# Buzz and the Creative City:

Traversing Atmospheres of the Urban Creative & Cultural Industries in Leeds

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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February 2019

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

# Acknowledgements

Though this PhD dissertation is an individual work, its completion would not have been possible without the support of many.

I'd like to thank the late Dr Anna Upchurch who supervised my MA research project which was in many ways a pilot study of this PhD. Her provocations and reading recommendations are scattered throughout this work.

This thesis has benefitted greatly from the experienced supervision and wealth of knowledge offered by the late Professor Calvin Taylor. Calvin's work to support my PhD directly and my career more broadly have been enormously valuable.

Dr Philip Kiszely has been central to my PhD from start to finish; at turbulent times, and there have been many, Phil has been my constant. For much of this process, Phil has been my sole supervisor; his dedication has far exceeded that which he signed up for, and I am very grateful for that.

My friends Lee Prior and Nathan Gaskin, of App Brilliance Ltd, donated significant time and resource to this project by building the mobile application I needed to capture my data. I thank them for contributing their expertise.

More personally, many thanks are also owed to my family, who's support during this process reflects a general commitment to my education since childhood. And finally, to my fiancée, Dr Davina Patel; there is no way I would have completed this process without you. There is no one that I've leaned on more, and nobody that could have offered the support and strength that you have done with quite the same humour and compassion. Thank you.

# Abstract

'Buzz' isn't an unknown term in Creative and Cultural Industries scholarship, though it has received little by way of targeted investigation. This thesis, which uses ethnographic and autoethnographic approaches, explores the atmospheric terrain of Buzz as related to the Creative and Cultural Industries in the city of Leeds, UK. It is underpinned by original empirical research, namely both the audio and GPS data of 'walking interviews', with sixteen Leeds-based Creative and Cultural sector workers.

Developed through the transdisciplinary lens of Geohumanities, a constellation of disciplines and methods that approach the human meanings of place, a new conceptualisation of Buzz is advanced that demonstrates the efficacy of the perceptual, experiential, and sensate space of the city on the Creative and Cultural Industries. Multiple new concepts are developed; Firstly, 'The Layered City' conceptualises different strata of urban space based upon various issues of access and openness, up to and including an atmospheric realm. Secondly, 'The Buzz Cycle' conceptualises the myriad cyclical dynamics and reciprocities of people and place within a given Creative and Cultural Industries milieu, and thirdly, 'The Buzz Ecology' conceptualises the wider city which is its context.

In demonstrating the crucial micro-geographies and subjectivities of the individual, this thesis configures the milieu of the Creative City, and the experience of its Buzz, as an individualised and subjective, as well as collectivised and objective, terrain. In so doing, it meaningfully expands upon existing scholarship by advancing current knowledge into the role that place plays for the sectors, to newly include the intangible experiencing of the atmospheric terrain of Buzz in tandem with the more readily understood and scrutinised *terra firma* of the city.

# Contents

## Structure

This research project has seven main chapters. Chapter one focuses on the thesis' key theoretical contexts, and explores a history of scholarship about Space and Place (the field of study), a history of literature about Atmosphere (the concept of study), and finally a history of Walking (both concept and approach of study). Chapter two explores the modern history of Leeds (the context of study), locating this thesis and some of its broader concerns or motifs as part of the narrative of Leeds. Chapter three introduces the Creative and Cultural Industries (the subject of study), considering the sectors as academic and policy concerns, with focus applied to the importance of place in general, and the case of Leeds more specifically. The concept of Buzz will then be introduced in the following part, chapter four, through a consideration of existing engagements with the notion, and a development of them into original concepts. In chapter five, walking interviews will be explored (the method of study), as well as crucial aspects of my own research approach documented and explained. The fieldwork outcomes are detailed in chapter six, wherein interview transcripts and location data are brought together and analysed firstly thematically and then spatially. And finally, chapter seven will conclude the thesis, responding specifically to the research questions.

I have made the stylistic decision to enrich the delivery and presentation of numerous parts of this thesis through extended passages of thick description, deploying an autoethnographic approach at various times throughout. The thesis therefore represents somewhat of a departure from a traditional dissertation in the sense that it is, from start to finish, underpinned by the approaches of autoethnography. This decision, made for reasons relating both to style and also to the kinds of knowledge I seek to expose, has resulted paradoxically in a methodology being employed prior to my formal methodology chapter. To address this paradox of structure, I open this thesis with a 'Personal Motivation' statement that begins the work of positioning myself as researcher.

In the case of chapter two, my history of Leeds is organised around a series of autoethnographic reflections. More than a chronological account of moments key to the development of the city, it instead spatialises and narrativises those moments through place. Chapters four, five, and six are all prefaced by short autoethnographic pieces which function as contextualising vignettes or framing devices, introducing some of the key concepts and foreshadowing some of the important themes and ideas found in their respective chapters. Specifically; Chapter four introduces Buzz through an autoethnographic reflection written in a café in Bristol, chapter five introduces walking as a research approach through an autoethnographic reflection from a skyscraper in Chicago, and chapter six introduces my research findings by considering the relationships between place and experience through an autoethnographic account of a stay at a remote Scottish mountain bothy.

## Personal Motivation

In a first attempt to reflect upon this thesis' tripartite focus, firstly on urban atmospheres and the experiential city, secondly on the Creative and Cultural Industries, and thirdly on their interrelationship, it is interesting to discuss the foundations of such a personal interest. There are indeed multiple indicative factors which have informed these interests over the years, which stem from both professional and personal experiences. What follows is an articulation of these inspirations, in order to make lucid some of what has driven this research, and to clarify how my perspective as researcher has been shaped and developed. As is further considered in the discussion of my methods in chapter five, ethnographic approaches necessarily bring the world of the researcher into the research endeavour, and therefore my influences and experiences prior to or outside of this research project are set out here, and they will, in ways both explicit and subtle, shape the project throughout as this thesis develops.

Aged seventeen, I was the keyboard player in semi-professional band in Bristol. We played countless gigs across the city, released singles and EPs, made it to local radio, and gathered a small following in the area over the few years in which we were actively writing and performing on the Bristol music scene. We rehearsed weekly in the basement of The Louisiana; an esteemed small capacity music venue just outside of the city centre. Amidst the kegs and pumps for the bar above, the cellar under the 'Louie' was a space for expression, experimentation, and collaboration. Touring the city, playing both its notable formal stages in its flagship cultural institutions, as well as grubby unknown ones tucked away behind pubs, and immersing myself into what then seemed like entirely new realms hidden within the city I had always lived in, is, I think, where my interests in both creative work and creative cities first emerges. Music was the driving force of an early urban exploration, and a predecessor for my interest specifically in the relationships between creative workers and urban spaces and places.

I was later told by the owner of the Louie that our subterranean rehearsal

room had once been home to the hangman from the now demolished 19th Century prison over the road, connected via a concealed underground tunnel. My musicality was born in a space that disguised a dark history, and on reflection, this ability for creative and cultural activity to re-appropriate both the purposes and meanings of place, especially perhaps where there are overt political, social, cultural, and historical points of interest, are central to parts of this research and my passion for them. This sensitivity to the spatial conflicts that emerge in contemplation of the city as a morphology of historical layerings heavily impacts and inspires my approach in chapter two of this thesis, as I begin to explore Leeds and its story as part of my contextualisation of this project.

It's worth noting, perhaps, that I've yet to find documented historical evidence linking the Louisiana to the prison hangman, or indeed have I discovered the remnants of any tunnel network originating from the cellar. In any case, whether this particular history is more fact or mythology is largely inconsequential; the story played a part in shaping my appreciation and understanding of our urban traversals, and of course, this thesis concerns itself with the ethereal nature of urban atmospheres and the ways in which experiencing the city is largely shaped by personal subjective perceptions as well as objective or absolute truths about place. Later considerations then of how the experience of the urban realm, notions of atmosphere and terrain, and the focus on Buzz, relate to a broad and complex sensing of space, informed by both tangible and intangible knowledges of and experiences in the city, as well as historical, aesthetic, and symbolic subjectivities, take first root in the cellar of a small music venue in central Bristol.

Whilst studying in Portsmouth, I started freelancing as a graphic designer. Eventually earning a small but regular roster of clients, and eager to find a workspace outside of my student accommodation, I would often take to the streets in search of coffee shops with adequate Wi-Fi, abundant plugs, pleasant background music, and decent sofas. From these city-central locations, the comings and goings of the public, the shuffling of daily papers, overheard conversations, and the dim hum of traffic outside, became the

backdrop for innumerable hours of art-working and creative entrepreneurship. My interest in the ever-changing contexts of creative work and discourses around the mobilities of creative and cultural workers was seeded in those coffee shops. Discussions that follow in chapters three and six, exploring the ways in which mobile creative and cultural sector workers are sensitised to the city and the myriad ways it feels to work, walk through, or hang-out in certain places, can be traced back to my own encounters within the city of Portsmouth.

It's also worth noting that I continue to work as a graphic designer, and that my own experience as a Creative and Cultural Industries worker is something to consider throughout this thesis. I am in this way connected to and situated within this study and its subject not only via an academic lens, but also by means of personal and professional experience as part of the sectors herein under scrutiny. The ways in which autoethnographic research necessarily relates to and is impacted upon by the researcher and their own experiences is spoken of more fully in Chapter Five.

Over the last few of years, I have walked, hiked, scrambled, and climbed in almost all of the national parks in the United Kingdom. These have been immensely sensate and emotive experiences, where the body and mind are jointly exposed to sight, sound, smell, and touch, in deeply immersive and personal ways, and where the cyclical emotional shifts between excitement, trepidation, exhaustion, and awe, have inspired a whole host of inward reactions to the mountain environments of this country. The affective relationality between the body and its environment is of central interest to this project, and so too is the notion that the walking body can be an effective vehicle through and conduit of experience.

Conversations had on the approach to summits have inspired me to eke out and capture thoughts formed whilst walking. My research into the relationship between the process of walking and the process of thinking in cities, which informs large sections of the thesis that follows, stems from harsh conditions atop mountain ranges, where there are never any cities in

sight. This mobilisation of thinking, physical exertion, and traversing of emotive terrains, has been central to my enthusiasm to try and bring mobility and on-foot thought processes into my urban research environment.

In the years leading up to this piece of research my personal and professional experiences have been, viewed retrospectively, instrumental in shaping this thesis and its various questions and approaches. Working as a musician in Bristol instilled within me a sense that creative people have emotive, active, and performative relationships with their cities, and inspired later thoughts about how the city is best imagined, not as a strictly defined set of spaces, but as a complex and ambient terrain upon which people establish their own sense of place. Through my entrepreneurial journeying as a graphic designer, I discovered that the creative economy is mobilised across a cities professional and social terrains. And most recently, through hiking, I have developed my interests in walking as both psychical and psychological mobility, and from this, my efforts to establish an on-foot methodology for capturing spatially informed insights has grown.

# Introduction

Various notions of place and space have been a dominant and recurring focus of Creative and Cultural Industries research; discussions about the sector's potential utility in the revitalising of post-industrialised areas through the attraction of specific 'creative' demographics (Florida; 2002, 2004, 2005, 2008), the resultant threats and issues of such policies and the risks of gentrification (Krätke, 2011; Peck, 2005), the potential role of culture in city or regional development policies (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Landry & Bianchini, 1995; Paddison, 1993), and the tendencies of creative and cultural organisations to agglomerate or cluster (Evans, 2009; Picard & Karlsson, 2011; Pratt; 2000, 2009; Porter, 2000; Zukin, 1982) in specific places for myriad reasons. Putting aside some notable scholarly interest in rural or remote creative and cultural production (Jayne & Bell, 2010; Luckman, 2012; White, 2010), the interrelationship between the Creative and Cultural Industries and urban spaces and places has been the dominant narrative[1] of scholarly interest, and, in the simplest of terms, remains so in this thesis.

Whilst there are many pertinent dimensions, tensions, and angles to be explored of the Creative and Cultural Industries, and while this and other research that approaches the sectors must concern itself, at least to some degree, to the intellectual scrutiny of multiple aspects, this thesis is primarily focussed on the interrelationships between the individuals and firms who constellate to form the diverse sectors, and the urban spaces and places within which those constellations are embedded. The following mapping of the Creative and Cultural Industries as a defined and discrete research field will be a targeted one, through a concise evaluation and interrogation of ideas specifically related to the core remit of this thesis; the experiential spaces and atmospheres of the Creative and Cultural Industries, approached

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[1] See Florida (2002, 2004, 2005, 2008), Landry & Bianchini (1995), Oakley (2004, 2007), Bader & Bialluch (2009), Basset, Griffiths, & Smith (2002), Dziembowska-Kowalska, & Funck (1999), Evans (2009), Scott (1999), Pratt (2000, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2017), Clare (2013), Clifton (2008), Bakhshi, Cunningham, & Higgs (2006), Potts (2011), Rae (2011), Taylor (2004, 2011), Ward (2016), for instance.

through the methods of the nascent interdisciplinary field of 'geohumanities' (Dear, 2015; Cresswell et al, 2015; Hawkins et al, 2015).

Although other non-place focussed scholarship concerning the sectors is implicated in various places throughout this work's intellectual development, the inclusion of such matter functions only to support the broad spatial insights with which I am most concerned. Indeed, rather than a broad and generalised overview of the many facets of academic interest within and surrounding the Creative and Cultural Industries to which I have already alluded, and in wanting to avoid writing (or indeed rewriting) an all-encompassing history of the sectors from their first arrival in the UK's economic and political landscape, this thesis instead positions the Creative and Cultural Industries firmly as the subject under scrutiny, rather than the concept under investigation.

Broadly geographic in concern, in the sense that this thesis explores notions of creative and cultural space, it is in fact more accurate to suggest that this thesis' specific spatial interest, and the conceptual realm within which I make multiple original contributions, is in exploring the non-tangible, atmospheric, and sensate dimensions of the city as informed by both the personal histories of co-explorers[2] and the history of the city itself, as opposed to focussing primarily or only on the *terra firma* of the Creative and Cultural Industries[3]. It is in this sense that 'Geohumanities' is useful as a disciplinarily, or indeed transdisciplinary, framing for this project, most notably the way in which it approaches the human meanings of place through the multi-methodological lenses of history, philosophy, and the arts (Dear et al. 2011, p. 312). Cresswell et al. explain that:

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[2] The use of 'co-explorer to refer to what might more typically be termed 'participants' is deliberate, and the reasons for this are set out fully in Chapter 5 Part 8.

[3] Terra-firma, Latin for 'firm land', here refers to previous discussions of the Creative and Cultural Industries which engage primarily with notions of physical geography (cities, regenerated buildings, cultural quarters, and so on) with limited engagement with the experiential dimensionalities of being and working in such places.

> "A combination of influences across the disciplines, linking the
> humanities, the social sciences, and the creative arts has led to what
> has recently been called the Geohumanities—a new interdisciplinary
> endeavour with space and place at its heart that links decades of
> critical thought following the spatial turn." (Cresswell et al., 2015, p. 7)

The terrain of Geohumanities, as Cresswell et al. (ibid.) above describe, is rooted firmly in a long tradition of interrogating and making sense of various notions of place following the spatial turn. Indeed, Geohumanities coalesces newly around the scrutiny of place through the mixed-methods of myriad humanities, social sciences, and arts disciplines, but it does so in building upon an engagement with place via various social, cultural, and political issues and their spatiality which have longer-standing theoretical frameworks within geographic thought. In this sense, the notion of Geohumanities is useful here to help to conceptually frame this work and its multidisciplinarity in terms of both subject(s) and method(s).

The nascent field of Geohumanities[4] then, more so than the more nebulous and all-encompassing meta fields of 'Human Geography' or 'Social Sciences' for instance, holds together more succinctly the complexity of this thesis in terms of both its scope and approach as will become more evident as it unfolds. Exploring within this field as it emerges across different disciplines then, this thesis perhaps functions as just one of many academic endeavours currently grappling with questions regarding what intellectual space Geohumanities might occupy most precisely. At this stage, it's true to say that a particular set of theoretical traditions regarding issues of place and experience underpin that which Geohumanities scholars, if such a thing can

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[4] The field of 'Environmental Humanities', sometimes termed 'Ecological Humanities', also similarly explores relationships and complexities between scientific and humanities oriented approaches to and understandings of place. However, Environmental Humanities, although similarly interested in various humanities-borne responses to and engagements with place, appears more concerned with rural and remote ecologies and the 'natural environment', rather than that of cities or more predominantly peopled places as is the focus here.

be said to exist at this stage, subscribe to, and these shared positions will be explored further in the following chapter.

The relationship that is exposed and explored here exists between an experiential urban cultural terrain and the individuals who work amongst it; this terrain, and the reciprocity that functions between it and those who experience it, is what I will develop as "Buzz". Buzz, a term which has some traction in the Creative and Cultural Industries literature presently (Barthelt et al., 2004; Bell, & Jayne, 2006; Berg, 2018; Bilton, 2007; Jayne, 2006; Landry, 2005; Lee, 2016; Markusen, 2003; Murie, & Musterd, 2010; Taylor, 2011), is for the first time given thorough and dedicated attention here.

A new understanding of the role of Buzz will be developed through a triangulation of the philosophical and epistemological frameworks of urban atmospheric enquiry, which, at present, exist separately and tangentially to those of the Creative and Cultural Industries. In interrogating the role of the atmospheric terrains of the Creative and Cultural Industries, and by scrutinising the sectors and their relationship(s) to place via a diverse tradition of research into atmosphere and its mechanisms and affects (Anderson, 2009; Böhme, 1993; Bjerragaard, 2015), the research herein considers the impacts of the experiential terrains of cities, and specific parts thereof, on the mobilities of Creative and Cultural Industries workers.

Informed by an understanding of the related notions of scene and milieu (Amin &Thrift, 1992; Knox, 2001; Nadler, 2014; Thibaud, 2015; Tornqvist, 2004), this project goes further to illustrate how a sensitisation to Buzz via atmosphere represents a crucial and previously overlooked spatial currency that is central to the urban creative and cultural sectors, and to the lifeworld's of those that work in them. This thesis therefore advances upon previous studies into the interrelationships between the Creative and Cultural sectors and urban spaces and places by considering the perceptual dimensions of space in tandem with the material dimensions of the city.

By orienting myself epistemologically through the lenses of

psychogeographic and Situationist enquiry (Baudelaire, 1964; Bishop, 2012; Burton, 2009; Coverley, 2010; Self, 2007; Shields, 1994), as well the insights of others for whom on-foot exploration has been significant (Blake, 1794; De Quincey, 1821; Ford, 2011; Garrett, 2013; Kindynis, 2017; Rousseau, 1903; Thoreau, 1914), I'm successful in approaching the milieu of the Creative and Cultural Industries in new knowledge terms. In benefitting from the artistic and scholarly work involving walking and its merits as a means of phenomenological sensitisation to the urban, I explore and make sense of the Buzz of the Creative and Cultural Industries in novel and original ways. Walking figures centrally to this research, not only as the methodology by which the field is ultimately explored, but also as the everyday mobility by which the Buzz of cities is experienced, entered into, and traversed.

Whilst much of the spatial focus academically has been on the role of agglomerations, clusters, quarters, or districts in existing Creative and Cultural Industries research, this project offers a progression away from an analysis of the sectors as strictly (or predominantly) embedded in material space, and in advancing those existing narratives that consider the lived experiences of creative and cultural workers (Landry, 2000; Murie, &Musterd, 2010; Pratt, 2000; & Zukin, 1982; for example), the crucial and overlooked salience of affectual space is applied to established theories of clustering, agglomeration, networking, and other forms of geographic interdependency more known to the literature (Evans, 2009; Flew, 2010; Landry, 2000; Marshall, 1890; Nadler, 2014; Pratt et al., 2007; Storper, 1997).

Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates that it is a knowledge of the social, cultural, atmospheric, and symbolic associations and experiences of and with place, rather than the material reality of that place alone, that factors prominently in the flow of people and knowledge across the Creative and Cultural Industries. This is not to diminish or obscure the efficacy of the built city or indeed of material space more generally, but rather, in order to develop an understanding of the creative city and the experience of its Buzz as both an individualised and subjective, as well as collectivised and objective, terrain.

I will demonstrate, as a necessary and critical counter-narrative to the place-doubting assumptions proffered by the concept of the Weightless Economy (Quah, 1996) and its proponents, that the Creative and Cultural Industries illustrate the fundamental importance of place. Further still, this thesis' primary focus on the experiential geographies of the Creative and Cultural Industries both supports Rosenthal and Strange's (2003) contention that attention must be paid to "the micro-geography of agglomeration" (p. 388), and develops it further, by suggesting that this micro-geographic scrutiny needs to be targeting the atmospheric terrains of the city, as well as its physical dimensions. Additionally, in critiquing a general focus on organisational-scale analysis in the literature, whereby spatial scrutiny of the Creative and Cultural Industries has predominantly considered the sectors at the meso and macro-level through the lens of businesses, creative clusters, or cultural quarters (Currid & Connolly, 2008; O'Connor & Gu, 2010; Flew, 2010;), this thesis demonstrates that crucial micro-geographies of the individual have been overlooked.

A better considered conceptualisation of Buzz stands to be defined. This new conceptualisation of Buzz emerges through a reimagining of the existing ideas about Buzz, which are developed through the lens of atmospheric enquiry. This new taxonomy of Buzz will advance current knowledge of this field by demonstrating the efficacy of the perceptual, experiential, and atmospheric space of the city on the Creative and Cultural Industries. In the process, I will establish multiple new concepts to demonstrate and articulate these contributions; Firstly, 'The Layered City' conceptualises different stratus of urban places based upon various issues of capital and control, up to and including a sensate realm. Secondly, 'The Buzz Cycle' conceptualises the myriad cyclical dynamics and reciprocities of people and place within a given Creative and Cultural Industries milieu, and thirdly, 'The Buzz Ecology' conceptualises the wider city which is its context.

# Research Questions

1) In the context of the Creative and Cultural Industries, what is Buzz?

2) How does the concept of Buzz expand understanding regarding the role of place for the Creative and Cultural Industries?

3) In what ways does Buzz impact upon the Creative and Cultural Industries and the individuals who work in the sectors?

4) How will an understanding of Buzz advance the intellectual scrutiny of the Creative and Cultural Industries?

# Chapter One: Laying the Theoretical Groundwork

1.0 Introduction

This thesis is built upon three key theoretical contexts, each of which requires a specific exploration in order to sufficiently underpin its multiple scholarly trajectories. Section one of this opening chapter explores the idea of 'place' (the field of study), and in particular, various approaches to its scrutiny as a fundamentally 'subjective' terrain. Place, in terms both of its utility as well as the perceptions and experiences of it, is established as changeable, rich, and ebbing, as well as built, material, and concrete.

Section two considers the related notions of atmosphere and ambiance and the experiencing thereof. It does so in order to explore much of the salient philosophical work regarding the human experiencing of place, notably its emotive and felt terrains, which is necessary here so as to build towards my development and scrutiny of the concept Buzz as an atmosphere experienced by creative and cultural sector workers.

The final section of chapter one considers walking and its relationship to the experiencing of environments, in order to better understand the relationality between walking in and perceiving place. By drawing on insights from across academia and the arts, this final section will consider the sensitisation to place and knowledge that walking mobilises. Walking, as a process and approach to conducting research, will be returned to further in chapter five as I set-out its utility as a methodological tool through which to learn about environments.

2.0 Space, Place, and The Layered City

2.1 Looking to the Earth in a Post-Internet Era

Today it is possible, it might seem, to explore every corner of the planet via the internet. Without taking a single step outdoors, Google's 'Street View' can

take its users on a tour of villages, towns, and city centres on the opposite side of the planet instantaneously; a disembodied, virtual, and computerised exploration of space for a new kind of technological nomad, who is entirely sedentary. This is, of course, quite different to the aerial satellite images which we're perhaps more accustomed to seeing in more typical cartographic representations of place; Google has, as a result of its non-stop brigade of street-view cars and their constant roaming and capturing on an enormous amount of the drive-able roads on Earth (Anguelov et al., 2010), created a 'first person' perspective that spans huge swathes of the planet[5]. Continuing to concentrate their efforts somewhat, Google has more recently expanded and diversified its mapping activities too, to places where cars cannot penetrate; it is now possible for example to tour Legoland California via the Google Street View trike, to dive in the Great Barrier Reef via the Underwater Street View camera, and to trek up Mount Snowdon via Walking Street View, affixed to someone's backpack.

Bonnet (2015) suggests that the apparent totality with which we now know much of the world, not least of which because of the mapping efforts of Google and others, works to redefine an interest in place as outdated; a kind of geographic nostalgia, an obsolete romanticism of place, and a now unnecessary passion for exploration because so much of place is apparently known, charted, photographed, and digitised. In the post-internet age of hyper-mobility (Cohen, & Gössling, 2015), where smart phones can locate users precisely, anywhere, and at any time, scholarly focus has been distracted away from *terra firma* and towards the apparent placelessness of new online worlds and, as a result, any interest in material space may

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[5] Although according to the Google's own data, as of June 2012, Street View was available in 39 countries, 3000 cities, and along 5 million miles of road (https://www.zdnet.com/article/google-maps-now-covers-75-of-global-pop-26-million-miles-of-directions/), and whilst their reach is undeniably global, street-view tends to be most available in the developed West, with large portions of the African and Central American continents for instance without this particular kind of digitisation (https://www.google.com/streetview/understand/).

perhaps even be considered reactionary (Bonnet, 2015):

> "In a hyper-mobile world, a love of place can easily be cast as passé, even reactionary. When human fulfilment is measured out in air miles and when even geographers subscribe to the idea…that communities increasingly find their common ground in cyberspace"…wanting to think about place can seem a little perverse (p. xiii)."

These digital landscapes are of course rich pickings for social scientists, geographers, and anthropologists; they are new lands, largely uncharted and undefined, full of potentially fertile earth where new ideas and definitions of people, place, space, and community exist to be discovered and declared. Indeed, there has been research into the new geographies of the internet from Gender Studies (Roberts, & Parks, 1999), Communication Studies (Hampton, Goulet, & Albanesius, 2014), Development Studies (Ekström, Ollson, & Shehata, 2014), Religious Studies (Downy, 2014), Sociology (Fuchs, 2010), and Education (Goodson, 2002) to name but a few, and an incredibly diverse set of investigations into how the immateriality of online spaces has directly shaped, for instance, the online communities of environmental activists in China (Jingfang, 2011), the social networking of mental health sufferers (Parr, 2008), the cultural dimensions of forums for breast cancer patients (Lovatt et al, 2017), the new online geographies of deaf people (Valentine, & Skelton, 2003), and the role of cyberspace in the shaping of social and political spaces for British Muslims (Ahmad, & Sardard, 2012).

Bonnet's (2015) contention that a return to place might be considered passé is indeed a critique of my own research interests that has occasionally emerged; it's often amongst the questions asked of me at conferences: "But what about the internet, online spaces, forums and chatrooms, aren't these the territories and new frontiers that we should be exploring?" Such questions, although not explicitly challenging an interest in place per se, implicitly suggest either that through our collective and relentless efforts to map, chart, photograph, and video our surroundings little exists to be

discovered in the 'real world', or more simply, that more fertile scholarly terrain now exists online.

Whilst online environments are clearly of broad academic interest and do indeed offer exciting new territory for research, so too do these new online worlds force a reconsideration of the importance of material space in 2019. Google's Street View is a fundamental reimagining of the way in which human space relationships are mediated, implicating not only the ways in which spaces are seen and explored, but interpreted and imagined also (Alvarez-León, 2016). Bonnet (2015) suggests however that capitulation to a pervasive notion that in the cities of the 21st century there are no uncharted lands, new places, new interpretations of places, or new geographical meanings to uncover, is hasty. Bonnet (ibid.) furthers this through a focus on places which he terms as 'unruly', or places which do not, essentially, conform to a single narrative constructed by and experienced through the commodifying forces and technologies of an all-powerful post-internet era. More broadly, McKenzie and Tuck (2014) suggest that place remains a crucial field for critical enquiry, suggesting that:

> "An increased focus on place in critical research matters because it enables greater attention the ways in which land and environmental issues intersect with social issues and social life" (p. 3).

Bonnet (2015) suggests that place is a fundamental aspect of what is to be human, and that we are, ultimately, a 'place-making' species. This is a view that echoes Garret (2014), who's own inspiration to rediscover place through trespass, "refused to let adventure, mystery, and desire wither in a world rendered increasingly mundane by media saturation, gentrification, surveillance, the restriction of civil liberties, and health and safety laws (p. 2)." Garrett, through his urban exploration (2014), and those of Bonnet in his collation of unruly places (2015), reminds us of places that do not conform, that challenge our perceptions of the World, and that, even in the age of supposed total surveillance and commodification of urban experience, the city can still conceal spaces of spatial wonderment within it.

2.2 In Search of Place

In building towards an original conceptualisation of Buzz as an atmosphere implicated in the mobilities of urban Creative and Cultural Industries' workers, it is important to first consider the notions of space and place, and indeed the discipline of Geography more generally. Psarras defines geography as "a spatial science concerned with the study of various physical processes, human patterns and their interrelations on earthly surfaces" (2015, p. 98). Human geography is, in the simplest sense, to be considered a broad field of enquiry interested in human-place interrelations. Louis Wirth (1938), the urban socialist writing during the emergence of the first 'true' modern cities at the start of the 20th century, forwards an early consideration about how the concept of urbanity might come to be defined:

> "The characterisation of a community as urban on the basis of size
> alone is obviously arbitrary…As long as we identify urbanism with the
> physical entity of the city, viewing it merely as rigidly delimited in
> space, and proceed as if urban attributes abruptly ceased to be
> manifested beyond an arbitrary boundary line, we are not likely to
> arrive at any adequate conception of urbanism as a mode of life
> (Wirth, 1938, p. 4)."

Wirth (1938) articulates an appreciation for geographic space that exceeds pure materiality; indeed, unlike aspects of human geography's disciplinary bedfellow physical geography, those material characteristics of space that are scientifically quantifiable - the movement of glaciers, the structure of river systems, or the chemical composition of soil, for instance – are rooted in quite different understandings of what constitutes place and of what place is constituted. Instead, Wirth (ibid.) expresses an interest in urbanism as a 'mode', or as a lived and ultimately peopled experience, not strictly delimited in space. As Wirth himself acknowledged however, there are limitations in his eventual approach, in which he considered the city only as a physical entity, and so the criterion he establishes for measuring urbanity – size, density,

and heterogeneity – are not wholly revealing as benchmarks in an urban framework. Indeed, as Schmid later reflects, "the essence of the city is determined not by size, density, or heterogeneity, but by the quality of active, everyday processes of interaction (2012, p. 49)."

The trajectory of human geography, following the so-called 'spatial turn' and its coalescing of the social, cultural, and political through the lens of the spatial, is of most interest throughout this thesis. This position emerges on one particular side of what Agnew (2011) describes as the discrepancy between a Newtonian and Leibnizian conceptualisation of space. The Newtonian conceptualisation discerns space as an independent entity regardless of how it is populated by people or objects (p. 318) and considers space as 'concrete' (Mckenzie and & Tuck, 2014, p. 6). In contrast, I progress more broadly along what Agnew (2011) later defines as a "Leibnizian perspective in which space is relational and dependant, holding no powers in itself".

Following Agnew's (ibid.) understanding of a Leibnizian conceptualisation of space then, this work's epistemic root challenges what Psarras discerns as a central tenet of traditional geographic thought – simply, it's efforts to describe the world, functioning as a purely rational discipline seeking a formal and quantitative grasp of space (2015, p .101). Rather, I advance my analyses here through a tradition of space related thought best organised perhaps via Lefebvre's (1991) work through the 1970s in establishing the notion of space as being more than objective and material, but inherently social and lived. Indeed:

> "It was not until the rise of dialectical spatiality in the mid-to-late 70s…that geographers began to conceptualize new approaches to linking society and space: not a space in which social characteristics are mapped and relations unfold *on space*, but a geography that is integral to and formed by those characteristics and relations. (Smith et al., 2009, p. 6)."

These social approaches, which tend towards geographic work as being about 'exploration' rather than 'navigation' (Heffman, 2003), emerge through the human geography sub-discipline of social geography, which, as Smith et al. (2009) explain, is "concerned with the way space mediates the production and reproduction of key social divides – such as class, race, gender, age, sexuality and disability (p. 1)." For social geographers, space functions both as the earth upon which these social divides are experienced and played out, and as a mediating terrain through which they are socio-spatially reinforced. Later emerging through what has been termed the 'cultural turn' in human geography (Pain et al., 2001), which focussed upon the "spatial character of social groups and their interaction within a series of cultural phenomena" (Psarras, 2015., p. 100), myriad cultural geographers have engaged in the complexities of heterogeneous populations and their socio-cultural and spatial interrelations.

Such spatial interrelations are subject to what Harvey (1989, p. 222) terms, in his 'Grid of Spatial Practice', both the 'domination and control of space' and also 'the production of space';

> "The domination of space reflects how individuals or private groups dominate the organisation and production of space…so as to exercise a greater degree of control…over the manner in which space is appropriated [and] the production of space examines how new systems (actual or imagined)…are produced, and how new modes of representation (e.g. information technology, computerised mapping, or design) arise (Harvey, 1989, p. 222)."

Following Marx, much discussion regarding space and the post-modern period concerns itself with what Marx termed the 'the annihilation of space by time' (Massey, 1991), and a Marxist geographic tradition is one which considers as crucial the interrelations between capital, social and class inequalities, and their spatial elements. This speaks to the rise of what Relph (1976) had previously termed 'placelessness', or the so-called decline of place through commodification, commercialisation, and a resultant loss of

meaning.

Harvey (1989) has said that;

> "I think it's important to challenge the idea of a single and objective
> sense of time or space, against which we can measure the diversity of
> human conceptions and perceptions. I shall not argue for a total
> dissolution of the objective-subjective distinction, but insist, rather, that
> we recognise the multiplicity of the objective qualities which space and
> time can express, and the role of human practices in their construction
> (p. 203)."

In developing Harvey (ibid.), Graham (1997) offers two distinct
conceptualisations of the 'field' (Amit, 2000), representing differing
approaches to and notions of space, in particular 'social space', as explained
by Anderson:

> "According to Graham, realism is a philosophical position that holds
> that there is a 'real' world of existence out there, independent of
> human conceptualisation…Alternatively, the 'anti-realist' position
> denies this configuration, arguing that humans created the world we
> know through our mental capacities." (Anderson, 2004, p. 254)

Graham's (1997) dichotomisation draws distinction between two different
conceptualisations of space; a realist, perhaps Newtonian, notion that space
is an unmediated truth with a fixed meaning, and an anti-realist notion that
space is ultimately of human construct. Following the Leibnizian
conceptualisation, Graham's (1997) anti-realist notion - the contention that
space is a pervasive experience, brimming with negotiated meanings in
constant flux depending upon the individual - is both a convincing argument
for the ongoing necessity of place, and the need for methods and
approaches with which take into account the spatial dimensions of
knowledge. The methodological implications of such an insight are discussed
further in chapter five.

Within the social sciences, after Lefebvre (1991) and his contention that social space is a social product, definitions and understandings of 'space' and 'place' are not interchangeable, as Anderson and Jones explain:

> "Spaces are scientific, open and detached, whilst places are intimate, peopled, and emotive. Place then is the counter point of space: places are politicised and cultured; they are humanised versions of space." (2009, p. 292)

Rohkra and Schulz (2009) agree, further clarifying the limits of definitions of 'space' as an unmediated container for human experience, and instead expressing the reciprocity of meaning-making between people and space:

> "Space is no longer regarded as a given setting in which humans operate, but as something which is intrinsically linked with humans: space not only influences human beings, it is also given meaning through the human perspective. Space cannot be taken as an objectively given because it is an a priori of human existence." (Rohkra, & Schulz, 2009, p. 1340)

The fundamental relationality between people and place as described by Anderson and Jones (2009) and Rohkra and Schulz (2009) echoes earlier work by Tuan (1997), whose discerns that place exists only through human experience; "An object or place achieves concrete reality when our experience of it is total, that is, through all the senses as well as with the active and reflective mind" (Tuan, 1977, p. 18). Indeed, for Tuan, societies and individuals don't exist in a series of abstract geometric forms and structures, but rather in terrains of sensing and sense-making. Tuan demonstrates this position by considering the construct of the neighbourhood as a spatial entity and how it comes to be through processes of meaning making through exposure and experience:

> "Places and objects define space, giving it geometric personality…A

neighbourhood is at first a confusion of images to the new resident; it is a blurred space 'out there'. Learning to know the neighbourhood requires the identification of significant localities…places are centres of value (p. 17-18)."

There is then a cyclical exchange of meaning between people and place, rendering certain places with certain importance for certain people, both at the individual and collective level, as Booth explains further:

"As we experience a place we experience an intertwining of ourselves with that place; an intertwining of memories, both personal and collective, with the physicality of place. This interlacing of place and memory can be said to infuse memory with physicality, and place with mentality." (Booth, 2008, p. 299)

The role of memory specifically will be returned to more fully in chapter six of this thesis as I explore Buzz in Leeds with numerous co-explorers. The role of experience as described above by Booth, or to use Tuan's (1977) terminology the 'experiential perspective' of place, is interesting as it positions the perceiving body and its spatial context in a dialogic relationality whereby places are constructed through human experience, as Tuan describes:

"Place is a centre of meaning constructed by experience. Place is known not only through the eyes and mind but also through the more passive and direct modes of experience…to know a place fully means both to understand it in an abstract way and to know it as one person knows another" (p. 152).

The way in which place is experienced by people, as well as being of concern for those engaged in a broadly defined social scientific endeavour, emerges interestingly elsewhere in the academy too, notably in landscape design and architecture. Thwaites (2001) says that:

"Growth in the number of households in England over the next 20 years is seen as an opportunity to regenerate towns and cities by emphasizing the design of quality places. Quality in this context is increasingly associated with place experience rather than simply use of space or admiration of its beauty" (p. 245).

Thwaites suggests that whilst the architectural perspective might once have been more concerned with the built and material dimensions of place – an apparently now traditional understanding of what constitutes the notion of 'quality' in terms of certain aesthetic or tangible decisions – it has been challenged by a general sensitivity to the role of experience in shaping people's judgements and perceptions of place as either 'quality' or not. Thwaites continues, saying "that a preoccupation with aesthetic value and technical proficiency may sometimes overshadow design of landscapes that have social relevance as well as beauty and utility (p. 246)."

Thwaites' suggestion, that a discipline more commonly or naturally aligned with material spatial considerations, is increasingly sensitised to what Tuan (1977) or Booth (2008) subscribe to in terms of the role of experience beyond utility is interesting. For instance, Thwaites reflects upon the notion of 'genus loci' (2001, p. 246), familiar as a consideration in landscape architecture, which encourages designers to "search out an assumed pre-existent essence, unique to specific locations, with which subsequent development should aim to harmonize" (ibid). This notion of the 'essence' of a place speaks in a general sense to the centrality of human meaning making, perception, and experience in the construction of place, despite the apparently divergent epistemic origins of each respective school of thought. That said, the view from Thwaites specifically, and architectural or design thinking more generally, seems to overlook the role of individual perceiving bodies in the construction of place in favour of an apparently collectivised but nonetheless harmonious essence of a place.

Elsewhere in the academy, Olwig (2011), in reflecting upon the discrepancies between globalism and the interests of landscape, considers the

fundamental contradiction between a cartographic perspective of global space versus an experiential and embedded view of urban landscapes. Olwig (ibid.) suggests that the lens through which planners work positions them as observationally god-like, maintaining a 'Gods-eye perspective' (p. 405), and reflects that this is "problematic because the complex physical and social interactions that take place on the Earth cannot be reduced to the common denominator of scalar isotropic space (p. 413)." The notion of a God-like view and its capacity, or lack thereof, to illicit meaningful perspectives about place as ultimately subjective and peopled is returned to in the auto-ethnographic passage which introduces my methodology in chapter five.

As well as the notions of 'genus loci' (Thwaites, 2001) and criticisms of the so-called 'Gods-eye perspective' (Olwig, 2011) being interesting in and of themselves, they also serve as keen demonstrations of the way in multidisciplinary thinking can contribute meaningfully to the development of thought. Indeed, this thesis is unusual in the way in which it brings divergent schools of thought regarding place into conversation with each other, and whilst competing logics may articulate divergent perspectives, as a work seeking to reflect broadly upon the critical reading of place as a movement across multiple disciplines, it is enriched by this complexity. As McKenzie and Tuck ( 2014) reflect upon in their own multi-disciplinary discussion of place as a context of enquiry:

> "There are often important divergences and even competing logics at work in these areas of research…The book brings these areas into conversation, without papering over the differences, but also without maintaining false dichotomies. Instead…we bridge these and related domains to examine place in social science research, and in doing so, define and contribute to the emerging area of critical place inquiry" (p. 5).

This broadly shared conceptualisation of place as dialogically and relationally bound to human experience is developed by Casey (2001), who's assertion

is that both people and place are implicated in a reciprocal knowledge exchange process:

> "The relationship between self and place is not just one of reciprocal influence…but also, more radically, of constitutive co-ingredience: each is essential to the being of the other. In effect, there is no place without self and no self without place. (Casey, 2001, p. 654)."

Casey suggests that place isn't a passive context within which things happen, but rather, place is both a mediating platform upon which actions occur and a platform which mediates those actions. The notion of 'constitutive co-ingredience' defines the process by which the so-called 'geographic self' (ibid.) shapes place, and how, in turn, place shapes that self. It also suggests, through the agentic capacity that Casey (ibid.) assigns to the self, albeit one that's essentially continent upon place, that the actions of people can adjust and change places. Anderson (2004) develops this thinking, by suggesting that over time, places can be changed by the expectations and associations of individuals through their everyday behaviours and interactions with that particular place, stating that:

> "Time alongside practice sediments meaning onto places, with personal memories meshing with cultural meanings on an individual and (potentially) societal scale…As a consequence of the reciprocal relations between place, human identity and time, individuals engender meanings and significances for particular places (2004, p. 256)."

The processes by which individuals can engender place with subjective impressions effectively reconfigures the city, at least at the personal level, as a site constructed through negotiated means. This rebalances or shifts the agency of place-making or meaning-making, in the sense rather than considering cities as places built *for* populations, they must instead be conceived of as places built *by* them also. Indeed, it is the individual

perceiving body that augments urban places, which are necessarily composed of multiple meanings. The role of perception in terms of the experience of place is advanced further in discussions around atmosphere in the following section of this chapter.

Places then are fluid, and whilst their locations may be fixed, their meanings are in constant flux. Connecting the multiple and interdisciplinary perspectives which have mobilised research practice through walking, which will be dealt with practically and conceptually in detail in chapter five, is a shared understanding of both the inherently spatial character of human knowledge, and also an understanding that any given place has myriad meanings which are changeable. In brief however, this flow of meaning, and the walkers' ability to control that flow dependant on their own perception, can layer meaning upon even the same locations multiply. This sedimentation of a multiplicity of meanings and perceptions onto a shared or public place is something that will be returned to as this section concludes, as a key component of my original 'Layered City' concept, which endeavours to stratify different layers of urbanity based upon, amongst other things, their sensate terrains as related to issues of capital and power.

The essence of the city (Schmid, 2012, p. 49), its measurement based on meaning-making rather than materiality, must still exist in place with some relationality to the 'built', and is considered and well-located in the concept of 'Loose Space' (Franck & Stevens, 2006). 'Loose Space' is understood as sites in which people subvert expectations regarding normative behaviours or activities in a place, and in so doing, appropriate it. Franck and Stevens (2006), in wanting to explore aspects of the city beyond matter-of-fact or concrete materiality and towards meaning-making, avoid categorising 'loose spaces' based only on physical or geographical characteristics. Indeed, rather than stating that, for instance, forgotten or accidental city spaces can engender an element of 'looseness', they instead suggest that loose spaces can exist alongside or within the parameters of sanctioned place, and that it is the behaviours and activities of people that qualify a space as 'loose'.

This appropriation of physical place, and, importantly, the appropriation of the right to decide what the utility and meaning of that place might be, establishes these accidental or 'loose' spaces as places of great potential. This potential is about unforeseen opportunities, unplanned encounters, unintended productivity, and a certain level of serendipity:

> "…definitions and expectations are less exclusive and more fluid, where there is greater accessibility and freedom of choice for people to pursue a variety of activities. Here is the breathing space of city life, offering opportunities for exploration and discovery, for the unexpected, the unregulated, the spontaneous and the risky (Franck & Stevens, 2006, p. 3)."

Relatedly, the notion of 'Terrain Vague' (De Solà Morales, 1995) alludes to the ready availability, in a material sense, of structures which exert a seeming lack of control over their inhabitants (or lack thereof) due to their purposelessness. In the simplest sense, these are abandoned post-industrial and derelict urban residual spaces of the city (Psarras, 2015, p. 256), which, through the activities of those who seek to impose themselves upon them in order to reanimate them, become considered as sites of potential.

Ultimately, both Franck and Stevens (2006), through the concept of 'Loose Space' and De Solà Morales (1995) through the related notion of 'Terrain Vague', speak of urban sites around the world where the original or intended use of space no longer exists, and repurposing has the potential to take place. Such sites, or voids, in the city remerge throughout this thesis, both through the exploration of Psychogeographic or Situationist work to follow, or later, in consideration of material, aesthetic, and spatial sensitivities expressed by co-explorers.

Considered in isolation, the notions of 'Loose Space' or 'Terrain Vague' are at first glance antithetical to Lefebvre (1991), for instance, for whom space is produced through capitalist relations, or to Harvey (2008), for whom space develops under the hegemonic command of capital and the state, reinforcing

structures of domination and control (2008, p. 12), and further that under capitalism, "increasingly we see the right to the city falling into the hands of private or quasi-private interests (2008, p. 13)." However, it's interesting to consider the notions of 'Loose Space' (Franck & Stevens, 2006) and 'Terrain Vague' (De Solà Morales, 1995) in regard to Lefebvre's (1991) critical reading of place, notably his related notions of 'Espace Perçu' and 'Espace Vécu'.

Espace Perçu (or 'Perceived Space'), conceptualises the more materialized and actual places that exist empirically in the world. Such places are directly perceivable, thereby open to measurement and description (Rogers, 2002). 'Espace Vécu' (or 'Lived Space'), denotes a more complex conception of place, not bound by concrete physicality or restricted only to the constituent parts of urban life that can be seen and touched empirically, but rather, by those aspects which are constructed by processes of human meaning-making (ibid.). We might conceive of 'Loose Spaces' or 'Terrain Vague' therefore as being sites which, through their neglect, express the capacity to be 'lived' in the Lefebvrian sense; they signify their potential to emerge through an active engagement between a body with space. What the interesting notion of 'Loose Space' requires, and indeed what it will be 'given' through the Layered City model, is the organising and structuring principles exerted on space by its context in capitalism.

Henceforth, Anderson and Jones' (2009) distinction of place will be used. This thesis will, for clarity, consider 'place' to emerge from 'space'; indeed, the meaning-making endeavours of people, developing Graham's (1997) anti-realist notion that people create their world through their mental capacities, are considered vital to the creation and experiencing of place. Developing Casey (2001), the notion of constitutive co-ingredience, which first draws distinction between lived place and the geographical self (p. 686), and secondly determines their fundamental reciprocity, is also crucial to the notion of place moving forwards. Ultimately:

> "I shall presume the importance of the distinction between place and

space, taking "space" to be the encompassing volumetric void in which things (including human beings) are positioned and "place" to be the immediate environment of my lived body-an arena of action that is at once physical and historical, social and cultural." (Casey, 2001, p. 683).

Importantly, whilst this understanding of place is predicated to some degree upon the notion of an agentic individual both perceiving and constructing their own sense of place, the wider context of that place is not to be ignored; the organising role of power and capital for instance as earlier considered via Harvey (1989) continues to be implicated throughout discussions of place hereon.

The reflection on Google's Street View which opened this chapter expressed a position, supported by Bonnet (2015), that such a technology cannot aptly express all that exists in the human experiencing of place. This has been explored more theoretically above in consideration of the social nature of place, as discussed by scholars from Lefebvre (1991) to Anderson and Jones (2009). Indeed, it can now be said that Street View offers us only a representation of the surface-most veneer of place that reveals little about the complexity of being in or experiencing it. Street View doesn't primarily account for time either, although it is possible to access historic street-view images. Perception of place is, of course, context dependent, and context is a broader concept than that of spatial surroundings, that must account too for history, discourse, and narrative. Whilst we might first imagine and treat space as fixed, unchanging, static, dead, or primordially given, it in fact emerges, like time, as rich, changing, moving, ebbing, and flowing (Franck, & Stevens, 2006).

What Google doesn't offer through its technological reductivism, is the kind of nuanced, interpretive, socio-culturally constructed, historically informed, and highly individualised experience of place that shapes and is constantly shaped by our experience of the world around us – the fundamental constitutive co-ingredience of 'place' and 'self' as described by Casey (2001).

Our capacities to experience this complexity, and to indulge ourselves in the multi-sensory realities of places, to consider what it feels like to be *here*, and *now*, points to the crucial role of the affectual realm, what Psarras (2015) terms 'emotive terrains' or what Lefebvre refers to as 'Lived Space', in any consideration of place.

The above discussion, which has built towards my working definition of place (via Anderson and Jones, 2009; Graham, 1997; and Casey, 2001), speaks explicitly to the introduction of atmosphere and its scholarly traditions in the following section. Indeed, Street View necessarily collapses the complex and phenomenological multi-dimensionality of place and its experience, which will be evidenced by scholars of atmosphere in consideration of the fundamental role of the body and the senses, for instance. So too is place, as arrived at above, crucial to my later mapping of the Buzz of Leeds, which, far from expressing an objective, simple, or singular narrative of space, instead reveals a complex multiplicity of place-impressions layered onto the city.

