. The headphone.

„The toilet is the perfect place to listen to the chirping of insects or the song of the birds, to view the moon, or to enjoy any of those poignant moments that mark the change of the seasons. Here, I suspect, is where haiku poets over the ages have come by a great many of their ideas“ (Tanizaki, 2001, pp. 3-4)

“He made it one of his habits to go to the toilet, to the closet without any urgent need...he locks himself into the closet (as the term indicates) in order to hear no more gossip, and he stays there for quite a time” Peter Handke quoted in Böhme (p.21).

It is the experience of solitude and the possibility to listen to sounds and experience silence through the transcendence of these sounds that the quiet place of the toilet facilitates. While the toilet is a built mundane place, natural quiet are also frequently associated with the presence of solitude, of feeling-oneself-feel such as listening and as encouraging bodily stillness such as sitting (Komppula et al., 2017).

Böhme characterizes the quiet place as delineated, creating a border and condition of detachment from the noisy world outside the place. His view on the quiet place resonates that quiet cannot be used for the totality of space. Rather the term quiet is applicable for confined places, surrounded by walls. Like the toilet. In his words:

“It is true; silence lets you also become quiet. However, this is true if silence is somehow fenced, that is, if it is experienced within a quiet place which is contrasting the noisy world out there...Quiet places are literarily defined by walls which detach the person inside from the noise and the busy world outside. However, we have seen that the enclosure does not create the silence of the place but rather articulates it by making the infinite space perceivable in transcending

the borders... Silence is perceived at the quiet place through transcending the narrow place – actually it is the feeling of infinite space.”

Another example of quiet place is the modern vehicle. In a metaphorical sense the place is described as an acoustic cocoon. The acoustic cocoon is a concept coined by Karin Bijsterveld to describe the experience of silence in modern vehicles. The experience of silence is based on the possibilities to control the acoustic space inside the car, rather than on an absence of sound. Bijsterveld (2010) argues that the acoustic cocoon inside the car also redefines the experience of outside sounds, which are muffled. The materiality of the car hence creates a filter between the car’s inside space and the outside world, reminding us about one of the prerequisites to Böhme’s (2020) definition of the quiet place as confined space. However, rather than being a rather stable non-moving place, like a toilet, a car moves. The acoustic cocoon of the car or orphic media such as noise-cancelling headphones (Hagood, 2019), create mobile quiet spaces around the listeners body that move along with the moving body. Despite this difference, everyday practices of going to the toilet, listening through headphones and driving are acts of sonic self-control that influence sensory experiences of the world, control our connections to the surroundings, ourselves and others (Bijsterveld, 2010; Böhme, 2020; Hagood, 2019).

Towards quietscape

My use of the concept quietscape is inspired by a range of authors in the field of sonic geography and sound studies bringing together my above reviewed notions of silence, quiet, listening as participation and soundscape. I found it relevant to engage with the islands’ soundscape as a quietscape, rather than soundscape, as my approach to understanding wellbeing, homemaking and the everyday island life is anchored in the concepts of silence and quiet. An alternative could have been to use ‘the quiet rural soundscape’ (De Coensel & Botteldooren, 2006). However, I prefer using quiet not as a mere qualifier and additional term to add to a soundscape, but rather as a relational and constant experience of living with the rural quiet. My journey starts within silence and quiet, rather than sound. Although they are co-constitutive and simultaneous. As mentioned earlier this does not neglect sounds and neither does it say that quietscapes are not soundscapes.

I understand quietscapes as soundscapes with a particular atmospheric quality linked to quietness and silence. They do not create silence, but refer to particular places that resonate a particular meaningful relationality with the experiences of silence. **Due to a complex combination of sounds, socio-cultural factors, built and natural materials merging within human bodies through visceral and embodied ways of sensing and making meaning, the quietscape transforms into a meaningful “place” from where the experience of silence can emerge.** My sonic sensibility to place and the island created the

need to talk about the islands' soundscape as quietscape. Quietscape is a sonic sensibility towards place. As per my current knowledge, quietscape is not yet defined by academic literature.

What Böhme (2020) concept 'quiet place' shares with my approach to quietscapes is their condition of detachment from "the noise and the busy world outside".

My understanding of quietscapes as quiet places is different to Böhme's conceptualisation of the quiet place. The spatiality of my use of quietscape is defined by a greater socio-material fluidity and plurality. Quietscapes are not contained and in fenced places in a material sense. They can happen to be, but are not inherently regarded like this. Enclosure and the resulting detachment when listeners are participating in quietscapes are useful ways of thinking about the relationality with the sounds and experience of quiet in the context of an island.

Quietscapes can be composed of a multiplicity of quiet places, some being defined by walls, some not fenced at all. It is not always an architectural question of closing a toilet door to let silence be perceived in transcending the quiet place. Quietness is not perceived in a quietscape as a guaranteed experience. I see the quietscape as carrying a potentiality to co-constitute experiencing quiet with the listener.

Sound, silence and homemaking

In the following section, I will go further into depth conceptualizing the relation between sound and homemaking.

Following Pierce, Martin, and Murphy (2011, p. 54), I define place-making as "the set of social, political and material processes by which people iteratively create and recreate the experienced geographies in which they live". Through the iterative creation and recreation, this notion of place-making emphasizes a processual notion of place, rather than a stagnant and fixed notion. It relies on a holistic and relational conceptual understanding of place and how humans and places shape each other. As per this research, homemaking and negotiations of the right to sound and silence are part of place-making processes.

A large amount of literature on homemaking and belonging focuses on tracing belonging back to the realm of specific places such as home apartments, cities, neighborhoods or the nation state (Lewicka, 2010; Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2004). Recently, however, mainly feminist scholars have paid increasing attention towards spatially unbounded sensory conceptualizations of home. This includes work by Duffy and Waitt (2013) that show how sound facilitates relations between bodies, things and places that come to be understood as "home". Sounds are part of what Probyn (2000) calls homemaking at the 'gut level'. Indeed, "how people consciously and unconsciously absorb sounds is therefore conceived as part of a broader, everyday, relational socio-spatial practice,

including that of homemaking—for instance, being a ‘good neighbour’, or ‘good parent’ or ‘environmentally responsible citizen’. Hearing and listening practices are therefore very much embedded in a wide range of values and politics.”(Duffy & Waitt, 2013, p. 471). Homemaking can thus also be an affective form of resistance (Isoke, 2011, p. 119). This range of mundane politics includes aspect of negotiating belonging or alienation. On the one hand, sounds can support and enhance where bodies feel at home, while on the other hand they can interfere and challenge the sensations of feeling “at home”.

A sonic sensibility foregrounding an analytical focus on homemaking and quietness offers a novel promising approach to understanding unseen elements of home.

Silence, sound and place-branding

In this section, I review the connection between tourism place-branding and silence. In the context of my research, I am mainly concerned with the way tourism authorities use quietness to construct a certain place image. I found that place-branding research has predominantly focused on visual representations of place. Less attention has been given on the ways sonic representations of place are constructed. Thereby going beyond occularcentrism in place-branding.

The final conceptual connection I wish to outline is the link between the field of sonic geographies and tourism and mobilities studies. By doing so I wish to render one of the major deaf spots in geographies of sound audible. Namely how sonic practices relate to tourism and touristification (Paiva, 2018).

There is also some intuitive links between tourism studies and geography. As exactly this aspect of how we are in space links to the idea of the performative nature of tourism and tourism of the everyday, which Galloway (2018) talks about in her article on auditory tourism and a mediated soundwalk. Indeed, tourism scholars have used the metaphor of performance to describe tourist spaces (Edensor, 2001; Goffman, 1978).

Place-branding versus place-making

The difference between place-branding and place-making is subtle. The field of human and cultural geography largely contributed to moving the theoretical frameworks on place-branding beyond the realm of corporate branding (Andersson, 2014). I think, indeed, the theoretical understanding of place-branding being entangled with wider societal, cultural, political and geographical perspectives, has approximated the gap with its sister concept place-making. Synonyms of place-branding like “place marketing”, “destination selling”, “city marketing” are still reminiscent of the corporate ‘past’ of the concept. However, scholars such as Hankinson (2001) and Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) suggest that the term branding is most suitable when discussing contemporary institutional efforts to improve the popularity of a place.

While progressive geographical approaches to place-branding acknowledge the complexity, contestedness, fluidity and relationality of the concept’s entanglement with wider issues, I think the move beyond traditional branding also poses a risk for conceptual confoundment with place-making. Nonetheless, what both contemporary geographical literature on place-branding and place-making share is their emphasis on the relationality of place and people. Both place-branding and place-making are considered ongoing processes of creating and recreating.

In the following, I will briefly discuss how my notion of place-branding differentiates itself from place-making. I see place-branding as a particular set of place-making practices focusing on institutional and intentional communications about place to influence people's visceral connections with place. According to Braun, Kavaratzis, and Zenker (2010) residents are increasingly considered important in place-branding processes, through four main processes. First, as a key audience for place-branding actions. Second, through their characteristics and behavior a place can resonate attractiveness towards: tourists, prospective residents or capital investments or organizations. Third, residents may become place ambassadors, supporting and adding credibility to the produced place brand. Fourth, as residents are voters they take up a vital function for the political legitimization of place-branding. Despite this multifaceted importance of residents in the process of place-branding, I use the term place-branding to refer to institutional and intentional place-branding efforts by primarily local government's tourism department.

I understand place-branding as "the process of managing the primary (i.e. the behaviour of the place), secondary (i.e. place promotion) and tertiary (word-of-mouth and media representations) communication" Kavaratzis (2004, 2005), prioritizing the affective relations with places, "to add value to the place in a broad sense" (Boisen, Terlouw, & van Gorp, 2011, p. 136). Place-branding is thus a highly selective process thriving in selecting and deselecting stories and meanings seeking to differentiate places from one another (Boisen, Terlouw, Groote, & Couwenberg, 2018). Therefore, place-branding is not just about creating a marketing slogan or a logo. It is about creating and recreating the identity of a place, selecting the belonging of representative socio-material practices and manifestations.

Place-branding and the other senses

Place-branding is mostly a visually dominated phenomenon (Medway, 2015). "Looking at much existing place-branding effort, it is predominantly appealing to the visual sense, in the form of glossy promotional imagery and smart logos to reinforce supposed place brand values" (Medway, 2015, p. 204). As furthermore pointed out by Galloway (2017), "discussions of place in tourist and leisure studies have been narrowly focused on visual consumption (Urry, 1995, 2002) and landscape as solely a 'way of seeing' (Cosgrove, 1998 [1984]; Cresswell, 2003; Schama, 1995), failing to listen to, and silencing the soundscapes and aurality of tourism and the landscape." Contemporary examples supporting the occularcentric approach is research on the production of logos (Warnaby & Medway, 2010) and the rise of visual social media such as Instagram in place-branding (Thelander & Cassinger, 2017).

Nonetheless, the sensorial elements and engagement with place and place-branding are increasingly receiving attention, with work on tourism smellscapes (Dann & Jacobsen, 2003; Medway, 2015), taste and culinary tourism (Jones & Jenkins, 2002), haptic tourism

experiences (Hetherington, 2003) and multisensory place-branding in travel journalism (Pan & Ryan, 2009). Sound is also increasingly acknowledged to play “a key role in creating tourism landscapes, attractions and experiences” (Gibson & Connell, 2007, p. 165).

Bernat (2014) defines ‘sound tourism’ as a kind of mobility “based on travelling to places with unique acoustic characteristics or unique soundscapes”. The unique and distinctive acoustic characteristics have been conceptualized as “sound marks” and “sound icons”. Sound marks are sounds that stand out and become characteristic for a place (Schafer, 1977). Such as London’s Big Ben bell or the London Underground’s “mind the gap” announcement. Over time, certain sounds can become *iconic* for certain places, for instance with the persistence of sound marks over time (Bijsterveld, 2013).

Nonetheless, little tourism research on a diversity of the sonic realm such as ambient everyday sounds, as the majority of literature focuses on music tourism (Gibson & Connell, 2007; Gibson & Davidson, 2004). Music has diverse and multiple relations with place-branding processes. Early examples supporting the latter are 19th century musical tourism in Wagner’s birth city Bayreuth, while contemporary examples include techno tourism in Berlin (Garcia, 2015). Next to this, Medway (2015) identified a great potential for tourism practitioners to develop place-branding based on ambient natural sounds.

The relationship between tourism and silence

An increasing numbers of tourists want to travel to places guaranteeing the experience of quietness. Furthermore, Saxen (2008) found the sounds associated with quietness are part of motivating tourists to travel. The quest for silence, is frequently linked to the common understanding that silence has become a rare, exclusive unique and luxurious experience (Han, 2019; Kagge, 2017; Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al., 2019). Physical, mental and spiritual benefits are connected with silence. Silence has become a precious resource – a source facilitating reawakening and recharging after draining moments of stress. Something desirable and comparable to other luxurious experiences. In fact, Komppula et al. (2017, p. 8) found that “very simple things, like experiencing nature with all senses, and especially feeling the sounds of silence can be a refreshing and rejuvenating experience for those who live their everyday lives in hectic environments”. Thus, experiencing quietness, tranquility, solitude, peace and silence is frequently regarded as an integral component of wellbeing tourism. Furthermore, quietness is understood as a condition to develop wellbeing tourism (Komppula et al., 2017). For example, the study by Komppula et al. (2017) illustrates how silence is used as a resource in promoting nature-based wellbeing tourism. Based on this the authors argue for a potential of developing tourism focusing around silence (Komppula et al., 2017).

The seemingly novel quest for quietness, quiet places and quiet sounds is a growing phenomenon in tourism, creating the conceptual tourism niche of ‘sound tourism’, ‘silence tourism’ or ‘tranquil tourism’ (Han, 2019) centered on experiences of silence and quietness. While the terms ‘quiet tourism’ or ‘sound tourism’ point towards a potential new understanding or independent form of tourism, these terms are rarely used to describe the tourism reality.

However, quietness is not only entangled in the multiplicities of wellbeing tourism. In fact, neither is the idea of quietness new in tourism, as quietness is embraced and part of nature-based tourism/ecotourism (Fossgard & Stensland, 2020; Gutberlet, 2019), cultural tourism (Hiljaisuus-Festivaali)¹, spiritual or religious tourism (Jiang, Ryan, & Zhang, 2018; Mourtazina, 2020). Places, or silence-scapes, connected with experiencing silence include meditation retreat’s, churches, hotels and well-being resorts, nature areas such as National Parks and remote places such as islands or Lapland in Finland as well as. For example, the quest for silence, resonates in the following poetic writings. Shubert conceptualizes “silence as a place I can seek out – by way of traveling to extreme silence-scapes, such as the beach, float tanks, woodland paths, solitude, sanctuaries, and more” (Shubert in Gerard, 2017).

I found that most research on rural places, quietness and tourism, focuses on the isolated, disconnected, idyllic aspects of rurality and mainly pays attention to nature sounds (Gutberlet, 2019; Komppula et al., 2017).

An exception is Kauppinen-Räisänen, Cristini, et al. (2019) article also echoes more-than-representational ways of understanding the tourism experience of silence by showing how bodies, things, movements and the sonic atmosphere are all entangled in the production of church silence. This approach of looking at multi-sensorial social, cultural and spatial enabling factors of silence, in the context of tourism places, has been largely overlooked.

In essence, little research has paid attention to the ways sounds or sonic atmospheres like silence and quiet are used and constructed in developing and communicating place brands.

Furthermore, the multiplicity and complex entanglements of tourism with traffic, commercial, cultural and other sounds that go beyond the classification of ‘natural’ is also mostly disregarded in the literature.

¹ The yearly Finnish “Silence Festival” in the village Kaukonen (Lapland) is a rural tourism place-making initiative reverberating a creative engagement with the potentiality of quiet places.

Literature review synthesis

The entire preceding literature review is distilled into a framework that extends geographic inquiry toward the sensory, material, productive, sonic, silent and quiet encounters of place.

I have reviewed sound, silence and noise, soundscapes and quiet places and place-making processes. This has led me to understand quietness as a concept of multiplicity, taking active part in wider everyday socio-spatial processes, including those of homemaking and place-branding. The focal attention to the sensory, material and everyday relational entanglements of bodies *with* places, positions this research in progressive feminist and more-than-representational scholarship taking part of the neo-materialist and sensory turn in geography and the geography of tourism (Doughty et al., 2019; Duffy et al., 2016; Gallagher et al., 2017; Gallagher & Prior, 2014; Thrift, 2008). In the following, I synthesize the literature laying the foundation of my own approach.

Silence, sound and noise are co-constitutive and relational concepts that reverberate multiplicity, affective potentiality, complexity, fluidity, ambiguity and diversity (Gallagher et al., 2017; Novak & Sakakeeny, 2015). Thereby, traditional understandings of quietness or silence as the absence of sound or loudness (Ephratt, 2008) are challenged. Absolute silence does not exist (Cage, 2012). Listeners are always surrounded by sounds. Quietness is about listening, listening to ambient sounds (Cage, 2012; Voegelin, 2010). Silence is an experience, rather than a rational product and it can reveal itself through transcending sounds (Böhme, 2020).

The rural soundscape is commonly associated with silence, quietness and tranquility (Han, 2019; Komppula et al., 2017; Schafer, 1993). Although Simpson (2019) listens out to traffic as a defining experience of rural quiet, most research on quiet rural places focuses on the natural soundscape (Komppula et al., 2017; Schafer, 1993), which is linked to a particular idealistic, nostalgic and idyllic views on rural sound and everyday life (Rath, 2008; Simpson, 2019). Listening to all kinds of everyday sounds such as traffic, industrial, commercial, cultural *and* natural sounds, is largely erased from contemporary research on rural quiet. Furthermore, beyond the sonic, most research ignores the complex multi-sensorial, spatial and socio-material entanglements that are part of facilitating experiences of quietness. I developed the concept *quietscape*, bringing together relational, participative and visceral approaches to quietness and place.

Finally, most scholarly work on place-branding has focused on the visual domain (Galloway, 2018; Medway, 2015), which failed to listen to the entanglements with soundscapes and tourism. Some studies have looked at the role of sound, in particular music, in the making of tourism places and experiences (Galloway, 2018; Gibson & Connell, 2007). Quietness and silence have mostly received peripheral attention, as part of studies on other forms of tourism (Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al., 2019; Komppula

et al., 2017). The recent conceptualization of 'sound tourism' and 'tranquil tourism' as distinctive forms of tourism, indicate that sound and quietness deserve a more central attention in place-making research. In particular, sonic geographies have been deaf to the construction of the concept of quietness and its use in place-branding.

Approaching the production of the quiet place from the local perspective of the tourism organization and the islanders, addresses a major deaf spot by shedding light on the relation between sonic practices, in particular quietness, tourism and the touristification of places.

Theoretical framework: Sonic sensibility and quietscapes

The previous synthesis leads a direct path into a comprehensive theoretical framework that approaches quietscapes through a sonic sensibility.

Studying the role of quietness in islanders' homemaking and wellbeing, as well as the way the island is constructed and reimagined through sonic means and imagination, embraces the potentiality and complexity of contemporary life in remote places. My research framework considers the multiplicity of meanings of silence by tracing what silence does, how it moves, evokes and performs. This sensibility traces resonance of silence as a bodily encounter that shapes our interactions with the environment and others. I took inspiration from Salomé Voegelin (2010, 2014) theoretical framework of sonic sensibility. Next to this, I am combining the main concept with my notion of quietscape, to refer to the ways of experiencing sounds and silences that rework islander bodies and their relations with the place.

The theoretical framework allows for a plurality of meanings and worlds to exist simultaneously. It is an approach of multiplicity "activated in listening and building of life-worlds from which we negotiate actual worlds rather than assume one autonomous and singular actuality."(Voegelin, 2014, p. 46). The act of listening is understood as participation between body and surroundings. Furthermore, the framework embraces the everchanging nature of reality, rather than being a geography that creates static maps the framework invites "a constant mapping from myself through the sensory-motor action of listening into the world" (Voegelin, 2014, p. 46). This framework reworks philosophical dualism and tensions around subjectivity and objectivity, putting forward a perspective on the sonic reality as intersubjective. A soundscape [quietscape] is intersubjective "in that it does not exist without my being in it and I in turn only exist in my complicity with it" (Voegelin, 2010, p. 10). This sonic sensibility is not proposing a dialectical and opposing position towards a visual sensibility. Rather it suggests an augmentative position through foregrounding the unseen, dealing with visible and invisible aspects of the landscape.

The knowledges nurtured by a critical, relational and holistic study on the meanings of silence in the homemaking practices of people living in remote places, might support us approaching and reimagining the production of rural remote islands. Furthermore, it provides an opportunity to better understand contemporary tensions between noise and silence and how people and their environments interact.

Specifically, this comprehensive framework approaches quietscapes through a more-than-representational sonic sensibility. This provides an opportunity to unsettle the rather settled meanings of isolated, remote and quiet island life and to provide a holistic analysis of the diverse, subjective and affective experiences with island life.

Chapter 3 Methodology

The previous chapter laid the ontological and epistemological foundations of this thesis arguing for the relevance of approaching quiet places through a sonic sensibility. This framework comes along with particular methodological implications that boiled down to a creative methodological design.

In this chapter, I start discussing wider methodological implications and the rationale for doing a sensory arts-based ethnography. Second, I explain methods used in the field. Third, I explain how I analyzed my data. Fourth, I reflect on my positionality and discuss ethical implications.

Methodological approach

My more-than-representational methodological approach roots itself “in a variety of research styles and techniques that do not concern themselves so much with representing life-worlds as with issuing forth novel reverberations” (Vannini, 2015b, p. 12). This methodology is centered on the affective potential of sound and sonic atmospheres to rework bodies and places. Through a creative arts-based methodological bricolage, the method embraces the multiplicity and multi-sensorial ways of experiencing and representing place. This methodology is anchored within the tensions between the inner and the outer world. Rather than being a template to fit onto the world that may contain a risk to produce automatic answers, it became what it now is through participation and listening to the field. The latter makes it full of surprises.

I have researched and found myself living “in and through slow method, or vulnerable method, or quiet method. Multiple method. Modest method. Uncertain method. Diverse method” (Law, 2004, p. 11).

It is progressive in its focus on open and nuanced listening. It brings together a sensitivity to complexity, multiplicity and uncertainty. This method is born out of my passion for the unseen, intangible, embodied, sensory experiences and productions of places. It is honest and personal in its way of staying close to what feels right to me as a researcher and artist. It is slow and quiet due to the significant amount of time I have spent on listening, re-listening as well as writing and re-writing this thesis. All these engagements make it unique: non-replicable.

By asking new questions about the nature of rural everyday life, my novel more-than-representational approach does not replace the traditional social science methods, but adds to them.

Methodological implications of more-than-representational geographies of sound

In essence, a more-than-representational viscerally oriented research project has the methodological implications of using sensory and bodily methods. In particular, methods are centered on exploring the doings and meanings of ambient and everyday sounds and silences with a sensitivity to the more-than-human worlds that partake in the journey of sound. In the following, I will briefly highlight the major methodological implications of a more-than-representational approach.

First, a more-than representational sonic sensibility encourages the researcher to approach the temporality of knowledge differently. Rather than being oriented towards the past, I attune myself to the possibility of emerging futures in the present (Vannini, 2015b; Voegelin, 2014). I let go of depicting and capturing *the* empirical reality from the past, but rather want to write and share what new impressions and stories can flow from my newly gained understandings about the island. This approach to knowledge understands research as participating in and part of producing the life-worlds it is studying.