2.3 The Layered City

As well as advancing a definition of place with which to progress this work, it's also fruitful to conceive of a model of the city itself around which to organise one's thoughts and theories. A more thorough interrogation of the city itself as a site of experience follows via an analysis of urban walking. The Layered City model, which will be described below, functions as a means by which to visualise the relationality between the built and the felt, and in so doing to advance the previous discussion of place towards the insights of atmospheric enquiry which follow. The Layered City model differentiates between place-types, mapping issues of access, experience, perception, and meaning-making for instance, across (or through) three layers of hierarchized place; Power Places, Labour Places, and Loose Spaces.

The Layered City hierarchizes urban place by conceptualising horizontal strata of the city, that is the notions of Power Places, Labour Places, and Loose Spaces, with flows of people, ideas and energy mapped vertically onto

them. This cross-section, which emerges out of previous discussions around space and place, brings together the established notion of place with the notion of Loose Space. As well as giving us a model with which to consider certain material dimensions of city, indeed, in helping to conceptualise the notion of peripherality which emerges in later discussions of Buzz with co-explorers, The Layered City model maps the relationality between less-material organising principles of cities too, notably those of power, capital, and control.

At the top of the hierarchy is a layer of low penetrability, inhabited by a small class of financial, social, and political elites, and obscured and reinforced by systems of control and power. This 'Power Place' operates furthest from the 'Loose Space', and in the most heavily sanctioned places of the city. The inhabitants rotate between financial districts built of one-way glass, municipal quarters fortified by stone walls, and penthouse apartments secured by round-the-clock CCTV. They walk a fine line between public and private, visible and invisible; the city they live in is one that Harvey (1989) might argue was built around and for them, as they serve and represent the interests of the forces of capital which commodify and control the city.

Beneath the Power Place is the most populated layer, the Labour Place. This layer is composed of the workforce, a heterogeneous population of anonymous urban dwellers, mapping pathways between home, work, and authorised leisure spaces, never delineating from the paths, and rarely operating outside of the formalised and internalised structures of urban civility. Here we experience "placelessness" (Relph, 1976), where the commercialisation and commodification of experience, delivered though the Power Place, results in a standardisation of activity and a resultant collapse of meaning (Psarras, 2015, p. 255). The Labour Place, considered through the Marxian perspective as the terrain in which the commodifying forces of capital are absolute, is comprised of 'non-place' (Augé, 1995); sites which function as transient spaces, and conduits through which anonymous flows are orchestrated. These concepts of 'placelessness' (Relph, 1976) and 'non-place' (Augé, 1995) will be returned to later in this thesis, as co-explorers

demonstrate their relationships to myriad sites across Leeds.

Loose Spaces may first be imagined as being at the bottom of the Layered City model; they are the boiler rooms, bubbling away underneath layer after layer of clearly defined and orchestrated areas with sanctioned and controlled purposes, providing a crucial space for reflection, thought, expression, and creation. In a material sense, these are the peripheral places of cities following the flight of industry and its capital in the post-industrial era, now dominated by its neglected, abandoned, and largely forgotten structures. In the simplest reading, this describes Terrain Vague:

> "[Terrain Vague] is a term that denotes the unproductive, abandoned and post-urban residual spaces of the city. It indicates a space, which is both a wasteland but also holds potential for the future." (Psarras, 2015, p. 256)

Less materially bound, it might be truer to suggest that Loose Space is not located at all. Whilst we might be able to point to certain forgotten corners of cities as having the potential be 'loose', we can also disassociate this looseness from tangible, concrete city space altogether as Frank and Stevens (2007) explained. Perhaps we can go so far as to say that it exists instead at an entirely atmospheric level, and that rather than being defined by its physicality, loose space might best be considered instead as the felt terrain upon and through which city dwellers experience their own subjective sensing-of-place, and in so doing, appropriate place through their own personal meaning-making endeavours.

The loose space then can be conceptualised in terms of its relationship to the Power Place and Labour Place, however it doesn't, as mentioned, necessarily manifest physically in the same way. It is however obscured in a similar way as the Power Space may be, hidden from view by the ideological impetus of the city, which serves to retain people within the Labour Place, where they are accountable, predictable and productive, enamoured by the spectacle of the city (Debord, 1961). As a felt realm composed of subjective

experiences within objective architectonic structures of the city, Loose Space is both embedded in and an ephemerality of the city. This relationality between object and subject, and objective and subjective, speaks directly to the following section of this chapter which looks in further detail at the notion of atmospheres, their spatial dimensions, and how they advance the above thinking about place and cities towards an understanding of Buzz.

## 3.0 Philosophies of Atmosphere and Experience

### 3.1 Beginning a Dialog in Atmosphere

*"What is aura actually? A strange tissue of space and time"* - W. Benjamin

Although concerned specifically with the urban experiences of Creative and Cultural Industries workers in Leeds, and their own spatialized affective interrelationships with the city, this thesis must first be predicated upon the unpacking of multiple concepts that can work towards that specific set of insights. Notably, and helping to establish key historical contexts that anchor this research, an unpacking of what we mean when we talk about the experience of urban atmospheres or ambiences. Specifically, this section is a critical interrogation of the notion of urban atmosphere that establishes the conceptual framework with which to consider atmospheres moving forwards throughout this research. Eventually building towards and upon work from a broad history of scholastic and artistic inquiry into the affective qualities of spaces, this research explores place under the contention that it is largely subjective as explored in the previous section, and that urban subjectivities can stem from any given individual's own perceptions, as shaped by any number of factors ranging from the demographic (such as age, gender, and so on), to the less explicit and more conceptual issues of politic, ideology, and so on.

Before looking more specifically at the ways in which the sensate experience of the city has factored historically in the scrutiny of urbanity, the notions of atmosphere and ambience will first be considered. The interrelationships between individuals and their affective experiences of cities has been spoken

about broadly in the literature, most notably in terms of the slightly allusive and fuzzy concepts of 'ambience' (Lucas and Mair, 2008; Thibaud, 2015) or 'atmosphere' (Bille, Bjerregaard, & Sørenson, 2015; Bohme, 1993, 1997; Faces, 2010; Sørenson, 2015). The following section, which foregrounds more specific discussions about walking as a means by which to enter into such spaces, collates and distils some of the thinking on urban ambiences and atmospheres. It does so in the form of a literature review, by gathering some of the more salient philosophical dialogue within the ambience and atmosphere scholarship, in an effort both to understand and build upon the critical discourses and narratives, and also to consider how these might impact my own research into the experiential geographies of the Creative and Cultural Industries in Leeds.

This section establishes the knowledge terms with which the concept of urban creative and cultural 'Buzz' is approached, which is later developed as a proxy for the accumulative sensate experience of places with creative and cultural vitality. This is then explored as a development, reconsideration, and reapplication of these varying contemplations of urban atmosphere, here established specifically for the Creative and Cultural Industries and the people who work within them. My research into the urban creative Buzz in Leeds then functions as just one of many studies under the broader theoretical frameworks from the relatively established field of urban atmospheric enquiry, and it is within the relatively broad epistemological tradition of research into the experiences of ambiences or atmospheres that this thesis is conceptually rooted.

It's important at this stage to give the following exploration of atmosphere as related to spatial experience a theoretical basis and underpinning, notably within, or perhaps emerging from, a body of work following the so-called 'Affectual Turn', as Cromby and Willis (2016) describe:

> "In recent years, the "affective turn"—a central concern with, and analytic focus upon, the phenomena designated by terms such as affect, emotion, and feeling—has permeated the arts, humanities, and

social sciences, and is now influential within disciplines including literary studies, geography, history, cultural studies, sociology, criminology, social theory, and political theory" (p. 476).

Deluze (In Gregg, & Seigworth, 2010, p. 6) considers affect in terms of the relationality between things, configuring affect as the vehicle of emotive transmission between the perceiving body and its context, and discerning the notion of assemblages as the coming together of bodies and worlds reciprocally and simultaneously. Affect is, according to Gregg and Seigworth (ibid.) "a modulating field of myriad becoming's across the human and non-human (2010, p. 6)", in which, as Blackman and Venn (2010) confirm, notions of bodily experience are central; "One consequence of the heightened interest in the non-verbal, non-conscious dimensions of experience is a re-engagement with sensation, memory, perception, attention and listening (p .8)."

In considering this formulation of the body as a perceiving, sensing, and experiencing mode or device, Latour's (2004) conceptualisation of the body not as a distinct or absolute thing, but rather as a process, is useful, as it encourages us to "shift our focus to consider how bodies are always thoroughly entangled processes…importantly defined by their capacities to affect and be affected. (Blackman, & Venn, 2010, p. 9). McCormack (2008) assists further in understanding bodies as mediums of experience, in differentiating between affect, feeling, and emotion:

> "Of particular importance here is a growing realisation of the necessity of attending to and through the differentiated nature of affectivity, and more specifically, to the difference between categories of affect, as a field of pre-personal intensity; feeling as that intensity registered in sensing bodies; and emotion as the socio-cultural expression of that felt intensity (p. 424)."

McCormack's distinctions here between affect (as pre-personal intensity), feeling (the experience of that intensity), and emotion (the expression of that

intensity), are useful when dealing with the empirics of this research throughout chapters five and six. Indeed, whilst the processes by which my co-explorers generate, experience, and share knowledge of spatial affect are considered methodologically, so too does this embodied process of affectual knowing – a journey from affect to emotion, via feeing - lay behind the responses to place as presented throughout the fieldwork.

Affect then is the conceptual and theoretical link between the previous section regarding issues of place and how it emerges through a process of constitutive co-ingredience between the 'geographic self' and its context (Casey, 2001) and this section's, and more broadly this thesis', interest in how the moving human body experiences and feels the atmosphere of places as it moves through or dwells within them. Affect, arrived at via Deluze (The relationality between things), Latour (the body as a process of experiencing), and McCormack (Distinctions between affect, feeling, and emotion) is the necessary theoretical go-between bridging place and atmosphere.

In "The Third Book of Opticks" (1718), Newton hypothesised the notion of 'The Æther' as a space-filling substance implicated as a transitionary medium in the refraction of light:

> "Doth not the Refraction of Light proceed from the different density of this Æthereal Medium in different places…And so if any one should suppose that *Æther* (like our Air) may contain Particles which endeavour to recede from one another (for I do not know what this *Æther* is) and that its Particles are exceedingly smaller than those of Air, or even than those of Light: The exceeding smallness of its Particles may contribute to the greatness of the force by which those Particles may recede from one another, and thereby make that Medium exceedingly more rare and elastick than Air (Newton, 1718, p. 324-325)."

In this, Newton hypothesises of an actual substance or medium, smaller and

less detectable than particles of air or light, filling the voids between objects and impacting upon their behaviour or movement. Detectable, Newton (ibid.) admits, only rarely due to its immense scarcity, and even then perhaps, only by the effects imparted onto other particles with which it interacts. As scientific theory Newton's Æther was never proven, and, following Einstein's Special Relativity (1905), has long-since been abandoned by the scientific community. As metaphor however, Newton's Æther, in hypothesising a simultaneously tangible and intangible medium filling all space, detectable only by its impacts on objects interacting within it, should perhaps be given some reprise in trying to explore atmospheres; Indeed, it is the processes and outcomes of entering perceptibly affective spaces composed of seemingly imperceptible stuff, that poses the central challenge to much atmospheric thinking and research.

Most more recent efforts to define Atmosphere begin within an etymological approach;

> "*Atmos* to indicate a tendency for qualities of feeling to fill spaces like a gas, and *sphere* to  a particular form of spatial organisation based on the circle. Together they enable us to consider how atmospheres surround people, things, and environments (Anderson, 2012, p.80)"

Such definitions, ultimately, conclude that the scientific understanding of 'atmosphere', whilst a logical starting point, falls someway short of useful in regard to approaching atmosphere from the perspective of the social sciences (ibid.). Indeed, whilst the image of an ethereal gas-like diffusion of matter within a given environment provides a pertinent metaphor for the way in which an atmosphere might first be conceptualised, it does little in the way of suggesting the fundamental subjectivity of the constituent parts of the model when replaced with human subjects and agents. When this is done, the notion of atmosphere becomes increasingly complex and problematic. Indeed, Newton's Æther is perhaps more pertinent as a starting point here then, building upon its metaphorical and philosophical dimensions in contrast with those etymologically revealed, and its central concession of the elasticity

and scarcity of the medium, with proclamations not of the absolute knowns, but the hypothesised and imagined unknowns.

General applications and perceptions of ambience or atmosphere, or their many variants in vernacular terms, tend ultimately to consider the affectual interrelationships between people and places. In other words, as part of common discourse, ambience and atmosphere are themselves largely interchangeable, both have multiple synonyms, and are composed of numerable commonly known sub-terms, each of which is also defined in part by an overriding sense of indeterminacy or vagueness. As Anderson (2009) explains;

> "In everyday speech and aesthetic discourse, the word atmosphere is used interchangeably with mood, feeling, ambience, tone and other ways of naming collective affects. Each word has a different etymology and different everyday and specialist uses. Moreover, the referent for the term atmosphere is multiple; epochs, societies, rooms, landscapes, couples, artworks, and much more, are all said to possess atmospheres (or be possessed by them) (Anderson, 2009, p. 78)."

As a broad set of colloquialisms then, underpinned as Anderson outlines by a series a tacitly known interpretations, definitions, and applications, it is clear that any critical or theoretical encounter with notions of atmosphere or ambience as phenomenological affects will operate within a much broader common vernacular defined by casual utterance and non-interrogative or scholarly use. The implications for this are multiple and potentially problematic, not only in regard to developing a coherent and consistent lexicon with which to progress this particular critical dialog, but also in demanding that a wide and loosely meshed net would need to be caste across the literature in order to properly collate and synthesise current and historic thinking on this theme. As a result, rather than attempting a far-reaching search of this nature, which would likely yield only further vagueness and point to ever-more 'atmosphere' variants, this chapter will

instead focus more tightly around literature specifically responding to and interrogating the notions of atmosphere and ambience themselves, rather than studies which might loosely illicit atmospheric narratives. Such insights will be dealt with, but at a later stage in this thesis, specifically in regard to the ways in which walking has been used to enter into atmospheric terrains and the analysis or consideration of them and their efficacy.

Anderson continues;

> "As a term in everyday speech, atmosphere traverses distinctions between peoples, things, and spaces. It is possible to talk of: a morning atmosphere, the atmosphere of a room before a meeting, the atmosphere of a city, an atmosphere between two or more people, the atmosphere of a street, the atmosphere of an epoch, an atmosphere in a place of worship, and the atmosphere that surrounds a person, amongst much else (Anderson, 2008, p.78)"

Anderson establishes multiple facets of atmosphere that work towards the beginnings of a conceptual framework with which to approach its scrutiny; firstly, it is loosely correlated with multiple other terms, all broadly drawing association between human responses to, in, and of place. Secondly, an atmospheric perception can apply both to strictly demarcated locales or more abstractly; On the one hand, according to Anderson, we might discuss the atmosphere of a specific street or person for instance, and on the other, we might engage in a more conceptual perception of the atmosphere of a winter's morning, of a social space, or of an entire city. Böhme (1993) elaborates:

> "The expression 'atmosphere' is not foreign to aesthetic discourse. On the contrary it occurs frequently, almost of necessity in speeches at the opening of exhibitions, in art catalogues and in eulogies in the form of references to the powerful atmosphere of a work, to atmospheric effect or a rather atmospheric mode of presentation. One has the impression that 'atmosphere' is meant to indicate something

indeterminate, difficult to express, even if it is only in order to hide the speaker's own speechlessness (p. 113)."

Atmosphere then, according to Böhme (ibid.), has become a proxy for spatial affects which struggle to be made lucid or are less intelligible or tellable than physical or tangible qualities of spatialized experience.[6] As part of everyday speech, atmosphere is perhaps, something of a shortcut; a vague elicitation pertaining to being in and of a place and experiencing it, which helpfully traverses the need for a more specific exegesis about the nature of that place, the nature of being and perceiving it, or indeed the nature of atmosphere itself. This notion of 'atmosphere' being a simplifying surrogate for more complex spatial affects, or a more nuanced consideration of what atmosphere itself might be composed of, is a position shared also by Anderson (2012), who states that;

"The term atmosphere seems to express something vague. Something, an ill-defined indefinite something, that exceeds rational explanation and clear figuration. Something that hesitates at the edge of the unsayable (Anderson, 2012, p. 78)."

This notion of atmospheres being unsayable, and that they exceed explanation or coherent figuration, poses perhaps the first challenge to a research project that, in part, hopes to deliver insights precisely about the apparently unsayable experience of atmosphere. As Löfgren finds, "the elusiveness and ephemerality of atmospheres create an ethnographic challenge (2014, p. 257)", and indeed this is a well-recognised problem within the field, as Tehrani and Moreau (2008) confirm:

"The definition of the term 'ambience' implies the character of a place and its qualities, taking into consideration the environment, the atmosphere, the feeling, the surroundings, the character and the

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[6] Issues around the potentially 'unsayable' (Böhme, 1993) nature of atmospheres is returned to in chapter five, in which I consider such issues regarding my methodology.

> mood of a person and the way a person expresses it. All of these
> factors make ambience a difficult and complicated concept." (Tahrani,
> & Moreau, 2008, p. 100)

As Bille et al. conclude "regardless of if atmospheres are discussed colloquially or academically, there seems to be something slippery and poorly defined about them (Bille at al., 2015, p. 32)". Henceforth, the term atmosphere will be used to collate the aforementioned affective experience of places or moments, in lieu of ambiance, mood, feeling, and their endlessly myriad variants. Atmosphere emerges as a somewhat loose and allusive term despite this narrowing of terms, which serves to obscure the even more allusive nature of atmosphere itself. What remains, according to Bille et al. (ibid), are a series of seemingly simple, but ultimately unanswered, questions; "What is an atmosphere? Where and when does it begin? And how does it transform, structure and shape the lives of people? (2015, p. 31)." These questions, which probe further than a discussion of fitting terminology itself, force a reconsideration or redefinition of atmosphere that must, if successful, deal with notions of place as well as with the processes of its perception. In what way's the World is experienced objectively or subjectively, individually or collectively, materially or psychologically, too must be considered, as well as the related notions of 'being' and 'perceiving' themselves called into question.

3.2 Sensing the Scene; Atmosphere, Staging, and Place-Making

Descriptions of the atmosphere of explicit but varied locations, for instance new housing developments, holiday destinations, or restaurants, as just a few of the more common examples, abound, and exist in order to promote certain places or destinations on the basis of them having an amenable or desirable sense of place. Although casually and non-critically uttered, targeted and applied uses of atmosphere in this way firstly exemplify their broad position within common vernacular, but further also highlight the interesting utilisation of atmosphere amongst marketing rhetoric, as Bille et al. describe;

"Atmosphere has increasingly become a point of reference for the immediate human interaction with particular places, even being applied as a marketing tool for promoting tourist sites and hotels (2015, p. 32)."

Such applications of atmosphere, operating as part of a collective and tacit vernacular seeking to communicate an idea of a feeling, function ultimately to stage atmospheres as experiences or bodily consumables, to be entered into physically and received emotionally. They are useful for marketeers, Anderson (2008, p. 78) explains, because they traverse the tricky ground of logical or tangible descriptors of a place, relying instead, as marketing more broadly does, on a series of more readily perceivable aesthetic and symbolic codes and their various associative values.

Bille et al. suggest that the experiential dimensions of place are co-opted as tools in the selling of locales, and the marketing of venues or destinations on the basis of how they make a consumer feel (2014, p. 32). Such descriptions aim ultimately to express a 'sense of place', and a vague application of atmosphere in this marketised co-option of the term, often seeks to deploy an experiential desirable which users can be part of and indulge in, in a transaction between body, mind, and place, wherein atmosphere is, somehow, automatically received by the perceiving person. In this conception, to appreciate such desirable atmospheres demands little from the perceiving person, who needs only arrive in order to experience atmosphere without any explicit conscious effort. Whilst atmosphere itself is operationalised here, the process by which to enter into, understand, experience, and consume it requires no such skill set.

The ways in which various urban stakeholders articulate place in atmospheric terms in order to marketise them, and to evidence Knox's (2009) suggestion that such descriptors demand little of the perceiving body, is well exemplified locally here in Leeds, and specifically in regard to the city's creative and cultural dimensions. Even in only searching for relatively

recent and city-central cases, atmosphere has been marketed explicitly and multiply; in regard to the contribution that street musicians make to the city[7], the marketing for one of the cities flagship and annual cultural festivals[8], in the outlining of photographic permissions in a public performance space[9], as part of an overarching development strategy for the city's historic Kirkgate market[10], and also as part of the marketing ephemera used during Leeds' hosting of the Tour De France[11]. In such cases, atmosphere is presented as a natural emittance in and of places, often here catalysed by a specific cultural activity or event taking place, and as a collective experiential space in which the public can revel. So too, as Löfgren finds, "atmosphere has increasingly been turned into a magic but elusive substance, an important asset for a city (2014, p. 255)."

Such utilisations of atmosphere as a place descriptor in the marketing of destinations or events, dependent upon a vernacular understanding of atmosphere as being an automatic and naturally emitted reality of a place, Thibaud (2015) suggests, conceals the multiple concerted efforts that have

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[7] "Leeds City Council welcomes activity which enhances the experience and atmosphere of the city centre"
(http://www.leeds.gov.uk/docs/Code%20of%20Conduct%20for%20Buskers%20and%20Street%20Performers.pdf)

[8] "So, bring your friends and family along to experience a fantastic festival atmosphere"
(http://www.leeds.gov.uk/docs/Light%20Night%20brochure.pdf)

[9] "Recreational photography of family, friends and/or scenic views to capture the atmosphere of the concert is permitted"
(http://www.leeds.gov.uk/docs/Millennium%20Square%20Concerts%20-%20Frequently%20Asked%20Questions.pdf)

[10] "The traditional atmosphere of the market should be protected. It should not become an over-organised, sterile space which would destroy the market's unique character."
(http://www.leeds.gov.uk/c/Documents/Kirkgate%20Market/020%20-%20march%202013%20-Exec%20board%20report/Kirkgate%20Market%20Strategy%20Report%2020130313.pdf)

[11] "Next to the Art Gallery, Victoria Gardens will play host to the riders signing on; and you can also enjoy the atmosphere all the way along The Headrow to Eastgate and beyond."
(http://www.leeds.gov.uk/docs/Tour%20de%20France%20Event%20Guide.pdf).

and can be made in order to shape or stage atmospheres. Indeed, according to Thibaud (ibid.) such efforts seek ultimately to shape the perceptions of people in regard to their experience of certain urban spaces and places:

> "Consider the conditioned environments of shopping malls, the planted areas of eco-neighbourhoods, the process of 'heritagization' of historic town centres, the privatisation of gated communities, the new scenes of the creative city, and the functional atmospheres of public transport facilities: in each case, every effort is made to create an ambience, to channel sensations and to make people feel a particular way (Thibaud, 2015, p. 39)."

In other words, according to Thibaud (ibid.), the city and the places and events within it, when considered as a locus for perceptual and sensory related research, may perhaps be understood fully only through a consideration of both the organic and autonomous experience automatically present, and also as a series of manufactured and instrumentalised experiences at the hand of place-makers, marketeers, and so on. Such efforts to marketise places on the basis of their atmosphere is, according to Meier and Reijndorp (2012), best understood as a system of 'theming', whereby everyday spaces and places are layered with descriptive and symbolic narratives as part of a process of commodifying urban experiences:

> "Theming is defined as the application of a narrative to institutions or places to make them more appealing…In a broader sense it is argued that theming is closely related to an intensified commodification of places…theming has been applied to shopping malls, inner city districts, or small-town city centres (2012, p. 443)."

Meier and Reijndorp (ibid.), along with Thibaud (2015, p. 39), here contend that atmospheres can and have been staged, shaped, or created by various stakeholders and, elaborating on this, imply that the experiential dimensions of specific locales could potentially be managed and manipulated in order to have a series of affective impacts on both the public and personal

perceptions of, or experiences in, certain places and spaces. This might, as Thibaud (ibid.) says, through the use of shopping malls and public transport facilities as examples, serve to directly but implicitly alter the behaviour of users towards various preferred activities, in these specific cases, shopping or swift way-finding. Such contentions reconfigure atmosphere in terms of potential; potential to be effective in altering people-place interrelationships through the staging of favourable atmospheres, resulting in favourable behaviours, as Anderson further explores;

> "Think of how atmospheres are sealed off through protective measures such as gated communities or certain types of building design. Or how atmospheres are intensified by creating patterns of affective imitation in sports stadiums and concert halls. Practices as diverse as interior design, interrogation, landscape gardening, architecture, and set design all aim to know how atmospheres are circumvented and circulate (Anderson, 2012, p. 80)"

Anderson here suggests two general notions; firstly, that atmosphere can be contained, and secondly, that atmosphere can be controlled. This distinction reveals an interesting and contradictory suggestions in terms of where we might place the agency of atmosphere; Firstly, through its containment in a gated community, atmosphere is spatially passive, entered into, and sealed off by the material structures or boundaries of its context. Secondly, through its intensification and deployment by design, atmosphere is spatially active, affecting the users of sports stadiums or concert halls. This notion of staging atmospheres in order to affect user, audience, or visitors experience is explored further by Heide, Lærdal, and Grønhaug (2007) within the context of tourism studies, specifically in the relationship between hotel architecture. They suggest that:

> "The relevance of and emphasis on ambience for creating a successful hospitality experience is evident from reading almost any travel related journal or magazine…In the service marketing literature, ambience has been viewed in relation to customers and has been

discussed in particular as a tool for changing consumer attitudes and behaviour. (Heide, Lærdal, & Grønhaug, 2007, p. 1315)"

In addition to the shaping of hospitality experiences, as Heide, Lærdal, and Grønhaug (2007) consider, we too must look to more literal examples of the staging of atmospheres, and interestingly can seek insight from a scholarly field more closely aligned to the core remit of this research within the creative and cultural sectors. Notably, a field which can assist specifically in a contemplation of how the staging of atmospheres has been used to engage audiences is museum studies, specifically in regard to museum exhibitions. Bjerragaard (2015) says that;

"Exhibiting [in museums] may, in fact, be about dissolving objects. That is, rather than appearing to us as a recognisable entity, which we may isolate and define, the object is turned into a physical extension, tincturing a space. This dissolution can only take place through manipulating the space in-between objects and in-between objects and audiences, i.e. through staging atmosphere. (2015, p. 74)"

In critiquing atmosphere within the fixed environment of the museum, Bjerragaard (2015) is able to explore precisely the nature and function of atmospheres, and notably their staging, in regard to the experiences of a perceiving body, in this case, a museum audience. This notion of staging atmospheres as a means by which to alter either the individual or collective perceptions of objects is clearly related to the theming of places (Meier and Reijndorp, 2012), and its potential to impact the ways in which that space is appreciated or used. Bjerragaard (2015) suggests that tincturing environments, that is to infuse or colour a host object through the dissolving of new matter within it, is effective in drawing attention to an overriding atmosphere rather than its component parts. Or, to refer back to Anderson (2008), to dissolve the constituent parts of a place into a more symbolic and codified 'atmosphere', is to quickly traverse potentially problematic, clumsy, and subjective descriptions of objects abstracted from one another.

"The capacity of the museum to generate a kind of embracing experience, wrapping the visitor in an atmosphere, which seems to have a much more lasting effect than the information accounted for. Somehow, this atmosphere also seems to dissolve the individual objects at display allowing them to become part of the general experience of space (Bjerragaard, 2015, p. 75)."

Considered as the fundamental process and effect of experiencing atmospheres, Anderson's assertion that they function as embracing experiences with lasting effects suggests a functional capacity for atmospheres which extends beyond the objects from which they emanate. So too does Anderson here demonstrate the capacity for specific objects, which in the context of urban atmospheric enquiry might be scaled up to include streets, buildings, parks, or other urban aesthetic and built materialities, to radiate atmospheres which dissolve as individual experiences into a collective experience of space. In other words, place, according to Anderson as considered in the specific context of museum studies, is a constellation of atmospheres radiating out from objects and dissolving, through the experience of them, into one collective notion of atmospheric space:

"In terms of the status of the object this means that while we conventionally have focused on the object as an enclosure, a finished entity to be interpreted as a complete work, an attention to atmosphere should point our focus to the object as a physical extension in space. The object is, thus, not characterized by what it 'contains', but by the way it radiates into space (2015, p. 81)."

Importantly, as Anderson suggests, we need to move beyond any static conceptions of objects as enclosed or absolute things in the World to be experienced, and instead imagine their 'edges' as diffuse. The applicability of such a notion in the context of urban objects and their atmospheres is that it encourages a critical engagement with the subjective experiencing of place rather than its built objective materialities in abstract isolation. Urban

atmospheric study must look beyond spaces as only physically demarcated by their embedded and empirical structures, and seek instead to further explore places as experientially composed by collective ephemeralities which, whilst tethered to objective space, are not bound by them. It is precisely this relationality between the built and the felt across the city that is conceptualised by The Layered City.

Related to the aforementioned notion of staging atmospheres, associations with marketing or branding have been some of the multiple interpretations and applications of the term "Buzz" in the literature as explored in chapter four. The aestheticisation of creative and cultural spaces and places as locales of great creative and innovative business potential, indeed, the entire rubric of the 'creative city' concept, is of course of particular importance and interest here. Whilst a more thorough introduction to and analysis of the Creative and Cultural Industries and the notion of the 'Creative City' are the focus of chapter three, I will briefly foreground them here in contemplation of the sectors as related to atmospheres. The Creative City concept has been, according to Thibaud (2015), particularly subject to the staging and promotion of ambience as an urban marketing tactic;

> "Setting the ambience of a space may also be part of strategies concerned with urban marketing and commercial competition. Sensory marketing or the new scenes of the creative city are good examples of this economic stake (2015, p. 41)."

As such, Thibaud (ibid.), and by extension the widespread marketization of the 'Creative City' idea, problematize further some of the previously considered philosophical contemplations about ambiences, particularly as far as any efforts to explore atmosphere as only an objective space and people as only autonomous observers or participants within or as part of it. The Creative City concept then, building on Böhme's adoption of classical aesthetics, is perhaps just another example of the "increasing aestheticisation of reality" (1993, p. 123), through which objects have function apart from their actual utility, ultimately serving to articulate and

exude atmospheres through objects.

Smitz (2007), quite simply, defines atmosphere as an emotive radiance in space (2007, p. 23). Its relationships to the perceiving human subject[12] have emerged through what Böhme defines as the 'ecstasies of things' (Böhme, 1993, p. 121; 1995, p. 32), by which he means, as developed by Anderson (2012), the radiating emittances of objects into the World. Sørensen (2015) considers this process as one of 'tincturing' space, by which he means to give colour to or to imbue, "exercising a presence by affecting the world around it (p. 65)." The particular 'things' that emerge as salient for my co-explorers will be returned to. Of interest here, and unearthed in conversation with co-explorers during the fieldwork as presented in chapter six, is an effort to decipher what the objects of the creative city might be and what aesthetic aspects are implicated in its atmospheres.

Such contentions articulate the affective agency that I prescribe to urban cultural happenings (the accumulative sensate affect of which is part of what I term as 'Buzz'), but do not necessarily allow for the subjectivity of experiencing this tincturing (ibid.) as embedded in material space. This is because any given coordinate in *terra firma* inspires, as will be evidenced in my findings throughout chapter six, myriad reactions, recollections, and perceptions, depending on the subject or human experiencing that space. In other words, we must consider the subjective and fluid nature of both the objects and subjects of inquiry, and must be cautious of prescribing just one absolute and totalising atmospheric narrative to any given locale.

Böhme (1993, p119) establishes the notion that atmospheres emerge not only as an intermediate position between subject and object, but further, as Sørensen concludes, "as a unity of subject and object, which is fundamentally characterised by their co-presence" (Böhme, 2001, p. 56-57,

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[12] The configuration of the human body as a vehicle of perception is returned to in chapter five, in which I further explore the notion of atmospheres as related to methodologies for 'capturing' or 'reading' them.

in Sørensen). Böhme therefore elicits a consideration of the presence of objects, rather than just the objects themselves, suggesting that the atmosphere of an object is about the way in which it is as well as how it is experienced. As Sørensen says; "Spatiality is not simply defined by the architectonic setting, but emerges in the co-presence of moving human bodies and material culture (2015)."

Sørensen, in seeking to develop a means to frame and therefore scrutinise atmosphere, develops a notion of 'emergent forms';

> "This allows for exploring how movements generate what I term 'emergent forms' in the interplay with the ecstasies of things, whereby space may be understood as emerging through the co-presence of various bodies. Just as light shining through a coloured window may tinge a room and make it assume a particular texture or gravity, so is bodily presence in a situation formative of spatial form." (Sørensen, 2015, p. 66)

The potential for the material and objective actualities of spaces and places to be mediated and changed through the presence of the sentient being and its perceptive, subjective, and formative potential is, whilst being the process which complicates the atmosphere itself, also the process which makes them tellable. As Sørensen continues;

> "It is the notion of these kinds of emergent forms, generating spatial texture and gravity, that makes it possible to pursue a model for atmosphere that may suspend the clause of subjectivity (2015, p. 66)."

The potential answer then to the deceptively simple questions posed at the opening to this chapter, ultimately of 'what is an atmosphere and how can we define it?', may well be in attempting to understand the result or affect that atmosphere has, in tandem with a consideration of the emitting objects and perceiving subjects themselves. This is, to borrow Sørensen's metaphor, about reading the light caste by the emitting object in order to decipher what

the object in question may be.

I challenge here any notion of atmosphere as only a generalizable, objective, known, or shared experience, and instead build upon those others which point further and also towards atmosphere as an individual and subjective experience. Indeed, I acknowledge the discrepancy that exists in the literature between for instance Meier and Reijndorp (2010) and Thibaud (2015) for example who comment variously upon the capacities for shared and collective atmospheres to be contained and then experienced by people together on the one hand, versus for example Böhme (1993) and Sørenson's (2015) more individualistic approaches contingent upon subjective perceiving bodies and their own augmentation or mediation on the other.

Reflecting upon the earlier discussion regarding affect, and building also upon that of place prior, my own position tends towards the individualistic and subjective school of thought. The previous section of this chapter established place as emerging from space; it discerned the role of individuals and their subjective perceiving bodies in helping to shape place through a process of constitutive co-ingredience. This chapter has established atmospheres as emerging from place; it has detailed the affective mechanisms by which the objects and subjects of place interrelate with humans. Atmosphere emerges as the unity of subject (the *interpreted* space/place/event/ or organisation, etc.,) and object (the *actual* space/place/event/organisation, etc.,), and thus breaks-down any absolute distinction between subjective and objective, instead rebuilding them as mutually constitutive. Atmosphere is necessarily contingent upon both the objective world and the subjective experiencing of it, and therefore functions as, and is explored in, the atmospheric terrain that is composed of their co-presence. Later, Buzz will be explored in such terms as an atmospheric terrain of the Creative and Cultural Industries herein under scrutiny.

## 4.0 A History of Walking; Mobilities of Mind and Body

### 4.1 Philosophies of Walking

The use of walking as a means of exploring material spaces and lived places, as well as accessing and appreciating the atmospheric emanations of places, has tendrils that extend back into 18th Century artistic practice, through 19th Century intellectual pursuits, and, more recently, in the academic processes of psychogeographic enquiry across a range of disciplines, all focussed on the interrelationships between the human and their environment. The history of urban walking specifically is in many ways a history of the city itself, charting the formations and transformations of the city as both space and concept, through the lens of the pedestrian encounter.

Knowledge and thought specifically around walking as urban mobility has, up until now, existed somewhat tangentially to Creative and Cultural Industries literature, despite the centrality of place to much scholarly work concerning the sectors. Walking figures in this thesis not only as part of its method as outlined in further detail in chapter five, but crucially also as the form of mobility which enables the sensitisation to and traversal of the city's atmospheric terrains, or Buzz. Walking then, as both a form of mobility and as an academic and artistic knowledge generating pursuit, speaks to the previous sections on place and atmospheric terrains by considering how walking in particular has been the vehicle for exploring them.

Three significant movements in this field of study function as important theoretical moments which build towards my own appreciation of walking as a means of urban atmospheric traversal and exploration: i) the flâneur (Baudelaire, 1964; Burton, 2009; Shields, 1994) ii) psychogeography and dérive (Bishop, 2012; Coverley, 2010; Self, 2007) and iii) urban exploration (Garrett, 2013; Kindynis, 2017; Pinder, 2005). Each of these moments in the history of urban walking practice, salient for a myriad of reasons and useful for this research in a multitude of ways, exists within what might be

collectively termed the field of 'emotional geography' (Davidson & Milligan, 2004), and, often used to reflect upon historical, political, or sociological concerns, operate at the intersection of what has increasingly been referred to as geohumanities (Cresswell et al, 2015; Dear et al, 2011; Hawkins et al, 2015).

In his philosophy, Nietzsche (2016) poeticises that walking, far more than being a means of moving from place to place, is in fact a prerequisite for his thinking and for his work, in what he terms 'foot writing':

> *I write not with the hand alone,*
> *My foot would write, my foot that capers.*
> *Firm, free and bold, it's marching on*
> *Now through the fields, now through the papers.*

> (Nietzsche, 2016, p. 10)

The mobility of his body, his capered marching, was simultaneously a traversing through the actual ('fields') and the mental ('papers'). For Nietzsche, the freedom that his walking enabled, and the boldness and firmness of thought it inspired, is one that was impactful not only for his work, but *through* his work. This is thinking made active through the rhythmic cadence of walking, and captured and reflected in Nietzsche's rhyme and stanza.

Gros (2015), talking of Nietzsche and his epic on-foot expeditions and the work that they inspired, contests that walking knowledge has superiority over traditional scholarship and its methods:

> "Many others have written their books solely from their reading of
> other books, so that many books exude the stuffy odour of
> libraries…far too many books have the fusty odour of reading rooms
> or desks. Lightless rooms, poorly ventilated. The air circulates badly
> between the shelves and becomes saturated with the scent of mildew,

the slow decomposition of paper, ink undergoing chemical change…Other books breath a livelier air; the bracing air of outdoors…These books breathe. They are not overloaded, saturated, with dead, vain erudition (Gros, 2015, p. 18)."

The potential for walking based methods to bring about refreshed, enhanced forms of knowledge, and to breathe new life into staid academic practice is a promising, if perhaps somewhat romanticised one. Perhaps Gros, in his appraisal of Nietzche's late 19th Century walking methods, overstates the potential of walking knowledge, and is at the same time too critical of more traditional scholarly processes. Gros' provocation here is the contention that innovative, creative ideas may first depend upon innovative, creative approaches, and further, that original ideas are best come by when one is, at least to some degree, untethered by the work of others. This untethering, for Gros, is firstly about a physical abstraction from the classical contexts of scholarship, and instead a deviation into the un-walled outdoors. Secondly, a mental freedom, enabled by the bodies exposure to the environment and its atmospheres, that inspires a subsequent agility and creativity of the mind:

"An author who composes while walking, on the other hand, is free from such bonds; this thought is not the slave of other volumes, not swollen with verifications, nor weighted with the thought of others. It contains no explanation owed to anyone: just thought, judgement, decision. It is thought born of a movement, an impulse. In it, we can feel the body's elasticity…the result will not be long and meticulous exegesis, but thoughts that are light and profound (Gros, 2015, p. 20)."

Gros' notion that the practice of walking enables a freer, more profound thinking, insists that any later discussion about the operationalisation of walking as methodology, must first be anchored in what might be broadly described as a philosophy of walking. This philosophy must explore the interplay between the psychological and the physiological aspects of walking, in order to attempt to answer, as Psarras (2015) identifies, the most basic

question: what does it mean to walk?

> "Consider walking as a process consisting of both actual and metaphorical qualities. Such a twofold consideration creates a dynamic dipole between the actual and poetic. I would like to parallelise this dipole with the two legs of the human body, whose constant collaboration results in a unified movement through time and space." (2015, p.29)

Psarras identifies walking as a multi-dimensional process, during which a physical journeying through space is mirrored by a temporal movement through time also. Walking, as the coming together of the actual and the poetic, as outlined by Psarras (2015), describes a process through which the body experiences the traversing of time and space simultaneously. Further, Psarras extends the multi-dimensionality of walking beyond the physical and temporal, and toward a conceptualisation of walking that involves all of the senses:

> "A significant aspect of walking is its sensorial liveness. Walking constitutes a multisensory process, which enriches the perception of the walker. The five senses are in dialogue with the surroundings, triggering the walker's perception of the world and contributing to the production of emotions (Psarras, 2015, p. 27)."

A philosophy of walking therefore ultimately seeks to discover the interrelationship between the walking body and the land. It does not necessarily concern itself with questions of *where* and *when* we walk, but is rather more concerned with *why* we might walk. Psarras (ibid.) identifies important sensorial considerations that represent the dialogue between the human and the environment, and further, outlines the importance of emotion and perception in any philosophy of walking.

In Rousseau's autobiographical 'Confessions' (1903), What Gros (2015) argues is perhaps the earliest example of a true autobiographical text,

walking plays a key part. As he retraces pathways between his life in France, Switzerland, Italy, and England, the convergence of emotion and perception whilst walking manifest in what Rousseau refers to as his heated imagination, most abundant and magnificent when travelling on foot:

> "I was young, and in good health. I had sufficient money and abundant hopes; I travelled on foot and I travelled alone. That I should consider this an advantage would appear surprising, if the reader were not by this time familiar with my disposition. My pleasing chimeras kept me company, and never did my heated imagination give birth to any that were more magnificent." (Rousseau, 1903)

Thinking and mobility are simultaneous processes for Rousseau, who, in retelling stories of walks he had taken, recounts the direct influence that his ambulation had on his thinking. A life not without its turmoil, suffering paternal abandonment, deep religious quandary, chronic hypochondria, repeated efforts to run away, and ultimately total psychological withdrawal, Rousseau proclaims that he was at his happiest when walking:

> "It was only in my happiest days that I travelled on foot, and ever with the most unbounded satisfaction; afterwards, occupied with business and encumbered with baggage, I was forced to act the gentleman and employ a carriage, where care, embarrassment, and restraint, were sure to be my companions, and instead of being delighted with the journey, I only wished to arrive at the place of destination." (Rousseau, 1903)

Rousseau's philosophy of walking, although his writing perhaps did not intend to offer one, is one that speaks of the reciprocity of mobility and wellbeing. Walking is presented as a leisure activity, distanced from occupation and business, and as utterly different to the commute to and from work. Indeed, at its most pleasing, Rousseau would extend his journey so as to immerse himself further still into the aesthetic and nurturing powers of the walk:

> "Returning from my walk, I lengthened the way by taking a roundabout path, still contemplating with earnestness and delight the beautiful scenes with which I was surrounded, those objects only that never fatigue either the eye or the heart." (Rousseau, 1903)

Only when unencumbered with worry, which for Rousseau was associated with acting gentlemanly and being restrained, could he really walk. And only when Rousseau walked, did he enjoy happiness. Rousseau establishes connections between walking and wellbeing, walking and happiness, and also frames the habituality of a working life as a likely catalyst for a desire to roam freely. Further, Rousseau philosophises that walking is about escape, freedom, and pleasure; "Solitary walks afforded yet purer pleasure, because in them our hearts expanded with greater freedom (Rousseau, 1903)."

In Thoreau's essay 'Walking' (1914), the emotionality of walking is similarly bound up in notions of escape and freedom. Thoreau says:

> "If you are ready to leave father and mother, and brother and sister, and wife and child and friends, and never see them again, — if you have paid your debts, and made your will, and settled all your affairs, and are a free man, then you are ready for a walk." (1914, p. 6)

Familial and societal detachment is a necessity to walk like Thoreau. He is a purist, an extremist, a walker enraptured by the romanticism of an imagined wilderness. This urge to flee, characteristic of explorers, hikers, backpackers, and artists alike, echoes throughout literary history. Shortly after Thoreau, who first shared his essay 'Walking' (ibid.) as a lecture in 1851, Arthur Rimbaud declared; "Let's go, hat, greatcoat, both fists in pockets, and step outside. Forward Route! Let's Go!" (Rimbaud, 1884). Like Thoreau, he leaves impassioned, tight fisted, and determined to flee, and to walk, without too much concern for the bearing; "Adieu to here, no matter where! (ibid.)."

Thoreau's wilderness, his imagined destination, is not necessarily an actual

place which lies beyond the horizon, but is rather a poetic, spiritual, or metaphorical terrain lying somewhere illusive nearby and also within. Although Thoreau confesses that when heading out for a walk without a predetermined destination, he "inevitably settle(s) Southwest (1914, p, 30)", he also talks, more philosophically, about his wandering body and mind:

> "Of course it is of no use to direct our steps to the woods, if they do not carry us tither. I am alarmed when it happens that I have walked a mile into the woods bodily, without getting there in spirit." (1914, p. 17).

This is a predecessor of psychogeographic thought process, and although Thoreau's walking seeks to "shake off the village" (1914, p. 18), rather than some sprawling metropolis, his philosophies of a spiritual journeying predate those which are now most often associated with the flâneur and with dérive. Gros' earlier suggestion that thoughts formed whilst walking are light and profound also owe much to Thoreau's philosophy of walking:

> "Living much out of doors, in the sun and wind, will no doubt produce a certain roughness of character, — will cause a thicker cuticle to grow over some of the finer qualities of our nature…So staying in the house, on the other hand, may produce a softness and smoothness, not to say thinness of skin, accompanied by an increased sensibility to certain impressions. Perhaps we should be more susceptible to some influences important to our intellectual and moral growth…There will be so much more air and sunshine in our thoughts." (1862, p. 14 - 16)

Walking, for Thoreau, is not just about an emotional and physical journeying through space, it is also bound by spiritualist notions of enlightenment, and being on the land in the great outdoors is a place for both intellectual and moral self-development. Thoreau, and his spiritual ambulation through nature, establishes many of the themes for both philosophies of walking and walking practice, which are present in the work of the Situationist's in the 20th Century and Urban Explorers in the 21st. These particular shared

themes and motives for walking will be returned to, as will Thoreau, in the following 'History of City Walking' section.

Thoreau's key contributions to a philosophy of walking are best summed up by his etymology of the verb to 'saunter':

> "I have met with but one or two persons on the course of my life who understood the art of Walking, that is, of taking walks, — who had a genius, so to speak, for sauntering…the word from sans terre, without land or a home, which, therefore, in the good sense, will mean, having no particular home, but equally at home everywhere. For this is the secret of successful sauntering…the saunterer, in the good sense, is no more vagrant than the meandering river." (1914, p. 4)

Thoreau's philosophy seeks not only to align humanity with nature through walking, but further, as evidenced by his comparison of the walker as a meandering river, intends to revert humanity back to nature. Thoreau's romanticism represents a primordial yearning for both exploration and discovery that has, as a result of his own exposure to the habituality of village life, become an inward psychological journeying as much as an actual and physical one. Thoreau likens this duality of walking and thinking to, unusually, that of a camel. He say's; "You must walk like a camel, which is said to be the only beast which ruminates when walking (1914, p. 14)." Whether or not there is evidence for a camel's ruminative capacity lies somewhat outside of the remit of this research, however, it is notable that Nietzsche, Thoreau, and Rousseau have each provided clear indication that "man" (sic) too ruminates best while walking.

It's important to mention here the overtly masculine history of walking, often something situated against a backdrop of domesticity from which one must flee, and therefore bound by implicit criticisms of what were at the time largely female experiences. This is recurrent in the following section also, as discussions of walking invariably adopt the male-gaze, and therefore overlooks what becomes a somewhat invisible female perspective and

experience during modernity (Wolff, 1985). My own 'male' walking as part of the fieldwork will be returned later as I set out my positionality as researcher in chapter five.

4.2 A History of City Walking

Whilst it is possible to track a history of walking broadly as a mode of movement through the lenses of the arts and philosophy, walking, as a means of travel that extends beyond purely physical realms and into a meandering of meaning and interpretation within the specific context of the urban, exists more poignantly in more recent history. Whether termed Dérive, Flânerie or Psychogeography, various forms and practices of walking have been used as methodologies for understanding, critiquing or generating knowledge about city life and modern urbanity. These multiple incarnations of walking emerge across scholarly, literary, and artistic disciplines, and are loosely bound by a shared raison-d'être that seeks to uncover, through on-foot exploration, a more nuanced sense of place than can be achieved through sedentary and non-immersive methods.[13]

This spatial nuance encapsulates a whole series of personal narratives, emotional reactions and psychogeographic relationships to urban place, and ultimately, walking as method generates a broad range of knowledges about the city which might otherwise remain hidden. The applied use of walking as a methodology for scholarly research is the focus of chapter five, where my particular approach to this research is detailed, but the historical tradition of using walking as a means by which to read the city is explored below.

Typically, academic discussions of walking — most notably collectively referred to within the literature as psychogeography — are firmly entrenched within early 19th century Paris, with the Situationist International's reactions to and condemnation of Baron Haussmann's urban regeneration (Coverley,

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[13] The specific mechanisms of walking as a research approach or tool, especially the merits of mobility over stasis, are considered more fully in chapter five.

2010, p. 31). However, as Coverley explains, various forms, practices and embodiments of psychogeography tendril further back into artistic and literary works, arguing that "it becomes apparent that psychogeography is retrospectively supported (or undermined) by earlier traditions and precursors that have been neglected or wilfully obscured (2010, p. 31)." Further, Coverley acknowledges that, as well as its practices, the various themes of psychogeographic work also "predate the formal recognition of the Situationists (2010, p. 32)."

For Coverley, whilst 1950's Paris is, of course, a salient moment in the scholarly definition, origin and practice of psychogeography, the act of urban walking, as a method seeking to unlock urban experiences beyond placelessness (Relph, 1976) by tapping into the life of the city that's obscured by, and resultantly prompted by, excessive planning, development, and industrialisation, begins in London with William Blake. Blake, the poet and engraver, has been described by Sinclair as being "the Godfather of Psychogeography" (1997, p. 214), and for Coverley, Blake's poetry blurs the distinction between the physical and the metaphysical experience of urbanity:

> "Blake's work is bound up with his experiences of the city in which he spent his life to the degree that his identity and that of London itself seem to become indivisible." (Coverley, 2010, p. 40)

Blake's visions of London, as articulated in his Songs of Innocence and of Experience (2001), provide an artistic counterpoint to the urban reality of the early industrial period — an early form of creative resistance to the commodified experiences of orchestrated mobilities of the Labour Place in an urban industrial capitalist society, as later critiqued by Harvey (1989), for instance. Blake's imagery and metaphor captures the subconscious tensions at work in the industrialised city (Maczynska, 2010, p. 62) and in so doing, establishes versions of urban experience which extend beyond realms of pure physicality and utility:

"His (Blake's) legacy to psychogeographic thought here is clear: the transformation of the familiar landscapes of his own time of place into a transcendent image of the eternal city." (Coverley, 2010, p. 40)

Blake was a walker, a wanderer, a drifter, whose poems, at their most literal level, describe the various features of London street life as he observed them:

"I wander thro' each charter'd street,
Near where the charter'd Thames does flow."
Blake, 2001, p. 40

In London, Blake's language, like the city he observes, becomes restricted and constrained — the repetition of 'charter'd' for instance, an expression of the increasing industrialisation of the Thames. This critique of the industrialisation of nature or the organisation of naturalistic modes of being, as represented by the Thames, of course heightened by the juxtaposition and incongruousness with 'wander' and 'flow'.

Blake establishes many of the themes of modern psychogeography, and launches a series of critiques about the organisation of daily life, the industrialisation and privatisation of public space, and the resultant restrictions this puts on the urban dweller in general, but on the urban walker in particular. More than a purely tangible set of concerns, Blake's words are driven by a more phenomenological set of questions and critiques seeking to create a new topography of the modern city which he observed emerging and changing around him.

In order to extend our narratives and understanding of critical urban walking practice, it's important to recognise the work of Thomas De Quincey in his autobiographical 'Confessions of an English Opium Eater' (1821). As Debord himself acknowledges, De Quincey is 'an undeniable precursor to psychogeographical derives (1957).' In 'Confessions of an English Opium Eater' (1821), De Quincey pursues the woman of his dreams, a prostitute

who had earlier saved his life, whom he lost in the growing crowds and labyrinthine mazes of the streets of 19th Century London:

> "On Saturday evenings, I have had the custom, after taking my opium, of wandering quite far, without worrying about the route or the distance…I suddenly enter a labyrinth of alleys, some of them terrae incognitae, and I doubt that they are marked on the modern maps of London." (De Quincey, cited in Debord, 1957)

This descriptive first person narrative is typical of the drug-fuelled journeys that De Quincey took through the London of his time, and capture exactly that state of aimless drift and detached observation which were to become the hallmarks of the Flâneur and the Situationist dérive in the next century. Whilst the aimlessness of De Quincey's walking and his sense of detachment from the purely physical dimensions of city space may be more related to the opium, De Quincey was, nonetheless, clearly mapping stories of London at the intersection of the geographical and the psychological:

> "Writers refer to De Quincey's narrative as a model…the idea is to allow oneself to be pulled along by the crowds, to go where others are going. This, we can see, is a prototype for the derive." (Shortell, Brown, 2014, p.8)

Such models of walking are collectively most commonly understood as modus operandi for more recent critical walkers who, like Blake and De Quincey, continue to unearth obscured and Loose Spaces; spaces that go beyond consumerism, capitalism labour and industrialisation, places that are all at once both physical and metaphysical. Blake and De Quincey start the process by which the everyday practice of walking can be seen as a vehicle capable of generating knowledge that succeeds in making intimate, personal accounts of urban experience available to the reader, and in making the previously unintelligible person-place relationship more vivid.

The flâneur continues the critical walking tradition. This figure emerges in the

late 19th Century upon the backdrop of a rapidly changing Paris, at a time when Baron Haussmann, along with Napoleon 3rd, were rebuilding the entire city centre district. According to Haussmann, the project sought to beautify Paris (Jones, 2006), but to critics, his demolition projects essentially intended to make it easier for the military to control the civil uprisings of the Paris Commune (ibid.). It is perhaps Debord's summary, quoted here in Knabb's Situationist International Anthology, that serves as the most scathing and critical indictment of the Haussmannian urban planning ideology:

> "Baron Haussmann's urban renewal of Paris under the Second Empire…was motivated by the desire to open up broad thoroughfares enabling the rapid circulation of troops and the use of artillery against insurrections. But from any standpoint other than that of facilitating police control, Haussmann's Paris is a city built by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing (2006, p. 9)."

In search of meaning, the flâneur provides a scholarly and philosophical reading of the city; a critique about human spatiality concerned with illuminating not only the constituent parts of the metropolis, but the experiential sum of those parts also. The flâneur is an urban native, detecting the sights, smells, characters and action of the city (Shields, 1994, p. 61), he stands apart from the city even whilst appearing to 'fuse' with it (Burton, 2009 p. 1). Flânerie is about revelling in the interpretation of the component parts and minutia of urban experience in order to achieve an intellectual understanding of the whole as part of a complex system of meaning.

The flâneur's meanderings and contemplations of daily urban life celebrate rich, interpretive, critical urban psychogeographies, capturing not just the stuff of the city, but also generating a spatially driven knowledge that cumulates both tangible and intangible urban phenomena. The Flâneur's obsession with urban walking is as much as about travelling in physical urban place as it is about revelling in the atmosphere of the city:

> "For the perfect Flâneur, for the passionate spectator, it is an immense

joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home…impartial natures which the tongue can but clumsily define… [The Flâneur] enters into the crowd as though it were an immense reservoir of electrical energy (Baudelaire, 1964)."

By creating the flâneur, and by assuming his position as the informed spectator who is all at once passively observing and actively contemplating his habitus, Baudelaire, Benjamin, and others that followed, have developed Blake's lens of urban exploration, and created a walking-based practice for urban critique in the richest and broadest sense (Shields, 1994, p. 61). Through this form of walking, it is suggested that every aspect of human urban being, however blatantly tangible or intricately sensate, can be cast under an interpretive and critical light. Flânerie is a device for urban exploration with which we can better contemplate the interrelationships between people and place; a kind of pedestrian connoisseurship (Shields, 1994, p. 61), through which every aspect of human urban being can be accessed through a hyper-conscious form of walking, attuned both to place and also to atmosphere.

It's important here to highlight the criticisms often levied at the Flâneur, notably that of Bauman (1994), who says that the Flâneur lives "his life as a succession of absolute beginnings…A series of starts but no ends… A string of episodes without history and without consequence" (p. 140) or, indeed of Shields (1994), who says that Flânerie is an "unethical practice which reduces the Other to a means (p. 77)." Further, and developing earlier commentary regarding the obfuscation of the female walker from stories of modernity (Wolff, 1985), the Flâneur is also increasingly countered by feminist voices keen to supplement the imbalance through the more recently developed form of the Flâneuse (Elkin, 2016). However valid such criticisms are, it is not the work of this thesis to advance them specifically; rather, in seeking to understand how literary tradition has advanced walking as a means of reading the city, the Flâneur, for all his criticisms, remains a key

figure.

Like both Blake and De Quincey, the flâneur suggests that there is meaning, value and purpose in this interpretive and non-tangible city space, which contributes richness and depth to the collective urban experience. The Flâneur, as an urban connoisseur attuned to both the physical and meta-physical dimensions of urban experience seeks to make vivid, through complex phenomenological practices and lucid narratives, the intangible and experiential layers of meaning within the city. He attempts, in essence, to traverse the constraining and controlling terrains of the Labour and Power Places in order to glean a sense of self and subjectivity, and to seek, simply, his own meaning. Flânerie seeks to invert or shift our urban outlook, in some way disregarding the sanctioned and concrete spaces of cities, and instead placing emphasis on a sensate, experiential form of urbanity:

> "The nineteenth-century Parisian flâneur did not care about the pomp of the 'official', public city being created by Napoleon 3rd and Baron Haussmann; it was the trivial, fragmented aspects of street life that appealed to him." (Wilson, 1991, p.5)

There are distinct correlations between De Quincey's detailed and gritty narratives of London street life and the rapture of the Parisian flâneur as expressed by Wilson, despite the former being fuelled by opiates and the latter by an altogether more bourgeois yearning for discovery. The officialdom of the city to which Wilson refers, is the veil of refinement and control draped over cities (Sadler, 1999, p. 15) in order to organise and orchestrate the population (Harvey, 1989, 2008, 2012). Soja contests that modern cities have been organised to be the arenas for consumption, that the fabric of the city has been streamlined to allow for trade, capital accumulation, and growth:

> "The city came to be seen not only in its distinctive role as a centre for industrial production and accumulation, but also as the control point for the reproduction of capitalist society in terms of labour power,

exchange, and consumption patterns. Urban planning [has been] critically examined as a tool of the state, serving the dominant classes by organising and re-organising urban space for the benefit of capital accumulation." (Soja, 1989, p.95).

Soja, in developing Harvey (1989), suggests that urban planning seeks to organise the city in favour of the market, providing the utilities and amenities necessary to sustain a labour pool, and structuring urban human life for the purposes of market productivity. This structuring is often quite literal, and manifests as the material structuring of non-places (Augé,1995); pathways, bridges, architecture, and transport infrastructure, all geared towards removing opportunities for alternative patterns of city life. Soja's city, like Blake's, is the orchestrated container for the daily routines, planned journeys and chartered experiences of the Labour Place dweller, a capital-driven realm where idle, directionless walking has limited function. This contention, about the orchestration of daily life, was predicted by Thoreau:

> "At present, in this vicinity, the best part of the land is not private property; the landscape is not owned, and the walker enjoys comparative freedom. But possibly the day will come when it will be partitioned off into so-called pleasure-rounds, in which a few will take a narrow and exclusive pleasure only, — when fences shall be multiplied, and man-traps and other (p. 27) engines invented to confined men to the public road, and walking over the surface of God's earth shall be construed to mean trespassing on some gentleman's grounds." (1914, p. 28)

Moving forwards to the 20th Century, and to the practice of dérive or drift - Debord's simple act of directionless urban roaming upon the backdrop of 1950 and 1960s Paris:

> "Dérive, or goal-less 'drifting', was employed by artists and writers associated with the Situationist International from the early 1950s to the` late '60s…the dérive was a crucial tool in the Situationist para-

discipline of 'psychogeography', the study of the effects of a given environment on the emotions and behaviour of individuals (Bishop, 2012, p. 77)."

Dérive, the primary modus operandi for psychogeographers, considered through the Lefebvrian 'right to the city' paradigm, becomes a small act of modern rebellion, as a reaction to the perennial notion that the pavements and squares of urban life inhibit walkers with nowhere to go. Further, Self suggests that the modern city is so stifling, that idle, directionless walking is not only considered functionless, but is also alien and unlikely:

> "I suppose the real objection to all this walking I do is that it takes the form of what's termed 'linear access.' I start at point 'A' and, using a direct route, walk to point 'B'. Granted, I may make diversions to points 'C' and 'D', but these too will be along fairly defined paths. What I don't do is roam…Personally, I find the whole notion of roaming quite alien, and I'm not even sure that I know how to do it at all." (Self, 2007, p. 155)

Walking as a means by which to better understand the city then may require a certain skillset or sense of awareness that is not necessarily automatically possessed. If flânerie, dérive, or psychogeography are to be the panacea to a crisis of commodified urban experiences or are to successfully generate new knowledges about city life, they perhaps take practice. Ford hints at the need for a certain skillset, in this case an awareness of the contours of urban space, and being tuned-in to the subtle topographies and codes of the city:

> "We would wake up and set out on long walks through the industrial Estates of Park Royal and Acton. Our days together were always cinematic, they always felt really symbolic, as if everything was bending towards us showing us signs (Ford, 2011, p. 176)."

Laura Oldfield Ford's 'Savage Messiah' dissects urban space through a series of fractured first person narratives, telling stories of walking through

London's derelict corners. Part diarist, part psychogeographer; Ford is all at once both aimless urban drifter and astute city critic. 'Savage Messiah', which takes the form of a series of handmade zines documenting Ford's roaming around London which have now been collated in a book, epitomizes the merits of walking beyond a mode of transport. It is, in fact, a keen exemplar of geohumanities practice; a multi-methodological approach to place and its human meanings via the lens of her own art form.

For Ford, walking, as method, 'opens'-up city space, flattening out its hierarchies, and enabling access across and through the Layered City for those practiced at it. Unlike cars, buses and other public transport infrastructure, which adhere to strictly defined routes and timetables, Ford's aimless drifting has the potential to go beyond the structure of the city in the sense that it is self-governing. The walker, as opposed to the driver or passenger, can, with the right approach, get beneath the city, unlocking some other, more profound sense of space:

> "Up concrete steps, through stacks of plastic chairs, the door is pushed to reveal codes in flux, a world hidden from the initiated…Immersed in systems, invisible most of the time, the veneer is momentarily torn affording a glimpse into those other worlds we walk through." (Ford, 2011, p. 74)

Here, Ford hints at the way in which the walking works as a learning process, in the sense that walking bridges the gap between the built environment of the city and other less tangible spaces of the city which are obscured by systems and veneers. For Ford, walking opens-up possibilities for discovery of both places and the meanings of places, and further, it enables a kind of serendipitous, accidental, stumbling around, or the potential to get lost, that urban planning aims to iron out, as Dryer says:

> "We are always taking the same routes through cities. The tube or metro focus us to do this… we allow ourselves to get funnelled along familiar paths…This tendency to the habitual expresses in linear terms

the way that, in a vast city like London, we avail ourselves of only a fraction of the numerous other opportunities…As the routes prescribed by habit grow more and more familiar so we become increasingly oblivious to them (Dryer, 2010, p. 158)."

This forced habitual route taking has, as has been shown, been subject to much critique historically, and it is the contention that urban planning constricts human urban experience that catalysed Blake, Baudelaire, Benjamin, Debord and others, to develop their various walking-based practices. The spaces and places defined as public are wrapped up in a crisis of urban being. This crisis — the tension between one's ability to feel a sense of place and belonging amid the crowd, and the structured, industrialised, labour-centric, raison-d'êtra of the modern metropolis — is exactly that which was addressed by Lefebvre, which he expressed as a public's right to the city. It is about the need to carve out an alternative city-life, as Harvey notes:

"The right to the city…that right, [Lefebvre] asserted, was both a cry and a demand. The cry was a response to the existential pain of a withering crisis of everyday life in the city. The demand was really a command to look that crisis clearly in the eye and to create an alternative urban life that is less alienated, more meaningful and playful." (Harvey, 2012, p. v)

We may indeed find the modern city at odds with the practice of dérive and an inhospitable place for the flâneur to go about his participant-spectatorship, but there is still, as explored through the notion of place and atmosphere, a complicated, experiential, and invisible fabric that binds our cities to their inhabitants, and vice versa. Whilst roads, buildings and walkways create the physical mazes of steel, concrete and glass that encase contemporary urban life, the ambience, mise-en-scène, aura and Buzz of the city endures still. Even the Situationists, with all their criticisms of the modern metropolis, acknowledge the potential to discover a more meaningful urban experience, as Sadler says:

> "One only appreciated the desperate need to take action over the city, Situationists felt, once one had seen through the veil of refinement draped over it by planning and capital. If one peeled away this official representation of modernity and urbanism — this spectacle, as Situationists term the collapse of reality into the streams of images, products, and activities sanctioned by business and bureaucracy — one discovered the authentic life of the city teeming underneath (1999, p. 15)."

'Authentic' urban experiences, according to Sadler, exist *beneath* (Loose Space) the capital accumulating purposes of the city (Power Place), and the vitality of the modern metropolis is obscured from view by the spectacle of urbanity (Labour Place). Saddler's subterranean metaphor accounts both for physical and infrastructural dichotomies of meaning, split between the most heavily sanctioned and most peripheral urban spaces, and also the non-physical, intangible dichotomies, split between the mundane oppressed city worker and the freed flâneur. The vitality of the city to which Sadler refers, which is about teeming energy and 'authentic' urban experiences, emerges, as Harvey suggests, from our interactions and our relationships, from the collision of human, social and cultural capital, from the serendipitous discovery of new meaning amidst the vastness of the city-space, set apart from the restrictions of urban placelessness (Relph, 1976), even as it obscures it:

> "The ambience and attractiveness of a city, for example, is a collective product of its citizens through their daily activities and struggles, individuals and social groups create the social world of the city, and thereby create something common as a framework within which all can dwell (Harvey, 2012, p. 74)."

This capacity to appropriate place, coupled with the clumsy and forgotten spaces of the modern city, the so-called 'Terrain Vague' (De Solà Morales, 1995), catalyses a kind of urban potential. This potential manifests in the

Loose Space of the city: the forgotten alleyway sandwiched between high-street shops, the desolate factory obscured in the glassy shadow of the global corporate HQ, and in the concrete caves buried beneath the dual carriageway flyover. These are in some sense accidental city spaces; areas that urban planning didn't really plan for, the corners of cities that slipped through the bureaucratic net, or that emerged as an ill-conceived side-effect of relentless development nearby. In these Loose Spaces exists the potential for temporary freedom amidst the madding crowd, a space suddenly capable of being claimed, where the anonymity of the city subsides, and gives way to a new kind of on-foot urban experience at the individual, personal level.

Once mastered, dérive, goal-less 'drifting' (Bishop, 2012, p. 77), flânerie and so on, can be considered learning tools with which to tap into the value of these Loose Spaces and to unearth their potential, and as methods with which to resist normativity:

> "I like the idea of experiencing a city blow by blow…The city of circles and squares, of order, geometry, exactitude and perfection, has produced its own forms of creative resistance to the normativity of everyday life (Turner, 2010, p. 308)."

These other places of the city, accessed through a creative resistance and digression from the routes between home and work laid out for us in the Labour Place, are indeed branded as alternative, queer, and rebellious:

> "But what if chance, disorder and drift point to alternative experiences of modernity, in which altogether different, queerer urban experiences might be enabled and explored? What if there are other kinds of connections, interesting and significant ones, that not only cannot be made along the straightened line, but are actually hindered by it?...The chance encounter, the uncertain and random accumulation of knowledge, the wandering urban journey [that] follows the curved line, unsure but curious about who might wait around the bend, avoiding the straight line which reveals itself all at once," (Turner, 2010, p. 306)

This notion of 'avoiding the straight line', or a conscious dismissal of the sanctioned pedestrian and public terrains of the city, is pushed to its limit by underground networks of quasi-psychogeographers, self-labelled as 'Urban Explorers.' Urban exploration, or UrbEx, is the practice of hacking into urban infrastructure in order to gain access, quite literally, to spaces that are either forgotten about and neglected, or locked up and hidden. Once inside of a space — whether it's an abandoned tube station or hospital, or the rooftop of a Canary Wharf skyscraper — the custom is purely to walk around, explore, and take photos.

Garrett immersed himself in the UrbEx scene as a part of an extended Gonzo-ethnographic piece of research, and has since become one of very few academics expounding its efficacy, defines urban exploration:

"I might describe the urban exploration 'scene' as a transnational enthusiasm focused on exploring and recording liminal zones and derelict places, rooted in an interest for the past and a passion for the photography of the 'forgotten' (Garrett, 2013, p. 1449)."

Urban Explorers have for the most part resisted any claims of overt political agenda for their walking, instead emphasising the heightened emotional experience of UrbEx as well as a set of aesthetic sensibilities as their core driver. As Kindynis describes:

"Recreational trespass is best understood as a form of distinctively embodied spatial practice. The bodily sensations, affective atmospheres and physical challenges engendered by UE are, I contend, central to trespassers' motivations for and experiences of engaging in the practice." (2017, p. 984)

In addition, Kindynis goes onto elaborate upon the myriad motivations of urban explorers, expanding upon Garret's (2012, p.6) arguably self-righteous theory of UrbEx reflecting an unarticulated "right to spatial freedom", and

instead suggesting the growing enthusiasm for the activity also includes; "the curious desire to experience illicit sights, sound and smell-scapes for oneself; photographic interest; architectural, infrastructural and historical geekery; and one-upmanship, to name a few." (2017, p. 984)

The culture of urban exploration, as a nascent practice, is in part centred upon different exploration collectives trying to be the first to gain access to sites before others are able to, or around so-called 'toppers' scaling previously unscaled urban summits. However, as Garrett (2013) goes on to consider, there are deep cultural roots in UrbEx, that tendril into themes about life in the city. These roots play on a need for emotional freedom, the desire for less mediated expression, associations with childhood play and historic materiality, artistic expression, memories of experiences embedded in landscape and desires for physical human connection and bonds through shared experiences of peaked emotions.

Unlike the acutely politicised motives of Debord and his Situationists, UrbEx has overlooked this shared history of walking, in favour of an ultimately more artistic, and in Garrett's case, academic set of concerns and outcomes (Coverley, 2010). However, as Solnit explains, the act of walking against the normalised flow of pedestrian traffic is inevitably made political because of its rejection of the habitual and the subsequent set of critiques it launches:

> "In cities that are increasingly hostile to the pedestrian [walking] inevitably becomes an act of subversion. Walking is seen as contrary to the spirit of the modern city with its promotion of swift circulation, and the street level gaze that walking requires allows one to challenge the official representation of the city by cutting across established routes and exploring those marginal and forgotten areas (Solnit, 2014)."

Solnit elaborates further, and by casting the urban walker alongside their rural equivalent, it is apparent that aimless walking in cities, whilst the same in physical and performative terms, is unavoidably viewed with an air of

suspicion:

> "The history of both urban and rural walking is a history of freedom
> and of the definition of pleasure. But rural walking has found a moral
> imperative in the love of nature that has allowed it to defend and open
> up the countryside. Urban walking has always been a shadier
> business, easily turning into soliciting, cruising, promenading,
> shopping, rioting, protesting, skulking, loitering…(2014, p.174)."

UrbEx, and these themes of freedom, play, expression, conjure up not only images of urban walkers through history, but also of more contemporary forms city-based practices which also seek to redefine normative values in city space. Parkour, the goal of which is to overcome urban obstacles as smoothly and as efficiently as possible, with an emphasis on the fluidity of movement, creates 'a city of movement and free play within and against the city of obstacles and inhibitions (Geyh, 2006).' Parkour can be understood as a playful way in which to reinterpret the city and can be valued for its potential to loosen up urban environments.

> "One might even say that the urban space is re-embodied — its rigid
> strata effectively liquefied…a seemingly effortless immersion in an
> activity with a concomitant loss of self-consciousness…Parkour
> effectively remaps urban space, creating a parallel, "ludic" city, a city
> of movement and free play within and against the city of obstacles and
> inhibitions (Geyh, 2006, p. 10)."

Both Urbex and parkour push this notion of freedom of access beyond its legal limit, with many practitioners having served jail time for their various trespass events. Legalities aside, there are clear and deep cultural roots in both practices, that tendril into age-old themes about life in the city that are, as has been shown, reoccurring. There are commonalities across a history of urban walking-based practice, which, although myriad in their specific forms, practices and embodiments, are connected, and their shared roots, ultimately, play on desires for freedom, the pursuit of meaning-making, and

an active seeking out of a personal place in the city.

There is clearly something connecting the 19th Century walking of the flâneur to the 21st century place-hacking of the UrbExer; this is both an explicit expression of a perennial need to explore where and what the meaningful place of the city might be, and an articulation that walking is the vehicle for such a traversal. Throughout a history of contemplative and critical urban walking, it is the illusive 'other' place of the city — the experiential, sensate, and intangible — that has been the rapture of urban walkers, and the adoption of walking as method has been central to these myriad attempts to generate new knowledge about urban place.

## 5.0 Conclusions

The contested notions of Space and Place were considered in the first part of this chapter, and it was established that two different conceptualisations exist; a realist notion that space is an unmediated truth with a fixed meaning, and an anti-realist notion that place is ultimately of human construct, with myriad and ever-shifting meanings which are in constant flux (Anderson & Jones, 2009; Graham, 1997). Advancing through Lefebvre (1991) and his notion that place is inherently of social construction (Espace Vécu), the fundamental constitutive co-ingredience of 'place' and 'self' as described by Casey (2001) was considered. The role of Harvey (1989; 2008; 2012) has been both to recognise the objective qualities which place can express and the role of human practices in its construction, as well as to contextualise urban experience within wider systems of capital and power which seek to commodify and control it. An understanding of spaces as composed through the sedimentation of a multiplicity of meanings and perceptions has important implications for this thesis both methodologically and conceptually, and has been instrumental in the construction The Layered City model for imagining the spatial relationality between people and place.

In section two, I established four things; Firstly, that atmosphere is a contested term that functions academically within a much less focussed

common vernacular. Secondly, atmospheres are simultaneously ephemeralities of the material world functioning as purely perceptual spaces, whilst also being heavily contingent upon the tangible places from which they emanate and are anchored by, and in this sense, I must consider the objective structures from which urban atmospheres emit and the subjective realms into which they radiate and are experienced as collapsed. Thirdly, atmospheres have a capacity to affect both experience and behaviour, establishing multiple 'real-world' impacts of atmosphere whereby it might assist in changing both the nature of places and the ways in which they are used. And fourthly, the essential need for indeterminacy in the scrutiny of atmospheres, and the necessity to allow for subjective discussions of atmospheric experience, dictates certain methodological considerations.

In the final part of this opening chapter, I explored the history of walking as a means by which to generate particular kinds of embodied knowledge, and as a mechanism by which to experience the city. By reflecting upon the insights borne of psychogeographic practice, as well as those more recently of Urban Exploration, I have established on-foot exploration as a key means by which urban atmospheres are experienced, traversed, and explored. Further, by bringing together a diverse tradition of philosophical, academic, and artistic endeavours mobilised by walking, I have orientated myself around a series of key intellectual pursuits which approach the scrutiny of urban space via walking as both praxis and method. This is especially important in the context of my own fieldwork and the methodological decisions that I have made.

Ultimately, I've established place as being social and subjective, composed reciprocally between the exchange of 'self' and 'place', and felt through constellations of atmospheres which radiate and dissolve into each other. I layer this atmospheric realm of the city, what I will later advance as the terrain of Buzz for Creative and Cultural Industries workers, upon and through the *terra firma* of the city. It is suggested that Creative and Cultural Industries enquiry must first look beyond space alone and towards place, and then beyond place alone and towards atmosphere.

# Chapter Two: Exploring the History of Leeds

## 1.0 Introduction

As the place in which this thesis explores its various themes and ideas, a journey into Leeds' story is important not only for situating this research as part of the cities narrative, but further as a useful mechanism through which to begin to map 'story' onto 'terrain'; the layering of the discursive, subjective, personal, and experiential worlds of place onto the built, material, and tangible space of Leeds begins here, and continues throughout this research. This is not a matter-of-fact historical account of the development of Leeds, but rather one organised around five interconnected auto-ethnographic reflections anchored in specific places, which function as the spatial lenses through which a social, cultural, industrial, and political history of Leeds emerges.

First conceived of as a traversal, or dérive, into the city on a rough South-Easterly heading from my house in North-West Leeds, the waypoints of this route include Woodhouse Moor, Park Square, Briggate Street and The Victorian Arcades, Kirkgate Market, and The Calls, as indicated by location markers 1 – 5 on Figure 1[14]. In practice, the autoethnographic observations presented here stem from five separate excursions and periods of embeddedness in each location rather than one continuous drift (Bishop, 2012), which followed on from a period of desk-based archival research into Leeds' history that helped to first determine each site based upon its relevance to this work in myriad thematic ways. The observational material presented is taken from field-notes written in-situ during each visit and then fleshed-out shortly afterwards.

The destinations together form a modern history of the city starting in the

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[14] Briggate Street and the Victorian Arcades are grouped together not only because of their close geographic proximity, but also because they are similarly reflected upon as places of retail. They were also visited during the same excursion, as detailed in that section.

industrial era, circa 1800. Each place has been chosen not only for its historicity as a site in which some notable occasion has occurred, but also for its ability to offer a route into an analysis of a certain moment in the history of the city which is in some way aptly reflected by it or experienced in it; these are wormholes that seed important themes and motifs that re-emerge later in this thesis, as well as first traversals of some of the places to which this thesis returns more literally. The themes and motifs seeded here which become recurrent throughout later chapters including the primary fieldwork, include; cultural events and happenings, public and private place, class and wealth, industrialisation and de-industrialisation, community and diversity, regeneration and gentrification, and architecture and aesthetics.

Acting upon the merits of the embedded practice of city walking as a means by which to explore place and atmosphere, as established throughout chapter one, this history of Leeds moves away from a purely objective, empirical, or 'matter of fact' chronology, and explores instead a history of Leeds wherein my subjective experiencing of its place(s) is engaged in dialog with its historicity. This approach might be aptly captured by the notion of 'spatial humanities', which Bauch describes as:

> "The widespread adoption of spatial thinking and representation around the breadth of humanities disciplines [which have] introduced the possibility of bringing all the social and cultural phenomena of interest to humanities scholars off the head of a pin, as it were, and grounding them in real places with both measureable and metaphysical topographies." (Bauch, 2017, p. 3)

As well as introducing the history of Leeds and situating this research within that narrative, and further, as well as seeding key themes, ideas, and places which re-emerge later, this chapter also then foreshadows the methods of this work. It does so firstly by being embedded *in* place, as opposed to only being written *of* or *about* place, and, secondly, it delivers an analysis that's sensitised to place via the reflective knowledge generated by the lived experience *through* place.

*Figure 1 Waypoints for a History of Leeds*

## 2.0 Woodhouse Moor; Open Spaces, Cultural Happenings, and Aesthetic Incongruity.

Sinclair (1997), recounts a message inscribed on a plaque at the entrance to an east London park; "This park belongs to the people of east London, if you harm it, you harm them (p. 205)." The relationship between open green places and urban communities has inspired multiple scholarly investigations, with research suggesting, for instance, the potential for intercultural cohesion in city parks (Peters, Elands, & Buijs, 2010), the social benefits of urban green spaces (Zhou, & Rhana, 2011), the positive correlation between urban parks and human health (Tzoulas et. al, 2007), the contribution of green spaces to urban sustainability (Chiesura, 2004), and, in general, the symbiosis between urban parks and the overall quality of life for resident populations (Burgess, Harrison, & Limb, 1988).

The plaque that Sinclair recalls, one installed by the local council overseeing the park's maintenance, clearly echoes the above sentiments in suggesting

that a damaged park is a damaged public. The 'production of nature' (Sivaramakrishnan, & Vaccaro, 2006, p. 301) in urban public places and parks such as Woodhouse Moor, as indicated in Figure 1 by location marker number 1, and their role in the everyday culture of the city, emerges as a 'distinctly post-industrial phenomenon' (ibid.). The associations drawn between communing in open green places and our individual and collective wellbeing are, according to Solnit (2014), learned and cultivated, and have a specific cultural ancestry (p. 85)," as discussed for example in the opening chapter in terms of the espoused benefits of walking in nature (For instance; Rousseau, 1903; Thoreau, 1914).

Woodhouse Moor, generally more known colloquially as Hyde Park, is a large expanse of grassland, gardens, sports facilities, and allotments, on the outskirts of Leeds' city centre to the North West. I know this park extremely well; for five years, I have lived less than ten minutes' walk from here, and its long pathways lined with mature trees separate me from the University, and the city centre beyond. Today is a Sunday, it's early summer, just after midday, and, as is almost always the case, my neighbours are making the most of this public place on a clear day; multiple dog-walkers, two twenty-something ladies running should-to-shoulder, some (I assume) students have set-up a slack-line between two trees and are falling off frequently, a large group of teenagers are playing football, while others are throwing a frisbee around.

Perhaps they too are somewhat thankful that it's not especially hot today; the hottest days in Hyde Park almost always bring with them hundreds of local undergraduate students, many of whom live around me in the back-to-back terraces just down the hill, in the student accommodation on campus, or slightly further afield in the nearby suburb of Headingley. On hotter days, it's something of a local tradition to descend upon Woodhouse Moor en mass with single-use foil BBQs and boxes of beer. Not an inherently bad thing, of course, but for the inevitable Monday morning commute spent dodging the weekend's discarded hummus pots and wine bottles (I use these examples specifically because a group of students, now sitting about fifteen feet away

from me on a blanket they've just laid out, have three types of hummus and a bottle of wine with them).

Woodhouse Moor has always been a meeting place for the residents of the city, and subsequent to the purchase of this land by the Leeds Corporation in 1857 for a sum of £3000, a committee was established in order to maintain it as an open place, as recorded by Mayhall in his 1862 Annals of Yorkshire;

> "This meeting views with jealously any attempt to enclose Woodhouse Moor, or to curtail its use or the existing rights of the freeholders, the commoners, or the inhabitants generally, and that a committee be now appointed, with the power to add to their number, (five to be a quorum) to confer, or to consult with the Lords of the manor, and the recently appointed committee of the town council." (Mayhall, 1862, p. 658)

Even prior to this consultation, the land at Woodhouse Moor had been used for a significant period as a gathering place; oftentimes, local politicians and councillors used the expanse here as a place in which to convene the electorate, with, for example, Sir John Beckett addressing around 40,000 persons here in 1834, just before being successfully elected to parliament to represent them. In reflecting upon the gravitas of this place in terms of Leeds' political history, it would be easy to be critical of the way in which the spaces around me are now being used for simple recreational activities not so directly or obviously bound to the political life or direction of the city.

Indeed, I recall spending around thirty minutes sometime last year watching, both amused and confused, as two students practised 'Quidditch' on the next patch of grass over. Quidditch is a game conceived of by JK Rowling, author of the Harry Potter series, that students of Hogwarts School played on flying broomsticks. For the members of the 'Leeds University Union Quidditch Society' though, who are somewhat more burdened by the laws of physics and their general lack of magical prowess, it is instead played at ground level with a stick held cautiously between their legs. However, as Mayhall

documents in an entry from August 1842, there is some historical precedent for unusual sporting endeavours here:

> "On the 17th of the same month, at the Victoria Cricket Ground, Woodhouse Moor, in the space of half-an-hour, [Mountjoy] ran one mile, walked one mile forwards and one backwards, trundled a hoop half-a-mile, wheeled a barrow half-a-mile, hopped upon one leg 200 yards, ran backwards 200 yards, picked up 40 eggs with his mouth, placed a yard apart, without his knees touching the ground or his hands touching the eggs, and brought each egg in his mouth, and deposited it in a bucket of water without breaking. After a rest of thirty minutes he also performed the following feat; within an hour he ran seven miles, and leaped over sixty hurdles, at an elevation of nearly four feet, having an egg in his mouth while leaping over the last twenty." (1862, p. 486)

Having read Mayhall's (ibid.) account of Mountjoy's undertaking prior to this visit, I'm struck by how it impacts my outlook in particular upon the now larger group of males wobbling their way along the slack-line directly opposite me; rather than a fringe sporting activity considered in the abstract, I observe instead a mirroring of endeavour and a tendril that binds it *to* place and *through* time. The way in which historical narratives associated with a given site alters and effects its experience in the present, indeed the role of memory, is later proven as fundamental to the experience of Buzz and the mobilities of creative and cultural sector workers.

Taylor (1995) problematizes the history of public green space, and suggests that by the time parks had migrated from the private to the public terrains of life, they had begun to conceal within them a particularly poignant history of the ideological imperatives of their time, and that they should be considered as powerful arenas of debate functioning at the boundary of the public and private:

> "It is a site - both physical and philosophical - of political, cultural,

social and economic debates. Moreover, as a self-consciously public arena, the urban park, perhaps more than any other kind of landscape, is redolent of the aspirations of its time (Taylor, 1995, p. 4)."

These aspirations were, by the early years of the Victorian period, grounded in a recognition of the need for increased control over the urban realm in response to the rapid growth of unplanned housing, and a desire to tackle issues around overcrowding, squalor and ill-health (ibid.). The statue of Queen Victoria then, sited in the North-East corner of Woodhouse Moor which is just obfuscated from view from my position, is symbolic of the decisions made following the Select Committee on Public Walks in 1833, which made suggestions around increasing the availability of public open spaces in major industrial towns, the aims of which were eventually realised following the Public Health Act of 1875.

Woodhouse Moor feels a keen exemplar of these Victorian efforts, heightened by its juxtaposition with and proximity to the graffiti-tagged walls, strewn wheelie bins, and rows of identical, compact, back-to-back terraces, that are the architectural and aesthetic mainstays of Hyde Park;

> "The worst features of the back-to-backs were the inevitable outcome of a high-profit system dominated by the land speculator and the absentee landlord...Wealthy landowners kept undeveloped land vitally needed for housing off the market until they got their price, and developers then carefully and cunningly laid out houses to maximize density and profit." (Fishman, 1990, p. 198)

The route here from Hyde Park is one via narrow streets encroached upon by tall and relentless rows of red-brick houses, each one scarred with a careless patchwork of bodged repair jobs by lacklustre landlords. As Fishman above reflects, about the back-to-back terraces of Leeds in the 19th Century, so it is today; profit is king, and I've been witness to the ever-increasing rental prices of these terraces, which in other parts of the city

have long since been cleared away as 'slums', such as those previously at Quarry Hill to which I venture repeatedly during the fieldwork of this project.

One's arrival at Woodhouse Moor, upon rounding the summit of the steep Royal Park Road, brings forth a feeling of comparative fresh air and openness, notably a sudden vista of the colour green and its smell, which emerges as a multi-sensory threshold, felt in the traversal of a liminal zone (Garrett, 2013), in which feelings of spatial incongruity manifest. Both liminality and aesthetic incongruity re-emerge later as key themes related to the tethering of Buzz to certain locations, and so too does their traversal.

Climbing this mini-urban summit upon exiting Hyde Park is never more eventful than on bonfire night, when, wrapped in coats and scarves, a bustling flow of people plod upwards together, towards the promised firework display which the council organises annually on Woodhouse Moor, just beyond the tree-line from my position. There are a few regular occasions throughout the year when the community gathers here, but none are so well attended as the November 5th celebrations, where the spectacle of an enormous burning effigy and the whizz-bang-fizzle of multi-coloured explosive displays draws thousands of people from across the city shoulder-to-shoulder in this place. Much like unusual sporting endeavours, fireworks too have a specific ancestry here, as Mayhall recounts upon recalling the celebrations of 17th July 1853, which followed the laying down of the first stone of the Leeds Town Hall;

> "The mayor and guests, including the borough members, with the members of the town council and other gentleman, dined together at the music hall, and the several bands repaired to Woodhouse Moor attended by an immense concourse of people, estimated at more than 60,000. The festivities of the day concluded by a display of fireworks." (1862, p. 635)

The bringing together of the communities of Leeds for cultural events and celebrations, whether for displays of fireworks or for any of the various

cultural festivals that take place in Leeds as further described in chapter three, has clear historical roots. Baring those roots in mind, the relationship that emerges through the fieldwork between Buzz and cultural events, takes on a new gravitas when considered as part of a long narrative of public engagement with place via similar cultural happenings through time.

Whether considered as an event space for fireworks and live music, a place for sport and recreation, or a site of political demonstration, the congregating of a diverse public in this place, its raison d'être of being open, free, and accessible (albeit as part of Victorian plan to control), and its felt sense of aesthetic incongruity with areas within its proximity, links thematically to other places in the city and their Buzz as later explored throughout my fieldwork. Indeed, whilst an hour spent making notes and reflecting on Woodhouse Moor might first and most obviously relate to the post-industrial production of natural spaces (Sivaramakrishnan, & Vaccaro, 2006) and a reflection into the role of this one on the everyday culture of Leeds through time (Mayhall, 1862), so too does it speak directly to crucial components of Buzz and its spatiality.

3.0 Park Square; Industrial Leeds, Wealth Inequality, and 'Dark' History

In February of 1865 around one thousand Leeds residents protested here, in Park Square, indicated on figure 1 by location marker 2. This was an act of civil disobedience which ultimately saw one man, George Hudson, killed, and five others seriously injured. The riot, which culminated outside of the home of surgeon and magistrate Henry Chorley at No. 8 Park House, not more than twenty steps from my current position, followed a much larger protest of several thousand earlier that day, around 1.5 miles from here, at Armley Gaol (now HMP Leeds). The inciting incident was the treatment of Chorley's cook Eliza Stafford, who had been imprisoned for the duration of one month for the crime of stealing 2lbs of dripping from her employer. As the Manchester Guardian reported at the time;

"The woman was convicted, and sent to prison for a month. The case raised a storm of public indignation in Leeds…it was understood that yesterday morning Eliza Stafford would be released from prison, and thousands of persons assembled in front of Armley Gaol to witness her discharge. The crowd, numbering some 10,000 people…swarmed down in the direction of Mr. Chorley's residence, in Park Square, and here, during the rest of the day, they continued to congregate with more or less mischievous disposition." (1865, p. 3)

Charges levied for the theft of dripping seems an unlikely catalyst for such social unrest. It is, of course, a symptom of wider social, cultural, and economic tensions more broadly felt across Leeds in the mid 19th Century, and indeed across much of the rapidly industrialising North, in which a growing urban population was increasingly divided upon lines of wealth. So stark were the divisions between the classes, that Disraeli, in his novel Sybil of 1845, describes them as "two nations, between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy (Disraeli, 1981, p. 65)." The Leeds 'Dripping Riots' then, although caused by public outrage at the prosecution specifically of Eliza Stafford, were fuelled by a wider public discontent with those in positions of relative power and wealth at the time.

In 2015, around 175,000 people were classified as living in 'absolute poverty' in Leeds (Leeds City Council, 2015, p. 5), and, just as Eliza Stafford's hardship culminated with her seeking a source of free sustenance, an estimated 20,000 people in the city required assistance from local food banks (ibid.). Just as it was for the rioters in 1865, Park Square today remains a fitting place from which to reflect upon the disparity of wealth in Leeds: Georgian terraces, described as 'elegant' by a blue commemorative plaque I made note of upon entering, are still today occupied largely by legal, financial, and private medical firms. From my position, sitting on a bench in the small manicured central garden that the handsome properties surround, I can just about make out some signage; 'St Phillips Barristers', 'The Private Clinic', and 'Sugaré & Co Solicitors'. These names are all engraved into either silver or gold coloured metal plaques, and affixed aside their

respective doorways.

Throughout the 19th Century, Leeds, like many other Northern cities, expanded rapidly. The overriding feature of Leeds' industrial growth up to the end of century was the dominance of textiles, and, although supported by development across engineering, transport, and agriculture, the production and finishing of textiles in the city was the principle focus of its innovation (Connel, & Ward, 1980, p. 145). The city's reputation as a textile centre was instrumental in catalysing waves of in-migration (Morgan, 1980), and, as the manufacture of cotton, woollen cloth, flax and so on increased, so too did other industries required to support the growing and diversifying economy and population, as Connel and Ward explain:

> "Such a well-developed textile industry generated a demand not only for coal, labour and transport, but also for machinery and utensils, bricks, wood and iron…the necessities of the woollen trade…may be said to be the foundation of the Engineering business now carried out in Leeds." (1980, p. 151)

Leeds was, as result of its industrial boom and enabled by innovations in transport across the region, establishing itself as a key city by the end of the 19th Century, and, as Fraser explains, major civic projects soon followed:

> "Leeds could compare favourably with other large cities such as Liverpool, Sheffield, Manchester, Newcastle, and even Birmingham. There had been the building of the Armley Gaol, the Town Hall, and a new Leeds Bridge; major improvements in Boar Lane, Albion Street, and Briggate (1973, p. 778)."

Leeds' association with textiles is returned to further in chapter 3 as I start to map the Creative and Cultural Industries in the city, including the continued presence of textiles and fashion here. So too, in a more spatial sense, do the structures and buildings borne of Leeds' industrial might, as detailed by Connel and Ward (1980), re-emerge as sites still crucial today; indeed, the

Town Hall, Leeds Bridge, and Briggate Street all form part of one of more traversals into the city as part of the fieldwork presented in chapter six.

In imagining the atmosphere of Leeds during industrialisation, Goodwin-Hawkins (2018) considers the experience of factory chimney's and their smoke on the city and its inhabitants; "Smoke billowed, soot clung, and factory chimneys towered like spires (p. 138)." Some of these chimneys still exist today, and interestingly, in building towards later discussions around Leeds' cultural quarters, both the Carriage Works Theatre and the Holbeck Urban Village creative clusters have such 'spires'. The 'spectacle' (Goodwin-Harkins, 2018) of the industrial chimneys, which encompasses both their material presence as well as the economic impetus that they symbolised, foregrounds later discussions around the politics of repurposing de-industrialised working class spaces for the pursuits of a creative class (Florida, 2002), as well as speaking to previous one's regarding the controlling influence of capital on place and its experience (Harvey, 1989).

To my left, where St Paul's Place enters Park Square from the city beyond, is a large paved and pedestrianised area in front of a particularly ornate and terracotta-bricked building; the cresting of its roofline comprises of more than twenty miniature turrets, each one housing a decorative leaf-shaped opening, which are flanked by two domed towers. At street-level, in front of a large atrium straddled by double height glazing, two men, middle-aged, both in blue business suits and carrying black briefcases, are standing face-to-face as if talking to each other, but in reality, having quite independent conversations on their respective mobile phones. One other person, an older male, also suited, removes a white storage box from the boot of his 4x4 on the opposite side of the Square.

Arriving here with the knowledge of Eliza Stafford's story in my mind, I note that I'm being especially attentive to the signifiers of wealth and class that I see around me; my gaze targeted through an historically informed lens, focussing in on symbols of wealth, and sharp to the aesthetic juxtapositions between this place and the back-to-backs from which I've walked. The

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capacity that 'dark'[15] histories, such as the arrest, riots, and resultant death at Park Square, have to impress upon the lived experience of place emerges later as an unlikely catalyst for Buzz. So too are important issues of capital, class, and accessibility returned to, as creative and cultural sector workers grapple with the relationship between their organisations and the communities that they strive to engage.

## 4.0 Briggate Street and the Victorian Arcades; Placelessness, Peripheral Space, and Deindustrialisation.

Briggate Street, which appears prominently on an early map of Leeds dated 1736 and is indicated on Figure 1 by location marker 3A, is a major thoroughfare that runs from North to South through the centre of the city. Along with Albion Place, Lands Lane, and Commercial Lane, it is a pedestrian-only street that bisects the retail heartlands of Leeds; these are wide and open roads, which offer foot-traffic-heavy shop-frontage for major British and international retailers. There is a loose clustering of shop-types here; Briggate is mainly day-to-fashion and footwear (I can see Zara, Sole Trader, Office, and Top Shop, for instance), Lands Lane has the outdoor gear retailers (Cotswold Outdoor, Blacks, and Snow & Rock) alongside other high-street mainstays (HMV, and Ann Summers), and Commercial Street seems to have the monopoly on jewellery and accessories (Ernest Jones, Rolex, and Omega). Despite certain shop types being bedfellows, I still find myself getting lost in the retail centre of city; in truth, I'm rarely here to shop for clothes or shoes, having recently recycled, donated, or sold just about every item of clothing I own, apart from a few things deemed 'essential'.

My tendency towards minimalism, it seems, cannot be said for the people of Leeds more generally on this clear Saturday afternoon in May 2016. I've

[15] The use of the word 'dark' here is a reference to a form of mobility discussed commonly in tourism studies, namely the notion of 'dark tourism' (Sharpley, 2009). My adoption of the term is detailed and explored further in chapter six.

chosen a Saturday afternoon specifically because it would be like this; hundreds, maybe thousands, of people, both male and female, mainly white, and mainly ranging between young teenagers and the middle-aged, are moving in all directions around me as I sit somewhat overwhelmed on an uncomfortable, cold, metal bench. Behind large panes of glass, obscured from view by translucent 'Closing-Down Sale' stickers and other such signage, yet more people, this time blurrier and more non-descript, are choreographed through narrow rows of clothes hanging-rails in the shops on both sides of me.

This feeling of being overwhelmed and a general sense of unease, following discussions of placelessness (Relph, 1976) in the opening chapter, stems from experiencing the orchestration of people and the commodification of place laid so bare; the blurred 'flows' (Castells, 1989) of consumers, moving en-mass in-and-out of shops, a constant trample of feet, a disorganised army, a soundscape of discordant chattering coupled with double-decker buses grumbling in the distance, a collective racket of buying and selling, of fast-fashion, an impersonal urban 'blandscape' of retail performativity that's being played-out almost identically, I imagine, in cities all over the world. In my most critical mind, I see flashes of Koyaanisqatsi (Reggio, 1982), and Relph's assertions of increasing 'placelessness' (1976) seem ever more apt.

This street will be returned to as part of the fieldwork presented in chapter six, and the oppressive nature of Leeds' shopping heartlands and their negative impact upon the capacity for creativity will be explored. A spatiality of Buzz which determines a reciprocity between built and felt peripherality later emerges, and is mapped onto my Layered City model, which in part differentiates between the mobilities of Labour Places such as Briggate and other 'Looser' (Franck & Stevens, 2006) ones. This work also later develops a scrutiny of commodified spaces through demonstrating the role of placefullness, that is seemingly 'non-places' (Augé, 1995) that are actually rich with processes of personal meaning-making, in co-explorer's experiences of Buzz.

Just behind me is one of three interconnected Victorian shopping arcades, indicated in Figure 1 by location marker number 3B, that run West to East across the city, connecting Briggate Street to Vicar Lane, via a series of vaulted, highly-decorated rooms. I walk through one of them; above me, a high and curving glass roof, supported by great arches of green steel, bends the sunlight, glistening, onto a brilliantly tiled floor of geometric concentric design in burgundy and blue. Making my way past high-end designer outlets (Harvey Nichols, Reiss, and Michael Kors), I'm closed in by walls of dappled grey marble and pale stone, above which, and running the full length of the arcade, the green metal framework of a balconette decorates the upper story of each shop.

In here, where the high-end retail offering significantly filters the crowd and depletes the number of shoppers quite dramatically, it's far easier to observe the people around me; three Asian women in their early 20s, I guess international students from China, wear almost floor length fitted coats and heels, all carrying bags with the Harvey Nicholl's logo on them. An older woman, perhaps 65, looks through the glass frontage of Vivienne Westwood at the mannequins in the window display. Not surprisingly, as someone wearing the only pair of jeans that I own and the same coat that I use for hiking at the weekends, I'm neither especially qualified to remark upon the sartorial choices or ambitions of others, and nor am I feeling particularly settled here. At the far end, through enormous glass doors, I can see one of the entrances to Kirkgate Market. I'd far rather be in there amongst the kale and mangos, than in here beside Karen Millen.