Second, focusing on the overlooked and intangible, facilitated by a sonic lens, links to more-than-representational research (Thrift, 2008). Bringing audio into our ears and attention, calls for sensitivity to something that is normally ignored. There are thus several advantages in paying attention to audio media. First, it allows us to engage with aspects that are “hidden, fleeting, beyond or at the periphery of everyday awareness” (Gallagher & Prior, 2014, 271). In Dewsbury (2003) words to “witness that which is otherwise imperceptible, and otherwise irrevocably lost...that which mystifies and surpasses meaning” (2003, p. 1908). As per Gallagher (2014), sound recordings can “allow much of the affective, precognitive, ephemeral aspects of research encounters” (271). Sound challenges and complements the visual dominance in tourism and geography (Galloway, 2018). Despite this turn towards sound, Gallagher critiques that “audio is largely erased in human geography. It tends to disappear, rarely finding its way into research outputs” (Gallagher & Prior, 2014, 270). As part of my research, I will therefore produce a sound map that allows to listen to my field-recordings. Turning our ears towards sound, however, is not a magic remedy for making us realise all the things we were not able to see. I agree with other researchers that the sonic should not be privileged over other sensory engagements (Matless, 2005; Gallagher & Prior, 2014). Although sound is the focal attention, I also pay attention to multisensorial relations.

Sound art as productive and more-than-textual research methodology

In the following, I explain my methodological approach towards two specific arts-based practices.

The aim of this section is to review the main works on soundwalks and sound mapping. I argue that soundwalks and sound mapping offer a promising methodological approach to contribute to my research.

By drawing on and reinforcing the links between art and geography throughout this research design, I position myself within research on creative geographies or art-geography (Foster & Lorimer, 2007; Hawkins, 2015). Within the theme of arts, media and technologies, geographers have turned their attention to sound art (Paiva, 2015). Such artwork is spatial and can take mobile and more static forms. An example of the latter are sound art installations (Cameron and Rogalsky, 2006).

On the other hand, mobile artistic soundwalks, feature “outdoor trails that use recorded sound and spoken memory played on a personal stereo or mobile media to experience places in new ways” (Butler, 2007: 360). This practice thus is part of the field of audio geography: geographical research where audio media play a significant role (Gallagher, 2015). According to Butler (2006, 2007), soundwalks create mediated multi sensory and embodied environmental awareness that create more nuanced and complex ways of experiencing and representing place. Butler also highlights the use for cultural geographers to engage with soundwalks for research and communication.

There is a fair amount of research analysing existing sound or audiowalks (Toby, 2006; Galloway, 2017). Most of them are focused on urban areas (eg. Galloway, 2017; Semidor, 2006) and only a few have given an insider perspective on the producer’s perspective (Butler, 2006; Gallagher, 2015). For example, Gallagher (2015) studies the production of an audio drift in a ruinous area in Scotland. He argues that audio geography can represent places, as well as reworking places by shaping listeners’ attention and bodily movement. Instead of making it an easy and harmonic listening experience, the audio walk highlights the site’s contested history and uncertain future.

The production of sound art furthermore engages critically with the politics of knowledge and knowledge distribution. Rather than merely creating knowledge for a selective academic audience, the sound art part intends to create a wider accessibility of the knowledge produced. This experimental approach towards geographic inquiry highlights that cultural and intellectual production are inseparable from producing space. Indeed, experimental geographers are producing space in a self-reflexive way, always with certain degrees of uncertainty (Paglen, 2008).

In sum, this experiential arts-based approach is suitable in two ways. First, to explore ways of understanding contemporary island life and meanings of quietness. Second, as a way to integrate a more-than-representational of sharing insights beyond the realm of academia and make meaning matter for the wider public.

Methods used during the fieldwork

In this section I describe my methods of data collection.

My first visit to Pellworm took place in August 2018. After this one-day excursion and first impression of the island, I wrote my research proposal. I conducted the actual fieldwork during a 6-week period from beginning of September until mid-October 2019.

I focused on a bricolage of methods in order to collect material on understanding the meanings of quiet and productions of quiet. The same data collection methods were used for gathering material for the sound art compositions. I used a sensory ethnography focused on the sonic (Pink, 2008, 2015) which included the following methods: 1) listening walks and field recordings, 2) sound elicitation as part of in-depth qualitative interviews. 3) auto-ethnographic field-note taking and 4) ethnographic participation in various island community and daily activities (volleyball, gymnastics, doing groceries, breakfast, lunch, coffee and dinners with my relatives, mudflat walking, light tower tour, place-branding workshop, attending general assembly and workshop of environmental association, meeting tourism organization team etc.). My rapid immersion into everyday island life was mainly facilitated through the contacts with my relatives. I rented the holiday apartment of my far relatives that are living on the island. Sharing the same roof, entrance and garden created a sense of homely proximity. Although it was the first time I met them, they welcomed me warmly and that allowed me to establish a sense of home rather rapidly on the island.

Listening to place and field recording

As discussed in the literature review, listening is a bodily practice of participation with place.

Listening is used as a central methodological tool in this research. Listening provokes existing anthropocentric methodologies centered around rationality and offers a post-humanist perspective acknowledging human fragility and doubt (Voegelin, 2015). Listening walks offer a means of exploring emergent everyday island life in a multiplicity of forms, participatively rather than distantly observant, self-reflective and nonhierarchical (Drever, 2009).

The sonic sensibility centered around listening is operationalized by combining an embodied mobile practice of listening to place and taking field-recordings. Although my listening practice mainly derived and was centered on the walking context, I expanded the method to biking, shopping, attending a concert, driving, being at home, at friends and families home places and during sports activities, which ensured that I was listening to a wide range of situations during different bodily modes of navigating island space.

Whilst it is more common to listen to research participants talking, it is less common to listen to place and everyday practices in places. During a listening walks, listening to space becomes *the* central element during the walking practice (Gallagher & Prior, 2017).

Despite using the concept of a listening walk during a few interviews, the majority of ambient field-recording were taken on walks in solitude.

I understand listening walks as a method of multiplicity resonating an inherent capability to surprise. As Gallagher and Prior (2017, p. 7) suggest:

“This multiplicity is, for us, the central attraction of the method. It enables the method to be adapted to many different purposes, but also means that a listening walk can elicit wide ranging responses that exceed any prescribed purpose. This open-ended, emergent quality produces unexpected encounters, feelings, thoughts and analyses...listening walks... retain an alluring ability to surprise.”

Overall, the listening walks and other modes of listening contributed to explore various place-making practices related to the experience and production of island life and the meaning of quietness. In particular, they provided the following productions of knowledge. First, listening provided a means to explore multiple everyday events or happenings of island space, including its more-than-human material world, social, cultural and ecological elements. Second, listening provided a means to engage with, experience and record islanders' meaningful quiet places and sounds. This either happened when the listening walk happened during the interview together with my interview, or I went recording alone informed by our conversation. Third, the listening practice provided a first encounter with the material for my sound art compositions. Field-recordings taken during the listening walks became part of the artistic engagements with the production and experience of island quietness in the sound map and sound walk. Thereby the listening walks and practice offered both a way to research the meaning of quietness and the starting point of reimagining, understanding, knowing and sharing the island through sound art. Discovering the origin of making new sonic possible worlds Voegelin (2014).

Field-recording offered a mediated engagement with my listening walks. This method was crucial for answering research question three concerning the role of sound art in understanding quietscapes and meanings of quietness. Field-recording produces different kinds of data and engagements of places, that lend themselves to tell other kinds of stories and are “useful for highlighting hidden or marginal aspects of places and their inhabitants.” (Gallagher & Prior, 2014, p. 268).

The field-recorder, a TASCAM DR-05, accompanied me during all kinds of moments during the field-work. Also, when not intentionally going on recording trips, I frequently just had

it in my pocket, as sound can always happen surprisingly and might never come back. I viewed the field-recorder as an extension of my body, a third ear that helped me listen and remember my listening. I created a windshield for the recorder to prevent wind distortion. During the fieldwork, I created a second windshield due to the strong wind.

At the end of each day, I uploaded recordings to my hard drive and gave each recording a title specifying the main content, kind of sound and place of recording. While recording I also used the Smartphone app maps.me to locate recordings and create a spatial overview of my field-recording practice. Digital devices are increasingly used in ethnographic research, as field-work assistant that provide accessible, intuitive and convenient tools to create order in complex processes (Beddall-Hill, Jabbar, & Al Shehri, 2011; Favero & Theunissen, 2018; Van Doorn, 2013).



Illustration 1 Screenshot of maps.me field-recording overview

In-depth interviews

“What we need are some new imaginaries of interviewing that open up multiple spaces in which interview interactions can be conducted and represented, ways that engage the indeterminate ambiguity of interviewing, practices that transgress and practices that transgress and exceed a knowable order ... we could look to art for examples of such changes.” (Scheurich, 1995, p. 250)

This call inspired my approach towards the entire interview process. From preparing, to carrying it out, to making sense of it. In the following, I will elaborate on these new imaginaries.

A major method during this research was in-depth interviews. This method helped me creating material to answer sub-question one about islanders’ relations to the island and

their personal meaning of quietness. A detailed overview with interview questions can be found in Appendix 1.

I carried out 17 semi-structured interviews with a diversity of islanders. Participants were selected through three main strategies: 1) my family relatives network, 2) through attending community/social/cultural events, 3) direct visits in case of public presence businesses (e.g. cafés or market stand). I included islanders that had led or still lead a mundane everyday life on the island in a primary home. Thus, I included three young islanders, who currently do not live on the island permanently, but for example excluded second home owners or temporary tourists. The shortest interview was 20 minutes and the longest almost 3 hours, with an average of around an hour long.

Interviews were carried out on a meaningful place for the interviewee. 9 interviews, highlighted in bold, included a listening and recording walk or in Anna's case a bike tour. 10 interviews included a sound-elicitation moment, where I played some of my field recordings. Practical issues of lack time during the interview and the fact of first recording and editing samples, prevented me from doing sound-elicitations during all interviews.

The conversation centered around my participants relations to the island, meaningful sounds, the meaning of quietness, quiet places and sounds connected to these places. Questions were formulated in an open non-leading way to allow participants. Although, I acknowledged the potential difficulty of talking about sound "given the way the expressive and material force of sound is conceived as unspeakable" (Duffy et al., 2016, p. 53), I found value in talking in-depth about and reflecting together about meaningful places, sounds and quietness. I was prepared to also address the common difficulty of speaking about sounds to relieve some of the awkwardness.

My interviewing style focused on what Riessman (2008, p. 24) describes as „follow participants down *their* trails". I had prepared an interview guide with questions on paper (see appendix), but mainly asked the question out of memory which contributed to a flowing and natural conversation. I made sure to tell a bit about myself and my motivation for the research.

While traditional research focuses on the importance of preparing questions prior to the interview (White & Drew, 2011), my approach focused on attentive listening, being present and asking questions during the interview. Thus, I saw my role as research as a partner to facilitate the islander's exploration of their key experiences and emotions crucial for their connection with the island as home and meaningful sounds and silences. During the interview, I was sensitive to the affective encounter, the moods and atmosphere, the sounds in the space and the bodily sounds of my interviewee took these into account with my own sensitivity by guiding the conversation.

Sound elicitation

As mentioned in the previous paragraph some interviews included a sound elicitation method to address what Gallagher and Prior (2014, p. 267) call the “erasure of audio media within geography“. I build on the rich stream of visual ethnographic research methods such as photograph elicitation (Harper, 2002) and music elicitation method intending to elicit “memory, affective experience and descriptive in-depth discussion... that typically remain unspoken or that are difficult to uncover in a conventional qualitative interview” (Allett, 2010, pp. 2-3).

I prepared a collage of field-recording, sampled during the first weeks during my stay on the island. This collection included the following sounds.

I played the recording usually towards the end of interview. The purpose was to elicit thoughts and affective encounter with some island soundscapes to further inform my understanding of islanders’ meaningful relations with quietness. The sample included the following recordings: 1) windmill turning during little wind (Bupheverkoog, island north) 2) tractor with seagulls (Bupheverkoog, island north) 3) Jackdaws (Old Church ruin tower) 4) Rustling leaves (Vogelkoje, little island forest) 5) Grazing sheep (Dyke) 6) Fasan (in the fields) 7) Geese (between Tammensiel and Lighttower) 8) Sparrows (in the ivy in front of my bedroom window) 9) Crackling Wadden Sea (Bupheverkoog) 10) Loading off the Ferry (Ferry terminal) 11) Clicking flagstaff (Old Harbour) 12) Organ concert (Old Church).

I briefly introduced the collage, saying everything was recorded here on the island. I asked open questions to get an impression about my participant’s reactions to the sounds and listening to island sounds in a mediated way. Questions included: How was it? What came to your mind when listening? How did you feel?

Interviews overview				
Nr	Name (anonymised)	Relations to the island and mundane occupations	Age	Interview M = mobile S = standard sitting
1	Tamme	Pellwormer, born and raised. Currently studying on the mainland. Farming and hospitality	24	M: walking tour on his family's farm S: sitting in kitchen
2	Theo	Pellwormer, born and raised. Currently studying abroad	25	M: walking around the Old Harbour S: sitting at terrace and inside Leo's Fishimbiss
3	Martha	Newpellwormer, moved to the island 2 years ago. Retired. Voluntary activities	64	S: At their home
4	Detlef	Newpellwormer, moved to the island 2 years ago. Retired. Voluntary activities	65	S: At their home
5	Anna	Pellwormer, born and raised. Currently studying in another German city	22	M: Biking trip around the northern part of the island
6	Kerstin	Newpellwormer, moved to the island in spring 2019. Healthcare	52	S: At Café and Bakery Cornilsen

7	Stina	Pellwormer, born and raised. Tourism and farming	40	S: At her home kitchen M: Walking a tour through her street
8	Lena	Pellwormer, born and raised. Moved back to the island after living elsewhere for years. Tourism	63	S: At a café
9	Louise	Pellwormer, born and raised. Craft business	58	S: At her home kitchen
10	Jens	Pellwormer, born and raised. Farming and politics	50	M: walking tour around his family farm
11	Birgit	(New)pellwormer, she came to the island over 30 years ago. Farming and politics	50	S: At her home living room M: walking tour around her farm
12	Tjark	Pellwormer, born and raised. Coastal protection and tourism	65	S: At his workplace kitchen
13	Hans and Emma	Pellwormer (Hans), Emma (Newpellwormer) was born on neighbouring island Hallig Hooge and moved to Pellworm in 1958. Retired. Past: Smith and Home-maker	87	S: At their home living room
14	Lara	(New)pellwormer. She moved to the island in 1962, 57 years ago. Retired. Past: Home-maker and farming background	>80	S: At her home living room
15	Josephine	Newpellwormer. She moved to the island 4 years ago. Religion and spirituality	49	S: At the church
16	Lars	Pellwormer, born and raised. Farming and politics	61	S: A a restaurant M: walking outside around his house
17	Marie	Farming, nature conservation, tourism	37	S: At her house kitchen M: walking tour on the farm
Other participants (no interview)				
18	Tanja, Imke and Lea	Temporary Pellwormer. Nature conservation. National park volunteers	> 18 < 24	S: In my living room M: Birdcounting with Imke
19	Tourism Office	Meeting with Tourism Office about my research. Participant's 3 employees, 1 intern and 1 member of municipal council	?	At Tourism Office
cells highlighted in grey means that the conversation included a sound-elicitation moment, where I played my field-recordings				

With these methods I collected a vast and diverse amount of data, including hours of interview recordings, more than 60 field-recordings, 2 little notebooks of written notes and an ocean of intangible unwritten bodily impressions, ephemeral sentiments, moods and affects, associations and memories with the island, that informed the knowledge production of this thesis. In the following, I will go into depth with how I organized and made sense of the material.

Methods of analysis

In this section, I describe my methods of analysis. I will describe how I organized and analyzed my data.

Interview transcriptions

A transcription inherently is a written reduction, as it will never represent everything that happened during the interview experience (Mishler, 1986; Plas, Kvale, & KVALE, 1996; Scheurich, 1995). Transcripts “are artificial constructions from an oral to written mode of communication” (Plas et al., 1996, p. 163). This method provided valuable knowledge and data for answering research question 1 on islanders meaning of quietness as well as research question 3 about the role of sound art in understanding quietscapes and meanings of quietness.

Interviews were transcribed using the web-based software Otranscribe, which allowed keyboard shortcuts for play/pause or changing the speed of the recording, winding forward or back. This allowed me to focus on listening and re-listening. I decided on a time intensive transcription method, transcribing mostly entire interviews rather than selective parts. As an exception to the latter, I did not transcribe interview segments which two participants did not want me to include in my research as well as very irrelevant interview fragments.

Although my focus was on transcribing words, I took inspiration from McLellan, MacQueen, and Neidig (2003) and also transcribed some of the unsaid parts such as pauses, nonverbal sounds (e.g. laughs and sighs) and ambient sounds. I did not correct for slang, repetitions, and elisions. I also was careful with the placing of punctuation to prevent changing the intent or emphasis of my participants answer. I made these choices in order to stay close to the oral nature of the conversation – the voice and rhythm of my participant and the spatial atmosphere of the interview.

Organising field-recordings

Each field recording was labeled with a title representing the kind of sound, main content and place of recording. Although reductionist and multiple times you hear many different kinds of sounds, I used labels M for Mechanical, H for Human, SO for social to organize the recording during the field-work.

After the field-work, I created an excel sheet overview with 58 recordings. Due to ethical concerns or irrelevance I omitted a few recordings. Information of recording number, place of recording, title, kind (e.g. agriculture, traffic, nature, human, commerce, construction, tourism), contextual information was included as well as a simple transcription of the e sounds (see example recording number 12 below).

Nr	Place	Tite	Kind	Context	Transcription/description
12	Bupheverkoog	Agriculture meets Seagulls	Agriculture/Traffic	Listening and recording tour	Tracktor plowing a field and seagulls flying behind. A car passes me slowly as the road turns. Squeeking dyke gate. Apart from the background sound of tractor it feels quiet

Making sense of sound and island chatter

For the second part, making sense of the gathered material I used an intuitive method that challenges automatic ways of thinking through empirical material. My attempt here was “to live more in and through slow method, or vulnerable method, or quiet method. Multiple method. Modest method. Uncertain method. Diverse method” (Law, 2004, p. 11). This ethnographic and sonically sensitive working method became both relevant for making sense of my written thesis as well as the performative components of this research. It is in the method that arts and science merged through the intuitive hands on doings of my body. This approach resonates with the methodology used by Kim (2015) and McGarrigle (2018) that foreground and mobilize expressive and bodily ways of writing and making sense of research material.

Making sense of the field-recordings and interviews involved the following main approaches:

- 1) (Re)listening and transcribing
- 2) Sketching sensations
- 3) Sound mapping

I listened to the field-recordings, interview segments and my ethnographic notes on island chatter. In order to develop this personalized methodology, I took great inspiration from two academic contributions. First, Duffy et al. (2016) article on visceral sonic mapping as a method to make meaning from the ways sound is entangled in the creation of geographical knowledge. Second, I took inspiration to listen to the field-recordings in causal, semantic, reduced, associative, affective, spatial and critical ways (D. M. Gallagher, 2015).

However, I needed to adapt the method in certain ways to allow myself the flow of an arts-based working routine, which I explain in the following.

The visceral approach came through my analysis by sensing my body’s reaction to the data. Specially, I paid attention to emergent feelings, associations, memories, affective encounters during moments of listening. At moments there was a good flow of writing and listening at the same time. Sometimes there was too much going on in the recording, I paused it and continued once my thoughts caught up with it. I re-listened to many field-recordings a few times to notice subtleties and make them feel more familiar.

The slow and in-depth transcription process of my interview also allowed me to pay attention to my bodily reactions and note down upcoming thought and feelings during the transcribing process. After completing the transcriptions, I intuitively coded the interviews making an overview of sounds and islanders experience with the sounds. In order to support this analysis, I used Atlas.ti to code meaningful sounds and relations with the sounds. To get a quick sense of multiple perspectives I used the auto-coding function to retrieve relevant quotes about certain sounds, topics and island materiality. Words included in the auto-coding were for example: silence, ferry, quietness.

I captured these emergent thoughts in textual and visual ways loading them on to notebooks, Word documents, big papers (flipchart size) or small sized paper. Using different colors and pens as well as different sizes of paper makes a difference. My thoughts are influenced by my working material. Next to this I did a literature review of additional sources to complement the compositions or to contextualize them. This included searching for sound art compositions. Furthermore, the literature review included texts and images, websites, a meeting protocol, brochures, articles about the island targeted towards tourists. This material was analyzed in order to answer research question 2 about how quietness is constructed and used as a resource in tourism place-branding.

The creation of a narrative for the written thesis and the sound walk composition followed two different paths. I understand that the meaning making process from hereon was guided towards the audience. In other words, the making of meaning depends on who you talk to. On the one hand, an academic audience. On the other, a public audience. This influenced the theming, the story-making and narrative creation.

As for the written thesis, I broadly followed a thematic approach towards generating narratives, rather than a place-based approach. This resulted in the writing of many preliminary drafts, which served me to structure my thoughts and to approximate an overarching argument. Writing is re-writing is re-re-writing is scrapping is deleting. As one Matryoshka is stacked in the other, writing and rewriting is a path towards the core Matryoshka – the one that does not open any longer. This metaphorical thinking about my writing process found support in Connelly and Clandinin (1990). In the following, I explain the methods used in composing the two arts-based engagements with island quiet. The generation of the textual narrative in chapter 8, was written after the sound art productions were composed. Thus, the written narrative reflects an analysis of the art work.

Composing place through sound art

In order to illustrate aspects of place and quietness and share the island quietscape in an experiential way, I have produced a sound map and sound walk composition. Thus, these

art's-based methods aim to answer research question 3 about the contributions of sound art to understandings of remote quiet places and the experience of quietness. In the following, I briefly explain how I produced them.

As of sound walking usual being in place, I wanted to keep a focus on place. That is why I framed the sound walk according to four major spatial narratives: 1) At the ferry terminal 2) With the sea 3) In the village 4) With the land. Based on these island spaces, I selected a number of recordings that reflected everyday moments, practices, performances in these island spaces.



Illustration 2 Sketchbook design soundwalk

I used the program Sketchbook to illustrate the sound walk route and main stops. I did not produce the entire sound walk. Nonetheless, I created the conceptual part, which is attached in the Appendix. Continuing the production would include a collaborative process including multiple islanders in listening, giving feedback and giving consent to the composition. This method unfortunately surpasses the given and appropriate time frame of an MSc thesis. I would produce the compositions using Ableton audio editing software and could use sound walking platforms such as Izi.travel (<https://izi.travel/en>) or Echoes (<https://echoes.xyz>).

I have used the web-based Open Street Map tools by Umap as a foundation for the map. As part of the mapping process, I listened to all field-recordings and applied a basic editing procedure to all of them. The reasons for editing mainly included ethical concerns as well as practical concerns. For example, I removed ethically sensible parts and improved listenability and data management. This included creating fades in the beginning and end of each sample, in order to create smooth beginnings and endings. I removed clipping parts caused by sudden loud sounds or wind and adjusted the volume. Samples were placed on the map with their approximated original place of recording. I added a link to Soundcloud. I separated recordings into three main categories. First, visualized by a blue squared icon referred to chatty, social, commercial, performative and cultural soundscapes such as recordings from concerts, supermarkets and the climate march.

Second, visualized by a white icon referred to mainly nature and more-than-human dominated soundscapes and recordings capturing particular silence-scapes. Third, visualized by an icon in sapphire including a car symbol refers to recordings centered on island traffic. Additionally, I used an aquarelle background and added triangles in different colors, sizes and shapes to challenge the standard map formatting and create a sense of fluidity, connectivity and fragmentation.

Positionality and ethical considerations

Values and situated knowledge

In this section I reflect on my positionality as a researcher. By doing so, I consider how my story has influenced the nature of this research and the analysis.

This research is personal as it is shaped by who I am and how I see the world based on my experience with the world so far. I am writing this section, to give a partial and brief insight to the baggage I bring to this research. According to feminist ethnographers, reflecting on positionality is an important step in dealing with the power dimensions of doing research (England, 1994).

Certain elements of my life story, influenced the way islanders related to me, both in terms of their behavior and what they shared with me. I grew up in the same state, Schleswig-Holstein, speak German and to a large extent understand Plattdeutsch (local island language Low German). Most interviewees also knew that I had some far relatives on the island. I feel, that this implicit connectivity or belonging to a similar socio-cultural environment created a relationship of trust.

Furthermore, my interviewing method was inspired by the embodied experiential knowledge I gained from working together with storyteller and facilitator Ingi Mehus. During my internship with Pocket Stories, I got trained in coaching methods that influenced my interview approach to be led by open, non-judgmental listening. I saw each participant as inherently rich in their identity and life story, and aimed to express the value for me to be able to listen to them and get an insight into their island. Ingi Mehus also shared with me her vision on the ethics and sensitivity of working with other people's stories. This shaped my perspective that whatever I do with this research, I never *own* the stories I got told. I am just in a privileged position to listen to them and to make sense of them. What this research reverberates is thus not 'the' truth of contemporary island life. It is an expression of how island materiality and islanders' stories, resonate within me. This resonates with Ellis and Bochner (2000) view arguing that our understanding of "others" is inherently partial and situated.

Another key component in my baggage is my analytical listening skill and sensitivity to the sonic world. Listening is an embodied skill that takes time to be developed and each of us listens differently. My listening was influenced, not only through my literature review, but also by my knowledge of audio technology, my experience with deejaying, producing experimental sound art experiences and giving sound and listening workshops. Furthermore, I feel how this sensitivity to sounds also cultivated a general sensitivity to multisensorial engagements. My sensitivity therefore made me perceive the island in a certain way, paying attention to sensory details in various places and situations.

The final baggage I brought into this research, is my educational training within a critical social science domain. This certainly influenced my view of seeing island life as a socially complex phenomenon and influenced what questions I asked and how I asked them. Furthermore, it guided my attention towards tensions in everyday belonging and power issues.

In essence, key personal values brought into this research are creativity, empathy, respect, care, sensitivity, thoughtfulness and responsibility. These values and more were consciously or unconsciously present and driving this project forward.

Confidentiality, anonymity and consent

A sonic sensibility approach implies the expansion of ethical considerations to go beyond subject to subject relations, but also includes the relations to the material world, including sound, and to oneself. As sound can trigger subconscious and pre-cognitive reactions it requires a particular ethical sensitivity. Indeed, the affective potential of audio media intensify diverse ethical issues (M. Gallagher, 2015).

I paid attention to the latter in ways of gathering and sharing sonic material. I decided to not share interview recordings as part of the sound map, although participants had given me the consent to use the recording for this research project. For the field-recordings taken during listening walks, I always asked for verbal permission to record. Exceptions were recordings outdoors with the absence of other people. I recorded animals, but I unfortunately could not ask them for permission. I acknowledge that my recording practice might have disturbed animals in certain moments (Slater et al., 2019). I was sensitive to this as I for instance tried to keep distance from seabirds resting. Nonetheless, I think little attention is paid to the ethics of field recording I would appreciate the creation of ethical guidelines for doing field-recordings of the more-than-human world.

As per privately owned places, for instance with the supermarket recording, I asked the manager and the sales person for permission. I excluded asking all the customers due to practical reasons. Therefore, as much as possible, I avoided sharing ambient recordings

with voices in close proximity and with high recognizability. I always aimed to deal with similar ethical concerns in a self-reflective way, feeling the potential consequences and eventually making a choice based on my intuition.

As per the dissemination of sounds on the digital multi-media sound map, I decided to exclude recordings from my interviews to protect participants confidentiality. Thus, I only included field recordings I took during listening walks and a composition, which I received consent for sharing.

During the interviewing, I asked for verbal consent for recording and the use of interviews for the purpose of my study. I guaranteed the anonymization of the interviewee's names. As the island is a small place and many people might recognize people by just a few keywords of their stories, I tried to be sensitive to this in my selection of interview quotes and information given about my participants.

Part 2

Introduction to the findings: Towards a multiplicity of quietness

In this introduction to my findings, I am looking at what quietness means to islanders. I found that quietness has a multiplicity of meanings. The island's fluid, relational, ephemeral and everchanging quietscape is experienced, constructed and negotiated in multiple ways. In essence, however, the quietscape is entangled in the multiple processes of experiencing, negotiating and constructing islanders' sense of home.

By deconstructing this multiplicity of relations islanders' experience with quietness the intent is to show that these relations of multiplicity are part of making and maintaining sensory and bodily connections with the island as home. In the following, I will shed light on the composing elements of this multiplicity.

The multiplicity of quiet is revealed by zooming into how quiet is interwoven in experiences and the making of the island as home and tourism destination. The ambiguity, diversity and normative nature of constructing the quietscape, comes through as the right to sound is challenged by islanders.

The findings show that the multiplicity of quietness is grounded in its complexity, ongoing negotiation, and always-changing, ephemeral and relational nature with sound, place and the human listening subject.

This sonic sensibility on a multiplicity of experiences with quietness amplifies the multiple relationships islanders create and maintain with their home. The findings of this project work towards an understanding of island life which stands outside of the dominant Western, linear convention of these so-called remote places. Rather than understanding contemporary island life as isolated, idyllic and natural, the sonic sensibility blurred the binary clear-cut division between the urban/civilized and rural/natural.

Embracing the slippery, ephemeral and multiplicity of quietness has meant to go down a slippery slope of dealing with the complexity inherent in the human experience of place and sound.

In the following, I give an overview about how my findings chapters are organized and mention the key findings of each chapter.

Findings overview

The first chapters of the thesis focus on how quietness in part of islanders' place-making practices, in particular those of homemaking (chapter 4, 5 and 6) and institutional place-branding (chapter 7). I start looking at how quietness is interwoven with islanders' place-making in terms of experiencing place (chapter 4) and constructing place through homemaking (chapter 5 and 6). Chapter 5 focuses on the construction of home and the quietscape by focusing on aspects of place identity, while chapter 3 engages with the mundane politics of negotiating the making of "noise" in islanders' homemaking practices. Chapter 4 takes a different approach to understanding quiet in place-making. In this chapter I look at how quiet is constructed and used to brand the island for tourism. The final chapter synthesizes my understanding of island quiet by composing the quietscape through a sonic art approach. A more detailed overview including key findings is given in the following:

Chapter 4 Everyday embodiments of quiet

In this chapter, I discuss everyday embodied experience with island quiet. The chapter focuses on how quietness is perceived and listened to. Thereby attention is paid to what quietness means to islanders at a visceral level, deconstructing the multiple ways of quietness acting on and with islanders' bodies in space.

I argue that a multiplicity of quietness is part of establishing and making islanders home spaces. The diverse experiences with island quietscapes reverberate the specific quality of everyday island life. The findings of this study show that very simple things, like experiencing meaningful island places with all senses or merely navigating mundane island life and especially feeling the sounds that are part of quietness on a daily basis can be a refreshing, recharging and rejuvenating experience, although often also taken for granted. Furthermore, the quietness of Pellworm enables connections to the self and world around islanders that is integral in the ways of creating a sense of home. The ways that islanders make sense of quietness and the ways it affects them is important to better understand how they make sense of Pellworm as home.

Chapter 5 The construction of the home-quietscape

The main focus of this chapter is to discuss the role of quiet in islanders place-making practices. A central aspect is to explore the construction of the island quietscape. The way quietness is used to frame and construct the identity of the island as home.

My island, my quietscape, my brand. Quietness is part of defining the nature of island life. a home brand – integral to the ways islanders construct island life and frame its different shapes. Highlighting the authentic uniqueness of the island, islanders use quietness to construct the island in four main ways. First, as different and isolated from the everyday sounds and rhythms of contemporary life in other places – in particular the urban.

Second, I argue that the quietscape is constructed as characteristic and precious 'indigenous' element of island life, adding value to the place as home. Third, quiet is interwoven in constructing the island as wellbeing place. Fourth, I argue that quiet is part of framing the island's rhythm and temporality as slow.

Chapter 6 Negotiating the 'right' quiet

As chapter four and five deconstruct the multiplicity of ways quiet is part of experiencing and constructing the quietscape, this chapter turns towards deconstructing the making of noise in quiet places. The chapter links to chapter four and five, but focuses on the wider socio-political processes related to quiet, identity, space. I discuss the how certain sounds and silences are challenging islanders' sense of home and are made 'out of place'. This chapter is about negotiating the belonging of quietness in processes of maintaining and creating relationships with the island as home.

I found that unwanted sonic atmospheres are not only linked to so-called noise, but that quietness itself has a side that conjures up unpleasant atmospheres that create tensions in islanders' homemaking practices. Constructions of quietscape and what belongs are entangled in mundane politics of which bodies, materials and practices belong to the island or which are come to be out of place. Negotiating the 'right' quiet means to question who or what has the right to sound when and where. Hence, the making of island quietscape is entangled in a wider process about how the island should be or let us say sound like.

Chapter 7 Promoting quietness in tourism place-branding

In this chapter, I look at quiet in tourism place-branding. The central aim of this chapter is to analyze the institutional ways of engaging with island quiet. In essence, this chapter focuses on how the concept of quietness is constructed and used in place-branding. In addition, the final section contrasts the ways quiet is constructed in homemaking compared to place-branding.

I found that tourism place-branding capitalizes on selective aspects of quiet in order to add value to the island for recreational touristic purpose. I argue for three main ways of promoting and constructing island quietness. First, as enabling deceleration and wellbeing and as an alternative to urban rhythms. Second, bodily stillness and quiet movement is promoted. Third, listening to the more-than-human natural world is promoted to access silence.

Chapter 8 Composing quiet as a creative sonic method

In this chapter, I show my own creative engagement with the quietscape through a sonic art approach. The chapter has two main functions. Firstly, I invite you to listen and experience the island quietscape in embodied ways. Secondly, I discuss and share my

reflections on what a sonic art approach brings to our understanding of island life and the experience of quietness.

I found that sound mapping and sound walk composition enable an understanding of remote place as connected to other places and carrying a potentiality to inspire artists. Artists can, through embodied listening and artistic practice, transform and re-place the experience of quietness into a mediated space by creating atmospheric shadows of the original recorded atmospheres of quiet.

Chapter 4 Everyday embodiments of quiet

Quietness is found to have multiple ways of acting on islanders' bodies. This chapter focuses on ways of listening and feeling quietness in the body. I argue that quietness is felt through the body by evoking feelings or affective states that maintain and create islanders' connection with home. Islanders relational everyday embodiments of listening to silence and listening to their own as well as others' listening practice, reveals the profound knowledge and connection with the island.

Evoked feelings or affective states can include self-reflection, connection to self, mindfulness, restlessness, boredom, love, humbleness, nostalgia, loss, concern, self-identification, uncertainty, volatility, solitude, repulsion. These different feelings that islanders connect with quietness reveal the multifaceted affective power of quiet, ranging from liberation to oppression. The way island quiet functions in facilitating wellbeing, connection to the self and to the greater world is expanded in this chapter.

Hearing silence

In this section, I expand on ways in which different kinds of silences are being perceived. There is not just one experience of silence on the island.

Islanders have described quiet places and their experience of quiet by bringing forward a multiplicity of sounds that are part of island quiet. Many sounds include sounds by nature or more-than-human forces such as a diversity of birds, seabirds, singing birds, the nuances of the wind, trees breeze. The highlighting of the belonging of natural sounds in a soundscape is also supported by Komppula et al. (2017). However, I also found that traffic, commercial, architectural and bodily sounds are associated with a certain quality of quiet on the island and are integral to islanders' experience with quietness and their sense of home.

First, multiplicity of meanings of quiet gets revealed in ways islanders talk about their perception of silence. Quietness is ambivalent in its perception, as experiencing quiet ranges from being defined as hearing absolutely nothing to noticing ambient sounds.

Detlef accounts for the first option in the following: Detlef: "Sometimes it is so quiet here. That is a sound, with no sound"

This notion of quietness being subjectively defined as "no sound" is objectively speaking not possible. However, I understand the verbal construction of quietness as "a sound with no sound" as a way of expressing what Böhme (2020) calls the transcendent experience of silence.

The following quote shows how island quiet allows Kerstin to pay attention to surrounding ambient sounds:

Kerstin: “The oystercatchers are the silence of the island. That are natural sounds. Or when the gold fishes in our pond catch mosquitoes or something, then you hear blub blub. That is also silence for me.”

A special kind of silence is experienced with the absence of wind. This is illustrated by the following experience by Martha. She describes the nuance of a special, more intense experience of silence on the island. This silence appears once the wind, an everyday background sound, is gone. Assuming that this silence is out of the known repertoire of sounds, is part of supporting the rare and luxurious nature of silence in our contemporary society.

Me: Which sounds do you connect with your everyday?

Martha: Also sometimes silence. There are not many days in a year, but there are a few days when there is no wind [German: Windstill which literally means wind silent] and that is a sound which eh some don't know anymore.

In order to describe the felt intensities of this kind of silence, Martha highlights some people's unfamiliarity with it, by saying silence “is a sound which some don't know anymore”. The latter supports Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al. (2019) conclusion that silence has become a luxurious and rare experience in our contemporary society. For Martha, however, this silence albeit its rare appearance, is part of her everyday island experience.

In the following, I show that experiencing traffic and windsilence are both defining experiences of contemporary island life. Listening to the more-than-human event world of traffic and the wind showed that everyday experiences of quiet are part of maintaining relations between islanders by resonating and facilitating social proximity, rather than anonymity.

For example, the quietness found in moments of wind silence reflects the proximity in between island neighbors as shown by the following:

Detlef: „When there is no wind, you can easily have a conversation with your neighbors over 100 meters distance”.

Despite being spatially separated, the quietness in between the neighbors, brings them closer to each other, as they can hear each other. Quietness thereby modifies space, by creating space to be heard through distance. Quietness creates room for sounds to travel through distance.

Furthermore, islanders' experience with traffic highlights that island life is marked by social proximity. Recognition of the vehicle drivers by listening to the sound of the tractor or the cars' broken exhaust pipe that that friend still did not fix, resonates the social proximity linked to the quiet island traffic. As explained by Stina:

“I know how to distinguish most tractors by their sounds...And some trucks, I mean the garbage truck and even some cars. I think you would not notice that in the city...You always knew who'd [drive by her parents house]. What was this for a car?...It was Stefan. His exhaust pipe is still broken.”

Quietness modifies islanders' relations with space and people, as it enables mundane possibilities for listening to silence. As Stina remarks, this way of subtle listening would not be possible in an urban context. However, on the island, embodied ways of recognizing and assigning singular traffic sounds, such as a broken exhaust pipe to a particular person, is part of the defining experience of island quiet.

In essence, a diversity of silences are experienced during mundane moments of navigating throughout and in between island places. The defining experience of everyday quiet is facilitated both by natural sounds such as the wind and birds and through listening to traffic and human sounds. For islanders, quietness appears during the everyday, rather than being quested. Everyday embodied experiences of quiet also resonate that island quiet facilitates islanders listening to their own listening and others' listening practice. The latter is illustrated by islanders pointing out that their embodied listening practices are a unique and rare phenomenon in our contemporary society.

Wellbeing quietscapes at home

„[The quietness on Pellworm] is simply beautiful. It is worth living for and beautiful. I cannot say more than that.“ Martha

This section engages with the role of experiences of quietness in supporting islander's wellbeing. I argue that the experience of everyday wellbeing is intrinsically entangled in the experience of the island quiet and islanders' homemaking. The findings presented in this section show that very simple things, like experiencing meaningful island places with all senses or merely navigating mundane island life and especially feeling the sounds that are part of quietness on a daily basis can be a recovering, refreshing, recharging and rejuvenating experience, although often also taken for granted.

First, the quietscape of the island was often described as a source for wellbeing. On the one hand, the quietscape of the island was referred to as a meaningful source for

recovery and mental and physical remedy of wellbeing and everyday rebalancing to the busyness of life. Next to this, the quietscapes is experienced as a quietening of the body. Thus, I found that experiencing quietness is particularly present in moments where the body is in stillness: not moving or experiencing anything, doing nothing. The wellbeing quietscapes are an integral part of islanders' sense of home.

In the following, I will illustrate the two narratives with quotes from my research participants.

In essence, rather than being described as a rare and limited luxury experience, the quietness on Pellworm is entangled and present in everyday life. In fact, place, how place sounds and what activities it enables, produce what I call mundane wellbeing quietscapes.

As will be elaborated by the examples below, the island quietscape is connected with positive affective states such as enjoyment, relaxation, rest, meaningfulness, worth living for, sensations of beauty and solitude. Next to this, the quietscapes are associated with balancing daily life, healing unwellness, quietening worries and are seen to contribute to the recovery of stress and rehabilitation after health-related surgeries. The presence of certain sounds (e.g. birds, wind, rustling reed, water) and absence of others (car traffic) as well as absence of general loudness are entangled with moments of wellbeing. Also the islands' physical landscape (e.g. the dyke, sky) and ephemeral more-than-human atmospheres (fog banks) are linked to quietscape wellbeing. The latter highlights quiet as a mundane aesthetic quality that is more than a sonic experience.

Wellbeing quietscapes are experienced during different activities outdoors such as walks or bike rides. Although quietness has been described as a characteristic and general sonic atmosphere of the island, the interviews reveal how certain practices and places almost guarantee the experience of quietness. These experiences arise in everyday moments of navigating around the island. Stina and Louise, who were born on the island, express how quietness is evoking feelings of relaxation and wellbeing. "A wellness place" Stina calls the fields which she leased for making hay for her horses, where she from time to time goes for walks. The quietscape there is facilitated by moments of solitude as "no one else is allowed to go there, free movement of her dog and many animals around". The more-than-human sounds of geese, oystercatchers and the rustling of high grass or reet are part of that quietscape.

For Louise it is the perceived silence on the outerdyke, of "hearing nothing...or maybe in the distance you hear a boat chugging or once in a while you also hear no birds and nothing. It is so silent then and I simply enjoy it. Yes. It does me well."

Also Detlef shares how he encountered quietness on the bike trips around the island. Especially in the northern part of the island when the tourists left the island: “there you have peace and quiet. And I experience that as relaxing”.

Islanders also describe quietness as mundane and immediately accessible moments of relaxation and rebalancing from busyness of e.g. daily working routines.

Kerstin, loving her meaningful job in elderly care, usually gives 100 percent of herself. Her home’s quietscape functions as a rebalancing to her energetic and agile working life. The quietscape which is readily accessible by “sitting on the terrace... or walking up the dyke” (Kerstin) allows her to transcend to a different bodily state and leave behind the work structure.

“When I am coming home [after work] I need this balancing. To come down a bit. Quietness. We found a beautiful house...surrounded by actually a lot of nothingness. Well a dyke and ocean and on the other side a little path. Not so much traffic, not much going on. Wonderful...And about sounds, yes, the roaring ocean, wind, and I noticed I do not need so many sounds.” Kerstin

Kerstin’s daily experience with the quietscape reveals that it is not the absence of sounds that facilitate her experience with quiet. In fact, she listens out the the traffic, ocean and wind. Quiet is further facilitated by a certain degree of inactivity as “not much [is] going on”. Also, Kerstin listens to her own desired daily listening, by saying she does not need many sounds. This does not create boredom, but allows her body to enter mundane states of relaxation.

Detlef is retired but actively engaged in various volunteering projects and associations related to heritage, history and tourism. For him quietness amplifies moments of relaxation and doing ‘nothing’. “[Quietness means] relaxation. Simply relaxing...I am usually always doing something. But once in a while, you just want to put your feet up. And then a little bit of quietness is obviously not bad.” Detlef

Furthermore, islanders’ sense of home is also connected with the wellbeing quietscape. Quietness unfolds as part of the daily and wellbeing is associated with feelings of belonging and the felt absence of stress. Detlef: „Life is more timeless here...Home/Heimat means that you have this sense of wellbeing ...the whole environment is matching. The stress like from some big cities is a missing here. It is quieter.“ Having found a new home in a mundane wellbeing quietscape, Detlef initially came temporarily to the island to recover from surgery. Prior to moving to the island, Detlef worked in a stressful management position, which had adverse effects on his subjective wellbeing. After the operation, he preferred to recover on Pellworm, moving to their long-term rental holiday apartment, rather than going to the institutional rehabilitation clinic. Afterwards, he was given the right of early retirement and decided

to permanently move to Pellworm together with his partner Martha. His story shows how Pellworm's quiescence took part in Detlef's self-care journey. From larger post-operation rehabilitation to the current and ongoing mundane moments of supporting his wellbeing.

Tjark's sense of quietness is intertwined with feeling close to nature and spending time there. As an example, he mentions being able to sit for hours at the water. These are moments which he enjoys and that feel relaxing. He frames his experience of silence in contrast to hectic stress and the inability to enjoy nature:

Tjark: Oh silence means that you can calm down a bit, or you just have to be able to enjoy it. Many people cannot do that, but I can like sit by the water, just sit like this without doing anything now. Not always, but I can do that for a few hours.

Her experience of island quiet and its power for wellbeing is also framed in the contrast to her affective experience of the urban.

Josephine: "So I find it very exhausting, to process all the stimuli on the mainland. It depends on where you are, but in the cities there is such a flood of energy and everything that blows/wafts towards you."

Throwback to self

In this section, I elaborate on the multiple experiences of how quietness is remaking relations to the self and creates opportunities to listen inwards.

Indeed, Pellworms' quiescence invites islanders to reflect and turn inwards. On the one hand, connecting with inner states was expressed as a moment of inner peace, mindfulness and connecting to something greater than oneself. On the other hand, the castback to the self and the self of the past also felt confrontational and restless for others.

Anna shares how Pellworm encourages her to be more with herself. These moments of silence were expressed as practicing active solitude, entering a self-reflexive state that enabled feelings of inner peace.

Anna: Quietness. Umm on the one hand I always find it very nice. Just silence, so not to hear too much, because maybe I am also more with myself. Think more about some things. When I am alone in the Vogelkoje [small forest], then I consciously take the step to go there and in this moment want to be alone or also just enjoy the quietness in quietness and eh yea but complete quietness you actually, so, silence, that you don't hear anything, you don't have that. But to be

in peace that is actually a nice, so should be something to take more time for...You just hear the different birds there, or are observing them.

Sounds of the quietscape like birds and again the absence of people support the experience of inner connection and peace.

In another example, the silence, sounds, mindful listening and well-being are entangled in a spiritual practice, for which the island provided the perfect place. Indeed, Pellworm was described as providing an immediate path to turning inwards. The outer silence and the lack of certain distractions was expressed as moments of connecting with yourself and something greater than oneself. Rather than enabling a self-reflective inner state of thought and rationality, for Josephine the quietscape triggers a visceral experience of the inner world merging with the greater. Hence, I conclude that the quietscape triggers different ways of relating to the self. The common ground is that the quietness on Pellworm creates space to listen inwards and be with one's feelings and thoughts.

According to Josephine, the quietscape opens moments of inner connection and spiritual connection to greater powers. The quietscape is part of a mediating force between us and the greater world around us. It is the presence of visceral experiences such as feeling the power of the wind. Josephine explains how the visceral experience of standing with the dyke enables her to feel spiritually connected to a greater force.

Josephine: Oh I find it so easy! Because ehm, when you're standing at the dyke it formally blows/wafts towards you...You have a right immediate experience of the force, that's acting in our world. And that's God for me. So the force in us, in the world and when you expose yourself to nature, then she is just there...

Next to this, the quietscape and its socio-materiality and rhythm facilitates mindfulness and presencing, which are at the root of connecting with inner states. What Josephine calls the "fixed rhythm" of the island, are socio-material and temporal manifestations of place, that impact on islanders' access to commercial and cultural activities as well as sensory experiences. This is reflected in Josephine's description of the quietscape:

Josephine: "I find it important really get back to the present moment, again and again. And that is very easy on Pellworm, because you do not have any distractions. No publicity, no traffic light, few shops and they are even closed over lunch. Ehm, fixed, a fixed rhythm. The island has a fixed rhythm, because when it's dark, we do not have streetlights. Then you stay at home. Normally, unless something important is happening...In the evening, you see the bright lights shining everywhere. Ehm, especially in the dark winter months. And that I find, that's why it [spirituality] is easier to transfer this to Pellworm, because the people here are thrown back on their own."