Up until relatively recently, and related to wider geo-political and cultural issues of recent decades, these Victorian shopping arcades were closed to the public. Massive structural change across the United Kingdom in the 1970s and 80s saw the widespread de-industrialisation of the British economy, which, of course, adversely and disproportionately impacted the more heavily industrialised North of the country. This economic restructuring and the de-industrialisation of the North, coupled with the closure of mines across the region, catalysed a 'jobs gap' between British cities. This jobs gap

was particularly pronounced here in Leeds, with a loss of employment of nearly 7%, roughly double the national average in the 1970s, and a drop of a third across manufacturing employment in the city, compared to national decline of less than a quarter on average.

The problems of the 70s were exacerbated by a failed Thatcherite free-market neoliberalism in the 1980s, the result of which caused widespread civil unrest across the city. Between 1981 and 1993 manufacturing jobs fell from 84,000 to 54,000, whilst at the same time, and ultimately serving to inflame existing economic and class disparities in the city, jobs in the financial services sector increased from 27000 to 59000 in Leeds. Along with Bristol, Liverpool, and London, Leeds experienced a series of riots throughout the period. Civil insurrection manifested through a series of violent protests which took place across multiple decades, reflecting heightening social tensions and the more turbulent aspects of life in the city during the period, where society was particularly segregated along racial lines. As Farrar recalls;

> "In June 1993 as I walked home down Chapeltown Road, Leeds, in the middle of the night…I had been watching been watching [teenagers] through the Mandela Centre's glass doors while they raced across the car park and wasteland, firing two-foot tubes of air-bomb fireworks at each other…Three weeks previously, riot police ran amok in Chapeltown, arresting innocent bystanders and assaulting some of them, after protests had taken place outside of the 10-2 Club, when people, including a youth worker, were arrested in circumstances that the youngest believed, with good reason, it now seems, to be unfair." (1994, P. 15)

The experience of the city in this period of mass unemployment and civil unrest ultimately sought to hollow-out the centre of Leeds, which established itself as unsafe, and therefore discouraged local populations from utilising its places. Perceived threats to the city centre, notably the vandalism and destruction of public property that had become the go-to acts of resistance

and rebellion for the city's youth, resulted in the closure of these arcades. I can still see, above the entrances to the two smaller and outermost arcades, metal bars above the archways, ready for deployment. These periods of civil unrest continued to shape perceptions of the city in more recent times;

> "The issues raised in this paper in relation to the changing demographic and socio-economic profiles of the ethnic groups living in Leeds, their levels of mixing and the nature of social relations between different ethnic groups, have particular salience given the concerns about community cohesion and minority ethnic citizenship expressed in the wake of the northern riots" (Stillwell, J., & Phillips, J, 2006, p. 1150)

Issues of racial segregation, social exclusion, and the take-over of the streets at night by 'anti-social' youth elements, resulted in, amongst other things, the use of up-market retail and entertainment redevelopments coupled with city-wide rebranding schemes throughout the 1990s in a series of concerted efforts to reanimate and stabilise the city centre. The reopening of the Victorian Arcades and the arrival of Harvey Nicholls, it's first location outside of London, has been seen as something of a turning point in the fate of the city, which is now regarded as one of the premier shopping destinations in the country;

> "Retail therapy is top of the list for many visitors, and while Harvey Nichols chose Leeds for its first base outside London prompting Lonely Planet to dub it the "Knightsbridge of the North." it also has one of the biggest Primark's in the region. So variety is the spice of life when it comes to shopping. There's also the classy Victorian arcades which have attracted many high-end names including Vivienne Westwood." (Gleeson, J, 2016).

Elsewhere, efforts to re-animate Leeds City Centre have been epitomised by an emphasis on an urban planning concept called the 24-Hour City. The 24-hour city initiative was launched in 1993 through the inspiration and vision of

Jon Trickett, then Leeds council leader. Intended to develop the city centre
economy around the clock, the initiative included a series of coordinated
policies, including relaxing licensing restrictions, encouraging more
residential accommodation within the city centre, providing programmes of
events and entertainment, and promoting safety.

The concerted efforts throughout the 1990s to curate the city centre as a
space of both commerce and entertainment, the results of which were felt so
keenly on Briggate Street, illustrates the ways in which regulating the
development of urban areas through instructive policy, rather than permitting
a laissez-faire, bottom-up, hands-off approach, can be effective in achieving
a series of clear social, cultural, and economic objectives. The Layered City
model, as previously discussed, maps such places and their raison-d'être,
and is used later to conceptualise the way in which such top-down
approaches to urban design and management relate to Buzz, particularly
that associated with alternative, DIY, or grassroots cultural activity in looser
spaces.

5.0 Kirkgate Market; Everyday Culture, Crossing Thresholds, and
Mixed Communities

Up until September of 1843, the land that I'm standing on (Figure 1, location
marker number 4), rows of worn grey paving stones forming a narrow ginnel
between a row of butcher's shops in Kirkgate Market, belonged to Mr John
Purchon;

> "In order to carry out the enlargement of the Kirkgate market, in
> Leeds, the town council some time before this date offered to Mr John
> Purchon the sum of £1,555, for property belonging to him situated in
> Purchon's yard, Kirkgate, which he refused to take. The sum
> demanded by Mr. Purchon was £4,860. To settle the matter the
> council acting under the powers of the Leeds improvement act,
> directed a warrant to the high sheriff of the county, requiring him to

> summon a jury at Leeds to determine the amount of compensation to
> be paid for the property…the jury brought in a verdict assigning
> compensation to the amount of £2,500." (Mayhall, 1862, p. 497)

Kirkgate Market has been operative since at least the turn of the 19th
Century, and remains today part of the everyday fabric of Leeds' social and
cultural life. Indeed, the way in which this market functions as a meeting
point in the city is reflected upon further by a photographer with whom I walk
later on, who positions the images he captures here as documenting the life
of the city, amounting to an archive of its people. In 2011, the market
supported around 400 businesses together providing over 2000 jobs, then
representing something in the region of 22% of retail employees in the city
(Leeds City Council, 2011). The indoor market, which includes the area at
the top of butchers' row in which I'm currently leaning against a white-
washed brick wall, was first covered in 1857, and subsequently extended
later in that century (Leodis, 2018a). In 1904, the much more architecturally
decorative vaulted room of the covered market to my right, what is today the
main indoor area, was constructed;

> "The new borough Market Hall…opened on 18th July 1904. The
> Council had held a competition to design the building and of the eight
> entries, John & Joseph Leeming of Westminster Buildings, London,
> were the winners…The original estimate for the building of the market
> hall was £73,000, but the final toll was £116,750." (Leodis, 2018a).

Various parts of the building have since been remodelled and rebuilt multiple
times, following, for example, a roof collapse in 1947, a fire in 1975,
refurbishment between 1991 and 1993, and most recently, the reopening of
the 1976 hall in 2015. There have been constant efforts spanning centuries
to keep this market open and operational, as Gonzalez and Waley reflect in
considering the previous decade's efforts to invest in the structure;

> "In the 1980s a mechanism to reinvest the market surplus back into
> the building was abolished [but] in 1996, a strategy document

described the market as a "viable retail offer under threat" and
proposed to refurbish those buildings that it agreed were in poor
condition." (2009, p. 972)

Despite occupying a prime site in the centre of the city, with Kirkgate Market's location promising significant real estate value and therefore potentially at great risk of gentrification (ibid.), the market continues in relative stasis despite the ever-developing city which surrounds it on all sides. Perhaps most demonstrative of this place's resistance to the forces of gentrification is the onoing construction of a new neighbour, in the form of Victoria Gate, which will be a large upmarket shopping precinct. It is separated from here only by a narrow road, and the John Lewis store which will be Victoria Gate's flagship retailer, looms large over the market. The emergence of such thresholds, in the form of the road between *here* and *there*, and the way in which traversing such spaces impacts upon the perception of space, re-emerges throughout the fieldwork presented in chapter six. Issues of gentrification are returned to also in discussions throughout chapter three regarding the Creative and Cultural Industries.

To my right, a Russian and Polish delicatessen, mainly selling various types of smoked pork sausage which are hung, oddly decoratively, from string along the top of the window display, has relatively recently opened-up here, I assume by either a Polish or Russian immigrant to the city. Further afield, at the far end of butcher's row, which is now having its floor generously soaked by mop buckets to wash the bloody run-off down the drains, is another sign of Leeds' multicultural composition, this time in the form of a Chinese-run meat specialist (Less swinging sausage this time, but much more duck). It would be easy to assume that these business owners represent a new wave of international competitors for the local Yorkshire butchers who have been the mainstay here since the market opened in the early 19th Century, but, as is so often the case, the contribution of immigrants to the social, cultural, and culinary life of British cities has significant historical roots, as detailed in the following description of a photograph of Kirkgate Market:

"View of Kirkgate Market with the Marks and Spencer's clock in the centre. The inset at the top left shows the blue plaque dedicated to Dewhirst's and Marks & Spencer. It reads; 'This was the warehouse of Isaac Dewhirst, wholesale haberdasher and manufacturer of hosiery, pinafores, underclothing and aprons. Obtaining supplies here, the Polish immigrant pedlar, Michael Marks, met Dewhirst's cashier Tom Spencer. In 1894, they formed the most famous partnership in British retailing." (Leodis, 2018b)

The Marks and Spencer's clock, which I can see as I look back across the indoor area of the market past a green-grocers, commemorates the site upon which the now ubiquitous retailer first started selling its wares. In the area immediately surrounding it, various traders continue to sell here; 'Fulton's' are selling discount frozen foods, a seemingly unnamed shop has a huge array of yarns, wools, and knitting equipment, and upon the shelves of 'Brown's Sweets' is an assortment of traditional confectionary.

Michael Marks has left an indelible mark here, indeed upon the entirety of British retail, but is just one of many immigrants who have done so. In their study of the role of markets in urban gentrification, Gonzalez and Waley reflect upon the ever-changing racial dynamics of this place;

"We should not, however, think of Kirkgate Market as a static space where one type of customer, produce and trader is replaced by another…The ethnic composition of traders and customers has also changed in recent decades, reflecting wider demographic shifts in the population in Leeds. Most notably in the last few years there has been an arrival of Polish produce and stalls, Caribbean food and hairdressers and Chinese-run nail bars and accessories shops. Asian traders have been well established in the market for a longer time." (2009, p. 975)

According to the most recent census data from 2011, Leeds is home to 140 different ethnicities, who comprise just over 18% of the total population of the

city. Looking around, Leeds' multicultural demographics are well represented here today; two Black Caribbean men, around sixty years old, shake hands upon meeting each other by 'Neil's Green Grocer', and four Indian Women, two wearing colourful glittering sarees and each holding at least one bag of produce, talk to each other in what sounds like Gujarati[16] in a small huddle. Behind and above them, a young trader with a thick Leeds accent intermittently reminds us all, extremely loudly as is the tradition, that his oranges are 'five for a pound!'. The resultant soundscape is a swirling cacophony of multilingual chatter, interrupted constantly and from all angles by Yorkshire-born cries, with the loudest of which, as always, being that of 'Michael Michael's' whose tray of steaks is, as ever, "10 for £10!"

Kirkgate Market is not what McCullen and Alkon would aptly criticise as a modern farmer's market, "generally characterized by an affluent, liberal habitus of whiteness" (2011, p. 941). Instead, it remains preserved in a state much more akin to its original form; this is not a place in which the consumption of food products can be meaningfully likened to any kind of demonstrative performance of taste and status (Anguelovski, 2016), but more so an integral part of the everyday retail environment of the city, where around 170,000 Leeds' residents shop weekly (Leeds City Council, 2011).

Kirkgate Market is noteworthy both for its quiet act of resistance to the ever-encroaching threats of gentrification, and for its function as part of the social and cultural fabric of the society that it serves, most notably for those from Leeds' many and varied ethnic communities. The relationality between Buzz and issues of demography and community are returned to during the fieldwork presented in chapter six, as co-explorers articulate multiply around themes of openness and accessibility.

Further, Kirkgate Market articulates a duality that's interesting to consider in

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[16] My fiancée, Dr Davina Patel, speaks Gujarati with her family for whom it is their native tongue. Over the years, I've learnt some simple phrases and been exposed in general to the language, and so it's with some level of insight and experience that I make this claim.

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reflecting upon how it sits within the wider city of Leeds and the history (and future) thereof; Indeed, whether it is the role of urban policy to usher forth economic growth through targeted developmental agendas and regeneration schemes, or to accommodate a more natural progression of places already performing a whole series of social and cultural functions above and beyond their economic ones. Such questions, and their implications on the Buzz of Leeds for its creative and cultural sector workers, are grappled with later.

## 6.0 The Leeds Canal; Urban Entrepreneurialism, and Terrain Vague.

It's just before 9:00AM on a Tuesday morning. I'm standing on a bridge spanning a section of the River Aire where it connects with the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, as indicated by location marker 5 on Figure 1. The edge of the modern city reveals itself only subtly, with just a few of the taller structures poking their heads above the ex-factory buildings and warehouses in front of me, only dimly visible against a particularly grey, particularly misty, particularly British morning. A couple of cranes on some distant development, although not yet woken from their slumber, are the only real hints of a city undergoing major urban change. Otherwise, in a way perhaps slightly unusual for a place within throwing distance of the centre of what is now the 3rd largest city in the UK, I find myself in a relatively still, largely unpopulated, almost tranquil sort of place in time.

An engine rumble punctuates the stillness, interrupts the cawing of gulls, seemingly startling them, as well as me. The ripples on the Aire, previously a gentle lapping like some babbling countryside brook, now appear shaken by the sound of the three workmen who have kicked a generator into life, and started groundworks in front of the hotel next to me. A woman passes behind me on the bridge; late 40's, tall, brunette, pant-suited, and dragging behind her a tiny suitcase on wheels. Walking in the direction of the city centre, mobile phone to her ear already starting the day's tasks, she moves quickly through and without pause; this is for her, perhaps, a space of transience, a non-place (Augé, 1995), an obstacle to be overcome en-route to a

destination.

The Leeds and Liverpool canal, a 127-mile waterway connecting Leeds to Liverpool, was completed in 1816. This thoroughfare, a conduit through the city upon which cargo from canal-side factories was transported, played a crucial role in the emergence of Leeds as an industrial centre. Forming part of the wider United Kingdom canal network, connecting early 19th Century Leeds to Liverpool via small market towns across Yorkshire and Lancashire, and crucially, through connections with the wider canal network, to other emerging industrial centres in the North of the country. As Turnbull describes:

> "They were of the same physical nature as navigable rivers…but canals were very different from natural waterways…their technology freed them from the tyranny of natural hydrology…Canals could be constructed to exploit potential opportunities, linking places at will by deliberate, rational, economic calculation." (1987, p. 539)

The ability for factories to transport goods in volume was, of course, essential for the growth of trade within Leeds, but also more broadly for the emerging industrial, mercantile, and manufacturing centre, the canal was instrumental in its growth as a city by enabling its expansion into an increasingly larger place of trade and commerce, congregated around the canal's main terminus in the city centre:

> "Not only did transport improvements facilitate inter-regional trade, allowing regions to exploit their comparative advantages in industry or agriculture, but they also promoted internal unity within regions, drawing satellite towns more firmly into the orbit of major market towns." (Maw, Wyke, & Kidd,, 2009, p. 220)

The role of waterways as conduits to places outside of their immediate orbit becomes interestingly and metaphorically reflected later in this thesis as co-explorers recall experiences of Buzz related to sites and experiences elsewhere in Leeds, which despite being physically dislocated, are affectually

bound. It functions as a useful metaphor too for the ways in which memory and processes of remembering are shown to be implicated in the ways in which Buzz is experienced not only through place, but also through time. More literally, the River Aire is returned to multiply as an important feature of Leeds, namely as a site of contemplation and inspiration.

The pant-suited lady's morning commute is interrupted as the wheels on her suitcase struggle on the cobbled streets as she rounds the corner onto The Calls. So too does this place struggle to articulate one sense of itself; it is, all at once, the culmination of its industrial and economic history and the post-industrial, rapidly gentrifying reimagining that's being erected on all sides. I try to imagine what it might have been like to stand here one or maybe two hundred years in the past; images of a squalid Dickensian urban underbelly flip-flop in my mind with other images full of the bleak whimsy of a Lowry painting.

Remembering what this place once was and who it was for, and indeed how important its previous residents were for the birth of this city, leaves a slightly bitter taste; these cobbled streets and red brick walls have on them the marks and scratches of a crucial and poignant working-class heritage that has been morphed into the scenic backdrop of middle-class consumption, the site of property market speculation, and of many creative industries offices, including those occupied by a co-explorer introduced later. There is even a blue commemorative plaque on the wall just around the corner, titled 'Fletland Mills', heralding and celebrating this transition:

> "In 1887 Wright Bros., corn millers, acquired these late 18th and 19th century mills. They produced large quantities of flour and 'horse corn' for the Leeds district. In 1991, the buildings were splendidly converted into a high quality hotel."

All around The Calls there remain scattered remnants from more industrial times that are memorialised; an impression of revival and renewal that commodifies, as aesthetic experiences, periods of deindustrialisation and

economic change, simultaneously reframing moments characterised by poverty and upheaval, and offering a tokenistic nod to those who endured them. The specific reciprocity between the structures, symbols, and aesthetics of Leeds' industrial history and the mobilities of creative and cultural sector workers today re-emerges later as a key motif in the siting of Buzz.

Shortly after taking office, and announcing a £300 million cut in regional policy expenditure (Haughton et al, 1996), the Thatcher government advocated a range of free-market solutions to combat regional economic disparities, and by the end of the 1980s, such solutions included various initiatives in Leeds aimed at unlocking the economic potential of derelict canal-side space (ibid.). Providing coherent, strict land development policies and using state investment and policy tools to induce private-sector capital flows back into the area, initiatives undertaken along the canal-side in Leeds reflected the changing nature of urban governance under Thatcher, and a shift in urban policies towards what Harvey terms 'Urban Entrepreneurialism':

> "Urban governments had to be much more innovative and entrepreneurial, willing to explore all kinds of avenues through which to alleviate their distressed condition and thereby secure a better future for their populations…The "managerial" approach so typical of the 1960s has steadily given way to initiatory and "entrepreneurial" forms of action…In recent years in particular, there seems to be a general consensus emerging throughout the advanced capitalist world that positive benefits are to be had by cities taking an entrepreneurial stance to economic development." (1989, p. 4)

This urban entrepreneurialism was realised in Leeds through initiatives which signalled a willingness on the part of the city to encourage private investment in Leeds in order to rapidly bring money into the region in an attempt to revitalise its empty factories. In the case of The Calls, and the then disused structures which spanned entire sections of the River Aire, public money was used in order to protect private investment. Underpinned by state funding,

and shielded from some of the inherent risks of capital investment, speculation and profiteering moved ever-more centrally to the picture, and as the role of urban governance shifted from one of custodianship and managerialism to growth-enablement and entrepreneurialism, gentrification soon followed.

The outcome, of course, is that buildings all along the waterfront of Leeds now articulate significant spatio-historical conflict, and reify by their very structures the complex social, cultural, economic, and political processes of deindustrialisation and subsequent renewal. Elsewhere in the city, other sites are today going through similar changes, and facing similar challenges. Indeed, loose places of so-called 'terrain vague' (De Solà Morales, 1995), which describes the void created by, and potential recognised in, abandoned and neglected spaces, is explored as one of Buzz's key spatial modes.

## 7.0 Conclusions

This chapter achieved two things; firstly, it has traversed a history of Leeds and its development, and secondly, it reflected upon some key themes and motifs of this research project through the lens of the city's past. Organised around five autoethnographic immersions in sites across Leeds, this history has gone further than simply chronologically detailing the salient moments which have shaped the city, and has instead spatialised and narrativised those moments through place. It has, in this, way been an endeavour of geohumanties, in the sense that it is a "scholarly interaction occurring at the intersections of geography and multiple humanities disciplines" ("Geohumanities: Information for Authors", 2018), in this case history and, to some extent, creative writing. This approach emerges out from the espoused benefits of sited reflection for urban scrutiny in chapter one, and speaks to the methodology later deployed during the fieldwork of this thesis.

The historical narrative convened throughout this chapter details Leeds' modern development since industrialisation. It has drawn a line from the Victorian contributions to the city's public life and places, through to

Thatcherite contributions to some of Leeds' more recent developments. The chapter has also reflected variously upon issues of class, wealth, demography, and socio-cultural aspects, in order to develop an understanding of Leeds and its composition, and providing useful contextual information in a more general sense. This chapter has visited various places in Leeds to which I will quite literally return with co-explorers.

The chapter has also seeded multiple themes, ideas, and motifs which re-emerge as part of this work's intellectual contributions to the understanding of Buzz during the fieldwork and its discussion. Firstly, from Woodhouse Moor, the role of historical narratives and memory in shaping perception and the idea of liminal zones and aesthetic incongruity are planted. Secondly, from Park Square, the notion of 'dark' sites and issues of capital, class, and accessibility are introduced. Thirdly, from Briggate Street and the Victorian Arcades, theories of placelessness, commodified place, and peripherality are considered. Fourthly, from Kirkgate Market, the role of thresholds in delineating experiential realms is established, and so too are ideas around community, openness, and accessibility. And finally, from The Calls, the processes of recall and remembering and the role of structures, symbols, and aesthetics in shaping perception are seeded.

# Chapter Three: The Creative and Cultural Industries

## 1.0 Introduction

The following chapter has two aims; firstly, to provide a distillation of Creative and Cultural Industries scholarship that focuses on issues of material space and place specifically. This will explore the origins of the Creative and Cultural Industries as utilised in city or regional development initiatives, with particular attention paid to the emergence of the terminologies and policies in the context of post-industrialisation, against the backdrop of a supposedly increasingly weightless economy. In considering the role of place in the study of the Creative and Cultural Industries, this chapter will collate key scholarship as related to the Creative Class, the Creative City, and Creative Clusters, as a series of interrelated areas collectively interested in the material dimensions and built worlds of the urban creative and cultural economy.

Secondly, the relationships between creative workers and creative cities, the socialised networks which underpin the creative and cultural economy and the spatialisation of those networks, the informal knowledge flows crucial to the creative processes which underpin them, and a further unpacking of some of the more elusive concepts delivered under the Creative City paradigm in terms of quality of place, sense of place, scene, and so on, become the central focus. In this section, I will explore how some scholars have indulged in more nuanced spatial analyses, and the myriad efforts that have thus far been made to understand the relationships between the creative and cultural sectors and the atmospheric experience of urban place, especially in terms of untraded interdependences, social ties, the cultural milieu, and the so-called 'third space'.

## 2.0 Background

Research into the Creative and Cultural Industries as a discrete and defined set of cultural and economic activities is anchored by a series of influential

political and scholarly progressions. Ever since the UK's Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) started developing a specific industrial strategy for the creative and cultural sectors towards the end of the 1990s (Smith, 1998), which it later defined as those requiring "creativity and talent, with potential for wealth and job creation through exploitation of their intellectual property" (DCMS, 2001), there have been myriad directions for study into the sectors. Notably, scholars have focussed on the relationships between the Creative and Cultural Industries and various aspects of urban change and development, both exploring and demonstrating the efficacy of the sectors and their socio-economic impacts (Bridge, 2006, 1966; Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000), or more critically questioning such claims (Matthews, 2014; Peck, 2005).

Although more critical voices questioned, for various reasons, the deployment of Creative and Cultural Industries as entrepreneurial assets through the discourse of urban boosterism (Bridge, 2006; Ward, 2016), during the period of the New Labour government the cultural industries remained prominently as part of the urban development agenda, as Ward (2016) describes;

> "Under the UK's New Labour government (1997–2010), the cultural industries (branded 'creative industries') played a prominent part in a range of policy fields, including economic development, social inclusion and urban regeneration." (Ward, 2016, p. 4)

The impact of the favourability with which the sectors were viewed as a kind of panacea to a whole series of economic, social, and cultural issues facing multiple cities, with the unique ability to levy cultural capital in order transition neighbourhoods of neglect and decay into places altogether more 'chic' (Bridge, 2006; Smith, 1996), was that, by 2004, the Creative and Cultural Industries had become key sectors in the UK's economic and employment landscape;

> "In the UK in 2004, for example, it is claimed that creative companies

provided employment for over 1.8 million people and accounted for 8 per cent of Gross Value Added of the UK economy, while between 1997 and 2002 they grew at an average of 6 per cent per annum compared to 3 per cent for the whole economy." (Bagwell, 2008, p. 31)

More recently, similar figures demonstrate continued growth;

"The Cultural Sector provided 3.1% of all UK firms in 2014 and the Creative Industries accounted for 12% of all UK firms…GVA growth for the creative industries and the cultural sector between 2010 and 2015 outstripped the UK average [and] accounted for just under 10% of all UK exports." (Arts Council England, 2017e, p. 4)

Ultimately, in the decade that followed the initial Creative and Cultural Industries thinking of the late 1990s here in the UK, as the DCMS reflects in 2008, the creative economy had been heralded as a British success story;

"Now is the time to recognise the growing success story that is Britain's creative economy and build on that... The vision is of a Britain in ten years' time where the local economies in our biggest cities are driven by creativity." (DCMS, 2008, p. 6)

From economics to marketing, diverse fields have scrutinised the Creative and Cultural Industries, each interested in specific aspects or outcomes of the sectors and their activities. Multiple reimaginings of the idea have emerged, notably the notions of the Creative Economy and of the Creative City, each attempting to better reflect upon, according to the discipline or location of study, the on-the-ground experience of the DCMS's first efforts to conceptualise those industries with creative and cultural aspects. Two decades after the first formalised discussions around the Creative and Cultural Industries, there is, as Pratt (2017) reflects, an increasingly diverse range of interest, scrutiny, and application:

"The initial progenitors of the creative city could not have anticipated that their work would be picked up and applied in the ways, and places, that it has been." (2017, p. 1)

This thesis emerges therefore as just one of the many diverse looks into the Creative and Cultural Industries, functioning as but one example of the myriad ways in which the early work of clarification and definition detailed above has been expanded upon.

## 3.0 Space, Place, and Milieu.

The concept of the 'Weightless Economy' (Quah, 1996), a body of economic work developed towards the end of the last millennium, suggested that the World Wide Web (WWW) would engender a period of increasing industrial placelessness, as knowledge or information became the bedrock of economic activity rather than tangible products, and therefore distribution and trade would be fundamentally changed:

"Dematerialized economic value cannot respect geographical, physical, or national boundaries. Put differently, transportation shows infinite bandwidth when moving bits across space. In contrast, when moving atoms, bandwidth is limited and thus transportation costs and political boundaries matter." (Quah, 1996, p. 7)

Its proponents, on considering the impact that ever-easier online communication and transaction technologies would have on the economy, as well as the rising digitisation of products and services themselves, suggested that the physical colocation of firms and workers would be progressively replaced by a geographically disparate workforce connected via digital, rather than literal, pathways.

A modernising economy would be, according to Quah (1996), governed by increasing 'dematerialisation'; the broad notion that value, amongst other things, would be found in 'bytes' rather than in 'atoms', and would therefore

be less contingent upon the physical distributions, transactions, or contexts that had governed economic and industrial structures up to that point:

> "Greater value, as a fraction of GDP, resides in economic commodities that have little or no physical manifestation. Another description of such structural change is progressive *dematerialisation*." (Quah, 1996, p. 49)

It was hypothesized that pulling up the geographic anchors on economic activity, enabled by a rapidly accelerating and global digital revolution, would lead to what Cairncross (1996) referred to as 'the death of distance':

> "The death of distance is only one manifestation of the astonishing changes taking place as communications and computers are combined in new ways. High capacity fibre-optic networks can already carry voice, video, and data around the world so efficiently [and] the internet, an invention that only began to be accessible to ordinary folk in the 1990s, has introduced perhaps 385 million people around the world to the idea that it costs no more to visit a bookstore in Seattle than one in the local high-street." (Cairncross, 1997, p. 2)

Cairncross prophesizes that such developments would be tantamount to 'killing location' (ibid), as consumers and businesses increasingly inhabited online worlds rather than actual ones. Similarly, O'Brien (1992) issues forth 'the end of geography' as we enter into what Ohmae (1990) termed a 'borderless world'. These scholars agree that, as Clare concludes, "the new age of connectivity [has] contributed to a marked space–time compression of economic processes (2013, p. 52)", and further that present innovations and predicated future innovations will detach economic activity from its "geographical and socio-economic context (ibid)." Pratt (2000) sums up the assertions of the weightless economy proponents as follows;

> "Consequentially the role of physical location associated with transport of raw materials to the producer and the goods to market are no

longer relevant. Producers will be free to locate where they wish. An extension of this argument is that cities will decline as centres of economic activity and be replaced by dispersed teleworkers. (Pratt, 2000, p. 427)."

Whilst we have of course seen the predicted enormous uptake of internet connectivity across all aspects of business and leisure, and so too have the prophesised dramatic increases in digital products, services, communications, transactions, and values been borne out, in line with what both Quah (1996) and Cairncross (1997) predicted, so too have we seen the continued growth of cities and the ongoing centralisation and agglomeration of economic activity within them. Indeed, as the United Nations (2011) confirms, cities continue to grow rapidly, with 60% of the world's population expected to live in large urban centres by 2030.

It's important to criticise the 'technological determinism' and 'economism' (Pratt, 2000, p. 434) of the weightless economy concept, in the sense that it elevates economic factors as the primary drivers of an individual's geographic decisions, by considering the fundamental and overlooked importance of non-traded interdependencies (Gertler, 2004; Storper, 1995; Massey, 1991; Pratt, 2000), for which 'weightlessness', or physical disparity, are counter-productive. Non-Traded, sometimes alternatively termed 'untraded', interdependencies is a key aspect that emerges from a school of thought that sought to reaffirm the crucial relationality between place, production, and consumption, and a sociological endeavour to re-find the necessity of place amongst all the rhetoric of increasing weightlessness in post-Fordist economies. In this way, they speak to earlier discussions throughout chapter one regarding the fundamental reciprocity between place and self.

For Storper (1995), the suggested lessening importance of place proposed by the Weightless Economy is undermined by evidence of increasing specialisation and regionalisation;

"At a larger scale, it became evident that - even with increasing intensity of global trade and investment flows-national specificities in terms of products traded and technologies produced were increasing in certain respects, integration was not bringing similarity, but specialization, a form of regionalization." (Storper, 1995, p. 195)

The fundamental reciprocity between place and economic activity is addressed by Granovetter (1985) through the theory of 'embeddedness', which suggests that;

"A fruitful analysis of human action requires us to avoid the atomisation implicit in the theoretical extremes of under and over-socialised conceptions. Actors do not behave or decide as atoms outside a social context, nor do they adhere slavishly to a script written for them by the particular intersection of social categories that they happen to occupy. Their attempts at purposive action are instead embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations."
(Granovetter, p. 487)

The necessity of place then, and its utility in the distribution of knowledge, is in functioning as what Granovetter (ibid.) here determines as the concrete foundations of social relations which bind actors' together in systems embedded in particular locales. Although bound by place, the strength of these binds isn't conceived of an absolute, fixed, or unchanging thing, but instead as being impacted upon variously by notions of proximity, trust, opportunism, and hierarchy (Granoveteer, 1985, p. 494), in a conceptualisation of place that brings into view a broadly defined urban milieu;

"A wedge is opened here for analysis of social structural influences on market behaviour...I argue that the anonymous market of neoclassical models is virtually non-existent in economic life and that transactions of all kinds are rife with the social connections described."
(Granoveteer, 1985, p. 495)

Pratt, in his analysis of the so-called 'Silicon Alley' in New York, evidences that the Creative and Cultural Industries, specifically in this case the New Media sector, are particularly embedded or place dependent (2000). It is this notion of the necessity of place forwarded by Pratt (2000), Scott (1999), Clare (2013), Florida, (2002), Storper & Venables (2004), Landry (2000), and others, that forms the central concern of the following section of this chapter.

Although the physical co-location of creative firms seemed to bring about benefits similarly to other industrial sectors as established by Marshall (1890) and later developed by Porter (1990), the creative and cultural sectors seemed also to gain from further externalities indicative not only of geographic proximity in the abstract, but specifically of being in dense and diverse cities (Lorenzen and Frederiksen, 2008). Indeed, cities have historically been creative hotspots, owing both to the volume and density of people and the cultural infrastructure established around them, as Hall reflects:

> "While no one kind of city, or any one size of city, has a monopoly on creativity or the good life…the biggest and most cosmopolitan cities, for all their evident disadvantages and obvious problems, have throughout history been the places that ignited the sacred flame of human intelligence and the human imagination (Hall, 1998, p. 7)."

Cities tend to be the centres of what Landry (2000) termed the "hard infrastructure" of the Creative and Cultural Industries. By this Landry means that urban centres are typically where the head offices of major industry players are located, especially he says in the media-related sectors, and further, that cities are where governments have tended to invest most heavily in cultural infrastructure, with extensive networks of galleries, museums, libraries, and universities collectively sustaining the urban cultural realm (ibid.).

Simultaneously, culture moved to the fore in terms of how cities marketed

themselves to incoming service-sector workers (Short & Kim, 1998), with 'quality of life' becoming an increasingly desirable urban attribute (Pratt, 2009, p. 1042). It is with this notion of the urban realm and its various attributes that much of Florida's work is most-concerned. Florida (2002, 2004, 2005, 2009) maps out an urban environment ideally amendable to the most desirable residents, his so called 'Creative Class'. This group of highly-educated and politically liberal knowledge workers are, according to Florida, more attracted to large urban agglomerations which are high in diversity. Indeed, Florida asserts that his technologically literate and talented Creative Class workforce are defined in part by their tolerant attitudes (See: "The Three T's", 2002), which manifests in their being attracted to socially-liberal and open cities (ibid.) Florida's ideas about how the Creative and Cultural Industries could function in post-industrial spaces and places were popular, as Malanga (cited in Peck, 2005) observes:

> "[The] notion that cities must become trendy, happening places in order to compete in the twenty-first century economy is sweeping urban America…A generation of leftish policy-makers and urban planners is rushing to implement Florida's vision [just as] an admiring host of uncritical journalists touts it." (p. 740)

In critiquing Florida's ideas, Peck (2005) suggests that the assertions that creativity and culture, as well as the talented efforts of the Creative Class, became so prevalent because they promised actionable policy ideas, that sounded politically favourable as a kind of "fast policy" (p. 746), whilst ultimately pandering to neo-liberal development frameworks which already prevailed:

> "In the field of urban policy, which has hardly been cluttered with new and innovative ideas lately, creativity strategies have quickly become the policies of choice, since they license both a discursively distinctive and an ostensibly deliverable development agenda. No less significantly, though, they also work quietly with the grain of extant 'neoliberal' development agendas, framed around interurban

competition, gentrification, middle-class consumption and place marketing." (Peck, 2005, p. 741)

Further, Oakley (2004, p. 71) argued that Florida's Creative Class theories had given credence to a one-size-fits-all approach to urban economic and cultural development, with culturally and creatively "backward" regions trying desperately to shape themselves on the image of London or San Francisco, often despite geographical, economic, and social realities. This is, as Ross (2006) similarly contested, a Creative City policy that encourages a "cookie cutter approach to economic development [that] does violence to regional specificity" (2006, p. 2). Ultimately, as Collis, Felton, & Graham conclude (2010), the popularity of such notions gave rise to "homogenized, prescriptive geographies (p. 105)."

There is a danger, as Flew (2010, p. 88) warns, that Florida cast his net far too widely in defining a Creative Class, and that it too easily became a proxy for most people with a higher degree. Perhaps most interesting for this thesis, which in part gives some form of productive agency to the atmospheric experience of urban spaces, Pratt (2008) critiqued Florida's approach for its reductive focus on the consumptive behaviours of the urban middle classes, arguing that what is instead needed is a focus upon the mechanisms of cultural production, and questions of how and why it's located in particular geographical areas. In addition, Florida himself recently admitted that even in the United States the rewards of his strategy, "flow disproportionately to more highly-skilled knowledge, professional and creative workers," and added that "on close inspection, talent clustering provides little in the way of trickle-down benefits" (as cited in Kabanda, 2018, p. 228).

Although a flurry of critiques of the Floridian Creative Class and Creative City ideas have been written, largely by other Western academics seeking to redress the oversight, simplification, populism, and thinly-masked neo-liberalism arguably underpinning his work, Florida nonetheless champions the relationship between creativity, culture, and place. Further destabilising of

his concepts and theories is not the primary focus of this thesis, and would perhaps merit a dedicated study of their own; however, developing his interest in the myriad connections between what he terms the Creative Class and Creative Cities is important hereon.

What Florida does contribute here is his broad notion that creative and culture sector workers are particularly attuned to the spaces and places of cities, and his suggestion that certain built environments, sustained by certain social and cultural ones, are especially favourable to them, and therefore especially successful in the context of the creative and cultural economy. This is supported by Nadler who suggests that:

> "Creative knowledge workers, managers, and freelancers prefer to work and live in urban milieus, where they find a critical mass of other people for cooperation, inspiration, and networking in spatial proximity (2014, p. 44)."

Florida (2005, p. 35) noted that technology workers appeared to prefer to live and work in places with specific local characteristics and amenities, and in his case studies discovered that such places shared certain physical and cultural geographical commonalities, such as a sense of openness, inclusivity, and ethnic diversity, what he termed "bohemian enclaves" (ibid., p. 117), as well as certain "natural features and amenities" (ibid., p. 172). Although clearly owing considerable debt to earlier urban theorists, Jacobs in particular (Nadler, 2014, p. 88), Florida too considers creativity in cities as emanating out of the urban features of proximity, diversity, and sociality.

Importantly, Florida considers the role of "third places" between home and work as sites that sparked new social networks and the formation of new forms of community (Florida, 2008). Landry (2000), building on his earlier thinking around the hard infrastructure of creative clusters, later asserts the fundamental salience of the creative and cultural milieu and the so-called 'soft infrastructure' of the Creative and Cultural Industries. As Landry describes them, "the system of associative structures and social networks,

connections and human interactions, that underpins and encourages the flow of ideas between individuals and institutions (Landry, 2000)."

As Nadler (2014) further confirms:

> "Creative knowledge workers profit from dense social interaction with other creative people and with clients. Business relevant communication and interaction in creative industries not only happens during the core working hours, but also during leisure time and in settings which are not directly related to the professional sphere." (2014, p. 56)

This 'soft infrastructure' includes what Storper (1997) terms the 'relational assets' or 'untraded interdependencies' associated with economically successful networks, such as trust, reciprocity, exchange of tacit knowledge, and propensity to share and pool economic risk (Amin, 2003). Ultimately theorising that cities, with their diversity of industries, forms, workforce, and skills, as well as their cultural diversity, are centres for coordination among diverse knowledge bases, and their geographical proximity promotes knowledge flows, the spread of ideas, and new forms of entrepreneurship as D'Ovidio (as cited in Nadler, 2014), affirms:

> "High density implies close proximity and consequently a high potential for face-to-face interaction and building relationships of exchange, support and trust. […] It is the diversity of creative workers, when these are highly packed into limited space, that facilitates creativity." (2014, p. 56)

As well as various notions of place being demonstrably linked to existing Creative and Cultural Industries scholarship through the focus on creative clusters, so too have creative industries analysts argued that the creative and cultural characteristics of specific places function as catalysts for specific location-dependent creative and cultural forms (Drake 2003, p. 513; Helbrecht, 2001; Hutton, 2006). In addition to the linking of creative and

cultural sector workers to places through both the hard and soft infrastructure of the creative and cultural economy, so too has place factored as active in a creative process that is spatially contingent, and further a given location's products are endowed with a form of geographical cultural capital (Scott, 1999). As the UNESCO Creative Economy Report says:

> "Place-specific characteristics are key, since particular traditions, conventions and skills give local products an exclusive aura that can be imitated elsewhere, but never fully reproduced. Place in such cases is both a key component of the product and a guarantee of its authenticity and symbolic quality, and has become so important that localities are increasingly seeking to protect this distinctiveness by means of trademarks or certificates of geographic origin." (2013, p. 30)

Scholarly research into the Creative and Cultural Industries has, as this chapter demonstrates, been deeply interested in the reciprocity between the sectors and their spatiality from the offset. Whilst we might criticize much research into the sectors and their urban agglomerations as being, as Evans (2009) says "heavily reliant on proxies but light on theory or hard evidence" (p. 1005), creative city rhetoric has generated no shortage of exemplars from around the world, such as "the Hollywood film and television cluster, the high-technology cluster of "Silicon Valley," the design and advertising clusters of London, and the fashion districts of Paris and Milan (Flew, 2010, p. 87)."

Whilst there has been a continued effort to better understand both the 'hard' and 'soft' infrastructures of the Creative and Cultural Industries, as well as the so-called 'third place' or 'cultural milieu' of cities, there has, as yet, been limited engagement with the atmospheric mechanisms by which an individual's experience of place impacts upon their relationship to, mobility through, and creativity in a given city. Although some theorist of creative and cultural clusters approach this tricky terrain, they do so in ways which are limited for two distinct reasons; firstly, they overlook the broader geography of the city outside of the cluster which must factor, and secondly, they are

methodologically blinkered by qualitative approaches which are not aptly attuned to the experiential dimensions of place as described in the previous chapter.

## 4.0 The Post-Industrial Creative Economy

Collectively evidencing the importance of place, much of the research into the Creative and Cultural Industries is foregrounded by a discussion of the impacts of post-industrialisation on urban centres (Bailey et al., 2004; Currid, & Connolly, 2008; García, 2005; Landry, 2000; Landry, & Bianchini, 1995; Lorenzen and Frederiksen, 2008; O'Connor, & Gu, 2010; Porter 2000; Pratt 2008, 2011). In such discussions, the causes of urban decline are described as rapidly economically excavated cities as a result of an industrial shift away from the manufacture of goods and towards the selling of services. As Pratt summarises:

> "Cities of the global 'North' have experienced a dramatic shift away from their economic base in manufacturing and distribution to service-orientated activities…The fact that manufacturing jobs have declined, and moved away, has led to a relative and then absolute domination of service activities. However, it has also led to unemployment and migration of former manufacturing workers." (2009, p. 1042)

It is within the context of what was effectively a hollowing out of urban areas, and the resultant urban socio-economic decay stemming from post-industrialisation, that culture and creativity have been reconfigured by many as the new industrial force, issuing forth a new era of culture-led services and opportunities. Minton says that:

> "The value of culture-led regeneration has been demonstrated in many post-industrial cities, from Glasgow to Berlin and Bilbao to Liverpool. What all these cities have in common is the need to find a new economic base following the decline of manufacturing and heavy industry from the late 1970s onwards." (2003, p. 4)

Minton (2003) contextualises the rise and necessity of the creative and cultural sectors within a historical timeline that suggests that they represent a positive and progressive economic development, following the decline of previous industrial stalwarts. As Ross (2008) also observes, "creative industries policy is embraced as the anchor of regional development by governments around the World on the lookout for a catch-up industrial plan (2008, p. 32)", and governments are increasingly viewing the creative industries as the basis for a more competitive economy, as Dziembowska-Kowalska and Funck (1999) suggest:

> "It has been increasingly recognised that in post-industrial, service-oriented societies, traditional location factors…are losing their dominant influence…the presence of a creative and stimulating socioeconomic environment…become[s] more relevant. In this sense, the arts are an economic factor influencing the efficiency of the urban economy and enhancing its chances in the interregional competition between locations." (1999, p. 1381)

Flew reflects that whilst a post-industrial contextualisation offers a pertinent backdrop to the emergence of the Creative and Cultural Industries in policy terms in the latter decade of the 20th century, it was the rapid fetishisation of the concept of 'creativity as urban panacea' during the first decade of the 21st that cemented its role in policy terms to revitalising cities:

> "If the rapid global proliferation of the Internet and digital media technologies in the 1990s had set off enthusiasm for a post-industrial "new economy," 2000–2010 saw an energetic search by artists, entrepreneurs, investors, policy makers, journalists, and many others for the wellsprings of creativity. *Creativity* was seen as the foundation of innovation, and innovation was seen as the new primary driver of economic growth." (Flew, 2010, p. 86)

Perhaps most notably within this field, both in terms of the academic and

political discourse, is the strong proponent of the remedial forces of creativity and innovation Florida, who, in writing about the North American context, has suggested that:

> "Human creativity is the ultimate economic resource. The ability to come up with new ideas and better ways of doing things is ultimately what raises productivity and thus living standards (p. 8, 2002)."

Florida (2002) supports the contention that creativity is a driving force of innovation and, in tangible and measurable ways, promises to be the panacea to an urban productivity problem suffered largely by post-industrial cities. Florida goes so far as to suggest that access to talented and creative people is to "modern business and cities what access to coal and iron once was (2002, p. 6)."

This renewed interest in the potential role of creativity and innovation to address post-industrial urban economic decay coincided with what Scott (2008) referred to as the 'resurgence of cities'. In the context of the UK, the broad notion that creativity and culture could be deployed to redress some of the economic issues caused by post-industrialisation is oftentimes framed against the backdrop of the neo-liberal agendas of a Thatcherite 1980s government (Nadler, 2014, p. 7) which, to put it lightly, did little to support those traditional industries most impacted by a rapidly changing economy. It is particularly during the time of three consecutive New Labour governments throughout the 1990s and 2000s which saw the increasing prominence of the creative industries, and later the creative economy, in the UK's cultural policy landscape (Oakley, Lee, Nisbett, & Hesmondhalgh, 2015, p. 10), and it is also during this period that the instrumentalisation of culture is most often critically reflected upon (Belfiore, 2012; Gilmore, 2014, Mirza, 2012).

This stems from, as Pratt (2009) has discussed, urban policies in which creative and cultural sector organisations and workers were enticed back into city centres by urban agencies through targeted inward investment and cheap land. As Hutton (2000, 2004) acknowledges, such initiatives

reanimated cities by repurposing disused industrial premises for cultural purposes, in efforts to mirror the kind of economic and geographic processes that Zukin (1982) first observed in New York's lofts and the artists who inhabited them. What emerges in the context of western urban planning and scholarship is the rapid proliferation of the idea that the Creative and Cultural Industries and urban places have a complex and symbiotic relationship (Flew, 2010, p. 86).

Nadler asserts that "creative knowledge workers have even been discussed as drivers of a process of re-urbanization (2014, p. 14)" as they realise the benefits - economic, cultural, and social - of living amongst the ever-urbanising and centralising economy. This of course is not a new notion, and theories of industrial clustering and agglomeration are well-established in economic theory (Marshall, 1890; Porter, 1990). Spatial agglomeration, or clustering, understood as the co-location of diverse but interconnected companies, was seen as a means of enhancing innovation by enabling the flow of information across networks of interaction built upon relational ties (Flew, 2010, p. 86). Developing Porter's economic geographical studies of industrial clusters, creative industries analysts and planners became increasingly aware of the existence and the value of creative clusters; sites in which sectors of the Creative and Cultural Industries benefitted economically and professionally by close geographical collocation (Porter 2000; cf. Pratt et al. 2007) through a range of positive externalities (Flew, 2010, p 86).

## 5.0 Measuring the Creative and Cultural Industries in Leeds (and The North)

In the first instance, Leeds was selected as the context within which this research project would explore its various questions for reasons relating both to practicality and feasibility. For instance, living nearby to the city centre has meant that, in logistical terms, I've been able to gain access to the field of research with relative ease, as well as to be generally available to meet with my co-explorers during the fieldwork phase. The pragmatic reasons for conducting research in the city are discussed more thoroughly in chapter five

in which I set-out fully my methodology and approach. Briefly however, in order to sufficiently explore Buzz, defining tight geographical parameters for the study has enabled a deeper, rather than wider, investigation, and crucially, observing the entire Buzz Cycle in process has ultimately depended upon each of the agents within the cycle being attainable. Further still, although this wasn't necessarily known at the time of choosing to limit this research to one city, my ability to make sense of the Buzz of Leeds has required a certain depth of immersion within the city that I feel would have been challenging across more than one site.

Leeds also provides a pertinent place in which to scrutinise the Creative and Cultural Industries and the concept of Buzz for myriad reasons, relating both to the history of the sectors and their development, as well as to activities ongoing across the city today. This section will explore some of these reasons, and in doing so will localise some of the broader theories, ideas, and concepts which relate to the sectors as set-out previously in this chapter. Further, I add an additional layer of local knowledge and contextualising information below which contributes to and updates the story of Leeds which opened this thesis, albeit in this case a contribution that's far more targeted in remit. Specifically, this section will collate and analyse existing data about the Creative and Cultural Industries in Leeds and the wider region, and explore some of the Creative and Cultural organisations in the city.

Whilst the UK's first city mapping study took place in Leeds 1996 (Policy Research Institute), and subsequent studies have revealed the Creative and Cultural Industries to be a significant and noteworthy sector for the region, Leeds' creative sector has a relatively low profile nationally. In Taylor's 2004 study, which appears to be the earliest targeted scrutiny of the sectors in the city, Leeds proved to be an important centre of Creative and Cultural Industries for the wider geographic area, constituting 22% of the total employment in the sectors for the Yorkshire and Humber region. Therefore, any consideration of the Creative and Cultural Industries in Leeds will necessarily include some exploration of the sectors across the region also, not only because, as Taylor (2004) explored, Leeds plays a significant

regional role, but also because much of the reportage that exists at present tends to capture data for Yorkshire and the Humber region rather than Leeds specifically.