Josephine's explanation highlights that quiet is more than a sonic experience. Experiencing quiet is facilitated through the built architectural environment and the islands' rhythm. The absence of commercial visual stimuli such as billboards and other sensory marketing medias, the lunchtime closing of shops and the absence of 24/7 commercial activities and the general absence of streetlights and presence of dark nights are part of making Josephine's mundane experience of quiet. She also reflects that this socio-materiality of the island is a limiting factor to a buzzing, lively and constant public life, as these elements of the quietescape bring into presence other experiences of place and self, foregrounding the private home as a central place to turn towards.

Josephine, listening to the island sounds, which are part of her sense of quietness facilitate a presence in your own life and leading a more meaningful life. By problematizing certain ways of relating to our inner world of thoughts and mindlessness, Josephine argues that all island sounds, despite their source or "how they are" are "mindfulness alarms...any sound always brings you back to reality"... "we tend to be too much in our head...What do I do later? What did he mean by that? Why did this happen? And while we think this, we are making coffee, making food and dress and wash our face."

Josephine: "The gain is that you live your life again yourself and it's not being lived. Who does not like that has to continue living in their fairytale world. Ehm. But I believe, that healing lays in living your own life consciously. In the presence of God."

Even though the quietescape supports connection to the self and peacefulness, empowering and spiritual visceral experiences, there is also another side to connecting with the self. As indicated by islanders, the sensation of 'not much going on' and quietness is something one has to bear and it is seen as confrontational. Hence, living in a quiet place is seen as a measure of how well people can be confronted with themselves. However, when one can deal with the quietness, the island is "Graceland": a wonderful place to live:

Josephine: If you can engage yourself with ... this silence, then it's a wonderful place to live. You have to be able to bear yourself well. That is important. And bearing with the silence and then it's Graceland here.

Kerstin: But I think, when you live here, you also have to be able to bear this silence. This, eh, everything is a bit less.

In extension of the latter, the following examples reverberate the experience of self-confrontation, by focusing on the story of Theo, an islander who currently lives abroad and visits the island occasionally. The experience of restlessness, self-confrontation and

trapped feelings with the quietscape are reverberating in Theo's story. The place evokes in him encounters with his past-self:

Theo: "I connect something with every place here, I mean the island is not so big. When I am on the move across the island, I am constantly confronted with my past. That's why I also find it difficult to switch off...Pellworm is also just so spatially separated from everything...it is always an act to go somewhere else. When you are here, you have to accustom yourself to that."

Spatial elements of the island's quietscape, such as island size and spatial isolation from the mainland are intensifying factors for Theo's confrontation with quietness and self. The island demands the self to reflect and tune into, "accustom" itself to the space. Remembering and quoting the lyrics of a German punk band, Theo refers a sonic metaphor to his relationship with the island. "This world somehow where remaining silent is missing and then once more where silence agonizes...[Silence] is a double edging/cutting sword... You are longing for silence and once it is silent you are longing for understanding".

In terms of social relations, the quietscape makes people more visible and creates a rural sense of intimacy in opposition to the urban experience of anonymity. For Theo, this mainly facilitates a restless quiet, a sense of standing out and a feeling of being judged. Self-reflective thoughts of other islanders' perception of him are connected with the quietscape, next to feeling constrained by the sense of spatial disconnection.

Code of conduct

In this section, I argue that quiet is part of governing bodies and producing ways of relating to place. The quietness of Pellworm creates awareness of islanders' bodies sound-making and spatial movement.

Silke is working in mobile healthcare. She usually starts her day in the early morning, leaving her house at 5.45. The following example shows how her body movements are adapting to the experienced silence.

Silke: "Getting out of the car and have to go through the garden. And then that's then really this silence. A bit of wind maybe. It is rustling here. Rustling there. That are great sounds. That is really. Yes and this is then, that's yea also a silence. Now we got back to the islands' silence again. Also, then you move quieter. I would never, I find it, if I am walking across gravel, I find the sound disturbing and feel it's very loud and right I mostly then walk over the lawn, because I find the sound [gravel] really too loud for this morningly silence."

Silke's anecdote from her everyday life shows the power of silence in governing bodies and bodily movements. Quiet produces ways of relating to place, by facilitating a bodily code of conduct.

Another example showing the relations between and the ways quietness might facilitate certain bodily behaviors is reflected in my conversation with Tamme. He reflects on the connection between growing up in a quiet place and being a quiet person:

Tamme: But in general I like the quietness. I must say.

Me: Do you know why?

Tamme: Yes why, I don't know. I am maybe more like a bit of a quieter type or so. I believe every person is a bit different, right...For example, I don't like it so much, when I am ehh surrounded by many people, then I always at some point have a moment, where I need my quietness. It's just like that. That. At some point, I notice it. Maybe it's also, because I grew up with this quietness.

In essence, these examples highlight the role of quiet in conducting islanders' behavior in terms of spatial movements and personal identity.

Synthesis

This chapter explored islanders' everyday experiences with the quietscape. In essence, this chapter argued that quietness is part of experiencing 'home'. Thus, island quiet means home. I showed that a multiplicity of quietness is part of establishing and making islanders home spaces. Island quiet affects bodies in diverse ways. I found it enables and facilitates connections to the self, other islanders and the world around. In specific, I argued that quietness facilitates mundane wellbeing, listening inwards and a 'quiet' code of conduct. The ways that islanders make sense of quietness and the ways it affects them is important to better understand how they make sense of Pellworm as home.

Chapter 5 The construction of the home-quietscape

In this section, I will expand on the ways quietness is entangled in constructing a certain identity of the island. Quietness is part of creating island identity as resonating a unique, seasonally marked, decelerated and disconnected nature. The section is divided in two parts. First, I discuss the ways in which quietness is used to characterize the multiplicity of island space and changing temporality in terms of seasons. Second, I show in what ways islanders refer to quietness supporting a construction of island identity as uniquely different to other places, in particular framing island identity in opposition to the urban loudness, traffic experience and hectic life. Third, I discuss how the island is framed as wellbeing place. Fourth, I analyze the ways in which island life is framed as slow. In essence, I argue that quietness is used in characterizing island life, prioritizing the unique character of island life and differentiating it from other places.

My island, my quietscape, my home

First of all, quietness is used as an identifying fluid sonic metaphor of place, constructed as adding value to island life. Therefore, I argue that residents support a fluid and relational notion of quiet in constructing contemporary island life. As I will show in the following, quietness takes multiple shapes, is ever-changing, co-present and abundant in many corners and moments on the island. Also, quietness is part of identifying the changing nature of the place in terms of seasonality.

Frequently, islanders used the terms quietness, quiet, silent and silence to characterize the island. As Tamme and Birgit pointed out:

Well, it is...rather a quiet part, a quiet little spot. Pellworm, right? I feel.

Birgit: Eh the typical for the island? First of all this quietness.

While quietness is used to characterize the entire island, it is also being associated with different public, private, natural and built places on the island. Moments of quiet can emerge from various different places on the island, constructing island identity as abundant with quiet places, rather than marked by a scarcity or lack of quiet. Hence when asking for places of quietness islanders mentioned the dyke, Vogelkoje [little forest and lake], North of the island (Bupheverkoog), agricultural fields, meadows, the mudflats, cemeteries, the churches or their home. The following reflection of Josephine on her quiet places shows how quietness spreads around the island:

"The dyke at the Hooger Fähre, when you're looking at the Halligen. Bupheverkoog...I like sitting at the harbour to look. I think there is no place on the

island, where I don't find quietness. Apart from Edeka or Hansi Koopman, because you're only chatting there. But the cemeteries are also wonderful."

It would sound logical to say that the general quietness of Pellworm is a sum of all the smaller quiet places, however this would be simplifying the phenomena and neglect aspects of the changing temporality of quiet. Indeed, island identity is multi-faceted. Many islanders often said the winter is quieter:

Tamme: "But in the winter season it is of course extremely quiet".

Conversations around the winter quietness revealed how this intensity of winter quiet formed an integral part and defining experience of island life. It revealed the more condensed, isolated, harsher, colder, more windy, stormy, rainy, commercially limited aspects of place. The low number of tourists, nature of the more-than-human forces as well as shops and commercial activities closing or limiting their opening hours are socio-spatial transformations that partake in producing the identity of winter quiet. This highlights the understanding of quiet as not necessarily associated with low volume, but as the absence of primarily human crowdedness and sounds, as well as the presence of nature sounds.

A sonic sensibility of focusing on quietness and the construction of place identity reveals the quietness is thus used to show how the place is in motion and also transforming over the course of the temporality of the seasons.

Quietness as difference and disconnection from other places

Quietness is used as sonic metaphor to identify Pellworm as different to other places. This construction of difference is linked to the uniqueness and exclusivity of this particular quiet on Pellworm. I will look at what socio-spatio-temporal elements are part of constructing Pellworm's quiet as different to the mainland or other Wadden islands. Island sounds and quietness is framed as different to the mainland and urban context, amplifying the island as not only sonically different, but also constructing island identity as an alternative to hectic urban lifestyles.

It is the unique character of quiet on the island that is constructed out of the tension and relationship with the other.

Emma: „This quietness that is reigning here on Pellworm, does not exist in the city. You cannot experience it there.

Hans: And it also does not exist on Amrum or Föhr or Sylt...There you encounter more life.“

As shown by the conversation with Emma and Hans quietness is part of constructing an identity of island life. It is described as a unique experience of place, not found somewhere else. Neither in the urban context nor on other Wadden islands. Quietness in the sense of a rare and unique quality of the island contributes to constructing a place identity that associates similarly with an authentic and special place.

Tamme: “we don’t have so much traffic here like on the mainland. Or in the city.”

The framing of island identity is linked to constructing island quiet as different to the noisy urban soundscape, as illustrated by the following reflection of Lena and Louise:

Lena: “I also lived there [urban places] and often I drove 200 kilometers a day. From one place to the next and that is always like [sound pffhhuuu]. These sounds, because you always have such a ‘Geräuschkulisse’ [soundscape or lit. trans. Sound scenery] and I don’t find it so nice.”

Louise: “I could never imagine to live somewhere in the city. To be exposed to this noise. That would make me sick, I think. [In the city] there is obviously the traffic. That’s not comparable with Pellworm. That’s so so normal. When you live in the city you hear car sounds and it is just always loud.”

Next to the sounds, the ferry is associated with supporting the island’s identity of quiet by creating a clear time-schedule of island quiet. The ferry connection, by both connecting and disconnecting the island, is associated with causing the decelerated and quieter nature of the island identity. In Birgit’s words: “We don’t have this hectic, because of the Ferry or this isolation, we don’t have all the options open”.

The special temporality of island quiet is furthermore constructed by drawing on the difference from the mainland.

Anna: “The clocks are running differently here than over there [the mainland]”.

By referring to the lunch time break of quietness, the closing of shops at 6 and the time islanders take to drink a coffee in the afternoon. “It is not particularly hectic here on the island.”

In conclusion, the subjectively experienced temporal slowness of the island, is part of defining island quietness as a valuable and distinctive element of place.

Pellworm – a wellbeing place

The island quietescape is furthermore performed in ways of constructing Pellworm as a wellbeing place.

For instance, the facilitation of wellbeing by certain island quietescapes, is also produced through storytelling. In an interview with me, Martha re-narrates a story she got told by an island artist and storyteller:

Martha: “Emmy once told us if you’re feeling unwell or having worries. You should take a blanket and lay there in the grass and should just look in the sky and then you will yea, you will feel better. I never tried it, but the atmosphere there in the back is really special. Especially as you don’t meet anyone there...and when you enter a fog bank. That is really a bit scary. And when you imagine to see a horse then, then it’s really like the “The Rider on the White Horse”.”

The affective power of this place to facilitate the production of “an almost scary healing atmosphere” (Martha) is supported by three socio-spatial elements. First, the presence of solitude. Second the acting of the more-than-human atmosphere of a large sky above the non-moving quietened body, laying down in contact with the earth. Third, a change in the sensory experience of place through immersion with fog. Fog as it is water suspended in air, has both acoustic and visual effects as sounds take priority in navigating space, given the lack of visibility. Cultural connotations to fog include the divine, ghostly, mystical and spiritual (Allan, 2019). Referring to fog and the imagined appearance of a white horse, construct the healing quietescape within a spiritual and ghostly realm. This highlights that quiet is produced not merely as a sonic phenomenon, but as a deeply intermingled sensory experience.

Islanders’ construction of the island as a healing place, also resonate in their ways of describing their sense of time.

A slow place

As previously mentioned, islanders also describe Pellworm as having a particular slow rhythm. The temporality of the island is constructed as islanders talk about their mundane practices, past memories and contemporary symbolic material representations of time. Patience, timelessness, slowness, no rush, calm, lunch time breaks, the closing of shops, the schedule of the ferry limiting islanders’ mobility. Furthermore, islanders explained me that the island is more in synch with the rhythm of nature, as they have to live in a certain degree of harmony with the tides as well as the wind. Indeed, the tides influence what mundane practices are possible, when and if one can leave the island or travel to it.

The particular temporality of island quiet is metaphorically represented by a special clock I encountered in one of the islands restaurants. Looking at the clock in the mirror would represent time in the 'right' way. It says "in Friesland [the wider region] everything is a bit different. This clock is going the other way around". One of my interviewees highlighted the belonging of the clock above the entrance door of as follows:

Lars: "The clock is going the other way around and the numbers are ordered the other way around. Actually, it is running right. And I find it does not belong anywhere else than in this taproom"

The framing of Pellworm as a slow place are furthermore highlighted by Anna's temporal metaphor quoted above. According to her, the island clocks are running differently. The slow pace of the place is also constructed through the ways islanders talk about the relations to each other. Detlef told me that living with the seasons characterizes island life. Island life is "a bit more timeless" (Detlef). He illustrates this by referring to taking a bit longer to chat with the supermarket sales person, once the main season is over. The sense of time, patience and slowness is illustrated in Detlef's re-construction of a supermarket scenario:

Detlef: And when someone behind me [in the cue] is hopping from one leg to the other then I am just asking: do you have to go to the ferry? No. Well, I say...then just wait a bit."

Island sense of slow is also constructed in living with the rhythm of the tides. "Like you live with ebb and flow, you live with your habits." Anna uses this comparison to refer to a particular mindset towards challenges or things one cannot change. Another example illustrating this is from Emma and Hans memory from a heavy strong tide that flooded parts of the island in the 60ies. Islanders could not leave the island for days.

"Emma: You cannot do anything.

Hans: [the water] runs off by itself.

Emma: that's the thing with ebb and flow. You have to wait until the next ebb is coming, that the water gradually goes back...and it gets less windy"

The previous conversation excerpt highlights islanders' powerlessness in doing anything else than waiting for the water to leave. Stories such as these from heavy storm tides engrave meanings into place and islanders sense of time. They construct island rhythm as driven by a more-than-human force. The human body is framed as patiently waiting for the water to give space again. Thereby, memories from past as well as contemporary everyday practices of taking the ferry contribute to construct island life as slow and in synch with tides.

In essence, these examples highlight that Pellworm's quietscape is produced in a particular socio-temporal way. Islanders frequently described the rhythm of the island as slow by drawing on examples from their everyday practices of shopping or meeting up with other islanders. The ferry, the quieter winter due to seasonality of tourism as well as the tides are part of defining the particular sense of time on the island.

Synthesis

The different examples in this chapter show that quietness is used to add value to the island by constructing it as a precious and special place to live. This chapter shows that residents use quietness in constructing their island as a slow place, a healing place, disconnected and different to other places. In this chapter I have mainly paid attention to how certain side of quiet function to add value to the island as home and differentiate home from other places.

However, in chapter 4, I will expand on the ways islanders relate to island quiet in homemaking practices. In specific, it examines the making of noise in quiet places. Thereby, some notions of quiet presented here, will be unsettled and contested, as we will find out that certain sides of quiet can also threaten everyday life and decrease the value of the island as home.

Chapter 6 Negotiating the 'right' quiet

In this chapter, I look at islanders' negotiations with different potentialities and tensions of connecting with a quiet place as home. I discuss what listening to what becomes noise brings to our understanding of contemporary island life. I argue, by drawing on examples linked to tourism and demographic processes, that both unwanted sounds and silences are re(making) islanders' relations with home and evoke voicing the protection of the 'right' quiet. I found that unwanted sonic atmospheres are not only linked to so-called noise, but that quietness itself has a side that conjures up unpleasant atmospheres that create tensions in islanders' homemaking practices.

The process of negotiating the 'right' quiet is entangled in evaluating how space should be. Should be in the sense of how a place should sound, who and what has the right to sound. By tracing islanders' bodily responses to sound, I create an opportunity to understand who and what belongs to the island as home. In particular the findings here reveal what Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy (2008, p. 469) call "bodily ways-of-judging". For example, islanders' bodily ways of judging resonate in their annoyance with tourist busses and the uncomfortable feelings associated with the street-quietening due to demographic changes. This renders visible the sensitivity and fragility with negotiating 'the right island quiet' and what or who belongs to it or not. My findings enlighten how the shapeshifting and multiplicity of quiet reveals the complexity of homemaking on a remote Wadden island.

By uncovering the belonging and non-belonging of things, people, materials, values, practices through tracing sounds, I engage with homemaking and the sonic in a holistic manner. Or as Duffy and Waitt (2013, p. 471) point out, sounds are "therefore conceived as part of a broader, everyday, relational socio-spatial practice, including that of homemaking—for instance, being a 'good neighbour', or 'good parent' or 'environmentally responsible citizen'. Hearing and listening practices are therefore very much embedded in a wide range of values and politics". Adding to this, this section in particular focuses on the bodily ways of judging and negotiating what is 'good tourism' or a 'good tourists'.

Negotiations of the 'right' quiet reveal the multi-faceted relations islanders have with mobilities and rural demographic changes. For example, tourists and tourism, while being livelihood support and an amplifier of atmospheres of vibrancy and liveliness, also challenges islanders' relations with quietness and homemaking by creating unwanted sounds and silences. Thus, tourism's right to sound and right to create mundane silence is simultaneously challenged. Silence and sound and their ways of interfering in the home-making of quiet places, simultaneously carry potentiality to create harmony and dissonance.

Negotiations on the right quiet include expressing wishes to preserve and protect certain moments of quiet, while also expressing a concern with the oppressive nature of quiet places. The latter links up to especially one of my interviewees concerns with the restless, boredom, lack of vibrancy, diversity and opportunities that are part of island quiet. These are part of his negotiations on considering Pellworm again as daily home.

Through a sonic sensibility that has paid particular attention to the quiet(ening) of a rural and remote island we create understandings for the fragility of this sense of home that is linked to the sonic.

The making of noise in quiet places

First, I give a brief summary of which sounds and silences are negotiated as noise and become 'out of place'. I will go further into depth analyzing examples in the sections that follow.

My results show that the general traffic sounds (e.g. Anna, Kerstin, Stina and Louise) by tourism are often framed as unwanted sounds. This includes tourist busses, cars such as touristic sightseeing trips, but also the construction vehicles that were part of tourism infrastructure development where associated with annoyance and unpleasant emotions. Next to traffic, also body sounds such as talking and screaming were regarded as inappropriate or interfering with islanders' sense of quiet at certain moments (e.g. IV 6 and 8). Furthermore, the changing of daily quiet moments as for example by extending supermarket opening hours in the season and thus "cancel" the lunch time break, are regarded as challenging sonic interventions driven by tourism (Anna).

Next to this, conversations with islanders also revealed the unwanted aspects of sonic atmospheres of silence and quietness (e.g. Josephine, Stina). For example, the street-silence of everyday life linked to uninhabited houses or houses that are only used rarely by second home owners were framed as sad, pitiful and challenging island liveliness. Furthermore, a certain intensity of socio-spatial quietness, which reflected in the absence of cultural, educational and economic opportunities for island youth, the lack of diversity of people and the spatial isolation, were linked with boredom and restlessness (e.g Theo).

Noisy sounds: sonic belonging in quiet places

In this section, I argue that the (non)-belonging of sound is entangled in wider everyday socio-spatial practices of homemaking. I draw on examples showing how tourism impacted islanders' access and experience with quietness in meaningful home places.

As illustrated by Detlef's experience, the construction of a holiday resort challenged, although temporarily, his sense of quiet at home. He feels relieved that the construction

period is over. The non-belonging of the infrastructural development sounds is expressed in the following account:

Detlef: "I like it that the increased traffic from the building work is gone. There was really so much happening here. Thus, almost like a main road, so that every few minutes a car was passing or tractor."

Describing the street in front of his house as "a main road" reflect how his access to quietness at home was challenged.

Similarly, Stina highlights a change in her island soundscape with the recently introduced sounds associated with the new holiday resort. The increased traffic is interfering with Stina's sense of quiet-home:

Stina: "Here [in our street], somehow with this new holiday resort. You notice the increasing traffic. And I am thinking, man, the baker has a delivery service and when you're on holiday you also don't have to drive around all day...doing sightseeing tours with the car. I don't like that. I'd wish I hear less of this unnecessary traffic. And with that I don't mean the farmers, because we all also have to live here"

In this quote, she describes tourism sounds as "unnecessary" and unwanted rural traffic, while highlighting the belonging of agricultural traffic. This emphasizes the importance of sound in negotiating what belongs to her sense of home. Livelihood related sounds are part of her homemaking, whereas unnecessary pleasure sounds are classified as non-belonging.

Another example, illustrates the non-belonging of bodily tourism sounds due to modifying islanders' relations with meaningful places and the things and atmosphere that are associated with places. The circulation of the tourism insider tip of watching the sunsets at the Hooger Fähre, impacted Lena's sense of quiet as resonating in this quote:

Lena: "It has become pretty crowded there [Hooger Fähre sunsets]...They [the tourists] are simply making sounds, they are talking. This sounds a bit silly...but when they record everything with their phones and constantly these flashes. That's annoying. And also sometimes our bench is occupied. Obviously, it is not our bench. I also know that, right."

The changing atmosphere of place linked to the presence of multiple tourists is composed out of the following sensory and material relations. First, the sense of crowdedness and thus absence of solitude and impacts on her relationship with self. Second, sonic and visual factors that are bothering Lena. First, the body sounds of tourists such as talking. Second, the use of smartphones and flashlights documenting the minutest aspects of

watching the sunsets. Third, the alterations of access to meaningful material elements of the place (e.g. favorite bench).

Other conversations on unwanted sounds evoked how in particular traffic sounds challenge islanders' sense of quiet and the identity construction of Pellworm as a sustainable green island. Thus, Kerstin's description resonates how sounds can mismatch the sustainable image-construction of her home:

Kerstin: So you could also ban these tourist buses, right. If people want to experience Pellworm, then please, they are welcome, but they should leave the bus on Nordstrand and come over here by ferry. They can take a tour with our bus here from the NPDG and then explore the rest by on foot, or by bicycle. Is it necessary that people come here with a bus: [narrating the tourists' line of thinking] 'And yea what a beautiful green island. They are, they do an effort to be sustainable. They have a solar field. They have wind energy here. They have electronic car stations here. Charging stations and we are driving around with our dirty diesel here. I am not okay with this, right.

Thus, it is not per se the sound of a bus that does not belong, as Kerstin is fine with tourists using the bus by the local ferry company (NPDG). Sonic belonging is thus interlaced with a certain form of bodily judgment of what matches the sustainability image of Pellworm. The sound of "dirty diesel" bus is framed noise, come to be "out of place" due to its anomalous nature. The sound of the dirty diesel does not fit to the sense-making of the island as sustainable. Using the adjective "dirty" to characterize the sound, furthermore contributes to its inappropriateness. This description creates ties between dirt and noise, as discussed by (Pickering & Rice, 2017). As part of negotiating the 'right' quiet is thus also negotiating which mobility types match islanders' sense of home and quietness.

Finally, the conversation with Anna revealed another sonic and seasonal adjustment of island quiet, which links up to tourism. An everyday manifestation of quietness is the lunch time break. Thus, this break is part of islanders' sense of home. Normally, commercial shops, such as supermarkets, close during that time from 12.00 until 14.00. Hence, the socio-material organization of public space, contributes to maintain this daily ephemeral moment of quiet. Anna's description highlights that the seasonal adjustment of supermarkets opening through the lunch time break challenged her sense of home-quiet. As reflected in the following quote, adjusting the opening hours, to accommodate for tourist, is framed as non-belonging sonic change:

Anna: "Edeka [supermarket] was also partly continuously open during summer. That also did not exist in the past...It is a fine line whether Pellworm will be more taking over the life like on the mainland or staying how it was until now. I have the feeling, the clocks are still running a bit different here than on the mainland"

Her explanation highlights how this daily quiet is part of contributing to a time-perception that is different to the life on the mainland. In chapter 2, I have argued that the lunch time break is a repeated mundane practice, facilitating the construction of island life as special and different from the mainland. For Anna, the lunchtime break is a meaningful and quiet mundane moment. For her the break is also part of creating a sense of slowness on the island. The temporal adjustment thus threatens Anna's personal connection with the island as home and the ways she makes sense of home in certain ways. Implicitly, she is saying that the uniqueness and slowness of island is at stake, as the island might become more like the mainland.

These results show how tourism, albeit temporarily, is part of remaking relationships with place and challenging the sense of quiet previously found in these places. The making of the island quietscape and which sounds come to belong or are being framed as out of place, is thus inherently entangled in the politics of the mundane. Islanders associating certain sounds as out of place, due to the ways they interfere in two main place-making processes. First, in challenging access to certain embodied experience with quiet. Second, by challenging the construction of the quietscape and island identity.

Noisy quietness: uncomfortable island quietness

As argued for in the part of experiencing quietness, quietness is a multifaceted concept. I argue that a sonically sensible engagement - drawing links between quietness, rural population dynamics as reflected in depopulation and housing market dynamics - enlightens the contemporary experience of everyday life in remote rural places. The experience of quiet, coping with it and negotiating it is part of the defining experience of homemaking on the Wadden island. Emotions of pity, discomfort, annoyance, insecurity/volatility are linked with certain aspects of quiet. However, there is also hope and dreams about the island future as home.

Indeed, quietness can challenge the ways of sustaining or establishing islanders' sense of home. In this section I discuss the oppressive and restless side of quietness. I will show that a certain quietness is unwanted as it is challenging islanders' relationships with home. This unwanted and uncomfortable version of quietness is perceived as a threat to island liveliness, being associated with an increasing volatility, anonymity and change. First, I will focus on islanders' perception of the second home owning as a threat to liveliness. Second, I will discuss the oppressive and restless nature of island quiet in negotiating home through distance.

I argue, that demographic mobility patterns are entangled in a sonic place-remaking practice that challenges some islander's sense of quietness. In this case, the mobility pattern is associated with an undesired everyday intensity of quietness resonating within

the metaphor of 'dead street'. The notions of uncomfortable street-quiet and nostalgic liveliness are explained by Stina:

Stina: That is just a shame and when there are gonna be second home owners everywhere...20 years ago, every house was still inhabited by Pellworm people, who lived there, who you knew. They were all older people. They were sitting outside in front of the bench. Were chatting. It was just lively. And now they are all sold out to people who do not even rent them out to holiday guests, but prefer to come somehow themselves twice a year and then be here for two weeks. And of course that's really pretty scary, when it's so dead all the time.

In Stina's description, the experience of street-quiet works through bodily sensations, and is a crucial part of the tensions around the spatialities of homemaking.

The uncomfortable quiet is associated with the absence of liveliness resonating in the absence of "chatting" neighbors. The street quiet is associated with a sensation of increasing volatility, anonymity and an acceleration of change, contributing to the ongoing stagnation of rural vibrancy and of feeling proximity with other islanders. "It was just a great time, where you knew everyone here, right." (Stina). The presence of deadly atmospheres is supported by the current lack of mundane street sounds such as human chatter and stories. The unhappiness with the contemporary rural quiet also roots deeper to a nostalgic sense of past. This nostalgia is mainly linked to the proximity felt with the people that left or passed away and their belonging to the island. In particular for Pellworm people born on the island, it feels sad to have lost the originals. Originals in the context of Pellworm, is often connotated with an authentic remarkable older person from the island, who has many stories to tell.

The quieting of the island and a sense of loss and pity for the island as home is also reflected by Lena's accounts on the quieting of island life:

Lena: "Also with acquaintances, or with friends, some people are moving away and are not here anymore...And I find it a shame for the island, because I find it a beautiful and loveable/kind place, where you can live."

The unwanted quietness of the rural depopulation trend, is here again experienced and negotiated bodily. She understands her home as "loveable" and the quieting of it, as expressed in people leaving, it is experienced as painful: "a shame". The absence of people and witnessing people leaving and the inherent desire for making others connect with the island as home, is part of negotiating the belonging of sounds and silences on Pellworm.

The complexity of the quieting of the island, is furthermore expanded in Louise's account on her hopefulness to attract the 'quiet' [absent] youth, and thereby bring more liveliness:

Louise: "I would wish, that also young people would stay here. But that's of course difficult, that we are not overageing. We have incredibly many old people on Pellworm. And it would be nice if one could do something for young people, for young families...that we get young people to move to the island."

Thus, the negotiation and production of a certain quiet as unwanted is linked to ideas on interfering with Pellworm as a place to live – a stable home, rather than a fluid holiday place.

Linking up to Louise's statement on over ageing and attracting younger generations to live on the island, in the following I will draw on a young islanders' experience of quietness and home to illustrate some of the lived and bodily challenges linked to the youth experience of making and maintaining a connection with remote quiet places.

Theo grew up on the island, but currently lives and studies abroad. As a young islander who left the island more than 5 years ago, he still feels a strong visceral connection to the island as home. However, the oppressive side of island quiet, manifests in his body and is part of him actively maintaining a distant connection with the island, rather than deciding to move back to the island. The silences and quietness of the island are reverberating in the affective reactions of a young islander to island quiet. The repetitive and rare human sound-making, a lack of diversity and novelty, as well as cultural, artistic learning opportunities for self-growth are part of making the restless quiet:

Theo: "Not much talking is happening. So not so many voices, somehow. If there is any talking...so you usually talk about the same things, because you have nothing more to say to each other. You just know each other so well. Sometimes something new is missing... Pellworm did not bring forth an artist. It is just a bit too little...That's in the way of your own personal development, because you're constantly surrounded by the same people. Seeing the same...It is a big decision for every young islander to move back to the island. The main season is really short, 3 months. And then there is 'dead pants'."

The excerpt from Theo's conversation shows how the intensity and nature of island quiet is entangled in his negotiations of his sense of home. Theo uses the word *Tote Hose*, which I literally translated to 'dead pants', to describe the island quietscape. This German expression is associated with boredom, not much going on and a lack of liveliness. A sense of home that makes him maintain a spatially distant relationship with the island, only going back for short visits.

Finally, I conclude that certain kinds of mobilities, demographic and cultural and economic factors that partake in composing how island life sounds like, are not only entangled in negotiations on what is acceptable or unacceptable sounds, but also what becomes acceptable or unacceptable silence.

Synthesis

In this chapter, I traced the making of noise on the island. I argue that both sounds and silences are made out of place due to their anomalous and ambiguous nature. Thus, the findings show that the making of noise is not merely a question of the loudness of sounds. Indeed, quietness itself has a side that conjures up unpleasant atmospheres that create tensions in islanders' homemaking practices. Constructions of quietness and the belonging of sounds are entangled in the wider mundane politics of negotiating which bodies, materials and practices have the 'right to the island'. The analysis revealed that certain tourism practices 'right to make sound and silence' is questioned by islanders.

The right to sound or silence is thus entangled with the right to belong and perform certain practices, particularly those that (re)shape or (re)make the island as home. Looking at which sounds and silences are belonging or "noise" but still taking place, thus allowed me to tune into what social, political and material processes are part of the making of the quiet place.

In the following chapter, I will analyze the use and construction of quiet in tourism promotion and place-branding. Thus, the approach taken in chapter 7 is different to the previous chapters. My analytical focus shifts from homemaking to place-branding practices. This lens aims to give insight on the ways certain elements of quiet are used as a sellable good. This is done by analyzing the use and construction of quiet in tourism place-branding.

Chapter 7 Promoting quietness in tourism place-branding

In this chapter, I will discuss sonic place-branding by shedding light on how islanders produce silence as part of tourism promotion and place-branding. The chapter is divided in two parts. The first part focuses on the use and construction of quiet in institutional place-branding. The second part contrasts key findings from chapter 4, 5 and 6 with the insights from this chapter. This includes contrasting the construction of quietscapes in homemaking versus place-branding.

In the first part, I firstly argue that the quietness of Pellworm is constructed as facilitating wellbeing and deceleration. Second, I found that place-branding island as silent is linked with promoting activities of bodily stillness and quiet movement. Third, listening to silence is promoted as a way of ecological participation in the islands' quietscape. Indeed, I argue that ways of producing quietness amplify nature sounds and the idyllic, peaceful, wellbeing and isolated elements of island life. Thereby excluding the mundane experiences of home such as commerce, traffic, cultural sounds that link to islanders' experience of quietness. The promotion of the quietscape is thus linked with amplifying certain elements of islanders' sense of home and filtering out others. Overall, the production of quietness reverberates that quietness is something intended to be shared with non-islanders – the tourists. It is thus not presented as an exclusive local experience of home that only the islanders can access.

In the second part, I argue that the construction of the quietscape in tourism place-branding emphasizes a selective and non-ambiguous image of quiet. Islanders homemaking practices resonate the multiplicity, complexity and ambiguity of island life. Differences in constructing the quietscape are also found with regards to the highlighted sounds. Tourism promotion highlighted the natural soundscape. Contrarily to the various sounds including natural, traffic and human sounds islanders associate with the quietscape. Common ground is found as both place-making practices acknowledge quiet to be an inherent characteristic of place. Furthermore, both frame the island as different and disconnected from the mainland.

Deceleration and wellbeing

“The strong presumption on the background in development of wellbeing tourism is the search for silence or quietness, which is understood as an alternative to the everyday hectic tempo” (Komppula et al., 2017, p. 2)

In this section I focus on showing that tourism promotion and place-branding initiatives promote Pellworm as a “harbor for your soul”. Pellworm is framed as facilitating wellbeing, recreation and deceleration from fast rhythms. Thus place-branding on

Pellworm links up to common framings of quietness and wellbeing, as highlighted in the quote above by Komppula et al. (2017).

As a first example, the place-branding of Pellworm's quiescape as enabling quiet moments is reflected in the Tourism Offices' website frontpage statement saying: "Ruhe finden in der Nordsee. Pellworm der Hafen für die Seele" which I translated to: "Find quietness in the Northsea. Pellworm, the harbor for your soul" (see Image 1). *Ruhe* – the German word for quietness is mentioned as the first word, which is significant in terms of framing. In addition, the text-based construction of the quiescape is supported visually. Indeed, the sentence is placed on photo background representing a calm sea with sunshine reflections.

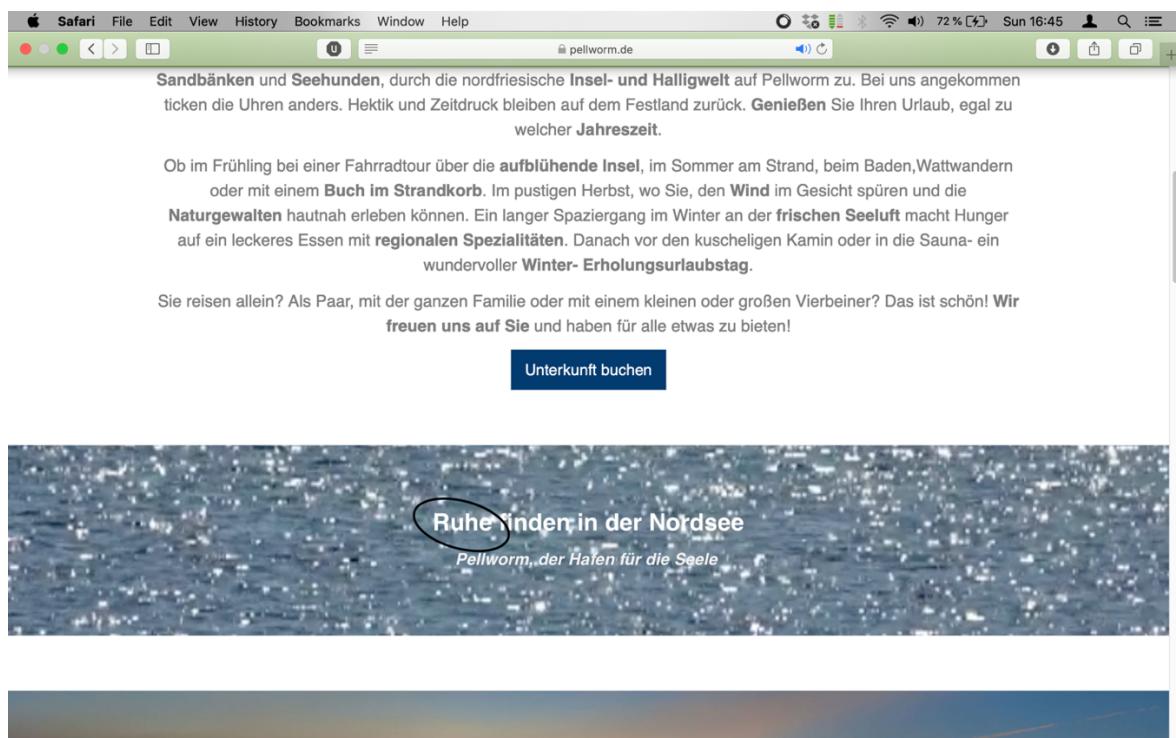


Image 1 source: www.pellworm.de

Furthermore, on the same page the production of quiescape is supported by using temporal metaphors of different perceptions of time. "Here clocks are ticking differently. Hectic and time pressure is left behind on the mainland." Indeed, the spatial separation as an island encourages an image of place, where the possibility is created to leave behind a stressful everyday life on the mainland. Pellworm is promoted as a "harbor for your soul" - a place that decelerates you from fast rhythms and lowers stress, thereby contributing to wellbeing.

The ferry is constructed as a connector between the quiet island and the hectic mainland. The ferry is entangled in the production of island quiet by maintaining distance, while simultaneously connecting the island to the mainland:

“The car ferry is the lifeline of the island and thereby connects two completely different worlds: Here, the north sea island Pellworm in the middle of the Wadden, a calm anchor for vacationers that are tired of the city. There, the mainland with all its hectic.” (Pellworm, 2020)

The mundane ferry connection rather than separating the noisy from the quiet, is framed as connecting two different worlds: the noisy mainland with the quiet island. The ferry is framed as a mediator, the *inbetween* quiet and noisy, ensuring city dwellers to get access to the quiet island. Furthermore, using the metaphor of a lifeline highlights the vitality of the ferry as a socio-material entity that is part of rendering access to island quiet.

Thus, Pellworm is constructed as a separate place from the busy and fast-paced mainland. This illustrates that place-branding quietness thrives and is embedded in the tensions between the mainland and the island. Where stress and hectic is connected with the mainland and recovery and slowness is associated with the island.

In the annual guest-magazine, quietness is furthermore used to promote the bodily wellbeing experience of “a good sleep”, as reflected in the following. “The real north Friesians are not brought out of quietness by a little wind. The fresh sea air does not only raise the appetite, but also makes you sleepy. Adding to it the amazing quietness of the island, a good sleep is coming by itself” (Kur- und Tourismusservice Pellworm, 2019, p. 18) (p

On the relation between quietness, wellbeing and art, the tourism board also promotes Pellworm as a source of inspiration for artists. As written in the magazine: “Pellworm has the quietness and the horizon to inspire artists”(Kur- und Tourismusservice Pellworm, 2019, p. 28). This links up to the place-branding by the Silence festival and Silence residency in remote rural Kaukonen in Lapland, Finland. As stated on their website, “Kaukonen is located amidst the pure and beautiful nature of Kittilä, along the river Ounasjoki. These premises provide a unique setting for creating art, allowing artists to focus on their work and let go of daily stress and the hectic city life.” (<https://www.hiljaisuusfestivaali.fi/residency>). Both examples promote the potentiality of remote quiet places to influence artists’ bodily sense of place by facilitating wellbeing and inspiration. Contrasting Pellworm’s place-promotion to Kaukonen furthermore reveals the potential for the island to expand on the development of cultural art-based tourism.

Another example of how silence is promoted on the island is the Biosphere project: “Firecracker free Pellworm”. This project is an example how engaged islanders participate in processes of sonic place-branding by protecting the islands’ quietscape during the annual new year celebration. The project is embedded and framed around “deceleration

and quietness for humans and animals” and is promoted as part of creating a “better quality of life for inhabitants and guests (Gemeinde Pellworm, 2019). Options for implementation are ranging from a complete island wide ban to firecracker zones (e.g. for families).

The linkages of quiet place-branding and tourism are furthermore illustrated as islanders argue that “Firecracker free Pellworm” may contribute to the low season: “it would be a possibility to strengthen the low season, as dog owners would be appealed; Amrum [another Wadden island which is a more popular tourism destination] already is in parts firecracker free” (Wissel, 2019).

Promoting bodily stillness and quiet movement

In the following, I show how quietness is constructed and supported by promoting bodily stillness and quiet transportation as part of the tourism experience.

Quietness is constructed by amplifying certain ways of moving around the island and silencing others. The sonic brand of the place as quiet is constructed by telling how tourist bodies can navigate the island.

Place-branding quietness associates specific ways of framing the tourists’ bodily behavior and activities on the island. For example, bike rides, swimming, mudflat walking and long walks during autumn are mentioned as ways of navigating the island. Silencing tourism activities including the material co-presence of cars, airplanes, speedboats, jetski’s, motorcycles, campers and sightseeing busses is also part of producing island quietness. In fact, the promoted ways of moving exclude motorized materiality by predominantly relying on the mere movement of the human body with the material space around (Wadden sea, mudflats, land).

Furthermore, the tourism office promotes activities of bodily stillness. For instance, reading in the beach chair, eating regional specialties, sitting at the fireplace or going to the sauna are mentioned on the website as possible ways of experiencing the island. Contrasting this to silenced ways of experiencing place such as partying, adventure park visits, bungee jumping etc., the mentioned activities amplify bodily stillness (sitting, reading) and link up to quiet places of wellbeing (sauna). The suggested activities are thus mainly based on quiet ways of moving and spending time embedding island quiet within nature-based tourism and wellbeing tourism.

Promoting listening as ecological participation

In this section, I explore how sound-based storytelling is integrated in place-branding of the island. I show how island quiet is produced as paying attention to selected ambient sounds and promoting spellbound open listening.

The linguistic production of quietness, focuses on ambient nature sounds of birds, bees, geese and oystercatchers. The anecdote produces a magic, idyllic and dreamy atmosphere of island quiet, as illustrated in the following excerpt of a tourism promotion magazine:

“In the air, the bird world is not only colorful, but also very talkative. It flutes and warbles, beeps and chirps constantly. When I lie in the green grass on the island's beach and look at the cloud cinema like this, I listen [lausche] spellbound to nature. She has so much to tell: the bees buzz busily in the clover, the geese babble to themselves and the elegant oystercatchers with the red beaks chirp loudly.” (Kur- und Tourismusservice Pellworm, 2019, p. 12)

The previous is an example of sonic place-branding presenting the place as enabling listening to ambient sounds, resonating with Cage's definition of silence (Cage, 2012). However, the promotion excludes commercial, cultural, traffic or infrastructural island sounds that are also part of island life. Island quiet is thus produced as listening out to nature sounds and in particular different kinds of birds. In essence, place-branding island quiet reverberates the dualism between nature and civilization sounds, leaving out certain everyday island sounds. Amplifying the natural quietscape of the island contributes to a romantic and idyllic image of island life. The tourism offices' place-branding practices resonate and reproduce the rather settled notions of rural quiet, which have been critiqued by scholars such as Simpson (2019) as they neglect a more holistic representation of rural identity and space.

Furthermore, I argue that the material promotes a particular way of relating to the more-than-human world through spellbound open listening. The text says: “I listen [lausche] spellbound to nature”. The German word *lauschen* specifically refers to a certain way of listening to silence. As described by Böhme (2020, p. 188), “*lauschen* means to open one's ears, being attentive to anything which may be heard. *Lauschen* is listening to silence”. By referring to this term or state of listening, a certain way of ecological participation is constructed. Indeed, “*lauschen*” as listening to silence is promoted as a way to participate and relate to the more-than-human island world. The tensions between silence and talking furthermore resonate in framing nature as talkative. It is not humans talking to nature, but nature talking to us. This way place-branding material hints at ways *how* silence can be experienced and accessed: namely, through silencing yourself and thereby opening yourself to the world around you.

Constructing quietscapes: homemaking versus place-branding

In this section, I synthesize findings from this chapter and contrast them to the findings from the previous chapters on homemaking.

As chapter 4, 5 and 6 reveal, islanders emphasize on the multifaceted role of quietness in creating affective embodied relationships with the island landscape on a mundane basis. For islanders the quietscape is part of making them feel at home. Their relation with quiet is influenced by their engagements with the island as a current, past or potentially future working and living environment. For islanders, I have shown that quiet adds value to the island as a unique home, different to other places. However, islanders also talk about that quietness can feel unpleasant and challenge everyday wellbeing and subjective homemaking practices. For islanders' quietness has a contested and ambiguous meaning.

The conversations with islanders stressed the island quiet as both empowering and oppressive. The empowering notion centered around feelings of maintaining freedom, relaxation, slowness and wellbeing, valuable connections with the self and other islanders facilitated by the quietscape. The oppressive side centered on the restless nature, boredom, lack of cultural and economic opportunities. Furthermore, islanders mentioned a variety of sounds to be part of experiencing and constructing the quietscape. This included natural sounds traffic sounds and human sounds among others. The construction of quiet by islanders followed a more nuanced spectrum of engagements and highlighted that the island should be and stay a place to live.

The construction of quiet by tourism was more selective focusing on island quiet facilitating wellbeing and enjoying the natural environment. Tourism promotion stressed positive affective relationships with quiet. The place-branding material excluded constructions of quiet that highlighted the oppressive side. Tourism promotion highlighted the natural island environment such as birds and the sea, rather than a diversity everyday island spaces. The tourism organization also focused on promoting recreational 'quiet' indoor and outdoor activities and ways of moving around the island. The attention given to promoting non-motorized transportation and recreational activities such as walking and biking, points towards a sensitivity towards tourism activities potentially challenging island quiet. However, my findings are limited in terms of providing deeper insights on the extent the tourism organization consciously promotes quieter activities and their motivations for doing so, as I only did a literature review.

Contrasting constructions of the quietscape in homemaking versus place-branding, reveals both points of overlap and disconnection. First, there is a certain disconnect between how the tourism promotes the sounds of the quietscape for tourism purposes and the productions of quiet by islanders. Overall, both the tourism organization and islanders are framing the special and unique character of island life by drawing on

quietness as a characteristic element of the place. Contrasting the relational makings of quiet, I found that islanders' framings allows for a multiplicity of meanings and affective relations to co-exist, whereas tourism branding filters the multiplicity of quiet and focuses on a selective slice of island quiet. The latter resonates earlier findings that place-branding is a highly selective process of selecting certain representations of places, while leaving out others (Boisen et al., 2011).

In essence, the main difference in constructions and meanings of quiet is constituted by the purpose of the socio-material island space and who is intended to be affected by quietness. On the one hand, the tourism organization frames the island mainly as a place for recreation and uses quiet in promoting the islands recreational potential. On the other hand, islanders mainly view the island as home – a place to live and work - and quiet, in its multiplicity of forms, is an integral part of experiencing, negotiating and producing the island as home.