In their 2011 study, Canning and Kudla estimated there to be around 3400 creative sector companies in the Leeds, employing up to 30,000 individuals. In particular, small and micro businesses were found to be responsible for the vast majority of the Creative and Cultural Industries activity in the city, with 70% being classed as 'micro', and a further 21% termed 'small' (Canning, & Kudla, 2011). In this context, 'micro' and 'small', denote;

> "Of particular interest are the 177 respondents who were not VAT registered (currently turnover above £73,000). 70% of the responses were from micro businesses, 21% from small businesses (11-49 employees) 7% from medium businesses (50-199 employees) and just 2% from large businesses (200+ employees). (Canning, & Kudla, 2011, p. 2)"

In a more recent study, Nesta (Mateos-Garcia, & Bakhshi, 2016, p. 20) found that Creative Businesses made up 8.9% of the total businesses in the city, with creative jobs accounting for 6% of the total jobs in Leeds. The importance of Leeds' creative economy being in the main comprised of micro-businesses, as detailed by the 70% figure above from Caning and Kudla (2011), will be returned to later to as I conclude this thesis, and consider how Buzz operationalises mainly through individual subjective perceptions of place, rather than more collectivised or broader narratives about the city (although they too are implicated).

Looking to the region, Arts Council England found in their 2016/2017 "Taking Part" study, a survey of arts and cultural engagement conducted in every region of the UK, that; "There were 103,000 jobs in the Creative Industries in Yorkshire and Humberside in 2015, 4.0 per cent of all jobs in the region (Arts Council England, 2017a, p. 6)." Compared to their own figures from the 2010/2011 Taking Part survey, these updated results demonstrate a growth

in Creative and Cultural sector employment of 21,000 persons, or around 18%, across the region.

This regional growth in employment is significant. It outstrips for instance the same figures for the North West region which grew its creative sector jobs supply by around 10.5% in the updated report (Arts Council, 2017b), the East of England which expanded its creative industries workforce by 17% in the same period (Arts Council England, 2017c), and also of London, which grew by 15.5% in the interim between the two surveys (Arts Council England, 2017d). These figures demonstrate that the region is holding its own nationally speaking in terms of the growth in Creative Industries jobs, expanding its sectoral employment more significantly than half of the nine regions surveyed in England.

More specifically, according to Nesta's 2016 'Geography of Creativity in the UK' report (Mateos-Garcia, & Bakhshi, p. 14), Leeds placed 3rd in a ranking of Creative and Cultural Industries employment growth between 2007 – 2014, behind London and Reading, but ahead of Edinburgh, Bristol, Brighton, and Newcastle. Interestingly, in this ranking of the top 15 Creative Industries growth areas, Leeds is the only Northern English city other than Newcastle, which came 14th, to appear. Leeds did similarly well in a ranking of new creative sector business growth from the same study (ibid.), placing 5th behind London, Slough, Edinburgh, and Milton Keynes, but ahead of Brighton, Bristol, Cardiff, and Glasgow. In this ranking, Leeds in the only Northern English city to appear, and is classified in the Nesta report as a city of 'High Growth' (Mateos-Garcia, & Bakhshi, 2016).

Most recently, in terms of Leeds' and Yorkshire's national Creative and Cultural Industries profile, Creative England's annual 'CE50' list, which collates fifty of the most talented and able young creative and cultural enterprises in the country, includes a total of ten from Yorkshire, a greater contribution than any other single region (Creative England, 2018). Further, a 2018 Nesta report, concludes that Leeds, along with London, Manchester, and Reading, is a 'creative capital' of the United Kingdom (Garcia, Klinger, &

Stathoulopoulos, 2018, p. 38), which defines a relatively elite grouping of the "biggest creative cities in the UK (p. 7)".

In terms of general public engagement in arts and culture, according to Arts Council England's 2017 Taking Part study, those surveyed in the region performed relatively averagely in comparison to other parts of the nation, with around seven in ten adults engaging with the arts on at least one occasion between 2016 and 2017 (Arts Council England, 2017a, p. 7). The region falls slightly below average however when looking at those adults who engaged on three or more occasions in the same period, with just over half of adults meeting this criteria (Arts Council England, 2017a, p. 8). Audiences in Yorkshire and the Humber tended to engage less in specific art-forms too when compared to other regions in country;

> "Compared with adults in England as a whole, in 2016/17 adults in Yorkshire and Humberside were less likely to have attended; Ballet (4.2% in England, and 2.4% in Yorkshire and Humberside), African people's or South Asian and Chinese dance (1.7 % in England, and 0.8% in Yorkshire and Humberside), A play or drama (22.4% in England and 18.1% in Yorkshire and Humberside), Street arts (9.3% in England and 6.8% in Yorkshire and Humberside), Carnival (10.6% in England and 7.3% in Yorkshire and Humberside), An exhibition or collection of art, photography or sculpture (18.3% in England and 14.0% in Yorkshire and Humberside)." (Arts Council England, 2017a, p. 12)

Although in regional terms public engagement in arts and culture seems lagging in Yorkshire and the Humber, the data does not exist to see how Leeds specifically compares to other UK cities. It might be that these figures reflect a lack of provision or access in some of the regions extremely rural communities, or point to a general lack of opportunity to engage in some less economically developed cities across Yorkshire. Or, perhaps, that the report is restricted to a narrow and legitimised view of what art and culture are, that misses the wealth of opportunities to engage in other forms of culture in

towns and cities across the region.

Indeed, when considering the previously presented data of Leeds' strength as a city in terms of its Creative and Cultural Industries and their growth as sectors, it seems unlikely that its population would engage less than averagely. This isn't of course reflected in any known data, but is instead an assumption around cultural engagement in Leeds that I'm making based on the documented growth in the city's creative and cultural economy more broadly, and reinforced by Campbell et al. (2018) who speak to inherent flaws with the way in which 'creativity' is defined in such measures of engagement as those presented in 'Taking Part' (Arts Council England, 2017).

That said, it will perhaps be interesting to bear in mind this potential disparity between the well-documented scale of creative industries growth here and the level of engagement, potentially pointing towards Leeds being a city more geared towards creative and cultural production, rather than consumption, although the two are of course interconnected. This research project however, in engaging people who are employed in the Creative and Cultural Industries in the city and therefore actively engaged in production, doesn't specifically set-out to explore issues of participation, spectatorship, or audience perspectives more generally. Regardless, whilst this study may not specifically respond to the potential disparity between 'producing' and 'consuming' suggested above, it nonetheless feels like something that should be kept-in-mind as I explore the sectors in the city with my co-explorers, in the sense that Buzz associated with notions of creating and working may perhaps emerge as more tellable than that associated with consuming.

## 6.0 The Creative and Cultural Industries in Leeds

In 2004, it was noted that Leeds has particular specialisms in the audio-visual industries (Taylor, 2004), with an informal clustering of Film and Television companies specifically gathered along Kirkstall Road which runs into the city centre from the West. Most notably, national broadcaster ITV has

studios here, not least of which is due to their popular soap opera 'Emmerdale' being filmed in the countryside nearby, as well as in studios in the city. In early 2018, Leeds was also in the shortlist to be the new national Head Quarters for Channel 4, as Screen Yorkshire detail:

> "From the initial 30+ submissions, [Leeds] is now one of only three bidders to have been invited to the final stage of the process for the National HQ. Birmingham and Greater Manchester have also made the final shortlist." (Screen Yorkshire, 2018).

Towards the end of the same year, it was announced that Leeds had been successful, and had been chosen as the new headquarters. In a statement, Channel 4's chief executive Alex Mahon (cited by Holman) said that Leeds offered:

> "A comprehensive, compelling and ambitious strategy to partner with Channel 4 and the wider sector to support growth in the production and creative industries, and to nurture new talent from diverse backgrounds – in the region and across the UK." (2018)

The audio-visual sector is strong across the broader Yorkshire and Humber region also, as McWatt (2017) describes:

> "The growth of Yorkshire & Humber's film and TV industries has outstripped that of every other part of the UK, including London and the South East. The figures show that between 2009-2015, Yorkshire's Film & TV Industries generated an annual turnover of £424m across 590 creative businesses (an increase of 247% against the UK average of 118%) with Gross Value Added (GVA) increasing 242% in comparison to a UK average growth of 120%." (McWatt, 2017)

Elsewhere in the Creative Economy, the recent expansion of 'Leeds College of Art' into 'Leeds Arts University' can be considered a reflection of the

growth and success of the Creative and Cultural Industries in the area, and a strong signifier of the confidence with which investment in the arts sector is being made:

> "This new build is the biggest capital investment that the College has ever embarked upon and has been two years in development. The expansion is part of the College's plans to become the only specialist arts university in the North of England…As we move forward with our purpose-built expansion, and add new courses to our portfolio, we will attract more students to the city offering them a greater diverse mix of creative courses." (Real Estate Monitor Worldwide, 2017)

Outside of education, investors signify confidence in the city's creative industries too, with British fashion giant Burberry opting to locate a new factory in Leeds' ongoing South Bank development, adding to their regional presence elsewhere in Yorkshire. Interestingly of course, the arrival of textiles design and manufacturing to the city has salient tendrils into the industrial history of the city which, as has been previously mentioned in chapter two, was largely centred around textiles. The Financial Times reports on Burberry's investment in the city:

> "Burberry's decision to invest £50m in a new factory in Leeds has underlined the recovery of what remains of the UK's once-mighty textile trade….The new plant in the South Bank area of Leeds will combine weaving and stitching under one roof to boost productivity…After a wave of closures during the recession, the textile industry has stabilised. Leeds city region has 6,800 people working in the industry, one-seventh of all textile workers in England." (Bounds, 2015)

Leeds' role in the arts and cultural landscape of the North of England is significant also, stemming in no small part from the establishing of the 'Northern Art Prize' in Leeds in 2007, as Jones and Beresford describe;

> "Launched in 2007 the Northern Art Prize represents the only competitive prize and exhibition of its type and status in the North or England…The Northern Art Prize has quickly established itself as the main vehicle for the competition and exhibition of contemporary artists for the North of England…There is £16,500 of prize money for the winning contemporary artist." (Jones, & Beresford, 2014, p.251)

The contemporary visual arts are served in Leeds via multiple galleries, the most noteworthy of which is probably the Henry Moore Institute for sculpture for which construction began on the Headrow in 1980, and which adjoins the city's main civic art gallery. The institute's website outlines its purpose;

> "The Institute is firmly rooted in Leeds, where we work in partnership with Leeds Art Gallery to manage the sculpture collection and archive of Leeds Museums and Galleries, a collaboration that has built one of the strongest public collections of sculpture in Britain." (Henry Moore Institute)

Further, Henry Moore, who was born in nearby Castleford, explains his motivations behind the creation of his foundation which helped to fund the Institute in Leeds. He has said that the institute was intended;

> "…to help the appreciation of sculpture generally because I remember that as a young sculptor, there was nothing; there wasn't a single piece of sculpture in my home town... Leeds Art Gallery had nothing of any value." (Henry Moore, cited by Henry Moore Institute)

Just across the road, and established more recently in 2012, &Model occupied a small and relatively unassuming position on East Parade. Differences of architecture and scale aside, like the Henry Moore, &Model also caters to the visual arts in Leeds, having a slightly more experimental curation. For instance, during a research walk with a local small gallery owner which included both the Henry Moore Institute and &Model, we marvelled first at Moore's large modernistic castings in bronze for which he is

most renowned, and then, in &Model, pondered an empty packet of Walkers Ready-Salted Crisps wriggling its way across the floor, powered by a small pink bullet vibrator concealed within.

More traditional visuals arts, in particular painting and other 'flat' art, are catered for elsewhere in Leeds, most formally perhaps in Leeds Art Gallery, which was funded through public subscription gathered in celebration of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887. Along with the Leeds Town Hall and Leeds Central Library, the Art Gallery occupies a prominent position along the Headrow, collectively forming what might be considered a Civic Cultural Quarter. The gallery itself contains multiple halls filled with noteworthy works by Waterhouse, Holman-Hunt, Armitage, and Bacon for example, and is equally well-known these days for the relatively recently renovated Tiled Hall Café following a period of renovation in 2007. Leeds Town Hall and Leeds Central Library will both be returned to with co-explorers throughout chapter six.

Multiple smaller and privately owned and run gallery spaces play a significant role in Leeds' visual arts scene, with for instance ad-hoc exhibitions of graphic arts, illustration, and photography often occupying the first floors or spare walls of numerous bars (The Brunswick and The Old Red Bus Station, for instance). More informally yet, there's "The Basement Arts Project" which holds regular exhibitions in the basement of private home just outside of the city centre. Overall, Leeds has a range of collections and exhibitions space for Visual Arts, ranging from the formal and traditional to the ad-hoc and experimental. However, in considering the legacy of the Northern Arts Prize, Jones & Beresford reported that:

> "Some participants' perceptions that the performing arts still remain
> closer to Leeds City Council funding priorities, and, importantly, is
> perceived as easier to justify to council taxpayers. Theatre building
> projects such as West Yorkshire Playhouse and Leeds Grand's
> Lottery refit are "tangible" and are very much about improving the built
> environment. In contrast, contemporary visual art projects are less

tangible, more ephemeral and less building based." (2014, p. 256)

It is true that the performing arts are particularly well resourced in the city, with a busy programme of works happening across multiple venues, as well as in more site-specific ways outside of the city's main theatres. The full breadth of the city's performing arts scene is something that's particularly well accounted for in this research project, with multiple professionals involved in many aspects of the sector being engaged in my fieldwork[17]. In terms of more typical venues, most prominent perhaps are two of Leeds' premier cultural organisations; Opera North and the Leeds Playhouse (formally West Yorkshire Playhouse). Opera North, head quartered on New Briggate Street, has long played a role in the cultural life of the city, as Daniel describes;

> "Opera North is the child of two distinct (but overlapping) agendas for widening access to opera. One is that of its mother company, English National Opera. The impetus of that company to increase access to opera can be traced back to the nineteenth-century philanthropists…in order to improve the lives of working-class people [and the] ambitions of Liberal economist John Maynard Keynes for a more equal and democratic distribution of the arts, specifically including opera." (Daniel, 2016, p. 11)

Opera North receives significant public subsidy via the Arts Council, totalling £10.4 Million in the period 2015 to 2018 (Daniel, 2016, p. 117), accounting for around 6.5% of the total grants for the whole of Yorkshire in the same period (Reed, 2017). The national profile of Opera North, stemming from its significant role within the performing arts scene of the region, has been commented upon by Nesta in their 2018 "Creative Nation" report:

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[17] The specific creative and cultural sectors represented in this research and the volume of individuals from those sectors, is detailed further in chapter five. Therein, the representation of insights from a broadly defined 'performing arts' background in this work is addressed.

"London is generally found to be a significant hub, however certain organisations act as flagbearers for collaboration in their localities. For example…Opera North (Yorkshire) and Adoreboard (Belfast) lead significant hubs in the Music, performing and visual arts." (Garcia, Klinger, & Stathoulopoulos, 2018, p. 50)

Also attracting significant investment is the Leeds Playhouse, funded as a National Portfolio Organisation under the 'Leeds Theatre Trust', which will receive just over £6 Million from The Arts Council in the period between 2018 and 2022. Not included in this figure is a significant capital investment, including additional Arts Council funding in addition to Leeds City Council and Playhouses' own fundraising, for the purposes of redeveloping the playhouse;

"The £14m project, led by Leeds City Council, will be funded by £4.4m from the City Council and £3m from the Playhouse's own resources (including ongoing fundraising), alongside the Arts Council England contribution (6.6 million)." (Yorkshire Evening Post, 2017)

Importantly, the redevelopment of the theatre has been underway only following the fieldwork phase of my research, and when it is mentioned in interviews throughout chapter six, it will be referred to by its old title The West Yorkshire Playhouse. Crucially, the ways in which the city and its Creative and Cultural Industries landscape have changed and developed in the period between my fieldwork and submission of this thesis is addressed fully at the conclusion of this work. This change of name to the Leeds Playhouse is in fact quite significant, as the theatre, along with Opera North, has been critiqued previously for its clear claims of regional significance, and resultant lack of city specificity. This is true also for the Northern Arts Prize:

"Naming the exhibition at Leeds City Art Gallery as the Northern Art Prize, was a quite deliberate, measured and skilful attempt to redefine the conceptual branding of Leeds beyond its geographic boundaries."

(Jones, & Beresford, 2014, p. 256

Further afield, and much like the visual arts scene, other smaller performance spaces play a crucial role in the performing arts scene of Leeds; Holbeck Underground Ballroom, home to Slung Low theatre company, occupies the arches of a disused railway line, Carriagework's Theatre in the centre of the city at Millennium Square, City Varieties Hall tucked away in ginnel off of Briggate (the centre of the city's shopping district), the Riley Theatre, run by The Northern School of Contemporary Dance, and the University of Leeds too should be mentioned for the role its various stages play in Leeds' performing arts calendar. Of equal import to this study, in its scrutiny of the atmospheres that exist both in and in-between 'formal' arts spaces, the performing arts scene of Leeds increasingly manifests in site-specific shows in, for instance, car parks or upon temporary stages afloat in The Leeds Liverpool canal, as explored further throughout chapter six.

Across digital, technology, data, and software Leeds has also risen to prominence in recent years, with Nesta (2014) reflecting upon Leeds Data Mill and the ambitions of the sector more generally:

> "Leeds Data Mill is a place for businesses and organisations to share their open data with anyone interested in creating real change in the day to day lives of people working and living in the city…This includes 'Leeds City Dashboard', a website which transforms live open data feeds into simple graphics and gives a snapshot of the city at any given moment…The drive is for Leeds to become the best city for open data." (Nesta, 2014).

In recent years, the games industry has become a significant contributor to any measure of the scale of the Creative Economy. For instance, UK games revenue is expected to exceed £5.5 Billion by 2020, with game purchases forecast to exceed £720 Million within the same period (UKIE, 2018), both of which are the product of UK gaming industry in which sales exceed those of

the Video and Music markets combined (Entertainment Retailers Association, 2018). 'GamesLab' in Leeds, a 2016 Creative England project in which they "helped the next generation of games developers take advantage of this growing market by investing in indie games", saw £157,000 direct investment in games industry in the city (Creative England, 2017).

Much of the digital sector in Leeds is clustered in Holbeck Urban Village, to the South of the city centre. Holbeck Urban Village was designated as an area for redevelopment to be led by the creative Media and Digital sectors in 1999, making it among the first sites to be specifically declared a creative industries cluster in the country. Seeking not only to develop the economy of the city in general, the development sought to address specifically issues of deprivation and access keenly felt in the Holbeck region of the city. Leeming describes the transformation that took place;

> "The cradle of Leeds' former industrial might, the northern part of Holbeck contains a wealth of industrial premises, some of which emulate the Egyptian Temple of Horus or a series of Italianate Towers in style...Holbeck's large mills and factories were once interspersed with back-to back housing. Now, much industrial activity has gone and the housing has been cleared, leaving underused historic buildings and gap sites." (Leeming, 2006)

Today, approaching two decades since its original designation, Holbeck Urban Village continues to act as a draw for digital and media Sector companies, particularly through the large Round Foundry Media centre at its epicentre;

> "It hosts about 400 businesses, mainly in the creative and digital sector, and is home to a population of between 600 and 1,000 people in its 15 hectare area… The Round Foundry Media Centre acts as the hub for the Urban Village." (Academy of Urbanism, 2014)

As with the Leeds Playhouse, and indeed the entirety of the Quarry Hill area

in which it is found, the geography of Holbeck Urban Village has undergone a period of significant change and development in the interim period between the fieldwork and submission phases of this thesis. Notably, the development of the Leeds South Bank will include a series of former industrial buildings in the vicinity of Holbeck Urban Village that were dilapidated at the time of fieldwork. Again, the ways in which the data captured in this thesis functions as a snapshot of a city in constant flux (as indeed urban research arguably always does) will be considered more fully at this projects conclusion.

Whilst the significance of the creative and cultural sectors for the city, as well as for the wider region has been noted occasionally, there is still a general lack of research into the salience of the sectors for Leeds. It is thought therefore that whilst my research in Leeds benefits from the existing Creative and Cultural Industries insights, both about the city and the wider region, the insights and materials gathered herein will contribute data about the creative and cultural sectors in Leeds for which there is a relative paucity. This lack of research has a knock-on effect in terms of the visibility of the sectors to policy makers, who perceive the sectors to be less significant than they might be:

> "A 2006 report by Creative Yorkshire found that at the time the sector did not perceive the city to have mobilised its creative and cultural resources in an effective way to create a strong identity, and that this had contributed to a sector perceived as relatively marginal." (Canning & Kudla, 2011, p. 5)

Further, there has been a general big-city bias in creative economy research, with much of the attention in the United Kingdom focussed on London and the South-East region. This is partly due to the clear majority of Creative and Cultural Industries employment being based in the London and South East region (Oakley, 2007, p. 266), but also as a result of a general London-centrism in UK research and development funding:

> "The political centralisation of the UK has a clear role in this, as is

reflected in the concentration of R&D (research and development), higher education, media, cultural spending, large government sectors, technical and scientific institutions and so on. Rather than countering this, Government policy appears to support it, particularly when it comes to investment in R&D. On most measures there is a strong centralisation of research in the UK and research-related activity (staff, funding, PhD awards, publications) is highly concentrated in the three regions of London and the South East." (Oakley, 2007, p. 268)

There is a significant opportunity and need to better understand the activity and potential of the Creative and Cultural Industries in the United Kingdom's regions in general, but perhaps specifically within the geographic and political North of England. As the 2006 Creative Yorkshire report suggests, further insight into the creative economy of Leeds will be to betterment of the policy, business and cultural contexts of the Creative and Cultural Industries in the city, and will build towards a better understanding of Leeds' current strengths and future potential as a creative hub within the broader contexts of the region and the nation. Indeed, "Leeds was felt to benefit from the availability of skills, transport links and a strong creative 'scene', giving further opportunities, based around major investments in facilities (Canning & Kudla, 2011, p. 5)."

This section has given something of whistle-stop tour of the Creative and Cultural Industries in Leeds. It has done so by considering both the formal civic institutions as well as the alternative cultural sites in the city across a whole range of sectors which fall under the broadly defined Creative and Cultural Industries. In so doing, I've endeavoured to begin a map of the cultural aspects of the city, to which I'll continue to add more detail and insight throughout the fieldwork in chapter six. Importantly, my mapping of the organisations and venues that cater to the Creative and Cultural Industries should be considered more as a series of geographically embedded wayfinding points by which I will orientate and tether the atmospheric terrains of Buzz which, in reality, manifest in places across the city not always associated with specific organisations designated as

'creative' or 'cultural'.

## 7.0 Conclusions

Chapter three has introduced the Creative and Cultural Industries as areas of broad academic, policy, and economic concerns. Initially, I explored existing literature and scholarship regarding the sectors, with a particular focus on that which has payed attention to myriad issues of geography. Secondly, I have explored the origins of the instrumentalisation of the Creative and Cultural Industries in city or regional development initiatives, with particular attention paid to the emergence of the terminologies and policies in the context of post-industrialisation, which is particularly salient given the context of this research project in Leeds as described throughout chapter two. Thirdly, against the backdrop of a supposedly increasingly 'weightless' economy and building upon earlier work regarding the nature of place, I have forwarded the contestation that the existing focus predominantly on the 'built' spaces of creative and cultural activity fail to engage thoroughly with the essential 'lived' experience of place. I conclude by suggesting that although some theorist have approached this tricky 'felt' terrains of the sectors, they do so in ways which are limited for reasons relating to a focus on 'clusters' and the overlooking of wider spaces of affect elsewhere in the city, and by limited methods which struggle to capture the crucial atmospheric and experiential dimensions of place.

Following this, I localised my consideration of the Creative and Cultural Industries in Leeds, suggesting that it is an interesting place in which to scrutinise the sectors and the concept of Buzz for myriad reasons, relating both to the history of the sectors and their development, as well as to activities ongoing across the city today. I used data to demonstrate some of these developments, and the current status of Leeds' Creative and Cultural Industries in the local, regional, and national picture. I then explored some of the key places of Leeds' creative and cultural life in the final part of this chapter, in which I started to map some of the key cultural aspects of the city, namely its organisations and venues, considering their development within

the wider context of arts in the city and region.

# Chapter Four: Buzz

1.0 Reflections from Watershed, Bristol

Watershed, since its incarnation in 1982, has hosted a regular schedule of film and media arts for the general public. As well as the cinema, the renovated dock-side factory includes a café bar, and is also home to a technology and arts research centre called The Pervasive Media Studio. Within the studio are numerous creative and technology sector workers and micro-businesses, and a core staff team who curate relationships between various academics and practitioners. Watershed, and the 'behind-the-scenes' Pervasive Media Studio, is best understood by its mission statement:

> "Watershed is a pathfinding cross-artform producer, sharing, developing and showcasing exemplary cultural ideas and talent. It is a space for cultural exchange which promotes engagement, enjoyment, diversity and participation in film, media arts and the creative economy." (Watershed Arts Trust, 2011, p. 2)

Both producer and producing, Watershed operates at the intersection of art and technology. The organisation has been described as having a "mission to pioneer" (DCMS, 2008, p. 25), and its continuing relevance and value is cemented by its willingness and capacity to innovate:

> "Watershed fosters a chaos of ideas, invention, imagination and possibility...then operates to configure that abundance in new ways to begin to gain cultural traction...[which may] become accepted as part of the mainstream culture...where the task is no longer innovation but stewardship." (Leicester, & Sharpe, 2010, p. 38)

I'm sitting in the Watershed café, having had to do a few laps to find a suitable free table, near enough to a power socket for my ever-depleting laptop battery. From my position, in the bottom end of the café space nearest to the entrances for the cinema screens, I can't see any empty tables

whatsoever. I'm surrounded by a relatively eclectic mix of fellow Bristolians on this Wednesday lunchtime; multiple other lone workers, for the main also in their twenties, on laptops or tablet computers, two suited men having midday coffee, I assume on a lunchbreak or perhaps in a casual meeting, and immediately on the table to my right, young mothers' and their children are having lunch, their pushchairs blocking other patrons from getting by. Various individuals from the Watershed and Pervasive Media Studio staff are also regularly in and out of the café, either just passing through, or having brief conversations with each other.

I've returned to the café in Watershed after a few years away in Leeds. I'm here mainly to re-enter into an atmosphere and a sense of place that I first experienced back in 2012 during the fieldwork phase of my MA Research Project. It was in this rough spot, although I think then I was sitting closer to the bar with a better view out across the waterfront, that I first started to articulate what I might be trying to conceptualise as urban creative and cultural Buzz. For that project, and source of some delight to my then research tutor the late Dr Anna Upchurch, I'd managed to convince the university to give me a grant for cappuccinos and snacks to be consumed in multiple sites around the city, which I claimed to deem essential to embedding myself within each respective place. One of my clearest memories of Anna, which comes rushing forth so suddenly and surprisingly here in Watershed, is of her joyously telling her friend Professor Eleonora Belfiore about that £25 grant as she introduced us to each other, and Eleonora to my work.

Back then, my findings focussed on the relationality between people and work, and I understood the Buzz of this café to be a result of a dynamic mixing of both work and play in equal measure. This dynamic remains easily observable here, today; as I return to my seat from the bar with a small glass of Pinot Noir, I notice a thirty-something web-designer wire-framing a website, with Skype open on his iPhone which is affixed to the screen of his laptop like a miniature second-monitor – that must be useful, I think. On the balcony which overhangs the Watershed, a slightly worn glass and steel

structure that enables for me a classic vista of my home city, two women, around fifty years old, are scanning the lunchtime menu in silence. Back in 2012, I concluded that I felt comfortably productive in this space, but also driven to work in a relaxed but diligent manner in order to 'fit in' with the other people on laptops. I felt then, as I do now actually, a sense of obligation to be looking both productive and content, not least of which because of the multiple other groups of people who keep entering the space and scanning the room for somewhere to sit. It's standing room only by 13:15 in this area of the café.

I also considered in 2012 the legacy and prestige of Watershed and the likely knowledge patrons had of the role it has played in the revitalisation of the city centre;

> "Of course, due to Watershed's lengthy history and reputation of being at the heart of Bristol's creative and cultural scene, it's likely that most of the people around me arrived with a pre-established sense of enamour, and, like me, benefit from feeling that they are working in the core of Bristol's creative milieu." (Stockley, 2012)

Back then, in researching moments of Buzz as isolated experiences in various city central café spaces, I struggled to advance this thinking about the symbiosis between one Buzz and another. The notion of 'milieu', as I deliberated upon it then, seemed only to include relatively closed networks of Creative and Cultural Industries workers and the social and professional structures that they inhabited. Now of course, as I close my laptop and move from my initial indoor table to one that's been vacated on the balcony, I see things differently; my perception of Bristol's Buzz from this vantage point is more totalising now, and it includes within it what feels like a torrent of place and time related memories and associations, experienced mainly first-hand, over perhaps two decades or more.

As I look out across the water, a still and gentle inlet from the main harbour around the corner, I see the Arnolfini, and I recall an architecture exhibition I

visited during my A-Levels, where miniature buildings had been erected in white foam board, and tiny trees decorated their exteriors. Outside, a reconstruction of the Matthew is tethered, and I'm suddenly around ten years old, and Bristol is alive with the sounds and sights of its annual harbour festival, which my grandfather, a tug-boat worker in his youth, often took us too. I was always less interested in the brass bands and bunting than I was with tales of buccaneering exploration and piracy by which this city is so historically anchored. Two more boats in this vicinity rush immediately into my thoughts upon this recollection; a white glass-covered tourist boat of some sort, I don't remember the name, on which I once gigged, and just out of sight, the Thekla, an enormous ex-cargo ship, where in the late 2000s I performed with my band many times. On the far side of the Thekla is a famous Banksy (I immediately picture two other Banksy's in the city; the window on Park Street, and the enormous portrait of the girl down by the docks, just past the SS Great Britain. During work experience, I think I would have been about 16, I spent a week working just around the corner from it at Aardman Animations). Now I'm dragging an enormous Fender Rhodes keyboard up the narrow red basement steps of the Louie, just across the bridge from the Thekla. I'm 19 or so and about to perform again on my favourite stage in the city. I can recall many of great the bands that played here, and then, just like that, my head is full of the sounds of Bristol, of my Uncle John who played with Massive Attack, his keyboards and Moog's looping away, in mellow, earnest, bass-lead cycles that are so indicative of the rhythm of this city as I feel it today.

I could keep going. The Buzz I'm experiencing in Watershed is so much more than one that's restricted to this vicinity or organisation, or to its specific role in the creative economy. From here, the entirety of 'me' in Bristol, my historic involvement in the city both in the everyday culture of the place and my experiences performing as part of its creative scene, feels almost immediately at my finger-tips. All at once both tangible and intangible, I can re-enter into sensate realms within and across the city, and they all seem to impact upon my appreciation and sensing of it here today. Buzz, although today I'm tethering my experience of it in this particular café, is a

constellation of atmospheres that criss-cross, blur, and diffuse across the urban realm, and remain perceptible in some form or another even taking into account the barriers of time and place.

## 2.0 Introducing Buzz

The term 'Buzz' will be developed as a term which collates the sensate, atmospheric, and experiential complexities of the city. Buzz is not a new term; it is part of a general vernacular about urban atmospheric experience, used and understood widely in realms both scholarly and otherwise, as connoting a dynamic and fervoured interrelationship between urban people and urban places. Related to this, Buzz is also commonplace as a descriptor of the atmospheric melee at certain events or specific moments, used generally to sum-up the experience of such happenings in a capture-all expression. As a descriptor of atmosphere related to cultural happenings, Buzz is common; the 'buzzing atmosphere' of Cannes Lions Festival for example in both 2014 (Wong) and apparently again at the same festival in 2018 (Andrews).

In particular, although certainly not exclusively, the myriad relationships between sociality and place have been a central and recurring theme of Creative and Cultural Industries research as demonstrated in the previous chapter, and have been expressed in numerous different guises (Taylor, 2011, p. 26); the necessity for competing cities to supply the right social and cultural conditions to attract and sustain a creative class (Florida, 2002), the notion of creative cities (Landry, & Bianchini, 1996; Landry, 2000), and the idea of the creative milieu (Tornqvist, 2004).

These multiple investigations into the human-space dichotomy within the Creative and Cultural Industries literature are demonstrative of a generally held belief that creative and cultural sector workers are somehow uniquely related to space when compared to other industrial sectors. This relationship is usually expressed as a high level of participation in and appetite for rich urban experiences, as well as a general desire to immerse themselves within

a cities creative scene, both for the social and cultural gains earned through that immersion, and for the more practical need to build up both the informal and formal networks associated with career-progression and opportunity development within the sectors (Gerig et al, 2008).

The concept of 'scene', or what has been described in the literature variously as the 'third place' (Florida, 2008) or 'soft infrastructure' (Landry, 2000) of the Creative and Cultural Industries, defining the constellations of people, places, ideas, and events within a given context, is particularly central to the creative and cultural sectors and this analysis of them from both cultural studies and urban studies perspectives. Scene, and its myriad proxy terms and variants, is developed as a fundamental context for urban creative Buzz, and the framework within which it functions across and within different sectors.

Whilst the synergy between creative workers, creative working, and urban environments has been explored, the urban context has largely been considered only in terms of the physical work spaces and tangible places in which creative workers operate and exist. Further, efforts to consider Buzz have been lacking, seeking to explore it within the relatively limited theoretical framework of cluster and agglomeration theory developed more specifically for other sectors. The atmospheric and sensate facets of urban citizenship and the potential or efficacy of that experiential city space, as established throughout chapter one and conceptualised by the Layered City, has thus far been somewhat overlooked.

The aesthetic and symbolic aspects of Creative City tropes have been subject to some critical consideration as objects that demarcate spaces as being 'creative' or 'cultural', but their functional capacities as affective and effective catalysts of creativity lacks thorough analysis, and so too has the experiential mechanisms through which they radiate or emit certain ideas or impressions into being. Indeed, their particular 'ectasies' (Böhme, 1993) or their capacities to 'tincture' (Sørensen, 2015) place have remained allusive, as scholarly traditions more accustomed to assessing such phenomena

haven't yet factored prominently in Creative and Cultural Industries thinking.

We might therefore describe existing Creative City work as being in some way two-dimensional; it is correctly concerned with an array of human-place relationships, but narrowly acknowledges a largely flat, linear, and immobile conception of place, as opposed to that established through the concept of the Layered City. Excluded from existing creative city analyses, which focuses largely on clusters, organisations, events, buildings, and so on, is a consideration of the atmospheric and experiential dimensions of an urban creative scene and its capacity to impact upon the individuals and groups by which it is populated. The two-dimensional notion of city space in existing Creative and Cultural Industries literature needs to be elaborated and improved upon, moving towards the more dynamic, subjective, affective, and in general complex city-space as conceptualised the Layered City model.

Presently, there exist only vague and insufficient conceptualisations of urban Buzz that tend to define it in three distinct and separate ways; as an atmospheric emittance of creative and cultural working (Bilton, 2007; Jayne, 2006; Landry, 2005; Phillips, 2010; Rae, 2011), as a natural by-product of the socialised organisational structures of Creative and Cultural Industries organisations and their clusters (Barthelt et al., 2004; Markusen, 2003; Taylor, 2011), or as a kind of socio-cultural process of valorisation readily perceivable during the consumption of creative and cultural products, ideas, experiences, and so on (Caves, 2000; Currid, 2007). Each of these existing conceptualisations of Buzz are valid and deserve thorough consideration and analysis; they contribute meaningfully to this thesis both as it tries to understand what we already know of Buzz, and also as it strives to develop this thinking, especially in its configurations of Buzz as *contributory to*, rather than just *constituted of*, creative and cultural working and the mobilities of those individuals doing that work.

## 3.0 Critiquing Buzz

Buzz is often understood as a purposeful energy (Bilton, 2007, p. 111)

existing both in and around places, organisations, or events as a result of high levels, or 'hives', of creative and cultural activity (Landry, 2005, p. 236). In this sense, Buzz has been distinguished as the environmental or atmospheric outcome of creative and cultural activity, or ultimately, as the ambient manifestation and emittance of the tangible and physical actions and interactions present during creative and or cultural activity and exchange. In this regard, Landry places particular agency with myriad examples of 'activity' in a general sense, with a particular interest in the diversity of those taking part, stating that; "This hive of activity creates the Buzz, vibrancy, and sub-cultures that make London attractive and contribute to its standing" (Landry, 2005, p. 236). Relatedly, Bilton too ascribes agency to 'activity' in the creation of Buzz, saying that; "This animates the organisation with a Buzz of activity, giving the impression of a purposeful energy (2007, p. 111).

Both Bilton (2007) and Landry (2005) configure Buzz as an outcome of cultural or creative activity, and as such the processes of creative production and creative labour are distinguished as separate to the experience of Buzz. Indeed, Buzz is presented here only as an upshot or emittance of creative activity, but not necessarily or explicitly a contributing factor of it or to the mobilities that drive it. Whilst Bilton (2007, p. 111) suggests that Buzz gives the 'impression' of purposefulness, Buzz is not ascribed agency in the same way as activity is and neither is it thought of as being contributively valuable in creative production. Instead, both Bilton (2007) and Landry (2005) reason that Buzz is effectively what's 'left over', at the end, after all of the creative work or cultural activity has occurred. It is perceptibly present as part of the general experience of place, especially places of fervent activity, but not endowed with productive purpose or agency.

Similarly, Bell and Jayne (2006) conceive of Buzz as an atmospheric consequence of creative or cultural activity, specifically as a kind of atmospheric phenomenon, which "hip cultural consumers...actively seek out" in order to live amongst it, in a city branded as "cool" (2006, p. 170). Arguments of this nature, that situate Buzz as something ephemerally appealing to members of the Creative Class (Florida, 2002), and as

something desirable to be consumed, are often validated organisationally, as Murie & Musterd (2010) reveal, in their research into the socio-cultural aspects of attracting creative companies to a region:

> "Managers appear to value 'soft' factors, such as the ambiance or 'Buzz' of the city. More specifically...various networking-related factors, such as hanging out in theatre cafes, going to movie premieres, and being inspired by urban life (Murie, & Musterd, 2010, p. 152)."

Such conclusions in this regard lean towards initial definitions of Buzz as a sense of excitement and place (Phillips, 2010, p. 47). The contention is that Buzz exists separately to creative productivity, and is more relatable to "a quality of shared emotional engagement and energy in creative businesses which goes beyond rationality (Rae, 2011, p. 68)." This thinking neither acknowledges the potential for Buzz to function productively within the creative work process, nor does it explicitly or sufficiently explore the efficacy of the latent Buzz of urbanity to the everyday mobilities of Creative and Cultural Industries workers.

Buzz is considered only an atmospheric product of creative labour and a purely emotional experience. As a result, it is misplaced and mutated in favour of urban regeneration policies where providing the right amenities for a bourgeois, metropolitan, and bohemian demographic risks gentrification; "it is an exercise in place marketing, except that now a 'boho down town' is the magnet whose primary objective is to attract a labour pool (Pratt, 2008, p. 5)." The contention that an abstract and ill-defined sense of Buzz is somehow implicated in an area's attractiveness as a kind of affectual spatial symbolism is shared by Unesco, who say that:

> "The notion of "creative tourism" currently advocated on these islands emphasizes the tangible as well as the intangible heritage, together with symbolic elements, such as the "Buzz" of particular places, their art scene, ethnic neighbourhoods or gastronomy (2013, p. 81)."

The desire to create the right Buzz for creative workers, or indeed creative tourists, is problematic, as basic questions about the nature of Buzz remain unanswered. However, urban regeneration initiatives continue to grapple with the notion that Buzz is important, however abstractly and tenuously they engage with it:

> "The Creative and Cultural Industries have now become central to attempts to develop post-industrial city-centre cores. This sector is considered to be important not only because of its own burgeoning economic wealth but also because it creates a Buzz within cities."
> (Jayne, 2006, p. 203)

Buzz exists here in addition to other more tangible value-added and immediate returns in creative industry regeneration initiatives. The thinking is that the Buzz generated by creative work develops into a cultural value-added, extending beyond its immediate context, and spilling out of the creative hubs, clusters or quarters, and into the surrounding city (Evans, 2009). The implicit validity of such a mechanism, and the implied salience as presented in the context of creativity-led urban renewal, is that this spill-over effect is thought to have a beneficial impact on areas surrounding creative industry clusters.

Buzz is assumed to carry with it the various social, cultural, and economic values attributed to the Creative and Cultural Industries as a whole. However, because understanding of Buzz is insufficient, and as yet there have been no direct attempts at understanding how it operates, not to mention the heavily contested supposed spill-over benefits of instrumentalised cultural development, the use of the term in this context appears to be little more than marketing; in a world of cities competing to attract a creative class, has Buzz become its own buzzword?

In the Creative Economy Report of 2013, Unesco said that:

"A flourishing local creative economy augments the 'Buzz' factor that contributes to the attractiveness of particular places. Culture has become not only a vital ingredient of national identity and "branding", but has also become a marker of local distinctiveness and a tool of international projection." (2013, p. 34)

Such definitions of Buzz ultimately giving further credence to the Floridian urban idyll, wherein as well as attracting creative companies and workers through cheap rents, transport and 'hard' infrastructure, business incentives and so on, governments must now seek to create the right people climates to make the Creative Class happy and productive. Ultimately, this means café bars, fashion boutiques, and delicatessens (Jayne, 2006, p. 185), and other high-end middle-class cultural consumables (Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008). According to Unesco (2013, p. 34), the existence of a flourishing creative economy apparently emanates Buzz to make certain places more attractive, although the specific mechanism for this process, the constituent parts of Buzz and how they are received, and their impacts, remain utterly allusive. So, rather than exploring how Buzz might reconfigure our understandings of individual creative labour as related to spatial experience for example, we instead see the potential effects of an atmospheric terrain castrated by the same valid criticisms levied at Florida.

Rather than considering Buzz to be both product and contributor to creative labour and mobility, the notion of Buzz is ultimately wrapped up in more general questions about cultural infrastructure, cultural consumption, and the value of knowledge workers to the wider socioeconomic strata. Indeed, Taylor asserts that:

"How one feels about a place...is an essential component of the creative identity one needs in the currency of the creative marketplace. How that is manifested is described in the literature in a number of different ways...most commonly now, the sense of a 'scene' or 'Buzz'." (2011, p. 36)

Taylor bundles the concept of Buzz in with other over-socialised accounts of creative work, and Markusen goes so far as to say that similar ideas are 'fuzzy' concepts, with scant evidence (2003, p. 869). Whilst both Taylor and Markusen acknowledge the inherent flaws in over-socialising the creative work process, neither considers the potential for a more complex and layered conception of Buzz which does indeed manifest socially and experientially, but is also a vehicle for knowledge exchange, creative production, innovation, and a whole series of spatially contingent mechanisms related to inspiration, belonging, and affiliation with place.

As an extension of ideas about the complex and interlinked creative ecosystems in the Creative and Cultural Industries, is Buzz also co-located? For instance, at the same time as existing outside of production, in the sorts of social environments that Taylor and Markusen speak of, is Buzz active in the creative production process? Taylor goes on to distinguish Buzz as distanced from creative production:

> "Buzz may be an important way in which short-term market knowledge is circulated and acted upon, but it does not necessarily explain why a particular industry develops in a given location, or provide any sense of how it may develop over time." (2011, p. 37)

Similarly, Bilton also understands Buzz as a sense of "constant random motion" which animates organisations with a sense of purpose, but is dislocated from the creative process itself (2007, p. 111). Knox establishes the 'Creative Fields' model to conceptualise environments which are rich with innovative energies, arguing that within a Creative Field the noise that circulates is little more than random (2001, p. 58). In this model, creative industries rely on energies derived from the social working environment, or "the force of being there (Malecki, & Moriset, 2008, p. 178)." Whether talking in terms of 'Creative Fields' (Knox, 2001, p. 58) or 'Creative Milieu' (Armin and Thrift, 1992), Buzz is often understood and defined in relation to the dynamics of creative labour, particularly regarding network, cluster, and agglomeration theories. Further, there is a general consideration that Buzz is

both random and intangible, with no real agency or purpose, or at least not one that has a yet been readily tellable, and therefore, no real or meaningful impact in the value creating process:

> "Participating in Buzz does not require particular investments. This sort of information and communication is more or less automatically received by those who are located within the region and who participate in the clusters various social and economic spheres." (Barthelt et al., 2004, p. 38)

Because of over-socialized accounts about the conditions of creative labour, Buzz has become mixed with more general understandings about the creative or social milieu, and the soft infrastructure of the Creative and Cultural Industries. Critical engagement with Buzz as a process that drives activity and mobility in the Creative and Cultural Industries has been bypassed, as the Buzz idea is subsumed by the already well-established conclusions, including their criticisms, about socialization in the sectors. Buzz is understood only as the atmospheric manifestation of industrial structures organised around social experiences, but is not considered something with a productive value, purpose or sense of agency of its own. Furthermore, the experience of Buzz has been assessed only in the context of the creative industries as strictly delineated in sectoral terms, with little attention paid to the broader cultural Buzz of the city and its interrelations with the cultural economy and the mobilities of those who sustain it.

As well as definitions of Buzz as an energy with no tangible agency, is the contention that Buzz is more relatable to processes of cultural consumption;

> "Most fundamentally, people consume cultural goods socially. In that process they create Buzz, through word of mouth and media documentation, surrounding particular types of cultural goods. This Buzz motivates consumption of cultural goods and generates aesthetic and market value." (Caves, 2000, p. 2)

Buzz is often talked about in terms of word-of-mouth marketing, as a process though which cultural goods are valorised. Attempts to understand Buzz in relation to this valorisation process consist of ethnographic research gathered from 'hanging out' (Pratt, 2008, p. 42) in certain social contexts considered to be locations where a sense of Buzz or scene ultimately bring about sales opportunities (Currid, 2007, p. 134). Largely through either observation or 'small talk' (Power, & Jansson, 2008), attempts have been made at understanding Buzz in relation to critics, gate-keepers, curators and so on, and ultimately, in relation to conversations and exchanges occurring in sales and marketing environments:

> "What underpins them is the sense that a transaction intense industry thrives on the constant turnover and circulation of information, opinion, rumour and gossip, in key social arenas of interaction: events, parties, launches, first nights, premiers, exhibitions, gossip columns, Internet sites and blogs." (Taylor, 2011, p. 36)

Cultural consumption is considered to be taste driven, and therefore reliant on social valorisation processes. In this regard, Buzz is said to establish the rules or conventions for valuing art (Becker, 1982), whilst at the same time driving the emergence of taste cultures (DiMaggio, 1987), which are ultimately held to the appraisal of select gatekeepers (Crane, 1989) who offer access to the market. In this estimate, Buzz operates solely at the consumption end of a value chain model.

However, the interlocked, novel and collaborative nature of the Creative and Cultural Industries amount to an operational and structural diversity that challenges the value chain model (Fuller et al, 2011). Gerig confirms, stating that:

> "Creative individuals, production, sales, and consumers are converging, dependencies can no longer be clearly defined, and traditional perspectives are reaching their limits...the classic, linear, added-value theory of development - production - distribution -

consumption, is no longer valid, at least for the creative industries, and needs to be replaced by models that are interdependent in more complex ways." (Gerig et al, 2008, p. 23)

The reorganisation of the value chain into what is termed a 'value network', recognises that a broader scope of value creation and measurement, outside of economic measures and transaction theories, exists at both an organisational and structural level in the Creative and Cultural Industries. The notion of networked value, socialised worth, and the role of taste cultures in the Creative and Cultural Industries amounts to a complex picture of value in the sectors, and further diminishes the idea that Buzz can operate as a valorisation tool in a linear value chain model that abstracts production and consumption.

Altman states that "within such a network, value for the consumer is created at the network level, where each actor contributes incremental value to the overall offering (2010, p. 131)." The idea that the value of a product of the Creative and Cultural Industries goes through a socialised process of value-adding in which the overall value is established by the network as a whole, seems to give credence to the contention that the Creative and Cultural Industries are in some sense more dynamic than other industries (Fuller et al, 2011, p. 80), and are reliant on and subject to constant urban socio-cultural valorisation processes.

Indeed, "consumer choice in the creative industries is governed not just by a set of incentives described by conventional consumer demand theory, but also by the choices of others (Potts, 2011, p. 96)." The notion of consumers and audiences actively establishing the value of a product communally through dynamic, socio-economic and networking processes relates directly to what Lorenzen refers to as 'experience goods':

"Cultural consumer industries (such as film, music, games, publishing and arts) produce experience goods, in the sense that even if products are often developed with much involvement, dedication and

> integrity of creative labour or even artists, their market value ultimately
> hinges upon how their content is experienced by consumers."
> (Lorenzen, 2009, p. 102)

As a result of such, the assertion that valorisation occurs because of Buzz at the point of consumption is insensitive to the complexities of 'value' in the Creative and Cultural Industries. What's missing, is an acknowledgement of the role that Buzz plays in maintaining and developing a more complex value idea, which operates within a more web-like and interdependent network of value creation and co-creation.

Such insights can be problematized numerously; by being critical of seeking to create the right kind of social environments for a wealthy Creative Class, by acknowledging that creativity is an exclusively societal level event (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999) and therefore by challenging the contention that Buzz has no role to play in the innovation process, and finally, by contesting the notion that value creation and exchange occurs at any singular point of consumption, in any singular definable form.

In the few more recent studies which consider Buzz, many of the previously mentioned engagements with the concept, and their myriad shortcomings and oversights, have proliferated. For instance, in Lee's 2015 study, which considered the connectivity between entrepreneurs in the Creative Industries by means of a social network analysis, existing definitions of Buzz were borrowed and applied without critical consideration or advancement. Lee uses Barthelt's (2008) interesting consideration of Buzz as a 'weblike' structure composed of information, knowledge, and inspiration, but never advances an analysis of how the experience of such a phenomenon might operationalise in practical and spatial terms.

Further, Lee (2015) employs some of the insights from Trippl et al. (2009) regarding the supposed importance of 'open access' to Buzz, again forwarding the commonplace and non-interrogative conclusion that "chatting" in cafés and "after-dinner meetings" constitutes Buzz, without actually

indulging in an analysis of why or how that might be the case (or not). Further, Lee (2015), in reflecting upon Kay (2006), more usefully points to the necessity of an 'intangible something' (p.163) to the facilitation of knowledge, but is extremely quick to reduce this 'something' to Putnam's (1993) work regarding social capital, without due consideration of the means by such capital might be distributed through the experience of Buzz in place.