Chapter 8 Composing quiet as creative sonic method

Chapter echo

This chapter is about what a sonic sensibility of conceptual sound art and sound mapping brings to our understanding of the experience of quietness and contemporary life on a remote Wadden island. **By drawing on two specific arts-based sonic sensibilities, sound mapping and a conceptual sound walk, I explore what these sonic sensibilities bring to our understanding of contemporary life on a remote Wadden island**

The chapter is divided in two main sections:

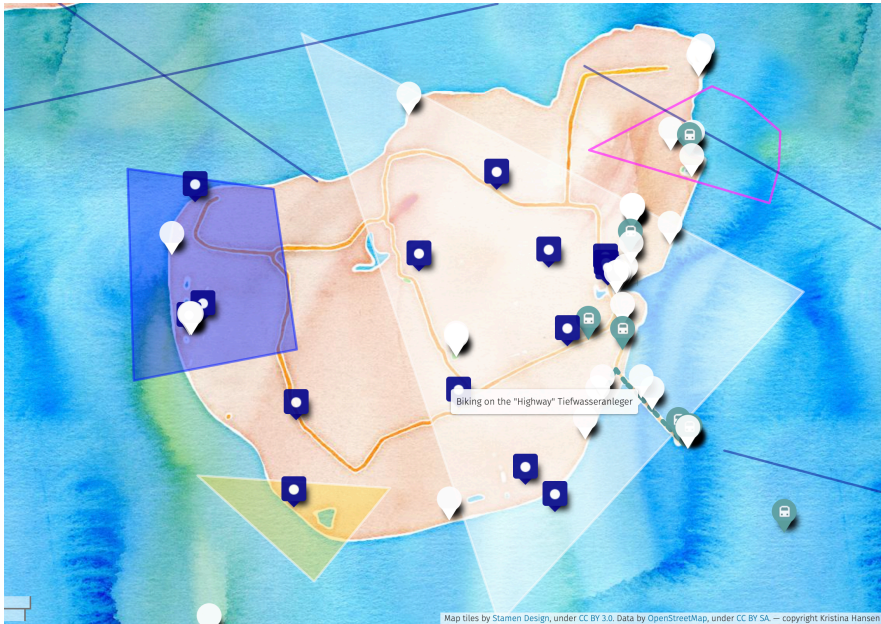
First, I respectively introduce the sound map and the sound walk, by focusing on their nature and main content.

Second, I explore what conceptual sound walk and sound mapping brings to our understanding of quietness and contemporary island life. In the third and final part of this chapter, I look at what we learn about quietscapes through a sonic art approach. This chapter hence draws its borders in the ocean of knowing and representing place and our relationships with place through sonically sensible ways of being, perceiving, creating, knowing and sharing.

In the following I argue that sound art is opening a meaningful process of understanding the nature of quietscapes and our relationship with them. The sound art composition can rework the definition of quietscapes offering an experientially based conceptually grounded perspective on quietscapes. It *shows* rather than merely *tells* about the complexity and multiplicity of the quietcape and the listeners' entanglements with the quietcape. Next to this I found that a sonic arts-based sensibility invites open, deep and careful listening to the quietscapes sounds. This way of listening as part of the artistic practice is shaping not only the artistic product, but also opens up the artists' ecological participation. Finally, sound art can also amplify another side of place as an active participant in the artistic practice. As an agent of inspiration.

In essence, sound art reveals the complexity of everyday life in remote places, challenging simplified and romanticized narratives of the remote and rural as idyllic and isolated places. The complexity of everyday island life is composed of the following main elements: 1) Beyond the rural idyllic 2) Connectivity with other places 3) Transforming island quiet 4) More-than-human entanglement.

Sound map: "Tune In or Swim Later"



http://umap.openstreetmap.fr/en/map/tune-in-or-swim-later_475149#11/54.5239/8.6037

In this section, I introduce the produced sound-map of island life.

"Tune In or Swim Later" is a digital geographical map created by combining field-recordings with their associated places on the island. Rather than being a sonic representation of the island, I consider the map as an atmospheric shadow of the islands' ever-changing soundscape. In essence, the map is a creative and productive encounter with everyday and contemporary island life. By producing what Simpson (2019) describes as hybrid sound-space, the map reverberates ways of knowing island life and ways of mediating it. It resonates that soundscapes are experienced relationally.

The map has multiple entry points and thus resonates with a non-linear approach to sound and place. Rather than declaring a presentation of an almost complete representation of the islands sounds and in particular where specific sounds are to be found, this map is a work in progress and carries a mediated subjective potentiality. The map becomes a digital place for showing encountered sounds without narrating a dominant story of telling what are the main sounds. Clicking on the links reveals the variable co-presence of various types of sounds and lets the listener experience a mediated reality of the islands' soundscape.

The map is a digital connected space of engaging with contemporary island life. The map with its dots, overlapping spheres and connected lines offers a reduced and abstracted visualization and sonification of the connectivity and complexity of island life. Reduction

and simplification, which are inherent in the process of mapping, point towards a complex and connected reality.

Statement of subjectivity: IT = THE MAP

It does not proclaim truth.

It does not proclaim neutrality.

It does not proclaim objectivity.

Sound walk "March Now or Swim Later"



Illustration 3 Sound walk route: the four main stops

In this section, I briefly introduce the conceptual outline of the sound walk composition.

The sound walk 'March Now or Swim Later' is based on re-imagining the field-recordings and sensory ethnography of this research project. By drawing on sound art, in particular a conceptual soundwalk composition, the research material is transformed into an affective experience.

At the heart of the composition lays a creative move of synching in with Pellworm. Of beatmatching certain waves. Of opening up to the island. The sound walk is an expression of how Pellworm has been transformed in me. It is born out of my listening bodies'

immersion with the island that modified the island into a source of inspiration. In essence, the island quiet is an active participant in the making of the sound art composition. As much as people, books and materials can work as sources of inspiration for artists to perceive something, to create something and to share something, the quiet place carries the same potentiality.

The sound walk is conceptually rooted in the potential of sound-based media to reimagine and remake places and bodies (Hagood, 2019). Thus, it shows a more-than-representational way of channeling sonic identity. The purpose of the soundwalk is to counter-map place and focus on the sensorial experience of place and the multiplicity of meanings of sounds and quietness in our everyday life. Indeed, I argue that composing is a way of engaging with the “ephemeral, fluid, mobile and relational qualities of sound” (Gallagher et al., 2017, p. 620). It is about conveying the affective atmospheres of a *multilayered* sonic identity of the island. Its nature is explorative and suggestive, without a clear intention of what exactly to evoke. I hope it lets you tune into mundane, characteristic and iconic ambient island sounds, by engaging with creative ways of expressing local entanglements of feeling the island and of embodied dwelling. Ranging from mundane moments such as catching islanders catching the ferry to a climate protest by local environmental youth activists, this sound walk reverberates aspects of the mundane island and touches upon themes, challenges and the beautiful mess and complexity of dwelling on the island.

The soundwalk composition is divided into 4 main sections and composed of 9 different sound art compositions that are reimaginings of my field-recordings. Disclaimer: due to limited time, the sound-editing part of all compositions is not finished. Nonetheless, I “composed” them conceptually and share this below.

Sound walk composition overview			
1 Transition	2 With the sea	3 In the village	4 With the land
1.1 At the Ferry Terminal	2.1 Walking With Seabeds 2.2 March Now or Swim Later 2.3 Springing Tides and Counting Clicks	3.1 Old Harbour – Dreamscapes of island youth 3.2 Chatty Supermarket 3.3 Old Church	4.1 Aunt Dedi’s Chickensoup 4.2 Preserving Milk Machines

Composing beyond the rural idyllic horizon

The sound walk as well as the sound-map share a sonic sensibility of everyday island life that challenge the construction of island quiet as dominated by natural sounds.

The composition 'At the Ferry Terminal'² starts with a bike ride towards the terminal. The composition captures the experience of people outside of what Bijsterveld (2010) calls the "acoustic cocoon" – the protected and manageable acoustic space of silence in modern vehicles. When re-listening to the field-recording, the feeling of exposure to the "the mini-sonic boom as cars and trucks fly by, a sound felt as much as heard" (Simpson, 2019, p. 103) is transmitted. Indeed, the sonic boom of passing cars feels almost violent in contrast to the experience of silence. The sonic art approach performs the lack of control of cyclists and pedestrians have over the ambient sounds. Also, sound art can transmit a feeling that traffic, as opposed to only natural sounds, is part of the defining experience of island quiet. The lack of constant traffic makes every car stand out and contributes to an intensity of feeling this sound on the background of island silence. The island silence reveals itself to the listener by transcending the intensity of the hearable loud sounds of passing cars. In fact, this resonates with Böhme (2020, p. 189) reflection on the experience of silence: "actually one becomes aware of silence just in case some note or noise reveals itself from the background of silence. Silence will be articulated by single notes or noises, or it will be grounded by background murmur. You may say with Aristotle that silence is perceived *kata symbebekos*, that is, implicitly. Silence is not heard as such but will be felt transcending anything hearable."

Next to this the sound map includes multiple recordings of commercial³, cultural⁴ and mundane moments⁵ that show that a quiet place is composed of a greater diversity of sounds than its natural sounds. Listening out to these sound reveals that mundane social practices of shopping, sharing a meal with friends and family, chatting with the neighbors, are integral elements of homemaking on the island. These sounds reflect the ways islanders relate to each other and fill the island quiet with liveliness. Thus, they are counterbalancing the oppressive side of quiet linked to rural depopulation. Listening to the commercial based composition 'Chatty Supermarket' resonates the latter, by conjuring up social proximity and everyday social liveliness. The absence of a radio sound, a familiar background sound in many contemporary supermarkets, is substituted by islanders catching up with each other. You hear shop owners and employees' friendly saluting customers – some even by name.

² 'At the Ferry Terminal' re-imagines among other this field-recording of me biking towards the terminal on a windy day, being passed by a few cars <https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/biking-on-the-highway>

³ <https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/doing-groceries-with-silent>

⁴ <https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/arp-schnitger-in-a-world-of>

⁵ <https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/crochet-chat> and <https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/dedis-huhnersuppe>

On the other hand, 'Dreamscapes of island youth' touches upon the uncomfortable aspects of island quiet, such as boredom, dead atmospheres, lack of economic opportunities and complex population geography, while also showing how this is part of feeling 'at home'.

In essence, the sound-map recordings and compositions show how the island is maintained as a home, rather than a romanticized natural idyllic fairytale place. Thus, the composition performatively challenges the rather settled and simplistic views of the rural as idyllic and solely pleasantly quiet.

To sum up, the experience of quietness carries a conceptual potentiality which art can dive into and rework. Like Cage's seminal work conceptually defined silence as rendering audible the ambient sounds, my sound art composition carries the potentiality to rework the definition of remote quiet places in their complexity and the experience of quietness as marked by multiplicity and entangled in homemaking processes.

Connection with other places

In the following, I argue that the arts-based sonic sensibility highlights the connectivity of Pellworm to other places around the world, despite its spatial disconnectedness. The sound art amplifies that everyday island life is complex, multiple and always in transition and connection with the more-than-islandness such as the sea and the mainland.

Despite the spatial remoteness that the island's geographical position encourages, the understanding of remoteness in the sense of a broader isolation is challenged when tuning into sound art. By producing what Simpson (2019) calls a hybrid sound-space, my sound art productions embed the island into a web of connection with other places and people around the world. The isolated and disconnected and delineated nature of islandness as isolated material space in the sea is challenged with the compositions.

The composition from stop 1) *Transition* amplifies the socio-material movements of ferry, which resonate that island life is connected to the mainland through the mundane movements of docking, loading, waiting, sailing among others.

With the Sea highlights that island is not delineated against the sea, by composing practices that happen within this fluid boarder between the *island* and the sea. Although the disconnection and isolation from the mainland is part of framing the quietscape, the spatiality of the island also comes with exposure to the see and living with the sea. The experienced threat of the sea, has "unquietend" the island through a "loud" climate protest. I participated in the protest, which inspired the production of "March Now or Swim Later".

The composition “March Now or Swim Later” about the climate march on the island, reveals how the island is entangled in the environmental politics of other places. I argue that composing the islands’ climate march, reveals how islanders connect with contemporary urban climate activists through sounding their emotional vulnerabilities. This composition reverberates a thematic sisterhood with climate march based field-recording reimaginings from around the world. For example, my composition links to the pioneering global sound mapping project Protest and Politics, by Cities and Memory⁶, who similarly composes place-based activism through field-recording based sound art.

According to the project, protest sounds are a defining experience of our contemporary world, as reflected in the following: “These [protest] sounds, more than any other, are coming to define the age in which we’re living, and are uniting people, communities and entire countries around the world.”(Cities and Memory, 2020). Thus, the composition is embedding a certain ephemeral event of contemporary island life, the climate march, in a hybrid and globally connected sound-space of climate activism. It links the concerns of islanders about their emotional environmental vulnerabilities and their care for the space they inhabit to the vulnerabilities and care of other activists. By composing you create links between places and thus emphasizes the relational nature of place. On the other hand, composing also lets us see how rural climate protest so far have been disconnected from the global hybrid sound-space of climate activism. Most climate activism sound art projects are focused on the urban. Hence the sound art composition shows a more nuanced understanding of remoteness and its entanglements with connection and disconnection.

The care for the quiet island and survival of human life on it, is voiced as an outburst of sounds that break with silence. The loudness of the protest is an antidote to the mundane island silence, it is a call to listen to emotional vulnerabilities of the youth. Hence, I argue it’s an initiative that is not about transmission of information such as ‘there is no planet B’. Initiatives such as this climate composition and the protest itself are rather an “attempted control of *affect*, the continually changing states of bodies that condition their abilities to act and be acted upon” (Hagood, 2019). I position my composition thus neither as a of documentary nature, but rather as assembling a sonic encounter that might find its own affect based ways to remake space and place.

⁶ Despite mentioning the uniting force of these sounds in between communities on a global level, the project is concentrating on urban protest movements. The rural experience of protest and sound has been understudied and undercomposed. Hence, by composing the experience of rural island protest as part of a sound walk, I shed an initial light on the rural experience.

Transforming island quiet

“The work of art only represents itself, and to forget this is to deny the material presence of the artwork and hence also its atmosphere” (Böhme, 1993).

Next, in the following section I show how a sonic sensibility also sheds light on the island as a place in transformation that resists accurate and objective ways of representation. The place is not stagnant or neither constant – each tide is different. The island, as much as its quietescape is changing with the ongoing of time, as sounds and their materiality per definition always are entangled in movement. Or as Pocock (1989, p. 193) puts it “the world of sound is an event world...it is dynamic: something is happening for sound to exist”.

Despite the fact of frequently hearing the temporal metaphors: “the clocks are standing still on Pellworm” and “life here is more like in the past” to describe the island, composing place through sound art challenges these claims. Hence contemporary island life is not stuck in a past version of history or pre-industrial society. Neither are clocks standing still on the island.

In terms of the temporal, the compositional process of a sound art project is confronted with time and the ongoing of time. Hence, the artistic process reveals to me as an artist how contemporary island life is never standing still, but rather always in motion.

Island life is not protected from the ongoing of time and change. However, it is constantly embedded in this changing world. Producing sound art is entangling island life in change, as composing and producing island sounds is transforming a certain spatio-temporal atmosphere of the island. The transformation of the island happens as compositions “summon only a shadow, a ghost, like magic” Böhme (1993, p. 560) they reflect the temporal gap of island change, which unfolds between the moment of recording the initial sonic atmosphere and the production of its shadow.

Sound mapping reveals how island life is always in motion and is always entangled in an everchanging reality. For example, when strolling through the map and listening to the recordings, you will frequently hear wind. However, despite the fact of hearing wind in multiple recordings, it never is the same wind, it modulates in time and space.

Rather than seeing island life and quietness as something that we can approximate comprehension of what it *is* like, the sound art approach shifts our focus of attention towards the atmospheric, evocative and not-so-graspable part of the island. Art reveals that quietness is a phenomenon that invites us to experience it. “You cannot think silence, it must be experienced”(Böhme, 2020). We are immersed in quietescapes and cannot rationalize them. Listening to the recordings enables to feel a mediated version of island

quietness and conjures up different atmospheric shadows of the multiplicity of island quiet. Experiencing silence is thus not an experience of nothing. The sonic art approach creates an understanding for where moments of silence appear. By tracing and recording different moments on the island I captured a multiplicity of quiet moments. For example, the silence before the churchbells⁷, walking out of the supermarket⁸ and a street without much traffic⁹ are represented on the sound-map. I see these recordings as carrying a potentiality of evoking a sense of the islands' quiet in the listener.

Although the sounds initiated in a certain space at a certain time, the map is not a sonic mirror of the island's sonic identity. The latter honors the complexity and non-traceability of the everyday life on the island. Proclaiming a truth of sounds and island identity in a map, would neglect the complex, ephemeral and untraceable nature of sounds and contemporary island life. Thus, I think rather than hunting for objectifiable truth seeking views on island life, sound mapping helps to understand place as complex and carrying a more-than-representable potential.

More-than-human focus on everyday life

Finally, sound art brings into focus the more-than-human aspects of everyday life, challenging the human-centric focus. By creatively voicing the materiality of island life, sound art can reveal that things, animals and geophysical forces actively participate in this everyday life.

Sound art does this by draws out our attention to the sounds of quiet places. Acknowledging, that absolute silence does not exist. The sonic sensibility of the artist includes tuning in to the minutest sounds, the sounds of the listener themselves, the sound of things, animals and other more-than-human entities. Thereby engaging with the complex web of sounding participants in the quietscape. Revealing the nature of quietscapes, not as places with the absence of sounds, but as places that stimulate and rework the listeners perception of their environment. That encourage listening to the world around. To participate in it. For example, I participated in a bird-counting session.

The composition "Springing tides"¹⁰ which is part of the sound walk stop 'With the Sea' lets us notice the subtle sensorial relations between a human bird counter, bird counting material and the Wadden seas' seabirds on a background of silence. Composing creates awareness about what material and more-than-human relations are part of everyday

⁷ <https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/silence-before-12-churchbells>

⁸ <https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/doing-groceries-with-silent>

⁹ <https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/silence-on-a-street>

¹⁰ <https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/birdcounting?in=user-442707786/sets/tune-in-or-swim-later>

island life, shedding a light on the subtle everyday movements, sounds and ways of seeing that are part of nature conservation and monitoring activities.

Synthesis

In this chapter, I showed my own creative engagement with the quiet landscape through a sonic art approach. I found that sound mapping and sound walk composition enable an alternative understanding of remote quiet places. The sonic approach allowed an intuitive engagement with the complexity, multiplicity and experiential side of island quiet. The compositions emphasized the entanglements of humans and the more-than-human 'islanders'. They highlighted that the island is connected to other places, rather than isolated. I found that sound art can transform and re-place the experience of quietness into a mediated space by creating atmospheric shadows of the original recorded atmospheres of quiet. This chapter showed the twofold value in turning using a creative approach. First, as a way of creating geographical knowledge through coming to know places. Second, as an alternative dissemination of research findings that offers an engaging and experientially oriented output.

Findings synthesis

In essence, my results indicate that quietness is an integral part in island place-making and place-branding practices. A sonic sensibility highlights the central role quietness plays in facilitating relations between bodies, things and places that come to be understood as home and promoted as tourist destination. I found that a multiplicity of meanings of quietness is part of a wider mundane relational socio-spatial practice of relating to the island as home.

In chapter four, I argued that island quiet is an everyday embodied experience, which is found to have multiple ways of acting on islanders' bodies. The multiplicity of experiences with the island quietscape is part of maintaining and creating islanders' connection with home. Islanders' relational everyday embodiments of listening to silence and listening to their own as well as others' listening practice, reveals their embodied and profound connection with the island.

In chapter five, I argued that resident place-making uses quietness to add value and to differentiate the island as home from other places. First, quietness is associated as a characteristic element of island life entangled with building the overall island identity. Island quiet is constructed as part of differentiating the island from other places, thereby adding to its uniqueness. Detached and disconnected from fast urban rhythms, island quiet is associated with timelessness and slow rhythms and making the island a wellbeing place.

In chapter six, I argued that certain silences and sounds belonging is challenged as part of homemaking practices. The analysis confirms that both silences and sound can become sound out of place, or so-called noise.

In chapter seven, I showed how tourism promotion uses quietness in place-branding communication constructing a partial and selective representation of island quiet. Island quiet is constructed by differentiating it from the hectic urban and stressful lifestyle, embedding island tourism in nature-based wellbeing tourism. Island identity is created by promoting quiet bodily tourism activities or bodily stillness and highlighting the belonging of the more-than-human natural soundscape as well as encouraging listening as ecological participation.

In the final chapter, I argue that sound art offers a valuable approach in understanding and imagining rural quiet places. Composing quiet engages with the experiential and embodied ways of relating to the island and can create atmospheric shadows of these experiences.

By revealing the complexity of everyday life in remote places, this approach challenges simplified and romanticized narratives of the remote and rural as idyllic and isolated places.

Chapter 9 Discussion and conclusion

In this final chapter I wrap up my results and discuss important insights that emerged throughout this research project. First, I will start by concluding my main findings in relation to my research questions. Second, I discuss quietness in relation to homemaking. Third, I discuss quietness and place-branding. Fourth, I discuss quietness and sonic art. Finally, I provide recommendation for further research.

Conclusion

What does a sonic sensibility bring to our understanding of contemporary life on a remote Wadden island?

In sum, I have explored what a sonic sensibility brings to our understanding of contemporary life in a remote Wadden island. The meanings and constructions of quietness have been explored by tracing three place-making practices: homemaking, place-branding and arts-based place-making. This sonic sensibility revealed that island life is marked by multiplicity, ambiguity, complexity and is ever-changing. It also has shown that the right to access quiet and the right to make noise in quiet places, is inherently part of the mundane politics of belonging. I showed that a multiplicity of sounds, including traffic, commercial, agricultural, cultural, natural and human sounds are part of islanders' sense of home. I have showed that the experience of quiet is associated with much more than natural sounds, as it also is facilitated by the built environment, the landscape and socio-material world. Quietness is part of adding value to the island as home, while also threatening the liveliness of the place.

The sonic sensibility brought to my understanding that there is a danger in promoting quiet uncritically. Most studies that do so neglect local perceptions on the multiplicity of everyday sounds and their connection with homemaking practices. By neglecting local ways of experiencing and constructing quiet places, there is a risk for place-making quiet and conserving quiet to be used as sonic governance that can threaten people's sense of home and belonging.

What does quietness mean to islanders?

Tracing the meanings islanders attach to quietness, revealed a multiplicity of stories about the concept. I found that quietness is entangled in the wider relational socio-political and material processes by which islanders experience, create and recreate the place which they call home. Quietness has a multiplicity of trajectories on the island. It is an embodied everyday experience of knowing home. Islanders listen out to quietness at different times and at different places; while being at work, at home or navigating the

island. Quietness is affecting islanders' bodies in a multiplicity of ways, both in liberating and oppressive ways.

Overall, a common narrative is that islanders construct the island as characteristically quiet. Part of this, is framing the island as different to the mainland and other places, as a healing place and a slow place. The quietscape is framed as adding value to the island as a place to live, while certain elements are also threatening its liveliness and challenge islanders' sense of home. I argue that the making of noise in quiet places is essentially not about which sounds are below a certain volume. Sounds and silences associated with tourism are made 'out of place' on the island, as they challenge islanders' sense of quietness and home. It showed that quietness is part of making the home a place of resistance. Tuning into the meanings of quietness in islanders' homemaking practices revealed the fluidity, relationality, ephemerality, ambiguity and ever-changing nature of the islands' quietscape.

How is the concept of quietness constructed and used as a resource for tourism promotion and place-making?

Furthermore, I found that certain parts of quiet are used in tourism place-branding as a resource for to add value to the place for recreational purposes. The construction of quiet is based on framing island life as different and disconnected from the mainland. decelerated, idyllic, and dominated by natural sounds. This packages a selective part of the quietscape as a commodifiable good. The multiplicity of islanders stories with quiet and in particular the oppressive and restless notions of quiet, evidently where not promoted.

What can we learn about remote quiet places and the experience of quietness through a sonic art approach?

The sound art compositions with its materiality, technology and aesthetics offered another construction of the quietscape by highlighting complexity, ambiguity and multiplicity of meanings of quiet. I argue that the sonic art approach counter-narrates and re-imagines the settled idyllic and disconnected notions of island quiet. I conclude that the sonic art approach facilitated a unique engagement with the islands quietscape. It is the cornerstone for the making of the geographical knowledge presented in this thesis. Both in the sense of performing quietscapes and as a way of getting to know the multiplicity of meanings islanders attach to it.

Quietness and homemaking

In this part of the discussion I reflect on, contextualize and discuss the implications of my findings from chapter four, five and six, about the meanings islanders attach to quietness.

The first two sections focus on embodied experiences with quietness. First, I will revisit contemporary understandings of the phenomenology of silence by examining the relationship between silence and sound. Second, I discuss the everydayness of experiencing quiet. This includes discussing the multiplicity of affective daily relations with quiet and comparing mundane experience with luxurious experiences. In section 3 and 4, I revisit the notion of noise and home, respectively. Finally, I discuss my results in relation to the politics of promoting quiet places.

The phenomenology of silence

This research made me understand that talking about the phenomenology of silence is a philosophical endeavor, which invites us to delve into the ocean of somethingness or nothingness of the almost ungraspable, untouchable, invisible and unspeakable. But here I am. Doing an effort to ‘talk-write’ about it. Leaving black and white traces, that you can listen to.

Much previous research conceptualized experiences of silence in primarily sonic terms. Silence has been defined as absence of sound, quiet sounds, listening to ambient sounds (Cage, 2012; Novak & Sakakeeny, 2015). These conceptualizations of silence have rather framed the experience of silence as perceiving sounds or no sounds. Much of my findings highlight islanders listening to various ambient sounds during their everyday life. Thus, my findings support, that island quiet is about perceiving sounds. At least partially. However, sometimes my interviewees referred to hearing nothing, or described the sound of silence and island quiet as a sound with no sound. How to make sense of this statement, when knowing that objectively speaking hearing nothing is impossible? Sounds always surround us, when listening. As listening means being alive. As being alive means breathing. As breathing means sounding.

A more traditional approach towards making sense of these statements of hearing nothing, would have been to argue that silence indeed was perceived as the absence of sound or speech (Ephratt, 2008). However, I felt more inclined to understand this statement differently. A contributing factor to this was that I felt how islanders struggled with telling me how ‘hearing’ silence really felt. These struggles of talking about visceral experiences are widely acknowledged by more-than-representational researchers (Duffy et al., 2016). What helped me make sense of “hearing nothing” was my own everyday life on the island. Sometimes, when sitting on the dyke or biking around, I felt touched by silence. I suddenly surprisingly felt its presence. Feeling the presence of silence so close to me, almost transcending me, made me feel part of my surroundings. Being with the street, the bike, the bench, the air, the sea, the dyke and so on, rather than separated from it. Thus, my own embodied mundane practice thus is part of how I made sense of it. In essence I argue, in line with Böhme (2020) that certain moments with the island quietscape allow for silence to be perceived implicitly. Silence is experienced through

transcending sounds and experiencing infinite space. Silence cannot be heard as such, but is perceived and felt through a particular kind of listening – lauschen. I understand this kind of listening in line with Voegelin (2010, p. 3) philosophical approach to listening. For me lauschen highlights an understanding of “listening, not as a physiological fact but as an act of engaging with the world.”

Rather than emphasizing the perception of sound through silence Cage (2012), this interpretation of particular experience with silence, highlights the perception of silence through sound. My findings the value of rethinking notions of silence, space and the quiet place. However, beyond my own embodied experience of feeling space expand when perceiving silence, I got little information about the spatiality of silence. Although Böhme (2020) philosophizes about the spatiality of silence, it is poorly understood in terms of the empirical. It is thus worth to further research what silence means and how it reworks people’s experience of space.

Beyond the debate on the importance of sound in facilitating experience of silence, my results also demonstrate the importance of the multisensorial, spatial, temporal and socio-material elements in facilitating experiences of silence and listening. This resonates with findings of Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al. (2019) study on experiences of silence and that church space, social-symbolic, architecture and material, body movements are part of making the experience of quiet. Further research is needed, to continue building a comprehensive conceptual understanding of the phenomenology of silence and the quiet place considering the multisensorial, socio-material and spatio-temporal factors that are part of creating quiet.

The multiplicity and everydayness of quiet: luxury versus mundane quality

In this section, I discuss the mundaneness of quiet and contrast it to understandings of quiet as a luxurious experience.

“Silence has become something rare, unique and exclusive—which conveys luxury in its pristine and simplest form” (Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al., 2019, p. 291)

As much research focuses on experiencing quiet and silence in a tourism context (Han, 2019; Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al., 2019; Komppula et al., 2017; Konu, Tuohino, & Björk, 2011), my findings contribute to the scarce branch of work that looks at quiet as part of the mundane (Simpson, 2019). I have shown that quietness is an everyday experience. Islanders encounter it while working, while being at home and more generally when navigating the island.

At moments, quiet functions like a code of conduct. As written in Besley and Peters (2007, p. 22): “for Foucault ‘governmentality’ ... shape[s] the conduct of individuals, the conduct of conduct’ for acting upon the actions of others in order to achieve certain ends. Those ends are not just to control, subdue, discipline, normalize, or reform them, but also to make them more intelligent, wise, happy, virtuous, healthy, productive, docile, enterprising, fulfilled, self-esteeming, empowered, or whatever.” Drawing on Foucault the quietscape can be understood as a form of governmentality, shaping the conduct of islanders. It is part of governing bodies in certain ways. Quiet encourages certain behaviors and discourages others. Thus, the agentive side of quiet, can be interpreted as disciplining bodies to move and behave in certain ways. By merging together, quietness and islanders negotiate and achieve one out of the many ends. One of the ends discussed in this thesis is linked to health and fulfillment, which is reflected on in the following paragraph.

I also have shown that many islanders feel that quietness facilitates everyday wellbeing. This finding supports previous studies arguing that quiet facilitates subjective wellbeing (Komppula et al., 2017). Contemporary, wellbeing is often framed as an out of the everyday and recreational experiences. Thus, quietness reworks the binary division between the mundane and recreational by being present as part of everyday life on the island. This finding contrasts to understandings quiet as luxurious, rare and quested experience (Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al., 2019). For islanders, island quiet is not difficult to access. Experiencing quiet on the island is not confined to certain limited places, such as a church in the city or a park. It is made sense of as an ‘indigenous’ and spatially encompassing general characteristic of the island. Quiet reveals itself in a multiplicity of forms at many different places. It is thus not rare for islanders. Although also being taken for granted, islanders are aware that island quiet is precious and rare for others such as tourists from the mainland. Islanders acknowledge the rare, unique and exclusive nature of silence, although they personally do not experience this exclusivity and rareness. Quiet is part of their home.

While the experiencing of luxury traditionally is associated with an expensive and materially luxurious good (e.g a classic GUCCI bag), scholars have argued that luxury can emerge from experiences or activities (Cristini, Kauppinen-Räsänen, Barthod-Prothade, & Woodside, 2017; Kauppinen-Räsänen, Gummerus, von Koskull, & Cristini, 2019). It is debatable whether island quiet is a luxury or one of the many simple qualities of the mundanities of everyday life. Or a mundane luxury. In our contemporary world, living with quietscapes and experiencing silence frequently, can be understood as leading a luxurious and privileged life. However, as I will discuss later on in greater detail, quiet is not merely facilitating wellbeing and a valuable experience, as it has multiple sides. Silence also challenges islanders’ homemaking practices. It also has an oppressive side. It invites bodies to turn inwards and listen to themselves, which supports Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al. (2019) findings on silence being an inner state. Rather than

merely contributing to a moment of self-reflection and luxury, some islanders highlighted the unpleasant feelings with being confronted with themselves. Therefore, I do find it less appealing to frame embodied everyday experiences with quiet as a mundane luxury.

In essence, I argue that quiet is primarily a mundane experience on the island. That is due to its immersion with place and islanders sense of home, its' accessibility and taken for granted elements.

Rethinking noise in quiet places

In this research, I have argued that both sounds and silences can be noise, as they challenge islanders' subjective homemaking practices. Relating this finding back into the literature on noise, shows how certain silences can be conceptualized as noise or sounds out of place (Pickering & Rice, 2017) negotiated within the subjective process of homemaking.

According to Pickering and Rice (2017) noise, or "anomalous and ambiguous sounds are frequently seen as disruptive or dangerous – although these are not the only possible reactions – and that steps must be taken to negotiate, deal with, and otherwise "tidy up" sonic transgressions so that order can be restored."(Pickering & Rice, 2017, p. 18). My research gives new insights on contemporary understanding of noise and invites us to rethink the nature of noise. My findings highlight the ambiguous nature of quiet and silence. I draw attention to the potential of silence to be seen as disruptive and dangerous. Silence does more than one thing. It facilitates wellbeing, while simultaneously creating concerns about the future of the island as a place to maintain everyday life. Quietness is threatening and comforting. Simultaneously.

In fact, the island street-silence associated with mainly uninhabited houses owned by second house owners is associated with deadly atmospheres and uncertain island futures. This resonates with two main factors supporting the becoming of noise as sound or matter out of place. Namely, ambiguity and anomaly. Its anomalous nature is created as it resonates something deadly, where life should be. Deadly silence in this case is understood as dangerous. This relates to understandings of silence as "sinister resonance" (Toop, 2010) associated with deadly atmospheres and fears of the unknown. Associations of quiet with deadliness, however, were also found to create pleasant experiences. The following quote illustrated that desert quiet is constructed as an antidote to liveliness, resonating a rough deadly atmosphere in the encounter with nature:

"I am a fan of the desert. I am searching for solitude and quietness to experience the desert. Actually, desert means no life, only dead nature. In principle sand or rocks, maybe some wind as well" (Gutberlet, 2019, p. 20).

Noise is always about more than the sounds and silences. Implicit in the making of noise it that the associated phenomenon that partakes in the making of noise right to place is challenged. Tourism's right to sound and right to place is questioned by islanders, as it challenges their homemaking practices. Ambiguity and anomaly are evoked by tourism in two main ways: First, it challenges islanders' view of home to be disconnected and uniquely different from the mainland. There is a threat that the island will become more like the Other and lose its special feeling to it. Second, tourism also stimulates islanders to question, negotiate and deal with the purpose of place. Challenging the right to sound, revealed a certain fragility of leading a mundane life in remote quiet places. It revealed the sense of care for the island and need to act and protect the island as home. For living, for working and for having a livelihood there, rather than prioritizing the island as a space of recreation. A place for tourism. In essence, I argue that the making of noise, transcends the sonic realm and is an inherently socio-spatial process of negotiating the right to place.

My results highlight the ambiguous and contested nature of quietness and how the making of noise is entangled with the politics of the mundane. It is part of negotiating who and what has a right to place. A right to belong. These findings show that traditional conceptual engagements with noise, as defined as loud volume or associated with industrial or traffic sounds (Kagge, 2017; Schafer, 1993), would be blind towards understanding the complex entanglement with noise and silence and how they are part of defining belonging in remote quiet places. In specific, understanding noise as loud volume sounds, would have blinded me to understand certain silences as out of place. I would more easily have overlooked some of the opportunities and challenges of living in a remote Wadden island. These insights highlight an understanding of noise as both sounds and silence, that are associated with ambiguity and anomaly.

Rethinking the notion of home

Much research on homemaking and belonging focuses on tracing belonging back within the realm of specific places (Lewicka, 2010; Savage et al., 2004). Furthermore, the concept home is frequently linked with positive attachments to place formed through intimacy, belonging, security, relationship and selfhood. However, "others experience alienation, rejection, hostility, danger and fear "at home" (Dowling & Mee, 2007, p. 161). This highlights the ambiguous and multi-faceted nature of home.

I argue, that a sonic sensibility to studying homemaking, draws out the ambiguous and multi-faceted nature of home. Firstly, the multiplicity of meanings islanders associate with the soundscape and their home highlight the multi-faceted nature of home. Secondly, the ambiguous relations with certain sounds and silence that challenge islanders' sense of home points supports understanding home as ambiguous. The latter shows that home is also a place of resistance. Homemaking can be understood as affective form of

resistance, which “involves more than just being attentive to and providing care to individuals. It also requires building an enduring affective relationship to the physical environment. It is the imaginative political work that transforms the built environment of the city into a home: a place of belonging, a place of remembrance, and a place of resistance” (Isoke, 2011, p. 119). Voicing resistance to certain sounds and silence is thus part of making home and to protect one’s own belonging to the island as home. This form of resistance to becoming like the Other, is part of constructing the identity of island life as different and unique. The relationship islanders maintain with the soundscape, make the soundscape a place of resistance. Resisting island life becoming faster, more connected and more anonymous. In essence, islanders homemaking practices of resistance to sounds and silences, reflect their care to protect the soundscapes temporal sense of slowness, the spatial sense of disconnection and the social proximity to other islanders.

A sonic sensibility to place and a home emphasizes that home is an ongoing process, which is constantly recreated through negotiating one’s own and others’ belonging. It emphasizes that home is not just tied to a specific place and time, but rather created through links with different places (e.g. the urban) and different times (e.g. past memories). Understanding the island as a home is not promoting an understanding of the island as an isolated physical structure dwelling in the ocean. It is filling the island and creating the island through experiences, meanings, memories and relationships.

Place-branding quietness and the promotion of quiet places

In this part, I discuss the role of sound and quietness in place-branding, tourism and the touristification of place. Tourism promotion, not surprisingly, gears the construction of quiet towards tourists.

The island is represented as a place, where tourists can find quietness. According to Komppula, Konu, and Vikman (2017, p. 8), “very simple things, like experiencing nature with all senses, and especially feeling the sounds of silence can be a refreshing and rejuvenating experience for those who live their everyday lives in hectic environments”. This narrative reverberates in my findings, as the tourism organization mainly targets urban residents that spend their everyday life in hectic environments. The representation of island space as quiet is thus geared towards tourist consumption. According to Boisen et al. (2011) the selection of target groups is important in place-branding as “it implies a conscious selectivity amongst ‘the owners’ of the brand in determining which individuals, firms and institutions are deemed strategically important and thus central to policy action.” Island quiet is thus not represented as an objective concept, but rather used in order to create particular meanings, associations and feelings with the island for a certain group of individuals. Quiet is constructed according to how the tourism organization wants the specific target group, in this case urban stressed tourists, to perceive quiet.

Although much research argues that place-branding is a visually dominated practice (Medway, 2015), I have shown that tourism promotion, is drawing on sonic place-branding in three major ways. First, they explicitly use sound and listening to construct island quiet and add value to the island brand. Quiet is framed as facilitating wellbeing and enjoyment, which prioritizes certain affective relations, in order “to add value to the place in a broad sense” (Boisen, Terlouw, & van Gorp, 2011, p. 136). Second, they promote quiet recreational engagements centered on non-motorized activities and bodily stillness. Third, listening is promoted as a recreational activity enabling ecological participation. These findings provide new insights into how sonic practices relate to tourism and touristification of space.

Quietness is entangled with wellbeing tourism and nature-based tourism. The island in its entirety is framed as quiet and a source of wellbeing. Thereby the quietness is framed as an enduring and general condition of all island spaces, rather than being limited to certain confined spaces. The notion of quiet place, which is constructed in tourism promotion, contrasts to Böhme’s (2020) definition of the quiet place as confined place, surrounded by walls. Despite this difference, both Böhme’s and the tourism framing identify the quiet place as separating the listener from the busy and noisy outside world. Linking this to Bijsterveld’s (2010) concept of acoustic cocoon, one can argue that island quiet is framed as if the entire island is surrounded by an acoustic cocoon protecting the listener from mainland noise and hectic life. The quiet place gives unlimited access to experiencing quiet.

The ferry’s role is to mediate the border of the acoustic cocoon and to maintain a difference between the inside and outside. Tourism promotion frames the ferry as a point of connection between two separate worlds, providing connectivity, while contributing to the islands’ separation. The ferry is part of branding island quiet as disconnected from the mainland. However, simultaneously the ferry is used to promote access to quiet. This production of the ferry in place-branding material, compares to prior productions of the island or the shore as “a double edged space, in between: an exit space that is also an entry space; a space where edginess rules” (Denning, 2004, p. 6).

According to (Baldacchino, 2012, p. 59): “islanders in colder locations, unable to develop sun, sea and parties as tourist products, have done just as well with messages that emphasise either clean and unspoilt spaces ripe for nature based, adrenalin pumping adventure and discovery”. My findings support this conclusion, albeit only partially. Constructing island quiet indeed is entangled with highlighting the unspoilt nature of the Wadden Sea and emphasizing the natural soundscape. Other destinations similarly used natural sounds of animals to emphasize ecosophical tourism experiences in national parks (Varley & Medway, 2011). However, adrenaline, excitement and adventure experiences are replaced by mainly calm and relaxation activities on Pellworm.

Research on place-branding highlights that selective nature of the process (Boisen et al., 2011). The production of quiet, is always going to be a partial engagement. It does not and cannot tell the whole story of island life and multiplicity of ways quiet is entangled with island life. This finding resonates with Baldacchino's (2012) work on island branding and that constructing island quiet not merely essentializing the island, but equally stereotyping the Other: the urban mainland. Baldacchino (2012, p. 59) highlights the political implications of doing so: "What are meant to be the sharply delineated edges of communities are actually crude (and possibly dangerous) imaginaries, stylised and essentialised in the face of an (equally stereotyped) Other". A deeper understanding of the political implications of these binary narrative constructions goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

It stays questionable in what ways island sonic place-branding can be conceptualized as promoting a form of sound tourism (Bernat, 2014), tranquil tourism (Han, 2019) or quiet tourism. As discussed by Han (2019), tranquil tourism overlaps with other kinds of tourism, but is needed to be viewed as an independent category. He furthermore argues that a systematic approach is needed to establish its distinctive characters. I agree with the latter requirement. As of now, the concept of quiet tourism is still poorly defined.

The politics of promoting quiet places

The results from the chapters on quiet and homemaking should be considered in the politics of promoting quietness, in building quiet zoning projects and conserving existing quietscapes. The suppression of sounds and controlling soundscapes are part of an increasing global trend (Scaff, 2006). Since the beginning of Schafer's World Soundscape Project, rural quiet continues to be promoted selectively. Contemporarily, scholars are part of promoting the preservation of natural rural quietscapes, advising planners to restrict traffic or modernization projects and implement quiet zoning. In the work of Bernat (2014) and Boller, Hunziker, Conedera, Elsasser, and Krebs (2010), tourism is presented as legitimizing protection efforts of the remoteness 'brand' and the preservation of natural soundscapes. Bernat (2014, p. 107) concludes that "tranquil areas should be protected due to the opportunities they offer for tourism, recreation and sustainable development". The latter shows how quietness and the preservation thereof increasingly is entangled in the complex web of neoliberal touristification of space. As argued by Ochoa Gautier (2015, p. 186) "the use of silence to intervene in the politics of life is central to the constitution of modernity".

This approach largely neglects that the rural is not only place for recreational purposes such as 'quiet tourism' or nature conservation. This research highlighted the various ways of the rural being a home. My research highlighted how a multiplicity of material, more-than-human, human, spatial and affective encounters are part of making the rural

quietscapes as home. Traffic, commercial, agricultural, cultural sounds and activities are part of making and maintaining islanders' relationship with the quietscape. Most studies concerned with rural quiet, neglect the ways residents maintain meaningful relations with all kinds of sounds. In essence, I argue that there is a danger in promoting quiet places uncritically, without considering local meaningful attachments to place and the quietscape.

Composing quietscapes: re-visiting the role of sound art

The sonic art approach allowed me to be the researcher I want to be. It allowed me to be researcher and artist. The artistic engagement with the island has allowed me to connect with the island in an intuitive way and to let it inspire me, to create and to share my personal engagement with the island.

This sonic art approach links up to the recent turn in geography to embrace creative ways of doing research (Hawkins, 2013). It engaged with understanding and experiencing island quiet in two main ways. First, as a way to research and analyze the sensory experiences and affective atmospheres with the quietscape. Second, as a way to represent the and re-imagine the quietscape. It allowed me to see dimensions of quiet, that otherwise would easily have been overlooked.

Sound art: reproduction versus representation versus performance

In this section, I discuss sound art and the geographical. I revisit and discuss the conceptual understandings of the work of art as reproduction, representation or performance. I discuss the implications of these different approaches towards understanding quietscapes.

I have embraced sound art as an appropriate medium and method to engage with my research questions, due to its natural closeness with the sonic and quiet world that this thesis aims to explore. In chapter eight, I argued that field-recordings and sound mapping produced an atmospheric shadow of the islands' sonic affective atmosphere and quietscape. The sound map is a performance of the island quietscape, counter-mapping the construction of remote places as isolated and idyllic and predominantly sounding natural. Both the sound map and the sound walk composition carry a potential to re-imagine quietness and the rural, through the act of performing place. This understanding of the work of art connects with more-than-representational approaches to understanding places (Lorimer & Wylie, 2010; Thrift, 2008). Indeed, my approach to sound art as performing quietscape resonates with the following:

“non-representational ethnographers consider their work to be impressionistic and inevitably creative, and although they are inspired by their lived experiences

in the field, they do not claim to be able, or even interested, in reporting on those in an impersonal, neutral, or reliable manner” (Vannini, 2015a, p. 318).

Gallagher and Prior (2014) argue for three main conceptual *filters* of understanding the role of sound art in re-presenting the sonic atmospheres of the world. First, as immersion, capture and reproduction. Second, as representation. Third, as performance. My approach to art and quietness aligns with the third conceptual approach as performance. I wanted to make clear that the work of art is not an objective and exact realistic representation of the quietscape. It does not intend to be a realistic immersion into the quietscape that I encountered during the moment of recording.

This contrasts to understanding field recordings as capturing, or holding on to sounds and reproducing them with fidelity through playback (Makagon & Neumann, 2008). In fact, an audio documentary approach to the sound map would have highlighted that it is a medium facilitating, through reproduction, listening to sounds and silences of the island, as if being there. Another reading of the sound map would have been to argue that the work of art creates an *illusion* of presence, which invites the listener to imagine being on the island (Altman, 1992). Following this line of thinking island quiet would have been something transferable and reproducible, through recreating presence or the illusion of presence. Listeners can access the quietscape through the medium as if it is real. Now and here.

This alternative reading would have changed my understanding of the experience of quietness and the quiet place significantly. It would give eternal access to reliving the quietscape, as we managed to capture it. Quietness would no longer deserve to be called a rare or luxurious experience, as access is granted from anywhere. Anyone who ever tried virtual reality glasses will be able to intuitively understand that mediated presence is not the same ‘real’ presence. In fact, I would argue that the documentary approach to sound, disregards the simplest nature of sound. Sounds cannot be captured. No researcher, tourist or artist can bring them home. Tangible sound souvenirs do not exist. As Gallagher and Prior (2014, p. 275) reflect on the recording process: “when the process is over, the sounds will have dissipated into the world, leaving behind only a trace on the recording medium used.” Indeed, quietscapes are everchanging and never stuck in time. They change with the ongoing of time.

My understanding of sound art as performance also differs from the second *filter*: representation. Sound recordings would be understood as a ‘thick description’ (Geertz, 1975) rendering a rather faithful representation of the quietscape ‘as is’. The latter is in line with traditional and realist oriented ethnographic approaches (Vannini, 2015a). Rather than seeing the work of art as reproduction and immersive experience: this approach highlights that interpretation is inherently part of making art. One may argue that replacing the field recordings on a digital map may seem like a representational act.

Mapping as a form of truthful representation, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis. One reason is that I acknowledge the power of maps and problematic history of mapping practices (Orangotango, 2019; D. Wood, 2010).

Nonetheless, the value of using a map is that it emphasizes a small proportion of the recording context. It highlights the spatiality of the quietscape and points towards understanding quiet as always rooted and coming out of place. What this does is to say that place is part of the process of inspiration. Encountering quiet indeed happened somewhere and the map resonates a shadow of this somewhere – the island.