In 2016, Storper and Venable's 2004 conflation of 'local buzz' with the notion of 'spill-overs', was still being forwarded without clarity or development by Musil and Eder in their study of research and development spaces. Not only does their thesis further support over-socialised accounts of Creative and Cultural Industries activity as previously discussed, but it also panders to some of the place-resistant 'Weightless Economy' (Quah, 1996) thinking addressed in chapter three, when they conclude that:

> "To sum up, local buzz is increasingly being called into question. If spatial proximity and local interactions decline in relevance, the impact of local cluster or network initiatives is uncertain." (Musil and Eder, 2016, p. 21).

As was previously expressed, conclusions which seek to diminish the importance of place or consider space only in material terms, overlook the fundamental importance of non-traded interdependencies (Gertler, 2004; Storper, 1995; Massey, 1991; Pratt, 2000), constitutive co-ingredience (Casey, 2001), and atmosphere, and ultimately the complexity of the city's places as conceptualised through the Layered City model.

Most recently, in 2018, Berg again deploys Bathelt's 2005 thesis that individuals constantly contribute to and benefit from the diffusion of Buzz just by 'being there', not only uncritically ignoring fundamental questions about what Buzz actually is, but further undermining the essential agency of the individual not only in experiencing Buzz but also in creating and sustaining it. Problematically, Berg's study, which considers Buzz in the context of knowledge pipelines involved in the South Korean TV industry, scrutinises

the phenomena, which is fundamentally sensory and place-dependent, via means of sedentary semi-structured interviews. Not only does such an approach fail to engage with the crucial spatial and social aspects of Buzz and the experience thereof by being both abstracted and immobile, so too does the fixed set of questions asked inhibit the ability for participants to deliver freely the complex and nuanced insights so essential to any consideration of lived experience. These problems of capture, and my solutions to them, are explored in the following chapter. Berg (2018) is however correct in the following conclusion; "the evolution of buzz–pipelines has received relatively little attention in the extant literature on economic geography." (2018, p. 48)

## 4.0 Developing Buzz

Murie and Musterd (2010) talk about Buzz in terms of knowledge exchange, stating that the most competitive cities will be those which facilitate the effective and meaningful transfer of different forms of information, or, "places that succeed in connecting the local tacit knowledge and Buzz, with more widely available codified knowledge (p. 19)." In this model, Buzz is involved in a broad system of knowledge exchange in the city, involving both the distribution of tacit knowledge as well as the interaction between the tacit knowledge and codified knowledge.

Murie and Musterd's (2010) suggestion that the codified knowledge is 'more widely available', suggests that it is somehow 'outside' or peripheral to the current Buzz, but that is able to permeate it, and in so doing contributing to a city's overall capacity for creativity and its subsequent competitiveness. Rather than over-socialised perspectives of Creative Industries activity favouring insular Creative Class networks clustered in bourgeois urban locations, the inclusion of codified knowledge, and the emphasis on processes of interaction and exchange, suggests that creativity and innovation occur when 'outsiders' contribute new information and meaning. This maps a broader model of creativity and innovation in the creative industries, which relies as heavily on the experiential and socialised arenas

of tacit exchange as it does on a more general city space, more abundant with codified knowledge, that's less dependent upon 'know-how' (Brown & Duguid, 1998).

We can potentially therefore talk about two different kinds of Buzz, which whilst being intimately interconnected and interdependent, are also distinct and individually identifiable. The first Buzz might best be considered as that which drives mobilities, creativity, and productivity within the Creative and Cultural Industries and its places. This Buzz facilitates and emanates from the exchange of knowledge and ideas within and between Creative and Cultural Industries organisations and workers, and simultaneously creates and is created by the dynamic between individuals and the places in which they work and collaborate. Second, is the experience of Buzz at the city-level, which relates to the experiential and sensate places of cities more generally. Both Buzzes are engaged reciprocally.

This mixing of knowledge, people and ideas through the on-going dynamic between the 'first' kind of Buzz will be termed The Buzz Cycle. The Buzz Cycle is a conceptualisation of the cyclical dynamic of tacit and codified knowledge exchanges between agents in the general Creative and Cultural Industries milieu and its places. The model forwards a theory of Buzz to keep in mind throughout the exploration of Buzz in the fieldwork discussed in chapter six. It predicts that; Buzz operates cyclically, connecting 'agents' whose knowledge sustains the creative economy, but where the momentum of Buzz is dependent upon conflict and disruption. This cycle is about the on-going interplay between creative industries workers and their knowledge, maintaining the Buzz for an indefinite amount of time, animating the city's creative and cultural industries and its places.

'The Buzz Cycle' theorises the fundamental role of disruption in Buzz; most simply, it suggests that unless the cycle is disrupted, it is in constant 'decline' as ideas and meanings become assimilated. Disruption comes in the form of new ideas and meanings, perhaps introduced by new people or novel collaborations, which disrupt the current cycle through the introduction of

new knowledge. In short, the Buzz Cycle conceptualises the atmosphere of the Creative and Cultural Industries in a discrete inter-organisational or inter-personal sense. It discerns the affectual realm of the Creative and Cultural Industries, implicating its places, people, and knowledges, and the relationality between them.

The Buzz Cycle functions within, and is therefore part of, the wider context of what I am advancing as The Buzz Ecology. The Buzz Ecology describes the more general experience of Buzz as an urban atmosphere, not necessarily so explicitly bound to Creative and Cultural Industries activity, but to the general reciprocities between 'self' and 'place' (Casey, 2001) as explored throughout chapter one. As those agents (people and organisations) who sustain the Buzz Cycle are necessarily exposed to the Buzz Ecology through their general mobilities through and experiences in place, it is hypothesised that the relationship between the Ecology and the Cycle is one of reciprocity.

Here it is necessary to build upon Polanyi's (1966) concepts of tacit and codified, and to define their relationship in regards to the temporality of Buzz, expressed above as the process of decline regarding the Buzz Cycle. Tacit knowing refers to a set of ideas, meanings and knowledge that people have internalised, embodied and assimilated. Polanyi's contention that 'we can know more than we can tell (1966, p. 4), is of course about an individual's tacit knowledge and ideas specifically, but can also be extended to include more broadly the knowledge shared by a network of people, organised around a common viewpoint or non-diverse set of ideas. Codified, or explicit, knowledge (Brown, & Duguid, 1991) refers to a set of peripheral ideas that emerge more readily through discourse and dialog, and a new kind of knowledge coming from some place of otherness.

It is hypothesised that the experience of Buzz within the Buzz Cycle correlates directly to the process whereby the codified knowledge disrupts the tacit knowledge, is forced through a process of exchange and dialog, before emerging, collectively, as part of new, refreshed tacit knowledge. If there were a Buzz barometer, it would measure at its most intense during

those moments of disruption, and it is during this process of interaction, exchange and conflict that it is thought creativity and innovation are most likely. The Buzz Cycle model theorises that Buzz is the mechanism, facilitator, or *mixologist*; blending the tacit and codified knowledge of the Creative and Cultural Industries — and combining them in such a way that, once dissolved, they each become something more than they were.

The Buzz Ecology can be viewed as a kind of heterotopia (Foucault, 1967) — a space both physical and psychological — where the dualisms of the tacit and codified, of the tangible buildings, roads, infrastructure and the intangible Buzz, feel, energy and so on, are played out. Our experience of the Buzz Ecology — the richness, depth and resonance of simply 'being' in urban place with its potential to contain both the tangible and the intangible, the tacit and the codified — is exactly that which has been expressed as the fetish, preserve, and idée fixe of the flâneur, as was discussed in part three of chapter one. The Buzz Ecology, considered as grounded by the Layered City model, is the terrain through which individual subjective perceptions of place manifest. It is therefore related to the Buzz Cycle by the effect is has upon individuals and their sense and sensing of place, and the resultant way in which this impacts upon their mobilities as creative and cultural sector workers.

## 5.0 Conclusions

In chapter four, the term 'Buzz' has been scrutinized as a concept or notion that has some usage in both academic and non-academic arenas. By collating the few scholars who have grappled with the notion, I have established the current body of knowledge from which my original conceptualisation of Buzz emerges. Ultimately, I have concluded in this chapter that the crucial atmospheric dimensionalities of place, as has been previously developed throughout chapter one, has thus far been somewhat overlooked in discourses surrounding Buzz, which continue to 'locate' it in terms of 'space'.

Further, the potential functional capacities of Buzz as a catalyst of mobility and creativity, stemming from a consideration of atmosphere as related to meaning-making (Anderson, 2012), lacks thorough analysis, and so too does the experiential mechanisms through which Buzz is radiated and experienced. Indeed, by orientating myself via the epistemological tradition of atmospheric study, rather than by more traditional 'embedded' geographic approaches, I question the means by which Buzz 'tinctures' (Sørensen, 2015) place and affects its inhabitants. Ultimately, I criticise existing considerations of Buzz by pandering too heavily to the geographic constraints prevalent in the scrutiny of the Creative and Cultural Industries; I suggest that current ideas about Buzz are correctly concerned with an array of human-place relationships and dichotomies, but narrowly acknowledge a largely flat, linear, and immobile conception of place.

Following this, I have developed two original conceptualisations of Buzz to be explored and tested. The Buzz Cycle discerns the atmosphere sustained by the cyclical dynamics of meaning-making between agents in the Creative and Cultural Industries and their places. The Buzz Ecology models a wider terrain of meaning-making in the city more generally. Both The Buzz Cycle and The Buzz Ecology express processes bound by material place but operationalised through atmospheric terrains.

# Chapter Five: Methodology

1.0 The Willis Tower

Is this the best way to see a city? It's a question I ask myself as I step out onto the viewing platform of The Willis Tower, 103 stories above Chicago. I'm standing, with some trepidation, on a glass floored box that overhangs the edge of the building, suspended on a framework of giant steels, that stick out like inelegant fish tanks on an otherwise geometric form. Infographics that line the walls inform me that this building, previously and more famously known as 'The Sears Tower', was, for much of the latter decades of the 20th Century, the tallest building anywhere on Earth. It has of course since been surpassed numerous times, most recently and significantly by Dubai's Burj Khalifa, which, in reaching 50% higher into the air again, seems an absurd expression of engineering endeavour, and is, of course, just the latest articulation of an apparently persistent need for competing boom cities to cast each other into steely shadow.

I remember reading a news story a few weeks ago, when researching the things that I might do on this trip, that one of these glass boxes cracked under the weight of unsuspecting tourists in 2014. Perhaps the one I'm standing in. I can imagine the panic. I sense a slight tenseness in the air; something to do with being in an American skyscraper post 9/11, emboldened this morning as queues of 747s bank in my direction towards the runways of the nearby Chicago O'Hare airport. It can't only be me fighting similar thoughts, trying to suppress them, push them aside. I acknowledge their absurdity in my head, reminding myself that, statistically speaking, I was more likely to have been crushed by the vending machine in the entrance foyer than in any kind of terrorist incident.

The only tangible sense of unease or panic I'm sensing now is that of concerned parents, whose children are out-braving them to both my left and my right. They do handstands and cartwheels. They jump up and down. They spread their fingers out and squash their noses up against the glass floor,

getting as close as possible to the 1400m drop. Other parents look on, utterly unfazed, I assume having not read the same news story about the cracked platform as I have.

Looking down, there is an evident patterning of movement, heightened by the strict grid structure of the streets below, and a personal sense of intrigue at such a simplistic and pragmatic approach to urban planning, borne of my own more labyrinthine European sensibilities. From up here, the subterranean entanglements of wiring, cabling, drainage, and so on, that are elusive and mysterious elsewhere, are, I imagine, laid out precisely as the pavements are above ground, as if the whole of the city and its infrastructure were laid out, obsessively, in a composition of perfect parallels and perpendiculars.

I imagine a fissure opening-up beneath my feet; not enough to undermine the load baring capacity of the glass box structure, but just enough to let some of the outdoors in. I'm trying to imagine if it would be the noise of the wind or the noise of the streets that deafened me. Would I make sense of the orchestra of the city, a symphony of data received en mass, a totalising perspective of Chicago moving as one? Or, rather, would I hear nothing but a blurred and indistinguishable cacophony, a constant deluge of auditory misinformation, and the complete reduction of complex street-life to nothing but deafening white noise?

When Michel De Certeau (2011) stood atop his skyscraper in 'Walking the City' and viewed the predictable movements beneath, his panoptic view reframed the city as a text for his own reading. Positioning himself and his solar eye as an urban voyeur, whose critical arousal was triggered by the "texturology" of the city far beneath, De Certeau strove to articulate the city, to make sense of a perspective not dissimilar to mine. Like De Certeau, I can see the formulaic distribution of traffic, both human and vehicular, at ground level. They are predictable flows, coordinated both by the form of city itself and by the cyclical circuitry of crossings, stops signs, and red lights. From here, the grit of the city is removed; it is smooth and flowing. Utterly

relentless.

Looking down upon Chicago, I can aptly reflect upon the commodification and control of space (Harvey, 1989) and a feeling of placelessness (Relph, 1976). I see from here only the orchestration of people and place, the standardisation of experience, the collapsing of the heterogeneous into one homogenous flow, and what Psarras (2015, p. 255) determined as the resultant loss of meaning. I cannot however, glean at all the minutia of urban street life; the affective experiences of the individual and the role of personal histories in shaping subjective places for instance are rendered untellable by the panoptic gaze. In order to expose such things, indeed, in order to make sense of how individuals make sense of place, I need to get closer.

## 2.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces and explores the chosen tools of both research and analysis. The purpose of the chapter is to evaluate the implications of selecting the chosen methods, and to explain the strategies through which this research has been conducted. It details the processes and practices involved in finding and gaining access to the research field; selecting and working with co-explorers; exploring their stories; and analysing and managing the data created and gathered. Further than simply outlining the necessary or required pragmatics of doing the research, this chapter in fact details the strategies through which the research has been conducted, and describes the tools with which I have sought to "capture the complexity of the reality [I'm studying, and] to make convincing sense of it" (Strauss, 1987, p.10).

In practical terms, the search for each of the stories presented in this project has involved issues of access and identification, the establishing and maintaining of working relationships, and the management of different types of data. In analytical terms, these stories trace the paths of selected individual's lives in Leeds, specifically their career histories, and subsequently their differing relationships to the city. Theoretically, this search

for stories introduces an approach to the empirical material which is not in pursuit of a singular or definitive explanation of the experiential spaces of Leeds, or indeed any one way of describing the city in terms of affect, but is instead concerned with capturing and making sense of its complexity as a shared site which has been the context for exploration.

Structurally, this chapter will firstly forward a validity statement on qualitative approaches in general terms in reflection of their capacities to capture particularly deep and individualised datasets. Some of the core strengths and weaknesses of ethnographic and autoethnographic approaches in pursuit of rich phenomenological insights will be outlined, and the resultant hermeneutic endeavour will be considered. Secondly, the chapter will evaluate more specifically methodologic considerations and techniques related both to capturing Buzz and to walking, which bring to the fore issues around knowledge, mobility, and perception. The utility of walking as a means of mobilising ethnographic practice, and the impacts that technology has when introduced to the research, too will be explored. Thirdly, the chapter will outline more pragmatically the processes and thinking involved in finding co-explorers and developing relationships, the format and logistics of the walking interview methodology employed, and the newly developed mobile application used for data collection. Fourthly, and finally, this chapter will discuss the analytical and evaluative processes used in working with the data captured, and the means by which that which was gathered has been made sense of.

## 3.0 In search of Quality; Exposing Depth, Individuality, and Experience

Qualitative research methodologies examine how individuals and communities are involved in processes of meaning generation, which are inextricably embedded and interwoven within their wider social and cultural practices and contexts. Qualitative approaches of course strive to explore the world by means which are distinct from quantitative measures and for different ends, as McCracken explains;

> "The purpose of the qualitative interview is not to discover how many, and what kinds of, people share a certain characteristic. It is to gain access to the cultural categories and assumptions according to which any culture construes the world (McCracken, 1988, p. 17)."

The volume of interviews, encounters, co-explorers, or stories sought for a meaningful study is not therefore explicitly concerned with striving for a statistically representative sample as quantitative work often is, but rather in exposing the complexity of a given individual, group, organisation, or culture. In seeking to expose the experiential or social worlds that my co-explorers inhabit, it is the textural richness and depth of their conceptualisation of the city that's being strived for here, which, as Mason describes, is particularly well aligned with the general aims of the qualitative encounter:

> "Through qualitative research we can explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants, the ways that social processes, institutions, discourses or relationships work, and the significance of the meanings they generate. We can do all of this qualitatively by using methodologies that celebrate richness, depth, nuance, context, multi-dimensionality and complexity rather than being embarrassed or inconvenienced by them. Instead of editing these elements out in search of the general picture or the average, qualitative research factors them directly into its analyses and explanations. This means that it has an unrivalled capacity to constitute compelling arguments about how things work in particular contexts." (Mason, 2002, p. 1)

Nuance, context, and multi-dimensionality, as described by Mason (ibid.), are particular aims of qualitative study that respond well to my research questions; indeed, it is the nuanced micro-geographies of Buzz in Leeds that I'm exploring, the ways in which my co-explorer's subjective histories and contexts in the city shape their on-going experiences, and the capacity for one locale, in this case Leeds, to host a complex multi-dimensionality of

meaning through the layering of a multitude of perceptions and senses of place.

Whilst an indictment of quantitative approaches, delivered through a reductive war-of-validity when pitted against qualitative tools, has little merit in general, it is true in this case that the numerical data of quantitative enquiry is not especially suitable; in exploring and making sense of the ways in which people draw connections between the roads, buildings, organisations, people, and spaces through which they negotiate and experience the city and how they situate themselves within it, I'm striving for uniquely individualised and subjective accounts rather than broadly generalizable trends. That's not to say of course that points of comparison across multiple accounts of the city don't emerge, or indeed that trends or themes aren't of great interest, but more so that this project seeks not to imbue them with statistical relevancy in any macroscopic or broadly generalizable way.

Qualitative research is concerned with language as a process through which shared meanings are constructed, whether emerging within group situations, explored in one-to-one interviews, or analysed within texts. Qualitative analyses of the given data explore the codes through which meanings are communicated, and how these meanings are generated within specific cultural contexts; it seeks, essentially, to decode the experiences of participants and the "stories they tell themselves about themselves" (Geertz, 1973: 448).

Qualitative research therefore yields rich and complex data in which subjective experience and social action are 'grounded' in the contexts of both time and place (Strauss, 1987; Burgess, 1982, 1984). As Holliday describes, this endeavour makes the writing qualitatively relatively distinct as a meaning making process;

> "This makes qualitative writing in essence very different from
> quantitative writing. Qualitative writing becomes very much an

unfolding story in which the writer gradually makes sense, not only of her data, but of the total experience of which it is an artefact. This is an interactive process in which she tries to untangle and make reflexive sense of her own presence and role in the research. The written study thus becomes a complex train of thought within which her voice and her image of others are interwoven." (Holliday 2007, p. 122)

The reflexivity of much of the qualitative research process, and the interactivity between the researcher's own world and that of their participant, is something which I have been upfront about from the outset; The thesis opened with a declaration of my personal motivations for research, which exposed myriad ways in which my own perspective is orientated by particular interests or experiences. As Denzin (2001) describes, the centrality of the *researcher* to the *research* is a crucial and fundamental consideration for those who study the 'social world':

"The researcher is not an objective, politically neutral observer who stands outside and above the study of the social world. Rather, the researcher is historically and locally situated within the very processes being studied...In the social sciences today there is no longer a God's-eye view that guarantees absolute methodological certainty. All enquiry reflects the standpoint of the inquirer." (p.3)

Resultantly, rather than trying to obfuscate my own opinions and perceptions from the scrutiny of the fieldwork, I have carried through a thematic approach first introduced in my History of Leeds; although it is the lens of my co-explorers through which the city is captured, it is me that has developed the stills. My acknowledgement then of my own essential and inseparable role in the interpretation and analysis of the data gathered has lead me towards a specific branch of qualitative enquiry; that of ethnography and autoethnography.

These particular modes of enquiry must, before receiving specific attention

as related to my own approach throughout the fieldwork of this thesis, first be grounded by their particular philosophical underpinnings in phenomenology. Indeed, my own position as researcher in terms of how my chosen method(s) build upon or challenge differing historical traditions regarding human experience and its interpretation must also be situated.

Phenomenology, as conceived of by Husserl in first half of the 20th Century, is understood by Woodruff Smith (2013) as "the reflective study of the essence of consciousness as experienced from the first-person point of view (p.180)." Woodruff-Smith (ibid.) continues to define Husserlian phenomenology as the study of "the ways in which things appear to us in our experiences" and how we experience those things in the world (p. 181). Drawing upon Kant's 'Critique of Pure Reason' (1781), Husserl's classical phenomenology too extends the notion that humans structure their experiences of things or objects in the world, and is thus rooted in a shared epistemological tradition that favours an attentiveness to lived experience and consciousness.

The Kantian, and later Husserlian, phenomenological perspective challenges a pre-existing philosophical rationalism or logical positivism associated with or growing out of the natural sciences. Indeed, as the natural sciences had discerned that the physical world functioned according to certain verifiable, general, and empirical laws, the related positivist philosophy assumed that human society and culture too could be understood in such terms. Comte for instance asserted, according to Macionis (2012), that human society adhered to certain measurable and absolute principles just as the physical world was known to (p.11). As the regular, discoverable, and measurable patterns of various natural phenomena had been explained through the mathematical formulas of, for instance, Newton (McPhail, 1995, p. 160), it seemed plausible, or perhaps desirable, for human societies and cultures to be similarly read, contained, and understood. Turner (1985), in reflecting upon Comte, sums-up the positivist position as emphasising that "the social universe is amenable to the development of abstract laws that can be tested through the careful collection of data," and further that such "abstract laws

will denote the basic and generic properties of the social universe" (p. 24).

An anti-positivist however, Husserl, and the position of phenomenology more broadly, challenged such notions, as McPhail (1995) describes:

> "Husserl argued that the positivistic paradigm was inappropriate for studying phenomena because it could not describe the essential phenomena of the human world. Among these essential phenomena were values, meanings, intentions, morals, feelings, and the life experiences and creations of human beings. In order to study these phenomena, human consciousness should be the primary unit of analysis in the study of human life. The domain of phenomenology was defined as consciousness, not in its materiality, but rather the act of consciousness in its intentionality toward something or someone." (p. 160)

These fundamentally opposed conceptions can be returned to broader philosophical discrepancies between realism on the one hand and relativism on the other. Indeed, where realism occupies a philosophical position that posits that objects exist as ontologically independent or separate to an individual's perceptions, beliefs, and so on, relativism argues that there is no such universal and objective truth, but rather a system in which different perspectives occupy their own sense of truth. Unlike the realist perspective, relativism asserts that the truth of a moment or experience depends upon the individuals, groups, or societies who are experiencing and interpreting it. Denzin (2011), in discerning the philosophical building blocks of his own qualitative and ultimately phenomenologic methodology 'Interpretive Interactionism', asserts that:

> "The days of naïve realism and naïve positivism are over. In their place stand critical and historical realism as well as various versions of relativism. The criteria for evaluating research are now relative." (p. 4)

This focus on understanding reality through the subjective perspective of the individual rather than through the lens of a scientific observer (Farganis, 2011, p. 257), and a relativist philosophical approach that contests that individuals approach the world through their own sense-making endeavours, grounds phenomenology, and epistemological enquiry more generally, in what's termed the 'lifeworld' (Husserl, cited in Morgan, 2012). The lifeworld, after Husserl, is to be understood as the container or world for human experiences, and the changing terrain within which objects and perceiving subjects are arranged in space and time (ibid.).

Phenomenological thought therefore seeks to consider the structure of various types of individual human experience, ranging from perception, thought, memory, imagination, emotion, desire, and volition, to bodily awareness, embodied action, and social activity (Woodruff Smith, 2018). This essential position, borne of an anti-positivist and anti-empiricist philosophical tradition that instead considers human experience through the lenses of subjective consciousness and individual perspective, is one that speaks directly to various earlier discussions throughout chapter one regarding atmospheric and situationist thought for instance.

Relatedly, and utilised here in order to explore the embodied knowledge of experiencing the city most completely, is ethnographic research, and notably its use of participant observation to consider the subjective experiences of those being studied at close quarters. Amongst social scientists, researcher immersion is considered the most useful way to understand the situation or experience being studied, through a process of 'tuning into' (Busher, & Urry) their world. Autoethnography, in seeking greater immersion still, places the researcher's own experience(s) at the centre of the process. As Polanyi states, "we can know more than we can tell," (1966, p. 7), offering the example of how a theoretical schooling in how to drive does not mean a person can actually drive, or how knowledge of the body's physiology is not the same as knowledge of one's own body (1966, p. 20). In 'Personal Knowledge', Polanyi further describes the shift through which knowledge becomes embodied, as the transition between 'knowing how' and 'knowing

what' (1962, p. 56).

While the empirical details of qualitative research seek to present accounts of the world as viewed by others, geographers have increasingly been concerned with the double hermeneutic involved in this form of research. This draws attention to the problems of researching and then speaking for others through ethnographic narratives, which are themselves constructed for particular ends and in particular contexts (Keith, 1992; Nast, 1994). Effectively, both researcher and researched are positioned and affected by any number of individual, organisational, political, historical, and contextual frameworks, implicating both the practices of carrying out research and the politics of subsequently representing the material, in the sense that interpretation is not only a reflection of the individual's experience, but also of the analyst's attempt to make sense of the individual's experience.

Central to my approach then, and to that of ethnographers and auto-ethnographers more generally, is my own additional sense-making endeavour, with my own subjectivity and context being brought inevitably into the process of interpretation. The notion of personal relevance is central to phenomenological study; as Moustakas says, "the first challenge of the researcher in preparing to conduct a phenomenological investigation, is to arrive at a topic and question that have both social meaning and personal significance" (2004, p. 104). This theme is echoed by Marchand, who describes the use of apprenticing as a means of enquiry, "spurring some to pursue topics that complement personal as well as scholarly interests" (2010, 0.10). Taking this into account, and so as not to obscure my own perspectives and experiences and the myriad biases and strengths they inevitably issue forth, I will be reflecting, or self-reflecting, throughout the findings chapter which follows.

This methodological approach might be best understood as interpretive interactionism, which Denzin (2001) defines:

"By this rather awkward phrase, I refer to the attempt to make the

problematic lived experiences of ordinary people available to the reader. The interactionist interprets these worlds, their meanings, and their representations. The research methods of this approach include performance texts, auto-ethnography, poetry, fiction, open-ended and creative interviewing, document analysis, semiotics, life history, life story, personal experience and self-story construction, participant observation, and thick description." (Denzin, 2001, p. 6)

Denzin's interpretative interactionism effectively collates a range of qualitative approaches which in isolation seek to make sense of lived-experience, and though their combination, aim to do so to an even greater degree. By broadening the range of texts and tools available to the researcher, the approach of interpretative interactionism collates a multitude of data-types, adding yet more nuance, context, and multi-dimensionality to the research endeavour. Taken in the round, my approach throughout this entire thesis has aligned with this; In chapter two, I combined historical data and auto-ethnographic field-notes in my contextualising of this research within Leeds, I riffed on the various motifs of this project in multiple chapter introductions involving thick description and the 'reading' of landscapes semiotically, and finally my fieldwork collates open-ended interviewing, ethnographic observation, auto-ethnographic self-reflection, and GPS mapping.

## 4.0 Capturing Buzz; Methods for Mapping Atmosphere

Thibaud (2015) argues that "because it is an undefined, vague object, atmosphere does not appear to be something that is easy to analyse or to circumscribe (p. 41)." Whilst we may not be able to articulate, as Thibaud (ibid) contends, with great scientific concision or objective clarity, precisely what atmosphere might be, we can investigate and consider what it is that atmosphere does to individuals or groups by engaging them openly in a subjective, deeply investigative ethnographic inquiry, which captures the nuances and complexities of their own sensory experience. Thibaud (2015) continues;

"By stressing the sensory dimension of in-situ experience, the idea of place is forged around a critique of abstract and objective space. Unlike the perception of space as homogeneous…a place emanates from a corporal engagement that is indissociable from its powers of guidance and expression." (Thibaud, 2015, p. 41)

Such imperceptible, object-defying, ephemeral and potentially temporal phenomena represent a fundamental challenge for the social sciences in general, and also for this research project specifically. Indeed, the embodied and emplaced nature of spatial experience points to a fundamental complexity at the heart of urban space research in general, and urban atmospheric research in particular. As Böhme (1993) says, "atmosphere is meant to indicate something indeterminate, difficult to express" (p. 113), and further, as Anderson (2012) continues, "the term atmosphere seems to express something vague. Something…that exceeds rational explanation and clear figuration. Something that hesitates at the edge of the unsayable (Anderson, 2012, p. 78)." However, in consideration of the aims of qualitative enquiry overall, or interpretative interactionism more specifically, the pursuit of knowledge herein is not an endeavour to clarify with any scientific absolutism that which is captured, but rather to revel in the complexity of the data gathered.

The allusive nature of atmospheres, and in particular the problems Thibaud (2015), Böhme (1993), and Sørenson (2015) expose, in regard to the reciprocity between atmospheres and the objects from which they emanate, coupled with the inability for atmospheres to exist without a sentient perceiving subject, points firmly towards certain complexities surrounding the capture and scrutiny of atmospheres at the ontological level. This of course implicates the experiencing and articulating of atmospheres presently perceptible, in the sense that it requires the material and objective actualities of space (its 'objects') to be mediated and deciphered in real-time through the presence of the subjective perceiving body (the co-explorer). This self-reflexive process of mediation and deciphering of embodied experience is

problematized further still, when taking into account the additional layer of meaning-making that happens through my own interpretations and analysis, which are so inextricably bound to ethnographic enquiry, as detailed in the previous section.

Additionally, in considering the object-subject and objective-subjective dichotomies of experience and perception which lay at the heart of atmospheric enquiry, as Böhme (1993) and Sørenson (2015) have both considered, it's important also to factor the passing of time into the general methodological picture. Indeed; "this challenge(s)…the epistemological possibility for accessing aspects of past realities that do not transpire in the form of concrete material objects or as solid facts (Sørenson, 2015, p. 64)." This challenge thereby suggests that atmospheric enquiry must, by definition, discount the potential to approach historic atmospheres which are located beyond living memory;

> "A number of authors emphasise that atmosphere and related phenomena, such as affect, mood and attunement, are phenomena that can only be apprehended by an experiencing subject. You have to be 'exposed' to an atmosphere in order to appreciate it (Sørensen, 2015, p. 64)."

This research project intends to challenge such a contention; Buzz, which will be explored as the lived and felt experience of places and their cultural vitality borne not only of current *sensing* of place but also an historically and biographically informed *sense* of place, will it is thought include within it the ability to tangibly perceive Buzz as associated with one's memories and past experiences. And of course, although I'm mapping the Buzz of Leeds as experienced at the time of the research encounter, it's expected that my co-explorer's experiences of Buzz will extend historically beyond the limited time-frame of the walk itself, and include within them recollections of historic Buzz that remains keenly perceivable.

My methodological approach therefore must fundamentally contest and

overcome the so-called 'Clause of Subjectivity'; this clause, which posits that one has to be exposed to the atmosphere under scrutiny in order to experience, conceptualise, and analyse it, not only problematizes the ability to experience and capture atmospheres that radiate upwards through time in less immediate ways, but also calls into question the validity of the mediation, or re-telling, of that atmosphere in any case;

> "The consequence of this clause is that atmospheres cannot be passed down through representations, and that second-hand communication or inference of an atmosphere does not recreate the atmosphere, but only produces its mediation." (Sørensen, 2015, p. 64)

In more 'traditional' atmospheric research it could be said that the process might be as follows: either participants are tasked with inferring their own atmospheric experience of 'now' and thereby discounting important historical contexts, or they are challenged with articulating an already lived-atmospheric experience through recounting and remembering. In both cases, the issue which has plagued atmospheric research is that, in wrongfully discounting the capacity for atmospheres to radiate through time and remain perceivable and tellable, researchers have come up against the seemingly problematic issue of re-exposing or re-animating 'extinct' atmospheres, and the resultant issues of mediation.

My notion of Buzz however, as an urban atmosphere that absolutely has the ability to extend vertically through time and past experience, as well as horizontally through space and 'live' experience, overcomes these problems; By considering Buzz as an atmosphere that has a capacity to lay 'dormant', rather than only to be 'extinct', the problematic issues of unearthing atmospheres through a kind of archaeology of fossilised sensate experiences are overcome. In my conceptualisation of Buzz, regardless of the time-lapsed between the original inciting incident, the associated atmosphere remains readily perceptible.

This fundamental position, regarding the capacity for historically-rooted Buzz

to impact upon lived experience, that was so tangible on the balcony of The Watershed as I traversed with such ease a whole series of sensate experiences, spanning decades, that were in no way buried or obfuscated from view. That said, it might be true that certain 'Buzzes' are more immediately present and tellable, however not perhaps based on issues of time so much as ones of geographical proximity or the 'frequency' of the inciting Buzz. This notion of 'frequency' regarding the perceptibility of Buzz based on its immediacy, 'volume', or 'level' will be explored further as I conclude this thesis.

Issues of mediation and representation are also positioned as key challenges to those researching atmosphere;

> "The question is how to approach, represent and understand such atmospheres. Do we tease them apart, separate out specific characteristics, categorise atmosphere as distinct from other terms, such as ambience, affect, emotion, mood, aura, feeling, presence, sense, experience and perception? Or do we seek to maintain the vagueness in the study of atmosphere, allowing the unclear to be taken at face-value as integral to its very nature? (Bille et al., 2015, p. 33)"

I have already established, back in chapter one, the specific definition and scope that I apply to the term 'atmosphere'; I have been using it as a proxy for ambiance, aura, mood, and in general as a broad and collective term for spatial affect, throughout this research project. I have suggested also that the inherent nuance and complexity of atmosphere, and resulting issues of objective or absolute measurement, is not a detraction from its validity as concept under scrutiny, any more so than any other deeply subjective lived-experience that researchers in the social sciences might endeavour to explore. Indeed, just as ethnographic, and to a greater extent auto-ethnographic, modes of enquiry necessarily position the researcher's own experiences, and therefore mediations and representations, centrally to the research endeavour, so too does the essential subjectivity of spatial affect

and of Buzz necessitate such an interpretation.

It's perhaps even true to some extent that I'm seeking precisely to maintain the 'vagueness' of the concept of urban atmosphere. This is perhaps most evident in the functionality of the mobile application which has been built for this project, which essentially enables a 'capture all' approach, seeking not to isolate abstracted moments of experience, but rather to encourage prolonged dialog and traversal of the multiplicity of things that might constitute the urban experiential realm scene. The specific functionality of the mobile application will be detailed later-on in this chapter.

Importantly, and in wanting to maintain a self-critical openness to notions of Buzz that oppose my hypothecations and suspicions of its highly personal and subjective nature, it is possible to counter the contentions of Bille et al. (2015) that 'vagueness' is always a fundamental part of atmosphere though; what about, for instance, communal or collective experiences of Buzz around, as an example, opening nights in galleries, in mixed-use open-plan studios, or at live music performances? Indeed, how might my research encounters expose an urban 'atmospheric commons' of the Creative and Cultural Industries in Leeds which is more readily and broadly perceptible to the milieu at large, as well as to the individuals who constitute it? And perhaps more importantly, and more self-critically; is it possible for my one-on-one research encounters to deliver insights which might answer these questions?

Ultimately, this research, and its methodological approach, needs not only to acknowledge the fundamental complexities inherent in any articulation of 'experience', but also to revel in them. Indeed;

> "While this complex of relations does indeed make atmosphere difficult to capture, it also means that atmosphere is a connective factor, linking people, places and things together in often unpredictable ways (Bille et al., 2015, p. 33)."

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In developing the notion Bille et al (2015) outline regarding the importance of atmospheres despite their fundamental challenge to the social sciences, Sørensen explains that "excluding a potentially crucial aspect of the cultural environment and of human dwelling is, of course, not very satisfying for any discipline within the humanities" (2015). Therefore, developing methods which are able to make sense of the complexities of atmospheric experience is a worthwhile endeavour not only to this research project, but potentially more broadly across the field too.

5.0 Walking Interviews

Through a contemplation about 'what it means to walk', and in an effort to conceive of a philosophy of waking by gathering insight from notable walkers throughout artistic, literary, and intellectual history, it has been established that walking has the potential to be utilised in research as a potentially revealing methodology. Following the insights of Nietzsche, Thoreau, and Rousseau, and building on the analysis of Gros (2015) and Psarras (2015), it is possible to imagine a development of walking from past-time to praxis, or from hobby to method. The potential operationalisation of walking stems from its evidenced capacity to deliver insights about both person and place, and to traverse actual terrains and terrains of knowing simultaneously. Further, as method, walking promises to both spatialize knowledge, through a deep immersion within and through the field, and inspire knowledge, through a psycho-physiological interrelationship between mobility and thinking.

These promises are timely, considering a growing appetite for methodological innovation within the social sciences, especially those seeking to enhance our understandings of everyday experience (Bell, Phoenix, Lovell, & Wheeler, 2015; Latham, 2003; Hitchings, 2012). This need for innovation, a need for thoughts born of impulse, are a central challenge for the social sciences seeking to capture and understand everyday actions and behaviours. This challenge emerges as a result of the deep-rooted habituality of everyday experience and the pre-reflective knowledge it creates, as Bell et al. suggest:

"The challenge of exploring everyday actions, however, lies in their habitual, often pre-reflective nature, rendering them less 'tellable' than the more 'rehearsed' stories commonly volunteered within traditional interview circumstances (2014, p. 88)."

The contention is that traditional research methods struggle to elicit meaningful information about the everyday due to their contextual and temporal abstraction from the experiences, behaviours or actions under scrutiny. The ethnographic interview has arguably been the go-to method for social scientists keen to overcome such barriers, as Spradley (2016) describes:

"When we examine the ethnographic interview as a speech event, we see that it shares many features with the friendly conversation…It is best to think of ethnographic interviews as a series of friendly conversations into which the researcher slowly introduces new elements to assist informants to respond as informants. (2016, p. 58)

Spradley, in drawing comparisons between 'friendly conversation' and ethnographic interviews points towards the role of trust, reciprocity, and rapport in drawing insight and knowledge out of informants[18] that might otherwise remain, as Bell et al. (2014) suggest, untellable. Additionally, the ethnographic interview seeks to expose and explore an informants sense of truth through emplacement within their everyday, as Ortiz (2003) describes:

"The subject is studied in situ or 'in place'. As such, the complexity of behaviour and meaning making are closely intertwined within the social systems where individuals interact...that elicits the meaning interviewees make of the world around them." (p. 36).

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[18] The particular ethical implications of such approaches are considered at the close of this chapter.

This 'in situ' nature of the ethnographic interview as described by Ortiz (ibid.) is particularly important for place-related studies, as participants lived experiences of place are not necessarily subject to ongoing conscious introspection, and therefore cannot be called upon retrospectively in a research environment:

> "Traditional interviews have been criticised for being unable to understand 'lived experiences' of place, as interviewees may struggle to articulate visually elusive or pre-reflective aspects of experience (Bell, Phoenix, Lovell, & Wheeler, 2015, p. 90)."

Kusenbach elaborates, citing the unnaturalness of traditional methods, specifically their abstraction from the everyday experience of participants, as serious flaws in the knowledge generating process:

> "Conducting sit-down interviews usually keeps informants from engaging in 'natural' activities, typically taking them out of the environments where those activities take place. This makes it difficult to grasp what exactly the subjects are talking about…important aspects of lived experience may either remain invisible, or, if they are noticed, unintelligible (2003, p. 459)."

Bell et al. and Kusenbach articulate in particular the shortcomings of displaced research methodologies, notably interviews, within the social sciences. They articulate particular issues with where interviews are conducted, and suggest that by being situated outside of the participant's everyday spaces and places, participants are abstracted from the *visually elusive* aspects of their everyday lived experiences, as Kusenbach confirms:

> "De facto, it is not possible to access all aspects of lived experience in interviews because informants…overlook issues that do not figure prominently in their awareness. Ethnographic interviews can miss out on those themes that do not lend themselves to narrative accounting,

such as the pre-reflective knowledge and practices of the body, or the most trivial details of day-to-day environmental experience (Kusenbach, 2003, p. 462)."

One attempt to tackle these shortcomings comes in the form of what Anderson and Jones refer to as 'emplacing':

"Capturing the diverse intelligences associated with lived space can also be successfully achieved through emplacing methodology…Taking the where of research into account facilitates access to a range of practices and intelligences, social identities and power relations that come together to create social practices in the everyday (Anderson & Jones, 2009, p. 292)."

Anderson and Jones here, whilst acknowledging the spatial nature of human knowledge, suggest that emplacing research within the everyday context of the participant, as opposed to simply mobilising research in general, brings about deeper exchanges whereby the visually elusive aspects of the everyday can be called upon:

"Places are partially responsible for how knowledge is formulated, accessed and articulated. Thus, by paying explicit attention to the where of the research encounter we can be sensitised to the role that place plays in 'constructing knowledge' (Anderson & Jones, 2009, p. 293)."

The emplaced interview seeks to intervene in this process of meaning making. Through an intermingling of both place and meaning, the participant revisits existing interpretations associated with a given place and simultaneously reinterprets them in a process of active knowledge creation. The sedentary and displaced nature of some research methodologies directly contradicts this configuration of place and also the anti-realist conceptualisation of social space as detailed in chapter one; in making no effort to immerse participants within their world, the intrinsic, individualistic,

and location dependant memories and associations of place remain unintelligible to them, and also therefore to the researcher.

The method of emplacing interviews suggested by Booth (2009), Kusenbach (2003), and Anderson and Jones (2009), seeks to address this gap, by submerging both researcher and participant within the field physically as a means by which to gain access to and generate uniquely spatialised knowledge of space, that taps into both the role of place in formulating human knowledge and the role of the human in formulating place. It can therefore be argued that, through my previous synthesis and summary of existing discussions about the fundamentally subjective nature of places constructed through human encounter and perception, that methodology must account for the spatial dimensions of knowledge through emplacement within the field.

To further understand whether it is simply emplacement within the everyday, or specifically mobility through the everyday, that brings about knowledge that's especially sensitised to the role and function of place in the formulation of human knowledge, it necessary to first understand the relationship between place and knowledge; Indeed, to question the contentions stemming from 'Philosophies of Walking' in chapter one, that walking knowledge brings about insights into everyday experience that are somehow more profound (See Thoreau and Rousseau, for example), and to question Anderson & Jones' case (2009) for emplacing research within the 'field' (Amit, 2000). Ultimately, in the interests of more telling exchanges, it is necessary to understand the spatial aspects of human knowing, and further a need to appreciate not only the ways in which walking knowledge differs to emplaced sedentary knowledge, but also to better understand the relationships between place, thinking, and mobility more broadly.

What follows is an investigation into the merits of walking interviews specifically, as a form of enhanced emplacement within the field seeking to deliver further enriched spatial understandings about city life from within it. Unlike the panoptic lens offered by a distanced, top-down, or aerial

perspective on urbanity like De Certeau through which I introduced and framed this chapter, here I outline multiply why being amongst the research matter yields more fruitfully for this thesis and its particular intellectual curiosities than peering upon it from above or afar. Furthermore, the discussion, about the ways in which mobilising research *through* the field, as opposed to merely emplacing research *within* the field, seeks in part to address earlier philosophical contentions that walking generates knowledge that is more profound than sedentary learning. It further seeks to understand how walking interviews, by their very composition, might help to unpick the relationships between people and place, by allowing for a prolonged research encounter, wherein not only spatially informed knowledge is accessed, but so too is the ways in which this is changed as places are moved through and new places are encountered. Crucially, walking interviews are a collaborative process between at least two people, and the differences inherent between a shared spatial encounter and those of the solitary writings of Nietzsche, Thoreau and Rousseau must be considered.

Walking interviews emerge as part of a drive to spatialize the research process, and in an effort to account for and capture the spatial dimensions of knowledge as a result. Carpiano (2009) states that walking with participants enables researchers to "learn from the respondent not only in terms of their ideas and perspectives, but in terms of experiences as well", and argues that whilst sedentary interview techniques allow for the researcher to be verbally 'led along', walking methodologies allow for "being led along a spatialized journey as well (p. 267)." According Carpiano (2009), the walking interview allows participants to access knowledge otherwise unintelligible to the researcher by attending to crucial spatial dimensions of knowledge through the combination of both emplacement and mobility, and by situating the researcher amongst the 'sensory plentitude' (Lucy, & Wakeford, 2012).

In addition to generating a more spatially aware set of insights, Jones et al. suggest that researching whilst walking allows also for a more productive research process, with the potential for novel and perhaps unforeseen knowledge generation built in:

"Walking provides a means to take the interviewing process out of the 'safe' confines of the interview room and allow the environment and the act of walking itself to move the collection of interview data in productive and sometimes entirely unexpected directions (Jones et al., 2008, p. 8)."

This is not only then about the benefits of locating research within the field, but further about the multiple inherent benefits of making the research process itself mobile. These multiple benefits include firstly a greater tuning into environmental dimensions through the value of emplaced, rather than displaced, interviews. Secondly, according to Jones et al. walking interviews allow for interview exchanges which, through a combination of mobility and embeddedness not only in *, but through* the field, have the capacity to explore both physical places and places of knowing simultaneously. Walking has tangible benefits for knowledge creation, as Anderson explains:

"As a consequence, the knowledge produced is importantly different: atmospheres, emotions, reflections and beliefs can be accessed, as well as intellects, rationales, and ideologies…So, through talking whilst walking, by conversing and traversing pathways through an environment, we are able to create worlds of knowledge (or pathways of knowledge through the world) by talking meanings and understandings into existence (2004, p. 260)."

The ability for walking methods to probe rich qualitative information from participants, of course, satisfies one of the core remits of ethnographic interviewing, and "the most valuable probing techniques are those that stimulate or encourage an informant to provide data on specific topics with minimal influence from the interviewer (Leon, & Cohen, 2005, p. 200)." Leon and Cohen continue to define what they conceptualise as 'Walking Probes' (ibid.) — a non-verbal probing technique seeking to expand upon the more traditional range of verbal probes used in ethnographic interviewing:

"Objects and places evoke important moments, people, places, things, and events in our informants' lives…We can use these places and things to prompt our informants and elicit responses or memories during interviews…The natural or built environments that we use to prompt informants we label 'walking probes' (Leon, & Cohen, 2005, p. 201)."

In the urban context, these probes may manifest multifariously as buildings, ex-buildings, walkways, bridges, parks and so on, in potentially limitless associations a participant may have for the series of places traversed through in the course of the research journey. Without the interrogative input of the researcher, walking probes can prompt memories or recollections associated with particular locales, and further, inspire original associated thoughts and ideas. Holton and Riley suggest that this process serves to move interviews beyond discussions only *about* place, and towards interviews which are *informed by* place also:

"As the place in which interviews take place may serve as a prompt or cue for respondents' narratives, place-based interviews have the potential to move beyond simply gaining responses to questions and instead offer the potential to unpick more experiential understandings of these places (2014, p. 60)."

These experiential understandings of place, highly individualised urban micro-geographies, encourage what Evan and Jones (2011) term 'locational discourse', whereby the data of interview encounters, in being informed by the experience of place, moves beyond a biographical or anecdotal re-telling:

"Walking interviews produce data about the way in which people relate specifically to place, rather than the interviewee's biographical account of their history 'in place'…Walking interviews produce a decidedly spatial and locational discourse of place, which is structured geographically rather than historically (Evans, & Jones, 2011, p. 856)."

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This is useful for ethnography, as it empowers participants within the research process, breaking down the barriers between researcher and participant by effectively shifting the capacity to unearth meaningful information into the hands, or rather feet, of the participant. The reason for the disempowerment of the researcher is simple, as 'some of the most mundane locations and the events that occur…can elicit rich responses' (ibid.). Places are, as has been noted previously, meaningful in different ways to different people.

This shifting of intellectual superiority enabled by walking, serves to enrich the eventual knowledge output of the ethnographic process, as Evans and Jones confirm:

> "Data indicates that walking interviewees tend to talk about their relation to place with less prompting by the interviewer…walking interviews produce more spontaneous data as elements of the surrounding environment prompt discussions of place (Evans, & Jones, 2011, p. 856)."

The contention is that walking methods enable a greater sense parity between researcher and participant within the research process than is possible in either displaced or emplaced sedentary approaches, eliciting a sense of trust. In the first instance, this is, simply, as a result of moving the context of inquiry outside of the confines of the interview room and into a more neutral space, which, as Kusenbach explains, is to the detriment of natural responses:

> "The structuring and emphasis of the interview situation not only discouraged 'natural', that is, context-sensitive reactions of the interviewer and interviewee, they also magnify the dialectical relationship between the participants instead of promoting a shared perspective and a more egalitarian connection (Kusenbach, 2002, p. 462)."

There is a greater collegiality and co-productivity built into walking methods, enabled through the mutual experience of learning that takes place. The collaborative nature of the walking interview, as opposed to more traditional qualitative techniques, falls into a progressive trend in geographical or place-based research, especially that concerned with the sociology of spaces, as observed by Mohan:

> "Lately, human geographers committed to social change have challenged 'externally' generated knowledge and have sought ways to create more equitable and collaborative forms of knowledge (2008, p. 42)."

The merits of mobilising interview practice, Mohan suggests, lie in its increased capacity to empower participants and create more equitable forms of knowledge, citing walking interviews as non-interrogative, but rather collaborative and conversational. Horton and Riley agree, confirming that:

> "Place-based interviews may allow a more democratic (co)construction of knowledge with respondents, for example, playing a role in shaping the direction (both literally and metaphorically) of the interview (Horton, & Riley, 2014, p. 60)."

Walking methodologies are concerned, to varying degrees depending on the specific walking practitioner in question as well as the subject under scrutiny, with the relationships between the tangible city and the intangible city, and all interrogate human-place relationships and place-knowledge relationships in multifarious ways. Walking has been credited as being useful for research in multiple ways; Firstly, by re-shifting the power imbalance sometimes present in traditional interview encounters, secondly, by inspiring recollection or imagination via walking probes, and thirdly, by enhancing through mobility the impact of interview emplacement for spatially informed knowing. Schultz (2014) characterises the knowledge creation process inherent in walking in three modes — discovery, flow, and reflection:

> "The simple act of walking…supports and integrates engagement (intensively perceiving space), flow (encouraging intuition), and reflection (supporting organisation)…Additionally, because perception, creative action, and reflection come together in the process of walking, it becomes an important practice of research (p.7)."

Schultz's discovery mode describes an undirected, but focussed traversing of space, where a distinct lack of objective allows the walker to collect spatially informed knowledge without any overarching directive or goal (2004, p. 8). The discovery mode defines a concerted wandering of urban space, whereby walkers attempt to actively 'tune into' (Busher, & Urry) their own relationship to the terrain 'while moving…connecting views, perspectives, feelings, and places, walkers get new perspectives, see things from different angles, or in a different light (Schultz, 2004, p. 8).'

As with dérive, when in the flow mode, walkers are guided by their subconscious and space becomes a diffuse scenery within which only the walker's intuition guides them. Schultz says that in the flow mode 'walking and awareness merge, and walkers become part of the landscape (2004, p. 9).' Flow defines a process in which the walker is 'fully involved' (ibid.) and through which their capacity to understand their surroundings is improved by a harmonising between body and space. Schultz argues that 'flow fosters ease and self-confidence and, consequently, strengthens intuition (ibid.).' This movement between the discovery and flow modes, between a walking that consciously seeks and a walking that subconsciously unearths, is explored by Solnit:

> "Walking fosters one kind of awareness in which the mind can stray away from and return to the immediate experience of traversing a particular place (Solnit, 2002, p. 134)."

The final mode in Schultz's walking interview concept, reflection, attempts to get walkers to engage with and understand what they have experienced:

> "They [participants] have to reflect, focus their findings, and transfer their implicit and embodied knowledge into words and images. The walks can become a framework for re-flection in action and thus, help to objectify the ideas (2004, p. 10)."

Schultz's modes of walking attempt to define the process of walking as a process of understanding, as he concludes that "opening up and perceiving space, with all the senses, is one precondition for what neuroscientists call 'learning' (2004, p. 10).", and, as Bauer (2004) confirms, the walking person gains and connects knowledge that consists of feelings, images, and visions (p. 71).

Walking the landscape is more than an alternative to intellectual knowledge: it is essential to knowing' (Jacks 2007: 270). The fact that walkers can become part of the [landscape], and intensively perceive and change it, makes walking itself a process of 'understanding' (Schultz, 2014, p. 10)." Ultimately, walking interviews reposition the body as an 'affective vehicle' that has the capacity, through tuning into its own senses, to interact with and scrutinise so-called emotional atmospheres (Sheller, & Urry, 2006, p. 216), urban atmospheres, or Buzz.

## 6.0 From Walking to Data; A Mobile Application and How to Use It.

Various insights have been arrived upon that are instructive in terms of developing a methodology with which to approach the capturing of Buzz. Firstly, in consideration of the aims of qualitative enquiry in general, or interpretative interactionism more specifically, my methodology should not endeavour to concisely clarify with any reductionist absolutism that which is captured, but rather to indulge in the nuance and complexity of the inherently subjective world of atmospheric experience. Secondly, by considering Buzz as a 'dormant' atmospheric phenomena to be entered into, rather than 'extinct' and therefore needing excavation, my methods need not to mechanize an archaeology of urban place through interrogative means, but rather a traversal through and into urban places in a more dialogic (Ingold,

2004) and exploratory ways. Finally, in considering walking methods and discerning that sedentary approaches struggle to elicit meaningful information about the everyday due to their contextual and temporal abstraction from the experiences, behaviours, or actions under scrutiny, my approach should be both mobile through and emplaced within the research field.

In the opening to this thesis, when I set out plainly my personal motivations for the study, I related my interest in exploring emotive terrains and situated experiences to my past-time of mountaineering. It is in consideration of the difficulty of conveying the experience of summiting a peak or traversing a ridge after-the-fact, that I have strived to find (or create) a methodology that has allowed me to capture space related insights in the process of experiencing them. Further, in knowing that the reciprocity between Buzz and the place from which it emanates would need to accounted for, indeed that the relationship between the 'built' and 'felt' would need to be considered, being able to locate insights to their place would be key. Taking into account all of the above, I established that I would; Firstly, conduct open-ended and unstructured interviews, secondly mobilise and emplace those interviews through walking exploration in Leeds, and thirdly capture both audio and GPS data for analysis. A mobile application was deemed to be an appropriate tool with which to achieve these aims.

Before running head-long into a technological solution, it has been important to consider how the sensory dialogue between individuals and the city is mediated by technology. Technological progress, and its integration both into evermore everyday public spaces and into general ways of life and living, has made the city and its experience a field rife for new forms of practice and research. Our senses have been extended and enhanced (Urry, 2006); we have new abilities to 'see' routes ahead of time via locative technology, to 'listen' to our destinations before we arrive at them via event-specific hashtags, and to 'feel' venues in advance through geo-tagged social media posts, live-streaming, photography, and video. In this way, mobile phones are space-transcending devices (Kellerman, 2006), which have fundamentally

altered our awareness of and movement through space (Thrift, 2004, p. 585).

By these same mechanisms, it's also true that out experiences of the city have also been mediated; mobile phones, wireless networks, and internet connectivity, permeate into and spread out across the entirety of the city, and an ever-growing plethora of apps for wayfinding, viewing, reviewing, observing, and otherwise experiencing our environments, have been thoroughly and ubiquitously integrated into everyday life, and into everyday pedestrianism. Ultimately; the pervasiveness and interconnectedness of these various wireless media technologies across the city has created various 'data clouds', which impact upon the experience of the walker (Coyne, 2010) through the constant augmentation and extension of experience.

Due to the ubiquity of mobile phones, applications, and locative services to everyday life and everyday pedestrianism, it is thought that a mobile application utilised as a data capture device will not intrude negatively upon the research encounter. This is, perhaps, in comparison to say the more abundant use of relatively antiquated devices such as small digital recorders, which due to their lack of common usage (outside of academia), be in some way threatening to participants or otherwise suggest a 'seriousness' to the research encounter. I feel strongly that the research encounters, whilst being both manufactured and recorded, should unfold as naturally as possible, and therefore that using a mobile phone to capture the data will be far less intrusive than other devices which may also be capable of recording audio and/or location.

It quickly became clear that a mobile application that could simultaneously record audio and GPS data, automatically aligning the timecodes of each such that the interviews and the route were tied together, did not exist. In the first instance, I approached an app development agency I knew of through the Pervasive Media Studio in Bristol. I was quoted £35,000 with a 16-week development period. Following this, I was put in contact with the School of Computer Sciences at Leeds Beckett University, which contains within it a

'studio' through which undergraduate students can work on 'real-world' projects. I was quoted £800, with an unknown development period, and no guarantees of successful delivery of the project due to students' other commitments. Following this, I contacted my friends Lee Prior and Nathan Gaskin, both computer sciences graduates who I worked with as an undergraduate in Portsmouth, who now run an app development company from their flat. Within 24 hours I had a fully working mobile application, called 'Geo-Record', that cost me absolutely nothing (other than the promise of beer), and performed precisely as I had hoped.

'Geo-Record', currently only downloadable to my iPhone due to back-end code which restricts public access for apps in 'development' on the app store, is extremely easy to use, having just 2 levels of navigable screens (See Appendices 2), which I refer to as the 'Home Screen' and the 'Record Screen'. The 'Home Screen' is both the place in which new 'recordings' can be created, and where a library of existing recordings is displayed. To create a new recording, the large 'Record New' button should be selected, after which the app will prompt the user to input a name by which the new recording will be stored (In my case, I simply used the name of each respective co-explorer). The app automatically recognises and displays the date of each new recording. Once the name has been input, the 'Record Screen is launched. It features two graphics; a map (which automatically locates the user through the phone's inbuilt location services) and an audio track. One button is pressed in order to activate the simultaneous recording of both all audio incoming through the phone's internal microphone (or any external microphone that might be being used), and the route that's followed. To end the recording, and automatically save it to the library, simply press the stop button. The app automatically stores the data for playback using the internal memory of the phone, whilst also displaying the length and distance of the recording. Playback happens through the phone.

Ultimately, 'Geo Record' captures and stores 'enriched maps', by layering audio data 'on top' GPS data. In so doing, it allows for the interrogation of the relationships between urban space and people, but recording constantly all

audible and locative aspects of the research encounter. By doing so, 'Geo Record' enables the researcher to simultaneously visualise the journey through urban space and listen to the rationale for that journey. 'Geo Record' continuously captures narratives that emerge through a physical meandering of space, and in the process, adds measurable spatial dimensions to qualitative interviewing without the need for manual location recording or overly complex combinations of more intrusive technologies.

## 7.0 Conducting the fieldwork; Participants and Process

In total, 16 Leeds-based individuals we're engaged in this project as co-explorers. In terms of profession or sector, these include; 4 employed in theatre roles, 1 dance company director, 1 Independent art gallery owner, 1 festival director, 1 civic cultural leader, 1 visual artist (specifically illustration), 1 media and technology entrepreneur, 1 arts organisation director, 1 photographer, 1 arts charity director, 1 video production entrepreneur, 1 individual with two jobs, namely in illustration and music, and finally 1 further individual with two jobs, namely in music and writing (See Appendices 1).

I used the DCMS (2013, p. 12) list of Creative Industries as my jumping-off point in terms of first thinking about what types of Creative and Cultural Industries workers I might seek to engage. In this sense, my research includes the following volume of individuals in terms of classification; Motion Picture, Video and Television Activities (1), Specialist Design Activities (1), Photographic Activities (1), Creative Arts and Entertainment Activities (8), and Software Publishing (1). It also includes two individuals with two classifications each; the first falling into both Specialist Design Activities and Creative Arts and Entertainment Activities, and the second classified both by Publishing of Books and Creative Arts and Entertainment Activities. Two further individuals resist classification, both of whom work in managerial or curatorial capacities for cultural organisations.

Of these 16, 9 were 'cold' contacted by myself via email, 2 were referred to me, and the remaining 5 were recruited using 'snowballing' techniques. By

'cold' contacting I mean that I used the internet to search for Creative and Cultural sector organisations and/or workers in the city, using the above DCMS (2013) definitions to help shape my search criteria. By 'snowballing' techniques, I mean that after walking with an individual, I'd make a point to ask them to forward my details on to any friends or colleagues who they feel might be interested or might have useful insights. This snowballing technique accounts for both of the individuals who, as described above, resist clear classification. So too does it account for the relatively higher volume of theatre sector workers represented, along with the 2 referrals from within my department, both of which were performing arts related due to the nature of our alumni. The higher frequency of Performing Arts representation then is borne of issues of recruitment, rather than any overt effort on my part to recruit more heavily in that category.

In one case, that of Illustrator Jack, I made initial contact after seeing his work being exhibited on the walls of a bar in the city centre. In another, photographer Thomas, I made contact after seeing his work being shared on social media. On one occasion during a walk, with Theatre Producer Amanda, snowballing happened via an unplanned encounter and introduction to Theatre Director Andy, who expressed immediate interest in himself being involved. In fact, many more individuals could have been recruited directly in this way in a larger-scale study with more time and resource; on five further occasions I was introduced to at least one other Creative or Cultural sector worker in Leeds whilst out walking with a co-explorer. Only two walks were agreed upon that eventually didn't materialise; the first because the individual simply didn't respond when prompted to confirm a date, and the second because on the day of the walk the weather was especially bad and we failed to rearrange.

There has been no specific targeting of individuals in terms of a pre-existing knowledge of them or their particular work prior to this research, although, of course, some of the organisations for which certain co-explorers work were known. Nobody engaged in this project as a co-explorer was known to me either personally or professionally before the recruitment phase of this

project, and so all of the conversations which unfold take place upon a similar foundation in terms of the depth, or lack thereof, of my relationship with that individual. The only slight deviation from this norm is perhaps where specific referrals were made on my behalf via snowballing wherein it's arguable that a certain level of affiliation is established by our shared connection prior to our actual research encounter.

I established prior to recruitment that co-explorers should have a personal knowledge of Leeds, and specifically it's city centre. This was determined firstly because a personal knowledge and experience of working in Leeds' Creative and Cultural Industries was deemed crucial owing to the context in which this work explores and asks its various questions, and, more simply, because co-explorers would need enough local knowledge in order to navigate the city over the course of the walk. To ensure that my co-explorers were knowledgeable about Leeds both as a space in the simplest spatial sense and as a place of creative and cultural activity more specifically, I searched and recruited for co-explorers employed at creative and cultural sector organisations and companies located in the city, or, if self-employed, for co-explorers who referred to themselves as Leeds-based online. I was less able to control this in the case of those engaged via snowballing techniques, however in reality, all of those introduced to me by another co-explorer were of also from or working in Leeds, and in most cases working within the same sectoral milieu of the referrer.

Of the 16 walks successfully completed, the longest recording in terms of time was 1 Hour 59 minutes, and the shortest was 38 minutes. The average duration was 1 Hour 5 minutes. The longest research encounter, with Illustrator Samuel, skews the average marginally because much of our time together was spent inside and sedentary in a bar. It wasn't wholly uncommon for research encounters to include periods of rest, with a total of 4 walks including at least some period seated. Discounting Samuel's 1 hour 59 minute walk, the second longest recording timewise was Theatre Producer Amanda's, at 1 hour 54 minutes.

The longest research encounter in terms of distance was 6.00 Kilometres, and the shortest was 1.53 Kilometres. The average distance travelled across all 16 research encounters was 3.70 Kilometres. The longest research distance was with Illustrator and DJ Jack, while the shortest was with Arts Charity Manager Nathan. The variety of durations and distances travelled generally reflects only the decisions of the respective co-explorer, other than on 4 occasions where participants had other engagements on the day of our encounter that meant that their time was constrained.

Otherwise, research encounters would find more natural termination points, at a moment when the individual felt that they had shared everything that they could. On 3 occasions, individuals had written lists of destinations on pieces of paper or on their phones, which they then used to navigate the route; this isn't something I specifically requested co-explorers did in preparation for the walks. I never once suggested limits of duration or distance for the walks, and never once intervened to stop a walk for reasons of length.

Unfortunately, 3 recordings were lost and proved irrecoverable. The mobile phone used was destroyed by apocalyptically bad downpours one Sunday afternoon in the Peak District, despite being in a 'waterproof' case. Following this incident, I endeavoured to manually export copies of every recording upon completion for secure storage in the cloud. In future iterations of 'Geo Record', should those happen, an automatic back-up system would be an extremely sensible upgrade. In total, my research has included 17 hours 17 minutes of one-on-one engagement with co-explorers, over which time I personally covered a total walking distance of 59 Kilometres.

In terms my specific approach to the individual research encounters, and the extent to which I guided my co-explorers physically, I settled upon the following personal guidelines; I would never lead or direct walking routes in terms of the direction of travel, I would never dictate how long a walk might be or when a walk should end, and in general, a governing principle that the research encounter should be led by my co-explorer in terms of mobility. I

feel that I was successful in maintaining these fundamental positions, all of which were in place in order to ensure that the subjective spatial associations of my co-explorers were directing the walks, and that it was I who was entering into and exploring their Buzz, rather than the other way around. There were scant occasions throughout where the first guideline outlined above was breached momentarily, namely when a co-explorer would get slightly lost when trying to find a path between two destinations, and would ask me to assist with navigation. On such occasions, largely thanks to the many hours spent walking around central Leeds over the course of this project, I was able to temporarily point us in the right direction, before falling back into place as 'follower' rather than 'leader'.

In terms of my approach to guiding the conversation of our walks, I again attempted to take a back-seat as far as was possible. For instance, I never once walked with a predetermined set of specific questions in mind that needed answering over the course of research encounter. Instead, in order to allow co-explorers to explore and reflect upon their experiences with, impressions of, or in general interpretations of Buzz, they were each given ample space and freedom to talk and roam freely and openly. The aforementioned merits of walking as a process which 'elicits a trust' on the move as Pope observes (2012, p. 71) was useful to this end. I did find myself asking probing and clarifying questions on some occasions when I felt that further insight could be given, but in general, the themes that emerge throughout chapter six have done so without any overt effort on my part to manufacture insights correlated with those themes as predetermined outcomes.

Logistically, I would arrange to meet each co-explorer at a scheduled time that suited them. On all 16 occasions, this was midweek, and during the traditional 'working' day. I encouraged the individuals to choose our meeting or 'departure' point, which in almost all cases was the individual's place of work. The exceptions to this were notably those without fixed offices due to their self-employed status. In wanting to avoid any potentially intrusive technology impeding upon the 'naturalness' of the encounter, I opted to rely

upon the in-built microphone on my phone, as opposed to using an attachable external device. In practical terms, this meant wearing a shirt with breast pockets in which I would place my phone, upside-down and with the microphone exposed, for the entirety of the walk. This allowed me to be 'hands-free', and for the technology involved to be almost entirely out of sight. I found that the audio recording of fine quality, although not perfect, was quite adequate for transcription purposes. An ethical implication of this aspect of the process will be spoken about further below.

The analysis of the data gathered has firstly involved innumerable hours of transcription work. The job of writing out the lengthy, nuanced, and complex stories I have been successful in capturing has been significant, especially taking into account the work that had be done in regards to detailing the locations of each insight. Ultimately, working entirely from a mobile phone in this regard proved testing, with the small touch-screen user interface less than ideal for the very involved 'pause-play-rewind' grunt involved in transcribing. I ended up preferring to use the securely stored back-up versions of the recordings via a laptop for the improved user interface. Moving forwards, a complimentary web-app for 'Geo-Record' could include an interface specifically for automatic storage of data and for transcription replay.

My process of scrutinizing the data has been two-fold; Firstly, I have collated the insights gathered by theme, for example, "Buzz, Moments, and Remembering". A thematic grouping such as this, rather than one for instance of "Buzz According to Visual Artists", has been driven largely by the generalizable trends sought for early-stage insights of a new concept being developed. Indeed, overarching ideas about the nature of Buzz and its various mechanisms are of greater interest at this early stage in the development of the concept, rather than the specificities of Buzz in a sectoral way, although moving forwards such an investigation would be interesting. What this means I that each of my thematic groupings contains within multiple voices from across the breadth of my research encounters as I make my co-explorers talk to each other via my interpretative mediation and

analysis of their ideas.

## 8.0 Ethics and Positionality

In line with University of Leeds protocols, ethical approval was sought and received for this project's fieldwork in June 2014. The application included approval of materials used for contacting participants and giving them information about the project, detailing precisely what it would involve. Participant consent forms were created (See Appendix 4) and approved as part of this project's ethical approval process. Every participant engaged in this process has completed and signed a consent form, confirming that they; have understood the remit of the project, understand that they can withdraw from the project at any time, that the data collected can be used for future research purposes, that they need to notify me if their contact details change, and that their confidentiality will be maintained. In line with the final requirement of participation, sex appropriate pseudonyms have been used in lieu of participant's real names.

There are potential implications stemming from decisions relating to my chosen process or approach as detailed above which will benefit from some consideration. Firstly, the hands-free approach enabled by the 'GeoRecord' app, namely the use of a mobile phone as a capture device, has a distinctly 'everyday' feel and arguably doesn't demarcate an 'interview' in the same way as a more traditional audio recorder might. In this way, it was important to remind individuals before each walk that recording was in fact taking place via the device as explained to them via the information given to which they had consented.

I have already outlined at the opening of this thesis, as I narrativised some of the personal reasons for my interest in pursuing this research, some of the ways in which my personal history as researcher may impact upon this study. Notably; I am myself a Creative and Cultural Industries worker who often works 'in the city' in nomadic ways. In this way, I am personally sensitised to Leeds and have my own ideas about *where* Buzz might be. Rather than

trying to exclude such insight, which I determine as not possible, I have instead used it throughout in order to frame my analysis of co-explorers sometimes contradictory or challenging notions of Buzz in the city. Importantly, I was mindful of this bias through the fieldwork, and all reflections between my ideas about Buzz in Leeds and those of co-explorers have happened on these pages, rather than during walks in order to lessen their influence.

To add to the biographical information provided previously, it's also perhaps pertinent to note that; I am male, in my late twenties (at the time of data capture), heterosexual, cis-gendered, able-bodied, and middle-class. This does, as has already been flagged in chapter one, impact upon the way in which I navigate the city and therefore the way in which I read the city. Whilst I can be mindful of this reality throughout my analysis, I cannot meaningfully or ethically consider how this research and its data might be interpreted or experienced in other ways (or not) by people to whom I am different in the ways outlined above. I further reflect upon other ways in which this research could be expanded upon in the conclusion to this thesis.

## 9.0 Terms

Moustakas (1994) considers participants as 'co-explorers'; individuals engaged in research alongside the principle researcher, who are willing to be observed, interviewed, and who are  actively interested in the investigation (1994, pp. 107-108). Ingold (2011) reiterates this notion, stating that what might traditionally be considered 'natives' or 'informants' could be repositioned as 'master collaborators'. Both Moustakas (1994) and Ingold (2011) are compelled to recognise the centrality and agency of those engaged in academic research, and to position them as 'people with whom one works', rather than 'people whom one merely observes' (Ingold, 2011, p. 243).

As my research methodology has, at its core, empowered individuals to explore and map the city on their own terms, positioning myself in some

ways as a 'passenger' on their explorative journey, I too will be reflecting
their agency through terminology. What might be referred to more typically as
'participants', 'interviewees', 'respondents', or 'informants' in more sedentary
research practice will herein her termed 'co-explorers'. This term benefits
both from the sense of agency it gives the individuals with whom I have
explored the city and illustrates something of the fundamental role mobility
has played in our shared exploration of Leeds' Buzz.

# Chapter Six: Findings

1.0 Mark's Cottage

Mountain Bothies are, for me, as much a part of the Scottish mountaineering and walking experience as the landscape itself; a series of rudimentary shelters, often converted shepherd's huts or hunting lodges, and almost always so remote so as to have no running water or electricity. Bothies are intended to be emergency shelters, places of refuge for the lost and weary, offering temporary solace from the unforeseen extremes of the ever-changing mountainous climate upon ranges and within valleys, which can be, when at its most devastating, utterly brutal and unforgiving. For those unlucky or foolhardy enough to find themselves astray in such conditions, Bothies have been a lifeline.

For me though, the Bothy sits at the center not of an emergency fallback plan, but of numerous multi-day walks into the hills foregoing the need to carry a tent. They allow me, and those that I walk with, to go further into the landscape, and perhaps just as importantly, further away from the towns and villages than we otherwise might have been able to. Oftentimes too, this deeper immersion into the highlands enables an easier approach to some less accessible summits, made all the more tantalizing of course by their very remoteness. The Bothy then is a gateway between me and the rarer views promised upon some of the less well-trodden routes and ways up to the more elusive peaks, secret glens, or forgotten forests.

The approach to Mark Cottage is long and lonely. Some 15 kilometers from the nearest main road (and even that seldom occupied), my route descends gradually and constantly along a lane that recedes into an ever-smaller, less-distinct, and wilsome way; progressively unruly, grass sprouting from its middle, tarmac gradually forgotten, more unstable underfoot, and darker overhead. The tree-line moves inwards, a darkening and dampening squeeze of conifer forest that brings with it the twigs, stones, and bracken that usher away the last lane-like vestiges at my feet. The overriding sense,

having left Leeds at 2am on a bus to get here via Glasgow's morning commuters and then a train northwards not so long ago, is one of surprise; it seems not to matter how many times I venture across the border and into the Highlands, I always find myself somewhat astounded by just how easy it is to abstract oneself almost entirely into utter remoteness. There is, literally, no one else here.

I amble for three hours solidly, never hearing anything other than the wind through trees and the occasional scurry or shuffle of some indistinguishable something somewhere in the shrubbery. I am, to borrow a term from Gerard Manley Hopkins, 'leafwhelmed'; that is to be immersed in such dense and unrelenting woodland that most senses are impeded. On more than one occasion I need to buoy myself on; the conifers sway and creak and cast shadows across my path, and it's easy to feel them as oppressive and unnerving. In the constantly ruminating mind of the solo-rambler, 'remote' too readily becomes 'exposed', and 'free' becomes 'alone'. Through all of this, it is the Bothy that drags me forwards; looking at fallen trees around me, and feeling the weight of the hatchet strapped to my pack that I've bothered to lug here all the way from home, it's my anticipation for the simple hours spent before sundown preparing kindling for the fire that encourage the next few thousand steps.

Something not adequately captured on my OS map is the almost constant presence of water here; every third or fourth stride I'm over-stepping to dodge another stream that emerges from clusters of moss-clad stones, meanders across the track like a torrent in miniature, before falling silently off to my left towards the Atlantic waters someway below. Some arrive not so quietly of course, like little waterfalls, making ground on smooth boulders who's mist creating abilities turn the track temporarily into a muddy bog obstacle in need of overcoming. On some future trip, I'll make for the nearby summit of Beinn Artair, known colloquially as The Cobbler, which forms part of the Arrochar Alps which dominant the landscape due North from my position, and from which I assume this perfectly clear and ice-cold water has travelled. I realise now that my feeling of rainfall being imminent is borne of

the smell of damp; petrichor caused not by a recent downpour, but by the constant moistness of a forest that appears increasingly to be floating atop one enormous shallow pool.

Mark Cottage reveals itself almost all at once upon rounding a sharp steep bend in the track, following the desire-line through the low-lying foliage, and into a small clearing. It's a white building of stone construction, with an emerald green wooden door and windows, squat and heavy on the banks at the Southernmost tip of Loch Long. The roof, of blue-grey slate pebble-dashed with lichen, is bookended by chimney stacks, and outside, a rudimentary bench made from a fallen trunk covered in lacerations and scars, clearly having been misused as a platform for chopping wood.

Unlike other Bothies I've stayed in, this one was relatively recently and quite obviously inhabited. Mark Cottage, so named after being home to the self-proclaimed oldest man in what was then considered Glasgow, still has annotated photos of its various inhabitants on the walls; "Hugh Clarke, born Kilmodan Parish June 1832. Married Janet McNicol June 1859 at Kilnean near Inveraray. Died Mark Cottage April 1901." Mark himself, pictured in front of the cottage in 1906, claimed to have been born here in 1800. A somewhat predictably heavily mustached man, adorned in a thick three-piece suit and Deerstalker sitting just outside, perhaps four meters away from where I am now, one hundred and eleven years in the past.

More recently still of course, also evidenced by what they've left behind, others have spent some time here; a half bag of rice, a lighter, an almost empty can of camping gas, a few squares of dark chocolate, some sachets of couscous, a dozen candles of varying heights, and empty water bottles are littered around the room. The Bothy code dictates, amongst other things, that visitors should leave something behind for those who follow. And they have, of course, left many things here, but not all so obviously as random detritus from their backpacks.

This place is a palimpsest, revealing the myriad stories of people who just

passed-by, whether as accounts of situated experience as inscribed in the Bothy book, or as imagined murmurs of conversations had by fire-light, now fossilised onto the soot-blackened walls. The Bothy offers a geographical anchoring for a situated nomadic experience, what Featherstone et al. (2004) term "dwelling-in-motion". Their functional capacities as utilitarian hideaways and places to sleep are overshadowed by this romanticism; these buildings are repositories sustained by a sprawling rhizome, that reaches far down into the landscape and the histories of those who have explored upon it and binds them.

Walking to Buzz is explored below as a process of embodied remembering; so often, the journey to sites of Buzz involves, just like that to Mark's Cottage, route planning and navigation towards a destination via the overgrown pathways of memory. These are, in this way, journeys towards 'placefullness' via the seeming 'non-places' (Augé, 1995) which connect co-explorers to them. However, just as the journey to Mark's Cottage revealed details of place that did not configure in my pre-departure mind, so too do the routes towards Buzz immerse co-explorers into similar modes of noticing, feeling, and place-making en-route.

Like the Bothy, Leeds too emerges as a palimpsest; the places encountered, whether popular sites like the city's cultural quarters or more obscure ones seldom visited, the layering of personal narratives onto shared sites abounds. Like water from an unknown source crossing one's path before disappearing from view, the narratives of Buzz crisscross upon the streets of Leeds, sometimes merging or otherwise interacting with other, but other times going unnoticed. The role of history in shaping Buzz is everywhere in this chapter; just as Mark's Cottage was experienced in consideration of those who have dwelled there previously, and recognized through the small traces of themselves left behind, so too is the Buzz of Leeds explored below as a lived narrative not only to be traversed, but also to be excavated.

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents both the data of this research and my discussion of that data. In the first instance, the outcomes of my walks with co-explorers are presented and organised thematically across four themes. In these thematically driven discussions, I engage my co-explorers in conversation with each other (and myself), and coalesce their insights around points of agreement or contention regarding different facets of Buzz and their experiencing of it. The four themes around which these conversations take place consider Buzz and its associations with certain kinds of communities and structures, it's affinity to certain aesthetics, its relationship to memory and subjectivity, and its agentic capacity in the creative process.

In the final section of this findings chapter, analysis begins from the terra firma of Leeds, forwarding a scrutiny of co-explorer insights regarding Buzz using place, rather than theme, as the point of first departure. With greater emphasis placed on reciprocities expressed between place-types, this section benefits further from the geo-locational data captured via the GeoRecord mobile application. Here, co-explorer insights are presented around common places or place-types, specifically through the notions of 'Non-Place', 'Dark Sites', and 'Liminal Space'.

In terms of presentation, co-explorer insights are identified first by the place and second by the person. Quotes from co-explorers include in brackets information detailing both the 'where' and the 'who' of each response. In some cases, where comments were made from sedentary positions (for instance, standing outside of a point of interest, or looking across from a viewpoint) that location given is fixed. Indeed, it's common to see place descriptors such as a single organisation used where something was said within that organisation (e.g. 'Town Hall'). In other instances, when remarks were made whilst walking, a general sense of directionality is determined through the place description (e.g. 'Walking through Leeds Central Library'). In further cases, where comments are made specifically in regards to something being looked at, a general sense of the directionality of the co-explorer gaze is shown (e.g. 'Looking over towards the Henry Moore Institute from the Weather Café').

3.0 Buzz, Accessibility, and Openness

As was explored in previous chapters, scholars such as Sadler (1999), Franck and Stevens (2006), Harvey (2012), and Garrett (2013), have written about the ways in which the urban realm is constructed and contested by those individuals and groups who inhabit, walk upon, trespass through, or in general experience within and upon it. Such positions ultimately tend to an anti-realist conceptualisation of place, as outlined by Graham, which posit that place is composed of experiences and negotiated meanings in constant flux depending upon the individual, or individuals, experiencing it (In Anderson, 2004, p. 254). These so-called social worlds are interrelated but distinct from the tangible and built terrain of cities that occupy what Graham terms a 'realist' (ibid.) conceptualisation of place, as is conceptualised by the Layered City.

Far from being a place of strictly defined and regulated places and meanings, the conceptualisation of the urban realm has instead been developed here as a complex intermingling of perceptions and experiences through which the city is shaped and constructed. This notion of cities as being sites constructed of negotiated and contested meanings and experiences, in particular between places which are experienced contrastingly as either public and private, or loose and fixed (Franck & Stevens, 2006), has been developed and expanded upon in the context of Buzz multiply by my co-explorers. On numerous walks, distinctions were drawn between the perceived openness of a place, oftentimes reflected upon in contrast to a more insular, closed, or fixed site, and the individual's resultant ability to experience its Buzz or for that particular site to have Buzz:

> "All of the spaces that we've been to so far, you don't have to pay to go into them. That 'black box' thing…you know…it feels elitist, and even though you don't have to pay to go into those, it kind of is. But all of these spaces [gesturing to the Weather Café) are open in a way, and that means that you're just here with lots of different people, you

> know." (Looking over towards the Henry Moore Institute from the
> Weather Café, Alison)

Alison's route began at her office in Leeds Town Hall and progressed towards the Weather Café on the Headrow via Leeds Central Library. Along that route, and at each specific location visited, Alison focussed largely on the broad public remit of the organisations, their accessibility, and their openness:

> "I think a lot of the things that I was saying when we were, say, in our office apply here as well, you know, it's about democracy. You don't have to pay to be in here, it's warm, you get loads of different people in here" (Leeds Central Library, Alison)

Alison's position within an organisation that is civically funded, has not only helped to establish our route firstly via publicly funded institutions, but has further positioned her as someone interested in the accessibility of venues for a mix of people. As such, Alison's conclusion is that "Buzz isn't just about a kind of clique for certain people.", but rather that it is, for her, correlated with diverse, mixed, and public cultural places that are open to all, and as exemplified in the first extract, free to use or access.

This association between Buzz and open, democratic, and free-to-access cultural sites with a broad public remit is interesting; Buzz is not in this case necessarily an emittance of a specific or specialised cultural milieu borne of their creative working, nor is it an emanation of directly innovative activity, which is what Pratt (2008; 2009) and Storper (2012) have previously contested. Rather, for Alison at least, Buzz becomes most tangible in places of cultural consumption or reception governed by a focus on accessibility, and directly related to a demographic engagement that seems reflective of the city as a whole, as opposed to any specific class of creatives;

> "So then there's this space which is part of the library and connects us to the gallery, and it's very neutral, full of people, of course with

beautiful architecture, and I like the fact that it's a meeting space, you know, you get lots of different generations of people here, it's not just about the flat-white crowd, it's about lots of different people." (Walking through Leeds Central Library, Alison)

Alison's association of Buzz with organisations or places that are not only non-elitist, but in some sense have a specific remit to be anti-elitist, is shared by others, too. Andy, the director of a theatre company sited on the outer edges of Leeds South, walked me to a vantage point with views across Leeds for his reflection;

"I have a difficult relationship with that whole cultural quarter, and what it's for, and who it's for, and how it exists, and obviously Northern Ballet has got its studio, and now the playhouse will have its studio, and then there's a series of even more rooms that people can't quite get into." (Looking across the city from a vantage point in Holbeck, Andy)

I met Andy for the first time inside of the converted ex-shipping container repurposed as the main site office. Outside, in a small ex-industrial forecourt next-door to a still-industrial auto mechanics, is an eclectic and marginally chaotic assemblage of ephemera; an outdoor piano missing it's a harp and a roll-top bathtub being used as flower bed, for instance. As something not originally intended for human habitation, the shipping container office is predictably snug inside, and made all the more so by the cluttered assemblage of desks around the outside walls.

Andy re-checked our email exchange in the run-up to our meeting to remind himself of who I am and what I want from him, whilst I re-explained the purpose of the walk to the back of his head as he sped-read through our conversation. He quite promptly remembered, grabbed his jacket and an enormous bundle of keys before issuing a series of instructions to a staff member. Andy consciously walked me way from the central areas of Leeds; "I'm not going to take you anywhere cool, instead I'm going to show you why

we're here" (Holbeck Underground Ballroom, Andy).

Our walk, in the opposite direction of the city centre and indeed precisely not the direction in which I expected to be lead, was quick-paced and purposeful. Andy points out a small Arabic supermarket on-route, proclaiming that the takeaway inside makes the best kebabs in the city, and, looking smug and amused, that he took the directors of the Arts Council there when they came to visit. At one point, as we rounded on the vantage point to which Andy is heading so steadfastly, I found myself very nearly on all fours scrambling up an arduously steep grassy hill; My footwear, put-on without much thought on the premise of an urban walk on tarmac and cobbles, now being put through their paces on the kind of terrain I'm more accustomed to in the mountains.

Even more so than Alison, Andy positions himself outside of the formal cultural infrastructure of the city, chastising their efforts to engage and to be accessible. Even the publicly funded organisations mentioned are sites of exclusivity which segregate them from what Andy feels is the actual Buzz of the city. Talking from inside one such an organisation, Sadie, a senior figure at a dance company based at the Quarry Hill cultural quarter, gives credence to Andy's criticisms, stating that:

> "I think there is this sense of an elitism when you think about where we sit within the cultural spaces of the city, but actually [we've] has never been an organisation that's embraced that title as such, because we've had to fight for everything…so we've got the generosity of the building in terms of its association, but we've actually got to fight against the bricks and mortar in terms of what that's done to our image." (Phoenix Dance, Sadie)

Andy positions himself, and by-proxy his organisation, ideologically outside of Leeds' centralised or formalised cultural infrastructure, away from the bricks and mortar of the cultural quarter and its elitist associations; indeed, his organisation, nestled beneath abandoned railway arches on the threshold between the Holbeck 'Urban Village' Cultural Cluster and Leeds' somewhat

controversial Managed Sex Zone[19], is a geographical reflection of this peripheral or 'outsider' positioning. This notion of spatial peripherality will be returned to more thoroughly in the final part of this chapter.

Openness and accessibility is central to Andy's mission, and is clearly reflected in the way in which his organisation is structured; performances are ticketed on a pay-as-you-feel basis, all core staff are paid the same flat-rate company wage, all monies raised through ticketing are given to the performers, and so on. Buzz, for Andy, is intrinsically linked both to this raison-d'être, and to this place and its people which he understands in antithesis to the formalised and centralised art-worlds of Leeds and those who populate it:

> "So I think the thing with the Buzzy world for example is that if I go to a place that's a really lovely pine veneered coffee house in which a latte costs £2.75, now if you've got £2.75 that is definitely a higher quality coffee than you're going to get than the one for a £1 at Greggs[20], but if you haven't got £2.75 then you aren't going to go there in the first place. And these creative apparently Buzzy places seem to always be accompanied by cafes that sell Panini's for £6 a pop and San Pellegrino in cans, and that is restricting." (Looking across the city from a vantage point in Holbeck, Andy)

The specific aesthetic components of Buzz, clearly of importance to Andy,

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[19] Following a trial in 2014 and ongoing commitment in 2016, Holbeck has been home to a Managed Sex Zone delivered in conjunction with Leeds Council and West Yorkshire Police. The controversial efforts to manage prostitution in the area were the subject of a BBC documentary series "Sex, Drugs, and Murder: Life in the Red Light District". For more, see: Sanders, T., & Sehmbi, V. (2015). Evaluation of the Leeds Managed Sex Working Area. Retrieved January 3, 2019, from https://www.nswp.org/sites/nswp.org/files/Executive%20Summary%20Leeds,%20U%20of%20Leeds%20-%20Sept%202015.pdf.

[20] Greggs has a ubiquitous presence on UK highstreets, selling a range of low-cost food items and drinks.

are the focus of a later part of this chapter. In brief, however, Andy makes a point not only to distinguish his organisation from the 'pine veneered' cultural citadels elsewhere in Leeds, but also to chastise them. In terms of accessibility, and therefore in terms of the likelihood of creating Buzzy places that are open and democratic, Andy, like Alison before him, is critical of commercial and financial barriers at cultural sites, specifically here those established through the commonplace siting of high-end cafes in or alongside arts organisations.

In contrast, and in an effort to overcome such barriers, Andy's organisation runs a pay-as-you-feel donation system for their drinks service on performance nights. The way in which this meaningfully overcomes issues of access as intended are limited, as Andy himself concludes, not least because of ingrained associations between the arts and a certain kind of clientele; "To the people in the city we'll always be their messy, DIY, grass-roots neighbours, but to the people around us here we'll always be the kooky artsy dandies" (Looking across the city from a vantage point in Holbeck, Andy). Despite this, and to open-up his organisation further, Andy goes on to detail various in-community outreach projects and approaches. In pursuit of a sense of cultural purpose that reaches beyond Leeds' formal art world, the Buzz generated at Slung Low emanates not from an exclusive or elitist gathering of the creative class, but rather from a more diverse and reflective comingling of local people.

The openness, accessibility, and visibility of cultural organisations is similarly important for Alison too, who says that:

> "It's really important people can come and find us, you know, so that thing of, if you, that you don't have to go into something too corporate or civic, because we do work with external people, and umm, I think that flexibility is really important." (Town Hall, Alison)

There is a tentativeness in Alison's voice upon reflection that her office, which I earlier struggled to find, is buried deep inside of Leeds Town Hall, a

clear symbol of civic might built off the back of the imbalanced wealth generated through Leeds' industrialisation as detailed in chapter two. In order to first find Alison's office, one must access the town hall through its side access door, and then ask a receptionist for directions down the corridor, around the corner, up a flight of stairs, along another corridor, and then through a relatively nondescript doorway. I got lost on route and called Alison who came to collect me. Alison continued:

> "We just kind found a room in here that was empty, no-one was using it, and it leaks in there as well, and I guess we were kinda squatters for a little bit, but now we there, and I don't think they're gunna chuck us out (Walking towards her office in the Town Hall, Alison)."

The Town Hall is of course in many ways the kind of formal civic structure that Andy was criticising; Although its aesthetic is quite distinct from the cool urban café vibe that Andy directly rallied against, it is nonetheless grandiose, ornate, imposing, and heavy with the weight of its own civic importance. It is most prominently in my mind the site of the Leeds International Piano Competition (I recall advertising images of tuxedoed maestros sitting bolt upright at impossibly valuable concert grands), and also a key venue for the Leeds Film Festival (I recall watching Joaquin Phoenix leading a cast to Sundance success in a largely incomprehensible film that unfolded at a tedious trickle). I'm sure the Town Hall makes efforts to broaden the appeal of its programming beyond the niche or avant-garde as is my personal experience, but regardless, the imposing nature of this structure and its myriad formal associations lingers on pervasively.

Alison, who rather than working specifically for the Town Hall considers herself merely a 'squatter' within its under-used upper offices, experiences conflict between the ethos of her organisation and the associations of grandeur reflected in the building's construction. She reflects on the physical decay of her office with its leaking ceiling in antithesis to the decorated concert space she proudly showed me on our way to her desk. Further still, she positions herself in a political sense outside of the broader civic cultural

structure in an 'us' vs. 'them' relationship; she locates the organisation as flying under the radar of Leeds' cultural infrastructure, despite clearly being nestled deep within it.

Jenny, who works for a local theatre company, reflects similarly on the necessity of open and accessible spaces to Buzz, in particular in criticism of insular, exclusive, or elitist sites, organisations, or milieu:

> "There is a Buzz around there if you work in the arts or if you already have like an interest or you're already quite tapped into what goes on around there, but I think that, like for a city to have Buzz, it's got to reach a bit further than that. And I don't think that that happens necessarily on Quarry Hill [the site of Leeds Playhouse, Northern Ballet, BBC Yorkshire, etc.], I think that happens in other places around the city" (Looking across to Quarry Hill from Mabgate, Jenny).

Jenny establishes multiple interesting facets of Buzz here; firstly, that it operates and exists differently depending on an individual's access to the cultural milieu from which it emanates. In this instance, the cultural cluster at Quarry Hill in Leeds, in Jenny's view, has an insular Buzz, awareness of which is contingent upon access to the arts scene embedded in that particular place. A conflict between Buzz and Leeds' cultural cluster at Quarry Hill reverberates through both Andy and Jenny's reflections; both are keen to dissociate Buzz from a preeminent cultural site in the city because of perceived insularity and exclusivity in its social world, with Jenny suggesting that Buzz exists in such sites only to those who are 'tapped in'.

Importantly, Jenny differentiates this kind of Buzz, the experiencing of which in her view is necessitated upon certain qualities or qualifications, from a broader city-wide Buzz which is specifically not an eminence of the cultural cluster at Quarry Hill or an emittance of the creative and cultural workers who animate it. Rather, Jenny's signposting of a more egalitarian Buzz which requires no particular or specialised knowledge or skill in the arts to observe or experience, echoes Alison's earlier remarks; this image of a city Buzz that

'reaches further' than the insularity of the Buzz of the cultural quarter previously spoken of alludes to more open, accessible, and eclectic sites with a wider remit.

The geographic aspect inherent in Jenny's notion of 'reach' is interesting too, as it reflects some of the spatial metaphors central to thinking about atmospheres in terms of how they diffuse across place, and the directionality of that diffusion. Importantly, in terms of the relationship between Buzz and issues of openness or access, Jenny imbues agency to Buzz itself which must do the reaching, as opposed to any person or persons required to actively seek it out. In this way, Buzz for Jenny is an emittance predominantly *coming from* place, rather than *going to* it. Jenny's statement concludes that a more generalised or citywide urban Buzz emerges more disparately across Leeds in less site-specific ways, again furthering this contention that Leeds' formal cultural sites do not have a monopoly on Buzz, especially regarding that which animates the city as a whole outside of those sites' natural or intended 'creative class' demographic.

This relationship between site-specificity, accessibility, and Buzz is explored further by Becky, also working within the performing arts in Leeds:

> "Temporary festivals are great, because you can pull people together around a temporary event and create a sense of community, that doesn't necessarily have to be focussed around one space, but can be focussed around the programme, or activity…When it happens it draws people together that are interested in it. There're creative events in the city which aren't necessarily tied to physical spaces, but they happen in a number of spaces instead" (Live Art Bistro, Becky)

The relationship between Buzz and specific organisations and their fixed locations in the city seems increasingly arms-length; rather than Buzz being bound by or embedded within creative and cultural clusters or specific firms, it is instead tethered to them more loosely. This evidences that which is conceptualised through the notion of Buzz Ecology, in the sense that Buzz is

shown to be operational as part of the wider social world of the city, rather than a specific cluster. Further, in considering the Layered City model, Buzz here is spoken of in terms explicitly pertaining to the characteristics of Loose Space, bound more to the way in which places are experienced atmospherically through appropriation as opposed to how they tangibly or materially exist.

Becky's work, running an annual festival of performance art that specifically responds to myriad Loose Spaces outside of traditional theatrical venues, has resulted in her experience of Buzz as being geographically sporadic. Echoing Jenny's conceptualisation of a city having multiple and distinct sites of Buzz, Becky too experiences Buzz as unbound by any singular centralising and catalysing node, but rather by a series of smaller, intermingled, and meshed nodules. Becky also introduces the critical concept of a temporality in the nature of Buzz here, specifically her interests and experiences in annual festivals, in which a spatially sporadic series of Buzzes function nomadically as her organisation creates and dismantles Buzz sites across differing times and places. The temporal nature of Buzz, related to its ebbing and flowing perceptibility, will be returned to in further detail and explored fully as essential aspect of Buzz later in this chapter. On the relationship between Buzz and multiple open or Loose Spaces, rather than specific closed or institutional ones, Becky concludes that:

> "For me, Buzz is about Leeds, it's about the city. It's not actually about specific buildings, but that's because that's the way I'm working now; like before it was so much more about specific place, whereas now there are a number of places, and it's definitely now more about the ethos and the vibe, and about community. That's what we're doing with Transform…we're creating these temporary, more fluid meeting points that aren't tied to a location…Buzz isn't for me tied to a specific place or whatever, but is more connected to community and to people." (Walking to Quarry Hill, Becky).

Becky configures Leeds as a level terrain of potential Buzz sites, disparate

yet connected by the city's social and cultural networks. Rather than imagining Leeds as having specific cultural destinations or hubs from and to which Buzz might most readily radiate, Becky appears instead far more interested in the latent potential of underused nooks and crannies. The fluidity of Buzz for Becky, and the way in which cultural vitality ebbs and flows on the back of a series of catalysing events and the communities gathered around them, is demonstrative of a general tendency to dissociate Buzz from the tangible infrastructure of the city, especially perhaps from that which is more formally associated or organised in terms of established venues or sites. More so than Andy or Alison who both situate their reflections largely in terms of buildings and companies, Becky more readily deals in the soft infrastructure of the urban realm, rooting Buzz more firmly in community and ethos irrelevant of place;

> "The steering group [Leeds 2023] I feel like is enabling a sense of community and Buzz, a kind of coming together, it's not necessarily around a space, but rather around this idea, that people want to believe in and be a part of" (Live Art Bistro, Becky)

Becky, who rebutted my initial efforts to learn of actual places that might function as origins of her particular sense of Leeds' Buzz by reflecting on the city at large across a whole series of sites, develops her thinking more abstractly here. Whereas the city itself offered some sense of spatial anchoring for Buzz, albeit in a sporadic way across multiple places, Becky reflects above on an 'idea', in this case the idea of Leeds' 2023 European Capital of Culture bid[21], as functioning as a kind of organising or catalysing node for Buzz. This further demonstrates the reciprocity between the 'what', 'how', and 'who', rather than the 'where' in an abstract sense, of creative and

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[21] As was discussed earlier in chapter three, following 'Brexit', and the resulting decision at the end of 2017 that UK cities will not be taking part in the official "European Capital of Culture" competition moving forwards, Leeds 2023 strives now to put on an international cultural festival in the city regardless of the outcome of the United Kingdom's planned departure from the European Union in 2019. For more, see http://leeds2023.co.uk

cultural working and the experience or generation of Buzz. Terra firma remains important to Becky, but again, Buzz emerges from a community and its governing ethos as gathered in place rather than in place by virtue of its very being;

> "Honestly my home is…I live with a dancer, and we live in a house that's split into three flats, and in one of the flats is this old writer and his partner, in another flat is [a friend] who's in the city council culture department, her partner who's a musician who was in a really famous punk band, and we've made our space, like our flat, really creative, and we often have lots of different artists around, we have parties, and I also work there, so it's the transform office at the moment, and I have an intern starting in January who will be coming to my flat."
> (Walking to Quarry Hill, Becky)

Becky reflects on the eclectic nature of the community around and in her home and directly relates the mixed artistic and cultural specialisms of members in that community to the Buzz of the place. In mapping out the block of flats and detailing who lives where, Becky situates Buzz as an eminence of her domestic context as a result of her neighbours, what they do or have done, and the ways in which they co-mingle geographically and professionally. Becky reflects on the relationship between Buzz and the come-and-go sociality of her flat, a site that couples being a space of both work and play, suggesting that the process of the working environment is important. Similarly, Jenny too reflected that Buzz was catalysed by organisations whose ethos and procedures of working extended further than their immediate or automatic milieu, commenting that; "It's not necessarily to do with the size of the company, it's just their ethos, and the way that they go about making work" (Looking across to Quarry Hill from Mabgate, Jenny).