Moreover, the sound map also visually emphasizes that it is not a representation of the quietscape 'as is'. Aesthetic changes in the map layout aimed to visually demarcate that the sound map is not about promoting truth claims to place. Thus, the visual elements are used to expand the meaning of the map beyond its intuitive guiding and functionalist dimension. In the following section, I will go into a discussion of performative sound art and re-imagining place.

Towards sonic possible worlds

In this section, I discuss how sound art relates to the making of place. I discuss how I understand the sound art compositions as opening “sonic possible worlds” (Voegelin, 2014) and discuss the wider implications this insight has on the role of the geographer.

The sound map creates a performative place, that re-imagines island life through counter-mapping place.

It counter maps the quiet place as a place abundant in sounds.

It counter maps the quiet place as a place of human **and** more-than-human activity.

It counter maps the quiet place as connected to other places.

Thereby, the map conveys some of the less obvious sensory aspects of everyday life on remote islands. A more traditional ethnographic method - using a written field diary (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011) to describe the encounters with island quietscape - would not have been able to convey the visceral and affective dimension of the quietscape. Thus, a sonic method for exploring the quietscape engaged with affective and visceral elements of quiet. This approach allows for the reader/listener to not only rationalize and think about silence, but also experience it. A sonic art approach is sensitive to a phenomenological understanding of silence. “You cannot think silence, it must be experienced” (Böhme, 2020).

Furthermore, the sound art composition similarly is understood as performative engagement, which re-imagines rural remote place. The soundwalk composition,

although not yet finished, carries a potential to intervene in place, as listeners walk the island and listen to the different stops while walking in place. As argued by Gallagher and Prior (2014, p. 278):

“such practices suggest radically different ways of ‘doing’ geography: intervening in places, producing immersive experiences through which audiences can move; exposing hidden features of places or subverting accepted meanings; inviting ways of knowing places that are spontaneously performed rather than fixed in representation.”

This part of the thesis truly allowed me to become an experimental geographer “actively experimenting with the production of space as an integral part of one’s own practice” (Paglen, 2008). Thereby seeing my own role as a researcher and artist as actively engaged with producing space creatively. Being more than a passive bystander, witness and sense-maker. The sonic art approach turned me into re-imagining quietscapes and producing new “sonic possible worlds” (Voegelin, 2014).

In essence, I have argued for the sound art being a performative engagement with the island quietscape rather than a reproduction of representation. This conceptual engagement with the nature of art, shows that questions about art are very much linked with question about the ontological and epistemological, which are constantly debated in science. This performance *filter* highlighted the affective intensities of quietscapes. It also highlighted the more-than-human, the intangible, ephemeral and continuously changing nature of quietscape. Furthermore, it showed that doing sound art is a process of coming to know place and a method for producing geographical knowledge. This relates to insights from other creative practices that argue that art not only performs place, but itself is a coming to know (Hawkins, 2015; Scalway, 2006). According to Hawkins (2015, p. 247) the “materialities, technologies and aesthetics of different art forms might enable various ways of knowing and conceptual experiments”. This acknowledges more-than-representational ways of doing research as the more-than-human material world is part of creating geographical knowledge.

Recommendations

Recommendation for further research

1. My findings point towards that the meaning of quietness differs whether one asks people living in a quiet place, or people that visit a quiet place in a tourism context. I recommend that future research should do a comparative study including research participants from a diverse group of belonging (tourists and inhabitants) in order to understand their attached meanings and how they differ from each other. Part of this research can pay attention to the spatiality of silence.
2. I furthermore found that the concepts of silence, quietness and their respective differences are poorly defined in the literature. I recommend to further develop theoretical and empirical contributions on the 'quiet' place. We need to better understand experiences and productions of quiet places, through frameworks that consider the multiplicity of human and more-than-human entanglements. In particular, given the rising attention to preserving and creating more quiet places.
3. It would be worthwhile to further understand the political nature of promoting quiet in a tourism context. As my study focused on a literature review of place-branding material, it is limited in understanding the deeper motivations and intentions of the tourism organization to construct quietness in certain ways, rather than others. This can give a better understanding about how quietness is used and constructed in place-branding practices.
4. My research project also highlighted the valuable contribution of a listening, field-recording and a wider sonic art approach in the making and dissemination of geographical knowledge. I recommend other geographers to give further attention to these and similar methods and consider the ways in which their research practice can gain from them.

Recommendations for practice

1. I recommend planners, nature conservation and tourism organizations to understand meaningful relations with quietness and home. Residents' relations with the quietscape should be considered when developing place-branding material and tourism experiences. Inclusive place-branding projects that include residents can be a way to negotiate sensory place-branding strategies.
2. Finally, I recommend the establishments of stronger connections between artists, practitioners and geographers in creating sound-based educational and experiential content. These collaborative practices might be of value for destinations and research alike. Sound workshops, listening walks and field-

recordings are interesting practices that engage people in listening to place. These methods can be linked up to various societal concerns and stimulate debates on the re-imagination of sonically possible worlds.

"OH, WAIT!

THE MICROPHONE DROPPED..."

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Interview guide

Interview guide

Date:

Interviewee:

Age:

About me:

- Presentation of my person and the research project
- Ask for permission for recording
- If clarifications needed please always ask and feel comfortable to say if you do not want to answer

About you:

- clarifications needed please always ask and feel comfortable to say if you do not want to answer

About you:

What are 1-3 things you currently enjoy?

What music do you like?

Where you born on Pellworm?

If yes

- For how many generations does your family live on the island of Pellworm?
- Did not you live on the island in the meantime?
- If so, why / why did you move back to the island?

If no

When moved to the island:

For what reason / why did you move to the island? • How well did you know the island before?

- Where did you live before?

Everyday life

- Describe a normal day / everyday life
 - o What are you doing?
 - o What is your schedule?
 - o Who / what do you see?
 - o What do you eat?
 - o space tie / sheltering

Connections to the Island (sense of place)

Can you show me a place that means a lot to you?

- What do we hear while we walk around that place?
- What do you associate with Pellworm Island?
- What connects you to Pellworm Island?
- What is the characteristic / typical of the island of Pellworm for you?
- What is home for you?
- What keeps you on the island?
- What do you think about when you hear North Sea?

Sounds

- o What sounds do you connect with PW?
- o Could you describe these sounds with pictures, feelings?
- o What does tranquility/quietness mean to you?
- o Where on the island do you experience this?
- o Which sounds give you a familiar feeling?
- o What do you not listen on Pellworm? Why not?
- o What does that say about island life?
- o What sounds are you missing?
- o What kind of music do you like to listen to?

Appendix 2: Sound walk composition

Dear listener,

Listen and enjoy.

A few instructions before tuning into the islands sounds. In order to listen to the place, I encourage you to not talk. Please also turn off your phone. Focus on listening and paying attention to all sounds.

At the ferry terminal: transition zone/movement

Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo

Echo: “At the ferry terminal” is a field-recording based reimagining of the sonic identity of movements and meanings with/towards/at the islands ferry. The composition gives insights into the experience of rural island traffic.

Listening openly to rural island traffic, shows the vastness of the place, reveals a sense of pleasure and pain in the dependency of the ferry. Furthermore, the composition acknowledges the agency of the ferry in how island life sounds and how island sounds might be controlled in the future.

Its base is an ambient field-recording of me biking towards the ferry and recording the ferry leaving. The ambient sounds are remixed with islanders’ words that fade in and out. The multiple relations with the ferry such as home, departure, mundane commuting, background sound, sense of time, dependency, isolation and uniqueness reverberate the affective atmosphere of the ferry sound space.

This composition engages an open listening to island traffic by showing how the body of the ferry with all its sounds is synching in with islanders’ bodies. The ferry sound-space is a defining experience of feeling connected to the island and its part of negotiating a sense of quiet.

Composing this rural experience of traffic made me see how the ferry is part of remaking island sounds on a mundane basis. The ferry is a carrier of sonic potentiality. It is *the (only)* connection to the mainland. With regards to thinking about sounds and the remaking of place, the ferry has an active role in letting sounds in. The price of carriage for instance influences the mobility of people and their vehicles and hence also the islands traffic sounds. Listening to the ferry, as mobility control vehicle, also reverberates its potential to be more actively used in the sonic management of island quietness and sound.

Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk

Sounding in > .

<https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/biking-on-the-highway>
<https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/surge-at-tiefwasseranleger>
<https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/loading-the-ferry>

From me to you: Which sounds are part of your defining experience of silence? From where you are right now, what is the furthest you can hear?

Listen here .

Walking with seabeds

Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo

Echo: "Walking with seabeds" is a field-recording reflecting human interactions with the waddensea through walking. The recording was talking on a mudflat walk towards Süderoog.

The composition shows how we as tourists are part of this organism called the largest intertidal ecosystem of this planet. The different sonic compositions of my bare feet' walking rhythm and the wadden sea bed reveals the changing landscapes. Revealing the micro-places of the wadden sea. Letting me notice the spatial differences: space some more shallow [swish and splash], some deeper [sink and suck], some covered in many seashells [crack], some in less [less cracking]. The sounds reveal my relational moment with the seabed. As I walk, I am working it. I am moving it. It moves on me.

Sounding in > .

Sucking of the waddensea on my feet
Slirping
Chatting mudflat hikers chatting in front and behind me
12 km in total
Synching in with the tides
Splashing water
Cracking seashells
I follow the guide
Who
Knows
The tides
More than me
But still
as my feet create sounds with the seabed
I sense how I am connected to one of
UNESCO's dearest
seabeds of

This planet

“March now or swim later”

Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo

Echo: “Climate march: march now or swim later” is a field-recording taken on September 20, 2019 following the climate march organized by the climate activist group Fridays for Future Nordseeinsel Pellworm.

The chanting, clapping, yelling, portable amplified electronic beats, megaphone instructions, chatter, laughter are reflecting a sense of care for the place. It reverberates local tensions with regards to the emotional vulnerability of living on an island in times of climate change. Although driven by the island youth, it is an intergenerational protest walk, a moment of togetherness, a joyous atmosphere, filled with rather unusual sound-making (e.g. cheering, clapping, whistling, chanting, amplified megaphones, electronic beats).

The protest was an ephemeral moment of breaking island silence. An ephemeral moment that re-made the everyday sound- space of the village, Tammensiel. I argue that composing this moment is an engagement of creating a mediated extension of this affective atmosphere - of this break with silence.

Place

The relationality of island under sea level is expressed and concerns how climate protection is entangled with that is expressed through protest sound making. Speaking up for the climate. „Pellworm als Nordseeinsel ist im vollem Maße von den Folgen des Klimawandels betroffen. Wir setzen uns für den Erhalt der Insel ein.“ https://twitter.com/fff_pellworm

Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk

Sounding in > .

You can listen to an excerpt of the field-recording here: <https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/march-now-or-swim-later>

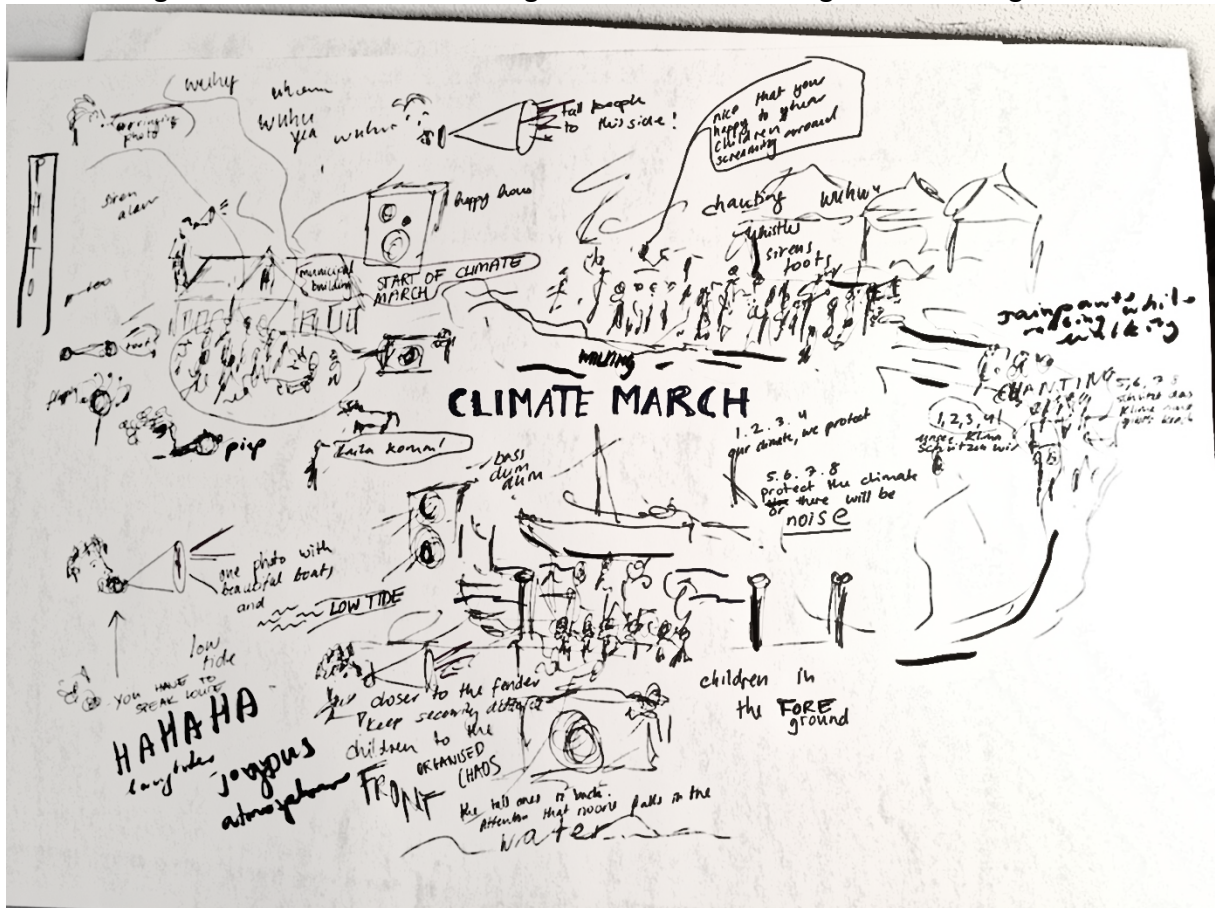
Walk. Walk. Walk. Walk. Imagine yourself in Tammensiel – the center of Pellworm. You are starting at the parking lot in front of the municipal building, moving through the streets of Tammensiel, passing on of the few Café’s, the supermarket, a restaurant and another shop. You left the ‘shopping’ street and cross the L97 state road. Police and the ambulance are protecting the walkers from cars (although there are not many cars passing, it gave the protest a more official feeling). You are walking through a quiet neighbourhood. A few people are outside their houses looking. You end at the old harbor. You hear some young islanders starting the protest chant, adults are joining in:

“1.2.3.4 !
our climate we protect
5.6.7.8
protect the climate, or we make noise!!!”

From me to you: Would you join?

Insert drawing here

The drawing was created when listening to different recordings made during the walk.



Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk

Springing tides and counting clicks

Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo

Echo: Springing Tides and Counting Clicks. Next stop: Bird counting with National Park caregivers “Schutte” X. “Schutte” is. A nickname or abbreviation given to the volunteers from the National Park. The words’ origin is related to “Schutzstation”, which means protection station.

Every two weeks the rhythm of the sea is marked by the spring tide. The spring tide happens in sync with the schedule of the moon. Either in its' biggest aka full or smallest aka new visible form. This effects a large rise of the tide. Consequently, birds approximate the coast as they have to leave the Waddensea. Staying on breeding and resting waters, they are closer to people.

Their move towards us means the we [people] can experience them in greater proximity and with greater accessibility, which led to the rise of bird counting moments during that time. With the rhythm of sea, the countings happen every 15 days when there is spring tide.

These dynamics of between people and the more-than-human world of sea and birds are composed in the following composition.

Sounding in > .

<https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/birdcounting?in=user-442707786/sets/tune-in-or-swim-later>

Rewinding of the clock.

She: talking about the spotting scope: Danubia Rainforest. That it's a bad one. She tells me to give notice if I want her to be quiet.

Clicking of the clock. Waves. The first counting.

She: What are we seeing here? It's a bad spotting scope.

Piep piep birds. Soft rhythm of waves are constant. But we do not count them. We are here to count the birds.

She: I have to write down the species. Rustling of turning papers. She: I just have one counting area, so I am just writing one column. On this route there is just one counting area. I write down the different species. The clickers now are not yet so exciting.

Wind moving. Clicks. Clicks. Click. Every click means a bird. Approximately.

She: so I counted in between the closest stonewall and the one behind. Everything that was on the walls and in between. Wasn't so much.

Moving on to the next section. Counting. One click. One bird. Approximately. Roughly. I ask whether she can recognize birds by sounds?

She: not really. It's mainly recognizing species visually.

H_M_Vogelzählung_1 4:00

Bird counting is part of the Schutten's research and nature conservation tasks. I joined one of their year-round resting bird counting tours at the island's flood resting areas. The

recording reverberates a tedious and mundane practice of the volunteers. Listening to the ticking sound of the counting clock reflects one way of relating to the more-than-human world. One click sonifies the presence of birds and helps the clock supports the counting practice. A mundane place-based practice that is sonifying the importance of Pellworm as a breeding and resting area for coastal birds.

Reflection question: How are our different senses facilitating knowing the bird world? What are different ways of recognizing birds?

Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk

In the village Doing groceries/in the village/chatty places
Old Harbour – Dreamscapes of island youth

Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo

Echo: “Dreamscapes of island youth” is a re-imagined field-recording amplifying young islanders ongoing process of relating to the island in distance and reimagining moving back to the island. The composition is a creation of a hybrid-sound-space that echoes how islandness is felt through distance. The affective atmosphere of this composition is echoing the strong sense of place of a young islander, who decided to leave Pellworm. By presencing the voice of the youth in absence, the composition is echoing local population dynamics of overaging. It reflects islanders concerns with the path of returning. Will my partner be up for it? Will there be jobs? Will it be too quiet? The words about the affective experience of Pellworm in distance mingle with blubbering fat in the deep fryer and the weekly volleyball game in the school uniting island youth. The composition is a hybrid sound space, about the not so graspable and not so much talked about ways how places materialize in our bodies. It is about how places are with us. How they catch us. How they find ways of being with us. With us in our dreams.

It is based on interviews with Anna and Theo, who both left the island, however, both return at certain paces to be with family and friends. Theo left the island in 2010. Katharina left in 2017. The composition combines interview fragments and ambient recordings from the Old Harbour snack bar and harbor sound as well as a recording from one of the weekly volleyball sessions in the islands’ gym at the school.

Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk walk walk walk Walk walk

Sounding in > .

<https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/volleyball-wednesdays>
<https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/harbour-atmosphere>

Destination: "Dreamscapes of island youth"

You are immersed in the snack stand atmosphere. Sizzling of fish. Chirring of exchange money.

Your hear Theo's words fade into the ambience: "But when you're gone, then you after all think a lot about Pellworm. Or Pellworm is somehow always with you. I also dream, if I, already since 2010 I not living on Pellworm anymore and nevertheless I dream exclusively just about Pellworm." "It is a big decision to move back to Pellworm. For everyone who is from here. Because.....yeay you always see the same people, right. You have to imagine, the main season is really short. So three months or so. And then there is not much going on [Tote Hose = dead pants]

Sounds of the beer tap, placing the glass on the snack stands' table. You hear a volleyball impacting the floor. A voice announcing the score of the game in Plattdeutsch "Foftien twinti" while the sounds of youth in motion in a dry and windprotected gym continues Anna's voices fades in.

"I have not found another place where I feel at home and where I feel such strong emotions. It is, that's why you also consider moving back to the island, but if it can work out with the professional life and according to if you have the partner, who is joining in or not...these uncertain things"

You hear the harbor sounds come back. Seagulls, clicking flagstaff and waves splashing on the pier. Cars driving by slowly. Stopping. What's going on here? Human voices. A sign of liveliness?

From me to you: Which places are part of your dreamscape?

Chatty Supermarket

Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo

Next stop: Hansi Koopmann also known as Nah und Frisch or Tante-Emma-Laden [englisch: corner store]. "Hansi Koopmann was founded in 1760 from our family as a farmers shop"¹¹ I was wondering how a 8 generations family run supermarket sounds like? The field-recording from one of my shopping moments gives some answers. Listening openly to the rural experience of doing groceries reveals a sense of proximity in between islanders. Next to this, the recordings shows how the supermarket is more than a place to buy. It is a space where chatty webs are woven on a daily basis.

The 42 minutes field-recording is representing the process weaving an ambient chatty web of social relations. Human verbal encounters of catching up with friends and acquaintances, of friendly verbal exchanges, of greeting customers by name, while goods are moved from the shelves into rattling shopping carts.

¹¹ <http://hansikoopmann.de/ueber-uns/>

Its silence is humming machines and scanning beeps.
Its sound is islanders' and tourists' chatter.

The recording reflects how proximity as opposed to anonymous relations are valued on the island. Personalised. The individual is recognized, differentiated rather than part of a blurry mass. Island proximity vibrates in greeting customers by name. Furthermore, the rural atmosphere is echoed in the chats at fresh meat counter and in between the shelves. It is a meeting place. A place where the individual seems to count. To be noticed. Where the absence of radio or music and the presence of laughter and friendly brief chats would almost make me feel like missing out something special, if I would wear headphones. A supermarket where personal orders are possible. Going there or not going there.

Sounding in > .

<https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/doing-groceries-with-silent>

Alte Kirche Old Church

Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo

Echo: "Old Church" is a field-recording about nuances of quiet and sound in churches and their outside environments. Churches are often connected with conveying experience of quietness (Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al., 2019). Using three different recordings, I play with the difference between the churches inside space and outside space. This composition reimagines the sonic atmosphere of the island's top tourist attraction.

Sounding in > .

<https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/silence-before-2-churchbells>

You listening to the churchbells ringing at 2 PM. Muffled human voices. Trees breeze. A motor somewhere. The sound of bells hit in. I am surprised about their loudness.

The famous sounds of the Arp-Schnitger organ fade in. One of the islands most iconic sounds. During the second last Wednesday evening concert of the season, I was sitting on the wooden church benches, in the back, while my field-recorder was in prime position on the pulpit. Which place would you prefer? Mine or the recorders?

Josephine soft voice fades in. She speaks about the spiritual atmosphere of the old church. She mentions how the energy of the church changes, when you walk through the corridor with eyes closed. For her the organ sounds as mystical. It requires a certain humility by the musician, as she is not easy to play and otherwise can sound harsh.

We exit the church. You are outside. You meet the Jackdaws. Fluid exchanges calls of the mysterious inhabitants of the old church tower ruin. I lack the vocabulary to describe

their soundings. Construction machines squeak in our ear. Nearby the old church, a house is being renovated.

From me to you: How does the inside church space feel like in terms of quietness? How is it different to the outside surroundings?

With the land

Tante Dedi's Hühnersuppe

Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo

Echo: "Tante Dedi's Hühnersuppe" [translation: Aunt Dedi's Chickensoup] is based on an ambient recording of a lunchtime moment at Tante Dedi's dining table. [*Anna's and my great grandmothers were sisters, so she and the other people being part of this recording are far relatives of mine]. My aim with the composition is to resonate some elements of the mundaneness of an everyday family routine.

[Sounding in > .](#)

[Listen here](#) .

<https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/dedis-huhnersuppe>

Preserving milk machines

Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo Echo

Echo: "Preserving milk-machines" is field-recording based reimagination of agricultural entanglements on the island. The sounds of tractors were recurrently pointed out as characteristic island sounds. These compositions show why agriculture matters to islanders. Next to this, the compositions remixes some islanders concern with the interfering of agricultural sounds into their sense of quietness.

[Sounding in > .](#)

<https://soundcloud.com/user-442707786/agriculture-meets-seagulls>