For Becky, the domestic setting is crucial here as a further demonstration of Buzz as most associated with informal places abstracted from actual arts venues. This appears to be less about the actual domesticity of the site, and more about the kinds of informality, sociality, and sense-of-belonging that a

domestic site encourages. Interestingly, illustrator Samuel, makes a similar observation;

> "So the Buzz of this place is about the informality, and it's eclecticism, and just the uncertain nature of what you're going to find when you get here…And the informality of the dog walking around is great; it's like going into somebody's home almost!" (Byron Street Mills, Samuel)"

My walk with Samuel began on Quarry Hill at the art shop 'Colours May Vary' on the ground floor level of Munro House. We began by discussing some of the illustrations for sale and the collection of art books and publications, before walking towards the Mabgate area of Leeds. This requires a slightly awkward traversal of a major through-road which dissects Leeds central from the cultural quarter, just South of Kirkgate Market. The short journey, around five minutes, puts distance between us and some of the larger cultural organisations based in Leeds; The BBC, West Yorkshire Playhouse, and Northern Ballet shrink behind us as we walk past an empty lot and a car park, under the ring-road overpass, and towards an auto repair garage. In my mind, I'm momentarily re-walking the route to Andy on the outskirts of the city centre, putting evermore meterage between myself and the Holbeck Urban Village creative cluster, nearing on the railway arches, shipping containers, and managed sex zone which form the terra firma of that particular Buzz. Like Andy, Samuel too articulates a criticism of designated cultural quarters:

> "So it isn't a kind of, it's like, it organically sort of pops up. If you tried to plan it, it wouldn't work would it? It needs to pop up, and just find its own little niche. If they kind of took it over and then tried to redevelop it as the cultural bit, it would become the 'cultural quarter' and then we'd be walking around somewhere else." (Walking through Mabgate, Samuel)

This particular route, a noisy and polluted roadside traversal through the no-man's land between Leeds' cultural quarter and a collection of ex-factories,

emerges as a vital thoroughfare for many of those that I walk with. This important stretch of road, so integral to the Buzz maps of multiple participants and a major tributary connecting Buzz sites, will be discussed further in final part of this chapter alongside other fixed sites most commonly frequented. We navigate the pedestrian crossing that spans the ring-road entry ramp, emerging onto older cobbled ground. Samuel describes the Mabgate area;

> "This is kind of where it sort of happens…we might be about to go down a dead end here…what's interesting to me about it is that, well you'll see when we get to Lime Street, it's like a garage, and a flooring showroom, and an African church ministry building, but yeah, there isn't that sense of kind of this is all arts stuff, it's kind of dotted in amongst other bits and pieces, you know, there's a framing shop as well." (Walking through Mabgate, Samuel)

Samuel walks me into Byron Street Mills; An old factory, accessed through a courtyard walled-in by high redbrick facades, housing multiple small and microbusinesses all working side-by-side in one large, open, and slightly chaotic space. Most obviously, this is a hotbed of visual arts specialisms, with a large screen-printing area, shelves stacked high with paints of all hues, and in one corner a photographer's lighting rigs, screens, and step ladder. It's not the genteel domain of a slick studio of trendy urban creatives so much as the turpentine drenched shop floor of apron-clad art workers; less Macbook Air and flat-white, and more industrial air-filtration unit and mugful of Yorkshire Gold. There is also, as Samuel enjoys, an extremely friendly ginger dog running around and greeting all who enter, as well as various people who recognise Samuel and introduce themselves.

Despite the enormous scale of this space and its obvious nature as a site of work, I recognise what Samuel means when he refers to Byron Street Mills as feeling almost homely. Just as Becky's flat Buzzed as a result of the co-habitation of cultural professionals in an informal and personable space, so too does Byron Street Mills; this is an eclectic neighbourhood of creative

workers sharing the same space behind an open door. There isn't a front desk or signing-in and out procedure, there's no website offering profiles of the various occupiers, and, so far as I can tell, no specific office hours; it flows with all of the shapelessness of a busy household rather than a structured office space. As Samuel says;

> "You're never quite sure of who's gunna be here, in terms of the other people in the class, but also in terms of who going to have a desk here, so it feels like you're going to discover something when you come. And it's changing all the time, and there's stuff happening, all of the time (Byron Street Mills, Samuel)."

Although Byron Street Mills Buzzes for Samuel as a result of its informality, eclecticism, and shapelessness, whether or not it functions in the open, as part of a Buzz that reaches meaningfully beyond an insular network, is questionable. Unlike Andy or Jenny who spoke more critically of cultural venues attracting only members of an established creative class and the resultant insularity of the Buzz that they generate and maintain, Samuel seems less perturbed by the comingling of niche arts specialists here. Although Byron Street Mills does feel open, welcoming, and informal on the inside, it certainly does require specific knowledge in order to find it, and even more so to be able to work within it; there are barriers to entry here which close this site's Buzz off to the wider city.

Here emerges a conflict in terms of different levels of openness and access and the resultant type of Buzz emitted and experienced. Most notably this conflict emerges as a result of the sectors that my co-explorers work within and the relationship of their work to their audience, and then to the city. Andy, Jenny, and Becky, all working as part of the city's network of performing arts organisations, express collectively an experience of Buzz mostly associated with sites that include rather than exclude; they are interested in spaces that Buzz as a result of a general participation in culture, allowing for an eclectic rather than homogenous audience. Although the extent to which the performing arts are successful in reaching diverse

audiences is contested (Richens, 2016), it's clear here that these performing arts professionals situate and associate Buzz within either an idealised or actualised diversity of participation and engagement.

Conversely Samuel, an illustrator working with customers more so than audiences, finds value in the Buzz of Byron Street Mills and its community not because it allows for a broad mixing of the general public or resonates as part of a generally perceptible urban Buzz across Leeds, but because it emanates from the co-mingling of tangentially or directly relevant specialists and professionals:

> "It's a brilliant place to come to, just there's just so much stuff to see. I mean every time you come in there's a different set of posters, there's animal skulls, and, actually there's different people here as well. Because sometimes you go to life drawing and this rarefied, silent, sort of very pure experience, whereas here, it's much more, I mean sometimes the model is just having a conversation while you're drawing them, there's music going on, people printing tee-shirts, people coming in and out…" (Byron Street Mills, Samuel).

For Samuel, Buzz, as related to community, the social world of work, and a spatial sense of openness, emanates not from a random assemblage of bodies who contribute to or experience Buzz by virtue of their very being there, but rather from a more targeted assemblage of like-skilled arts workers. Samuel experiences and reflects upon this in the same terms as those from the performing arts, displaying a shared association of Buzz with diverse and open communities in relatedly non-elitist spaces, but more directly correlates Buzz with mixing the rights kinds of people. In this case, whereas Buzz borne of openness and community for Alison, working in the civic arts, reaches out from free-to-access cultural venues that co-mingle the public, for Samuel a similar association between Buzz, openness, and community is established through the co-mingling of an illustrator and a tee-shirt printer.

Although openness and community within the comparatively closed-off world of Byron Street Mills is understood in a more nuanced way pertaining to the diversity of specific visuals arts specialisms, the differences between what might be simplified here as public-space Buzz versus private-space Buzz, cannot be reductively equated to an opposition between openness versus insularity. According to my co-explorers, notions of community and openness within Buzz-emitting sites relates more to the structures, processes, or governing ethos's of a given site, focussing more on openness as an organising principle rather than a descriptor of the individuals within a given community. This is to say that the reciprocity between a sense of openness and the experience of Buzz is contingent upon the way in which a community gathers or is gathered, rather than by the composition of that community itself. Of greater interest here is the perception of openness as correlated with experiencing a community as Buzzing, rather than an interrogation of what might constitute an open community in and of itself in any demographic terms.

The reciprocity between notions of openness and community and the experience of Buzz has been thematically important to myriad co-explorers; For Alison, Buzz relates to the public accessibility and mixed-demography of cultural sites, and similarly Jenny associates Buzz more with accessible cultural happenings engaging a diverse public audience across the city, rather than any specific cultural class gathered in any specific cultural site. For Andy, Buzz is related to a peripheral and grass-roots arts-world and organisational principles of openness and community, in antithesis to closed or elitist cultural citadels. Openness is important in terms of ethos and process for Becky, who reflects upon Buzz as tethered to eclectic communities and cultural ideas more so than specific fixed sites. And for Samuel, Buzz relates to electric groups of creative professionals in close-knit but diverse working communities that are governed or structured in open, freeform, or serendipitous ways.

There emerges here an interplay between shared, civic, and community-driven spaces in Leeds, various interpretations and experiences of their

openness and accessibility, and a resultant capacity for both generating and experiencing creative and cultural Buzz in the city. This association of Buzz with informal cultural spaces is interesting in the sense that Buzz emerges as bound by soft urban infrastructure rather than tangible urban assets; Buzz thus far has been shown to be more associated with audiences, communities, and an ethos of openness and accessibility, rather than by venues more explicitly designated as part of Leeds' cultural quarter or more traditional arts spaces. Even at an organisational level, Buzz hasn't yet been related explicitly to output or to work, but rather more so to process and approach. Such prerequisites for Buzz, in terms of a spatial dissociation from formal arts sites and instead an ideological association with an open and community driven process, forms the basis for the first component part of an emerging definition of urban creative and cultural Buzz.

## 4.0 Buzz, Moments, and Remembering

As far as the city is a site of lived and live experience, indeed as much as it's a thriving metropolis in which the Flâneur might revel in real-time, so too is it a palimpsest. In chapter two, I explored the relationship between the history of Leeds and the present of Leeds, by considering the places through which the city's history reverberates and re-emerges. I walked through the sites in the city where, for me, an appreciation of Leeds' story as already told seemed most tangible and re-tellable. In so doing, and further in reflecting upon the macabre history of my old music rehearsal room in the hang-man's basement apartment in Bristol, the relationship between the history of place and its present, the issues of memory and time, have been a constant conceptual thread throughout this research.

Further still, the journey to and into Mark's Cottage, as retold in the autoethnographic account which opened this chapter, focussed predominately on the important reciprocity between memory and place; I establish in that passage a relational dialectic between 'now' and 'then', exposing the agency of what has been on the perception of what it is. Just as an awareness of the history of Mark's Cottage informed my experience of

that place, whether learned through information in the newspaper cuttings pinned to the walls or imagined as stories borne of the photographs above the fire, so too does the history of Leeds impress upon my co-explorers. The following section explores the temporal and historical facets of Buzz, collating conversations about various individual's memories of the city or specific parts of the city, and exploring how the atmosphere of the present is affected by recollections or associations of the past.

All co-explorers opted to structure their walks biographically at some point during their research encounter, visiting places or organisations at which they had worked at some stage in their careers. This is perhaps the most obvious or direct articulation of a relationship between Buzz and Memory, in the sense that it demonstrates an association between places of personal historic creative and cultural endeavour with Buzz. Becky offers a representative example of such an association, in organising her route via The West Yorkshire Playhouse where she once worked; "Right, I'll take you to where my arts journey in Leeds began, which happens to be just around the corner" (Walking towards Quarry Hill from Mabgate, Becky). Likewise Jenny, now working as a producer for a local theatre, says; "I should start here, because I started working at Yorkshire Dance, and that was my first job in the arts (Yorkshire Dance, Jenny)." This first and most direct type of reciprocity between Buzz and memory of working in a place, are summed up Sadie, who says that:

> "Over there at Yorkshire Dance, we spent 27 years in that building, so I feel like there's a very strong part of it for us that still holds a lot of interest, in terms of our engagement in this area and it's kind of Buzz." (Looking across to Yorkshire Dance from Phoenix Dance, Sadie)

Relatedly, Mike, who splits his time between playing music, writing poetry, and working on a bar, was keen to include sites of personal historical poignancy in his journeying between epicentres of Buzz in Leeds:

> "I'll take you towards the first music venue that I ever came into Leeds

for, it was a bit of an experience, because at 13 years old, I rarely travelled outside of South Yorkshire, and so to come up to here, it's that 'classic' story." (Walking West on Great George Street, Mike)

Although not a site of work, or a memory associated with creative working in the city per se, Mike has, like both Becky and Jenny, connected the Buzz of a fixed site with an historical catalyst, in this case, his first gig outside of his home town. In a similar way Natalie, a director of a local arts organisation, includes a venue of former importance in her map, saying;

"This building over here used to be 'Stinky's Peephouse', which was a club night, and I had a massive period where I was quite heavily involved with the dance scene as well, and it was this really interesting space for dance music which wasn't being played anywhere else at the time. So yeah, that was a lot of fun." (Walking along York Street, Natalie)

Natalie articulates a clear reciprocity between a sense of Buzz and a sense of fun, and defines a broadly positive interpretation of Buzz as affectual cultural space aligned with positive memories. This positive understanding of Buzz generally correlates across all of the co-explorers, with a couple of notable exceptions which will be explored in further detail in the final part of this chapter.

Both Natalie and Mike's mapping of Leeds' Buzz includes locations associated with past events, at which an initiating Buzz born of experiencing a cultural happening is rooted. This geographically associated atmosphere remains in place despite the changed material realities of the given location, as Mike confirms;

"This arcade has changed so much in the past 10 years, on a Saturday afternoon, a friend of mine, who is now a casting agent on Kirkstall Road, her mother was a young person's council representative, and she used to put on, for 50 pence, a gig called

'Bang Bang Project', and you knew on a Saturday, you were gunna come down, and there'd be some local guys doing some MC'ing, so like grime guys, and then she'd pick three bands, local bands, to come down and play." (Grand Arcade, Mike)

Independent gallery owner Boris, further demonstrating this association between the memory of event and a felt sense of Buzz in place, even when that place has changed beyond recognition, takes me, somewhat unexpectedly, to Primark:

"A friend, who runs a gallery now, curated an exhibition which was, somewhere in this unit, but, everything had been stripped out, so it was just bare concrete floors, wooden structures…all the walls had been taken away…so it was vast and open…apart from one central column…And then at the back, I guess it would have been over there, was all the old changing rooms! And so around about here there was a big sort of moving windmill thing made of cardboard packaging that did stuff." (Primark, Boris)

Compared to the free-flowing nature of earlier exchanges, Boris's recounting of this past experience stutters into being somewhat, as he scans around a busy Primark, trying to locate his memories of the space from when it was home to a pop-up exhibition during a period of refurbishment. The clarity with which Boris is able to share the experience increases as he speaks, and moves, gesticulating with ever more accuracy at certain columns and corners, as sites of Buzz seem to become reanimated again as he recalls them. Bringing together both the work-related associations of Alison and Jenny with the event-related associations of Boris, Mike and Natalie, Miles, the director and founder of a Media and Publishing company, reflects upon a festival that he put on at The Tetley;

"There's Sheath Street as well…I tell you what, let's have a wander down that way, we'll go round via The Tetley, down into Sheath Street, and then back into The Calls, because we held a music festival

there - at the Tetley" (Walking through The Calls, Miles)

People's memories are spatialised across the city and tethered to sites that have been, at some stage, important in terms of affect and their sense of where the Buzz of Leeds is or has been. The fact that Becky, Jenny, Mike, Natalie, and Miles have all included previous places of work, venues of past events, or a combination of both, as part of their mapping of Leeds' atmospheric terrain is demonstrative of a historical and temporal dimensionality to Buzz. The importance of these historical associations, and of the temporal aspect to spaces of affect, is demonstrated by the fact that the Buzz remains even when the venue has gone, as Mike says; "So this used to be Rio's, so upstairs was this beautiful venue… it was just brilliant." (An Alleyway near Vicar Lane, Mike)

In bringing together the 'then' and the 'now' of their experience of Leeds, by combining sites of previous Buzz as part of a mapping that also includes current work places or sites, numerous co-explorers challenge previous associations of Buzz as something felt in the present in places currently animated. For instance, in a departure from Landry's assertion that "This hive of activity creates the Buzz" (2005, p. 236) or Bilton's thinking that "This animates the organisation with a Buzz" (2007, p. 111), numerous co-explorers as demonstrated readily engage in a conceptualisation of Buzz as something that has happened already. As Rebecca, an actor, concludes:

> "So yeah, the Buzz here is about places that I've done work, or where I've been to watch stuff, or I've sort of helped out with other people doing work." (The Fenton, Rebecca)

More directly still, Jenny forwards an explicitly historical conceptualisation of Buzz, wherein the very age of a site, in this case the oldest pub in Leeds found in a ginnel off of one of the city's man retail thoroughfares, is central to its atmospheric merit; "I like Whitelock's a lot as a place, I think something to do with how long it's been there gives it a Buzz" (Walking South on Briggate Street). Whitelock's appears almost as a throwback to a pre-modern city; it's

a place of hand-pulled ales, stained glass windows, and copper-topped tables. It's neither the slick technological playground of Florida's Creative Class, nor the repurposed industrial studios of Jacobs's Soho proto-hipsters; it is, quite literally, just a very old pub.

This is evidence of a clear departure then from any previous understanding of Buzz as born of creative artworking in or around cultural clusters, and further still demonstrates a potential partial separation of Buzz from creative and cultural working and workers too; For Jenny, there is a different kind of Buzz that manifests more generally in the city, in sites not explicitly related to the creative and cultural industries so much as to the everyday culture of Leeds and its history. In the case of Whitelock's, Jenny is clear in her articulation that Buzz emanates specifically from her appreciation of the history of the venue, and the way in which that history gives credence and weight to the affectual space of the site in the present.

In a similar way, Illustrator and DJ Jack, who I connected with after seeing one of his illustrations hanging on the wall of a bar in the city centre, opts to meet for our walk at Jumbo Records in the St John's Shopping centre.

> "I decided to start up here because Jumbo is quite an established sort of place, it's been in Leeds for a long time. I'm sure you know about it. I thought it was quite a good place start because of how certain categories cross over and stuff. Different disciplines. It's quite an important cultural place in Leeds. It was set up like 30 years ago or something." (Jumbo Records, Jack)

Jack articulates here the importance of the heritage or history of a site to its sense of Buzz. Just as Jenny attributes Buzz to Whitelock's by virtue of its sense of embeddedness within the cultural history of Leeds, so too does Jack affiliate Jumbo Records' long established role as part of the city's music scene with its current sense of Buzz.

Despite my background in music and my strong affiliation with and affinity for

the music scene in Bristol, I have only a loose relationship with Jumbo Records; it's the first of two cultural organisations that we use as case studies for one of the modules on the Masters in Culture, Creativity, and Entrepreneurship on which I lecture and run seminars. For that particular lesson, Dr Anna Upchurch and myself meet our students outside of Jumbo Records, in exactly the place where Jack and I have arranged to meet, and the owner tells us about the shop and its various connections, present and historical, to the live and recorded music scene in the city. Following the talk, the students are invited to browse the enormous collection of Vinyl records, the vintage gig posters which adorn the walls, and the various band Tee-shirts for sale; this visit often results in interesting, albeit largely well-worn, discussions about the digitisation of the music sector, the struggle that streaming represents for shops, and so on.

For me though, being sensitised to the geography of cultural activity, St John's Shopping Centre in which Jumbo Records rents a top floor unit is of more interest. Unlike Jumbo Records' counterparts in Bristol with which I'm more familiar, Fopp records for instance which is a stone's-throw from an instrument shop, a music venue, Bristol's primary theatre, and a few strides away from one of Banksy's more famous artworks, St John's Shopping Centre benefits from no such cultural industries milieu. Indeed, rather than other sites of musical repute, the immediate community here is composed of Morrison's, Card Factory, and a William Hill betting shop. The sum-total of which, in terms of any historical association of this space with the cultural vitality of Leeds, is that it doesn't, in my sensing of the place at least, benefit from any direct spill-over Buzz or atmospheric affect born of proximity to other venues in the same way as Fopp does.

Just as the history of Jumbo Records, and the gravitas that Jack bestows upon it as a result of its previous activity as part of the local music scene, creates Buzz here, so too does Leeds Bridge, for photographer Thomas;

> "So, Leeds Bridge is important to me. This is where the first film was shot by Louis Le Prince. There's a plague here. Not a lot of people

know that which is quite surprising to me. You can go online and see the little film actually. I saw a film about it last year, where they're trying to prove…because apparently, Hollywood doesn't believe it to be him, so there's quite a lot of hoo-ha about it, because there a few people who have old film and are trying to claim the title…but yeah, I like this place because of the history of it, and its links to photography obviously." (Leeds Bridge, Thomas)

Like Jack, Thomas also associates a site of historic significance to his own practice with Buzz. For Jack, who works as a DJ as well as an illustrator, Jumbo records was notable for its connections to the cities music scene, and for photographer Thomas, Leeds Bridge being the reputed 'home' of cinematography, links meaningfully to his own practice too. Both Jack and Thomas locate Buzz in sites where their own personal professional narratives can be tethered to the historical cultural narrative of Leeds, in a self-reflective process which sees each of them revel in a sense of their practice being embedded within the city. This sense of Buzz being bound either to an organisation deemed to be at the epicenter of an industry and its scene, or to a location deemed to be at the genesis of another, perhaps binds Buzz spatially to sites of historic import to specific creative industries.

 The reputed nature of Leeds Bridge being the site of the first moving picture, and the fact that this history is contested, relates interestingly to my reflections at the opening of this thesis about the historic relationship between the basement of Bristol's Louisiana pub and the prison hangman. In a similar way here I think, Thomas is enthralled enough by the narrative arc he can draw between the story of the site and his own practice, that he's keen to overlook any historical inaccuracies that might be potentially problematic to that narrative. It's important to note that the relationship between Le Prince and Leeds Bridge, whether it was the location for the original moving picture or not, is affirmed both by a commemorative blue plague and by actual photographic record, whereas the prison hangman story, up till now, boasts 'evidence' only really in the form of convincing-enough rumor and hear-say from the current proprietor (albeit a proprietor

with a Master's degree in Modern European History).

Just as was the case in Mark's Cottage, the embeddedness of Whitelock's, Jumbo Records, or Leeds Bridge, and the historical tendrils that bind *them* to the city and *us* to all of those who have been patrons of them, evokes a sense of connectivity with Leeds as a site of human experience, or a feeling of being tapped-in to and therefore part of the City's story. This Buzz, so explicitly historical in nature, speaks to the relationship between atmosphere and a situatedness in both time and place, rather than to place in the abstract. Importantly this contention, coupled with the biographical accounts of previous sites of work or play from Becky, Jenny, Mike, and Natalie, expands the understanding of the relationship between time and Buzz away from only a present tense preoccupation. Instead, Buzz has been considered multiply not only as an experiential space felt as a result of activity occurring, but also as a result of activity already occurred to which the experiencing individual is privy.

Alison walks me inside of Leeds Central Library. A few short strides from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Tiled Hall adorned with sculpted busts of Homer, Milton, Goethe, Shakespeare, and others, is Studio 12, which before this morning, I didn't know existed. It is a digital media initiative that engages some of the city's more disadvantaged young people in video, photo, and music production training, offering experience and qualifications alongside educators and practitioners. The weathered stone edifices of centuries old scholars replaced here with iMacs and Synthesisers, with sculptural intrigue emanating instead from the egg-box-like peaks and furrows of the soundproofing panels affixed to the walls. Alison says;

> "Part of the reason that this space is close to my heart, is that I helped set it up, 13 years ago, and it's [names individual who is the manager], you know, and it's gone from being in a teeny tiny room to being, well, here." (Studio 12, Alison)

Alison's gesticulation upon saying this (she points first to herself, then palms

upturned to who I now know to be the current manager, before opening her arms to embrace the room) is demonstrative of a sense of patronage and pride that I also glean in her tone. The story of Studio 12, its development from small media start-up to what is today a room busy with the creative pursuits of many young people on keyboards both musical and otherwise, is bound up in one coherent sense of space for Alison. I've been brought here not because the room itself would be Buzzing upon our arrival necessarily, but more so because the story of the organisation articulates something central to the concept of Buzz for Alison; notably, that Buzz can be instigated, developed, sustained and grown over time, and also that that narrative of Buzz all encapsulated can be experienced in the present. In one short and unpunctuated sentence, Alison draws thirteen years of Studio 12 together with our shared experiencing of it today, and in so doing articulates the connectivity between history and memory with Buzz.

Importantly, 'here' for Alison does not appear to mean specifically Leeds Central Library, or at least, not only that, and likewise, the 'space' close to her heart is not so much the actual room that Studio 12 is inside of, nor is it I suspect especially related to the library itself as a building or tangible place. Rather, Alison locates Studio 12 as being 'here' in time, as having developed in an organisational sense to what we today experience as an active room of young people collaborating on creative projects. In a similar way to Jenny, Alison dislocates Buzz from its geographical space, reflecting instead on Buzz as borne of the experiencing of an organisational space informed by a personal knowledge about its history, achievements, mission, and story.

Alison does also have more direct associations between Leeds Central Library in a more strictly geographical or tangible sense as a site of experience, memory, and Buzz. Before the Victorian Tiled Hall was fully restored in 2007, it had been boarded up and had fallen out of use. So much had what is now an extremely ornate room, colourfully tiled from oak and walnut floor to high arched ceiling, been forgotten, that Alison recounts a rave that took place in here. The incongruousness of this memory with the room as it appears today, a picture of polite latté chatter, humours Alison.

Much like Studio 12, this place holds significance for Alison because of a personal connection to it, and although as we stand here today it bears little obvious resemblance to that memory, the Buzz associated with that rave lingers on here;

> "Probably about 15 years ago now, when this was kind of semi-derelict, we did a project with the library - we did a spoken word project - and they let us put on a little rave in there. And there was no electricity, and we had to kinda rig temporary power in there, and um, we got 'Nightmares on Wax' to DJ, and I found all of the pictures the other day of this event and I was like "Oh my God, I can't actually believe that they let me do that"…it was brilliant. It was really, really good." (The Tiled Hall Café in Leeds Central Library, Alison)

Buzz remains perceptible through the reimagining of the blurry details of the event fifteen years past, in this instance the location of the power rig and the music that was playing. The memory of this event for Alison, and the associated Buzz of being there, remains anchored to this place despite both the changed décor and utility of the room, and the significant time elapsed.

Further, the incongruousness that manifests through Alison's contrasting memories of and current experience in the Tiled Hall Café seems to embolden her sense of Buzz in this site; Alison specifically addresses as much, in retelling her elated surprise when she found photos of the rave, and her disbelief that it was permitted to happen. A spatial conflict emerges between memory and lived experienced, in this case a conflict related to expected and unexpected happenings in Leeds Central Library, which reframes the historical in light of the present. Alison's conclusion that 'it was brilliant…really, really good' suggests perhaps that this reframing, and indeed our revisiting of the site and the associated memory, reanimates a Buzz which has been in some way dormant here.

In a similar way, Rebecca reflects upon the way in which temporary events or happenchance encounters in places continue to animate sites with a kind

of latent Buzz that is associated with the memory of the Buzz from the lived experience. Much like Alison in the Tiled Hall Café of Leeds Central Library, Rebecca associates the Parkinson Steps of the University of Leeds with a performance of Dracula, and further describes how that experience lives on in the site through 'flashbacks';

> "I think there's quite a few places around Leeds where I've seen Light Night things, or just random installations and things. So I mean even the Parkinson steps by where we started, I remember seeing a like taste of a performance of Dracula, and I keep having random flashbacks of people doing random or bizarre creative things in that part of the city. So like the crossroads that we've just went through, it gets closed for Pride, so that's always a pretty colourful, and amazing, and fun time." (Walking South on Woodhouse Lane towards the City Centre, Rebecca)

Here we see Buzz being associated with particular one-off events or happenings in specific places, and interestingly in both Alison and Rebecca's cases, as well as for Jenny's in her memory of The White Whale performance, Buzz is associated perhaps mostly in places where one might not ordinarily expect such an event to occur. The site and event specific Buzz that both Jenny, Alison, and Rebecca describe has a sense of longevity, evidenced by the shared contention that it continues to express itself as bound by place, despite the time passed.

Further, Rebecca goes on to associate a fixed site on our walk, an utterly nondescript pedestrian crossing, with the Buzz of the city-wide Pride celebrations. Developing her concept of 'flashbacks', as the re-experiencing of past Buzz associated with specific cultural happenings, Rebecca's map of the city extends both horizontally in space and vertically in time. A specific part of the city, in this case the crossroads adjacent to the Leeds Beckett University Student's Union, functions as a catalysing node for a whole series of moods and feelings associated with Leeds Pride. Just as conflict stemming from incongruous spatialised experiences functioned to embolden

Buzz for Alison in the Library, so too does the humdrum reality of a pedestrian crossing recast and somehow reinvigorate the 'colourful, and amazing, and fun' of Leeds Pride.

In addition to remarking upon temporality and memory in relation to Buzz, both Alison and Rebecca develop interesting notions about the places in which Buzz might be situated. Indeed, Buzz has been established as an emanation of experiences which play-out in antithesis to the expected or normalised behaviours and atmospheres of a given space. Specifically in this case, the way in which creative or cultural happenings, or the memories thereof, can contest the expected utility of place as it exists in the present have been commented upon multiply. Whilst the relationality between Buzz and specific types of place forms the focus of a later thematic grouping of insights in this chapter, this specific instance of a given place articulating contesting versions of itself invites attention in regard to the main remit of this part of the chapter in terms of time and memory.

Just as Alison and Rebecca recalled the Buzz associated with situated cultural happenings, and in both cases in sites where that Buzz is heightened by the incongruity between its catalysing event and its current presentation, Jenny also situates Buzz on the unusual site of a past event. We're walking across Millennium Bridge, just upstream and a meander away from the Royal Armouries Museum, and looking out across the bright yellow bobbing top of the Leeds Water Taxi, as Jenny gestures towards Leeds Dock. As we make our way along the banks of the Aire, Jenny recounts, and in some detail, her memories of a performance of a Moby Dick adaptation from 2014 that took place on a floating stage, neighboured by moored narrowboats and converted barges;

> "Another part of what I wanted to show you was down by the docks, and that's got a big connection with Slung Low because they had a show on there, I think it was last year. They did a show called the White Whale, which was a contemporary adaption of Moby Dick and they did it on a floating stage in the canal down on Leeds Dock…the

way a lot of their work happens is that they have headphones that all of the audience wear so they can hear what's going on or what the actors are saying, and that completely liberates them from a venue or a traditional space, so they did this show actually on the canal in the water, and they had 300 people almost every night come and watch this show on the floating stage, and it was just something really spectacular, and something that a lot of people wouldn't have seen before, for me, I think it's those shared experiences that people have in their city and that's what gives it a Buzz, that's what makes it an exciting place to live and to be, and I haven't been back here without thinking of the show that happened" (Looking downstream from Millennium Bridge, Jenny)

Alongside giving further credence to experiencing Buzz as an eminence of shared and open sited as was the discussed in the previous part of this chapter, so too does Jenny reflect upon the way in which the Buzz associated with past events lingers on in place. Jenny's map of the atmospheric terrain of Leeds, and her experiencing of Buzz as lived affectual experience, emerges as a layering of memories of place.

Theatre producer Amanda, who arrived ready for our walk with a list of intended destinations scribbled on a post-it note, made sure to visit specific sites associated with specific memories. For instance, about halfway through our research encounter, our journey becomes subterranean via the so-called 'dark arches'; aptly named, the dark arches are a series of cavernous archways beneath the Leeds Railway Station, once the site of a vibrant craft market, but now mainly used for parking cars and private storage. They are scantily lit with high red-brick walls, defined by a pervasive sense of cold yet muggy dampness issued forth not only by virtue of being underground, but more so because of the torrent of the River Aire as it is forced through narrow tunnels that run below a cast iron walkway. The verticality of Leeds is perhaps most perceptible here, walking beneath the station, and yet, somehow, over a bridge. I reflect on the archaeological concepts of UrbEx, detailed in the third part of chapter one, and consider how these tunnels,

emerging from shadow and bringing with them murky substance of growing insistence, forms an apt metaphor for Amanda's recollections of a dance performance that she attended here;

> "So, we're coming into the dark arches which I associate with the Overworld-Underworld Festival, which was part of the cultural Olympiad to do with London 2012, so they did this festival, and I think it was Phoenix Dance did a dance installation thing under the dark arches" (Entering the Dark Arches, Amanda).

Amanda's memory of the cultural Olympiad, and specifically in this case a performance by local dance organisation Phoenix Dance, is tethered to this site. She gestures into one of the archways, currently occupied by two parked cars, as she recalls where the performance took place back in 2012. The written directions she made for herself don't specify this archway in particular; rather, upon re-entering this domain and trying to situate the Buzz of the past event Amanda has been drawn here, channelled by a memory of an experience, and drawn towards the exact source of a Buzz associated with the dark arches in general. Interestingly, at the very beginning of the walk, across town, Amanda again used the memory of an event to locate Buzz, but with far less time having passed from the initial Buzz establishing experience;

> "So, I decided to meet you here, because I came here last night to see a gig. As is still evident! We came to see a guy called Nathaniel Rateliff who I saw before about a year ago I think. Absolutely in love with him. We came on a whim last time…hadn't heard of him and ever since I've been a massive fan. He played with a band this time, and it was such a great, it was such a great gig." (The Belgrave, Amanda)

There is no obviously observable change of enthusiasm in terms of Amanda's recounting of the Buzz initiating event between either the Dark Arches nor The Belgrave. Buzz, in terms of its perceptibility as related to the memory of a past event, seems largely unaffected by the passage of time.

Instead, just as was the case with both Alison and Rebecca, specific locations associated with cultural Buzz, regardless of whether the catalysing event happened over a decade ago or within the last day, seem to play host to Buzz in some dormant but ever available form. There is an impression of Buzz left behind, an atmosphere that lingers on in-situ, that is at least recognisable and tellable when the associated site is re-visited.

In considering the reciprocity between Buzz, time, and memory, Alison offers a fitting and useful metaphor; "We've funded Weather Café…What will happen is that it will be a footprint…in the way that people will remember that that happened there" (Weather Cafe, Alison). If Buzz leaves footprints across the city, then retracing or re-finding those footprints has in many ways been the focus of this section, and indeed revisiting old haunts was the primary undertaking of many of my co-explorers as they mapped the Buzz of Leeds. By exposing the relationality between Buzz and Memory, co-explorers have established that there is a crucial individuality to Buzz, in terms of it so often being bound by personal experiences and the memories thereof. This has been demonstrated by the common association of Buzz with old places of work or play, and enhanced further when such associations persist even when those places or the organisations that animated them are no longer present.

Importantly, co-explorers have here clearly and repeatedly articulated a crucial relationality between Buzz and time not otherwise accounted for in the literature. Indeed, whereas authors such Landry (2005) and Bilton (2007) have considered Buzz only as an affectual space born of live activity experienced in the present, my co-explorers have instead spoken of a reciprocity between Buzz and a situatedness in time both historic and current. The ways in which my co-explorers have multiply commented upon the historical in relation to the present, suggests a chronological verticality in terms of the nature of Buzz that has required exploration. As a result, the notion that Buzz has the capacity to lay dormant, indeed the way in which the Buzz of past events for instance lingers on perceptibly in-situ, raises interesting questions about the process by which cultural Buzz is catalysed,

recedes, and hibernates in the city.

This ebbing and flowing of the perceived vitality of any given Buzz associated with any given location is crucial, as it reflects and has been accounted for in one of my own conceptualisations of Buzz, namely the Buzz Cycle, as has been set out in chapter four. My co-explorers' articulations regarding Buzz, Memory, and Time, as well as giving credence to my original theories about the way in which Buzz operationalises cyclically, also pays homage to this thesis' grounding in the historical context of Leeds as experienced through the prism of its present.

## 5.0 Buzz, Objects, and Aesthetics

Whilst it is the experiential dimensionalities of the urban realm, the sensing of place and atmospheres of the city, that are the main terrains of this research, it is true that the reciprocity between the affectual and the material cannot be overlooked. Indeed, although this thesis explores and defines Buzz as the intangible felt experience of being in the city and in so doing has focussed on the relationships between spaces of affect and the people who animate them, this exploration cannot be abstracted from the terra firma upon which it has taken place. In other words, although Buzz operationalises atmospherically, it would be remiss to totally divorce it from that which is built and material.

Atmospherically speaking, in considering the mutuality between the built and the felt and in building upon Anderson's (2012) thinking as outlined in chapter one, this thesis has developed beyond a static conceptualisation of the built terrain of the city as an absolute thing to be experienced, and has considered instead the city and its experience as a constellation of objects, the 'edges' of which are diffuse. Importantly here, as this part deals with the relationship between Buzz, Objects, and Aesthetics, the applicability of such a notion in the context of urban objects and their atmospheres is that it encourages a critical engagement with the subjective experiencing of space rather than its built objective materialities in abstract isolation. In other words, this urban

atmospheric study looks beyond spaces as only physically demarcated by their embedded or tangible structures, and instead determines urban spaces as experientially composed by collective ephemeralities. Various buildings in Leeds and their interiors, or more generally speaking the designed and tangible World's that have been mapped out over the course of this study, will be considered both for their material and immaterial dimensionalities in this section, and the reciprocity between tangible objects and intangible experiences as expressed by my co-explorers is under scrutiny here.

In part one of this chapter, theatre company director Andy reflected critically upon what he viewed as the typical aesthetic presentation of cultural industries sites, drawing contrast between the "pine veneered coffee house(s)" often sited in creative clusters, and Greggs. Andy's position, as he goes on to articulate more fully, is that he experiences a distinction between the Buzz associated with formal Creative and Cultural Industries clusters, in this case Holbeck Urban Village which neighbours Andy's theatre, and the Buzz generated by his more grassroots and community driven approach;

> "This is where all the 'Welcome to Yorkshire' workers park their cars and walk into the glory lands, and that way there obviously is really nice and I'm not sneery about it, there's obviously some really trendy things going on with micro-breweries and you can buy sour-dough bread…but we're going to go the other way." (Walking past a car park nearby to Holbeck Urban Village, Andy)

This notion of 'going the other way' is both a literal instruction (Andy navigated us away from the Holbeck Urban Village cultural cluster, and also away from Leeds city centre), and an ideological one; for Andy, micro-breweries and sour-dough bread, just like pine-veneered coffee houses, are rich with class-bound cultural significance and a sense of being 'trendy', that sits uncomfortably with his organisation's general ethos and approach to making and delivering work. Although Andy is careful to be minimally critical of the organisations clustered in Holbeck Urban Village and the amenities that service them, stating in his own words that he doesn't want to sneer at

those who are his immediate professional milieu in a geographical sense; it is clear that the short distance between 'him' and 'them' is important to him, and I sense that I shouldn't read too much into their close physical proximity.

Holbeck Urban Village, which sits on the Southside of the river Aire just across the water from Leeds Train Station, is a Creative and Cultural Industries cluster comprised of a multitude of office spaces and leisure facilities, centred around the Round Foundry Media Centre. Since it was officially designated by Leeds City Council as a site for regeneration in 1999, Holbeck Urban Village has, according to Canning and Kudla (2011, p.3), been a 'specialised cluster', particularly concentrating advertising, design, and web agencies. It is, aesthetically speaking, the archetypal creative industries cluster; repurposed ex-factory buildings, exposed red brick that's been restored just barely, still retaining the scars and signs of an industrial heritage, and some public art in a courtyard which, in this case, is a tree-like sculpture made from old and rusty bicycle wheels. Stuart, the director of a video production company, maintains a remote office on the site;

> "I've got the studio in Huddersfield because it's cheaper. The space I've got in Huddersfield is massive, compared to what I could get in Leeds, and it's also, the space in Huddersfield, it's a lot more like art college in some way; it's full of illustrators and stuff like that, and it looks a bit shonky, and it's a bit more reflective of that my business is, not that my business is exactly shonky, but you know" (The Round Foundry Media Centre, Stuart)

Stuart, who chose to meet me here having previously based his company in the Round Foundry Media Centre exclusively, makes a similar criticism as Andy; both suggest that the Holbeck Urban Village is, for them, too clean-cut and formal. Stuart articulates this by considering the Round Foundry in antithesis to his other location in Huddersfield, notably by remarking upon his preferred 'art college' vibe borne of clustered visual arts micro-businesses, as opposed to larger design and marketing agencies I assume, and a general sense of eclecticism. Further Stuart prefers the 'shonky' appearance

of his Huddersfield studio; my understanding here is that Stuart means to imply that a more DIY or rough-and-ready aesthetic is better reflective of his business in some way, as opposed to any sense of dishonesty or illegality that shonky actually defines. As Stuart is keen to make clear, this is not because his business itself is 'shonky', but rather I interpret because he feels a greater affinity with an informal creative environment than the smart-casual and professional aesthetic of Holbeck Urban Village, a felt sense of creative meets corporate, that Andy previously termed as 'trendy'.

Other co-explorers have been less critical of Holbeck Urban Village and its surroundings, and by extension less critical of the concerted efforts over decades to develop the site as a Creative and Cultural Industries hub. Theatre producer Jenny who, like almost all of my co-explorers working in the performing arts in the city included Andy's organisation in her route, directly associates the increasing development of leisure space alongside cultural organisations in the area as helping to generate a sense of the area as being 'creative space';

> "It seems to me that around HUB, they're working on it, and bringing in more interesting things, so they're redeveloping old buildings, there's Northern Monk brewery down there, there seems to be new pubs and bars opening up, there's all sorts of creative space. That was all completely industrial space." (Walking towards Holbeck Underground Ballroom, Jenny)

The association between mixed-use sites, a sense of creative space, and Buzz, is interesting in that it is shared by both Stuart and Jenny, even though the material and aesthetic realisations of those mixed-use sites differs. For Stuart, Buzz borne of eclectic sites is related to a sense of space created by the co-habitation of mixed specialisms in a somewhat haphazard environment, whereas for Jenny the siting of microbreweries and bars alongside cultural organisations in a relatively and comparatively upmarket development bears a similar affect. This reciprocity between an architectural or built aesthetic that is diverse and a sense of Buzz is articulated further by

theatre producer Amanda;

> "This space, it's just. I don't know. It's got so much going on…they've obviously got a mural, and plants growing out of an old piano right outside…So this caravan is, they take a lot of work out, and they do loads of big outdoor theatre as well, they have the toilets in these little sheds, they grow plants in bathtubs…and these are their offices, and they have some bunkbeds in there as well as companies can sleep during residence" (Holbeck Underground Ballroom, Amanda)

The myriad aesthetic and symbolic aspects of the creative city trope have been subject to some critical consideration (Jayne, 2006; Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008), and the ways in which certain objects or certain types of objects have been used to demarcate spaces as being 'creative' or 'cultural' is clearly pervasive; Amanda articulates positively about the 'upcycling' of various domestic objects in HUB's courtyard which, although appearing to be a ramshackle assemblage of repurposed household waste and a creative beautifying of the everyday, is of course similarly curated in other such sites elsewhere in the city, and further afield, too. I recall specifically the seemingly incongruous caravan parked at the Paintworks Creative Quarter in Bristol, sitting in a repurposed roll-top bathtub-bench in a music venue in Prague, and just across the city on the rooftop of the Belgrave Music Hall are decked-out garden sheds, which, just like those at HUB, are similarly no longer used true to their original construction.

The reciprocity between the objects and aesthetics of cultural venues and a sense of Buzz is developed further by musician Mike, who recalls the venue of an after party he once attended;

> "I ended up in there after Light Night; I was working Light Night sadly so I missed a lot of stuff, but some of the crowd from the Belgrave came over, 'yada yada, there's an after party', we got in a taxi, to a little bit out of town, to Mabgate, where we didn't know where we were going, ended up at Studio 24, It was like this small warehouse, techno

> playing, projections, art stuff everywhere, just weird trinkets,
> beautifully designed screen prints everywhere, even the toilet was
> strange and yeah, that was pretty interesting. And walking into there,
> there was this Buzz as soon as you got passed the doorman."
> (Walking towards Mabgate, Mike)

Similarly, illustrator Samuel, who's walk included a prolonged period indoors exploring Byron Street Mills studio's, also associated a sense of cultural vitality with objects and, to use Mike's term, 'weird trinkets' on display;

> "It's a brilliant place to come to, just there's just so much stuff to see. I
> mean every time you come in there's a different set of posters, there's
> animal skulls…"(Byron Street Mills, Samuel)

Related to the staging of atmospheres (Bjerragaard, 2015) or the theming of places (Meier and Reijndorp, 2012), as was explored in part two of this thesis' opening chapter, objects such as these, noteworthy in comparable ways for Amanda, Mike, and Samuel, tincture or colour their respective environments. It's clearly not the utility of the objects that is of interest to my co-explorers here, but rather what these objects are thought to represent or to codify; notably, an interest in the obscure, the artful, or the beautiful, and a slightly slapdash commitment to curating spaces of aesthetic intrigue.

Interestingly, there is a repeated association between spaces which lack aesthetic refinement in a traditional sense, or sites that appear in some way run-down or ramshackle, and the experiencing of cultural Buzz. When walking me to her office in Leeds town hall, a place introduced as being most associated with a work-related Buzz, Alison says; "we just kind found a room in here that was empty, no-one was using it, and it leaks in there as well" (Town Hall, Alison). I sense that this admission, that her office is aesthetically or architecturally imperfect, is an effort to appear 'edgy', and to articulate that she is in some sense hustling away and creating under the radar; this is, of course, not entirely borne out in reality, when taking into consideration that we're in an ornate Town Hall, visiting the office of a civically funded cultural

organisation. Regardless, Alison articulates a felt sense that an aesthetic perhaps best described as 'run down' is correlated with a sense of cultural Buzz. Similarly, when describing recent night time experiences in Berlin, Mike says;

> "I've spent a lot of time in Berlin, going back and forth this past year, going to see my lady friend, and she's really into the industrial side of things, like industrial techno, and urban living and urban spaces, so she put me through my paces, showing me these beautifully disgusting places, and again, it was interesting, because you definitely do pick up different Buzzes in different places I think." (Walking through Mabgate, Mike)

On the day of our walk, it's immediately apparent that Mike is quite unlike the other co-explorers engaged in this research; he rolls and then chain smokes cigarettes as we talk, is wearing a black T-Shirt emblazoned with the logo of what I assume is some hard rock or metal band I've never heard of, with black jeans, ankle-high boots, and a backpack, and takes me almost exclusively to venues that only really open after traditional office working hours. There has been no obvious preparation or fore-thought in regard to our route, as has oftentimes been the case with others, with Mike instead navigating us towards places as and when they strike him as significant based on the conversation we are having in the moment. His pace, of both walking and talking, is pretty relentless, and Mike's extremely familiar, too; immediately personable, very chatty, and much more interested in sharing anecdotes about various nights out in Leeds and beyond than in trying to understand the academic angles that I'm exploring. Whereas most others have appeared smart-casual, asked probing questions about my research, and cultivated something akin to a business-like rapport, meeting Mike is considerably more relaxed.

Mike's use of the oxymoronic 'beautifully disgusting', when describing the ex-industrial sites of Berlin now re-purposed as techno venues, strikes me immediately as being a useful and lucrative phrase. It captures well the

general sensitivity to a rough-around-edges aesthetic that Alison previously demonstrated regarding her office. Furthermore, this notion of experiencing some form of aesthetic pleasure in the incongruity of the co-siting of the artful and mundane, and experiencing a Buzz borne of this built conflict, is pertinent also when considering the unorthodox experience of Andy's theatre in an old railway arch, Samuel's art studio just down the road from Kwikfit, or Rebecca's recollections of a performance of Dracula on the Parkinson Steps of the University of Leeds as was discussed in the previous section. There exists an important and common association for multiple co-explorers between cultural sites which make use of the old, the abandoned, or the neglected, and Buzz.

My own map of Leeds' Buzz would certainly include many sites with a comparably slapdash aesthetic; For instance, a venue called Full Circle, which was closed-down a year or so ago for not having ever applied for or received proper licensing, featured a relatively chaotic assemblage of the owner's collected knickknacks in display cabinets around the walls of a warehouse, which shared a courtyard with a paint manufacturers. The owner lived between a vintage campervan parked outside and another smaller caravan which, and I can't imagine how it came to be there logistically, was on the first floor of the warehouse. Despite calling itself an 'arts emporium', Full Circle was, in my experience at least, mainly a place where patrons could do yoga classes together some mornings, could eat Sunday Roasts or homemade cakes, watch live music every now and then, and sometimes get locked-in for raves. It was also, although not primarily in my experience, a place of creative work; on the first floor were a few rows of desks occupied, albeit scantily, by various arts workers, many of whom also seemed to work in the café. Other than a vague recollection of the fabric-strewn computer of an upholsterer or clothes designer, I can't remember specifically these desks being used regularly by creative companies exactly; in my mind, this was less of a sustainable or legitimate creative industries 'hot desking' type set-up, and more an ad-hoc 'we've got some space upstairs, you can use it if you want' laissez-faire situation.

Whilst I might describe Holbeck Urban Village, which clearly is a legitimate, structured, and formal office solution for cultural sector entrepreneurs like co-explorer Stuart, as having an industrial-esque aesthetic, as being thoughtfully accented by factory-like vestiges that celebrate its past, Full Circle was, in comparison, a stripped-out warehouse with a few broken sofas and some old tables in it. The walls were bare breeze blocks, only up to the first floor, and then metal sheeting and exposed steels upstairs, the floor was cracked and unpolished concrete, and the ceiling was corrugated metal with sections of splintered plastic letting in meagre amounts of soft yellowed light; with very little effort and zero conversion, it could have functioned perfectly as a warehouse facility once again.

As a result of the commonplace deployment of the Creative and Cultural Industries in urban regeneration schemes, the sectors have become particularly associated with post-industrial sites as explored in chapter three, and a general aesthetic of neglect and urban decay. However, whereas Full Circle operated within an actual courtyard of still functioning warehouses and industrials units, and Holbeck Urban Village celebrates its actual industrial heritage, however polished the remnants of it may be, other sites have curated environments which trade in this currency in almost entirely contrived ways. For instance, multiple social venues of a comparable aesthetic sensibility are explicitly mentioned by my co-explorers as sites of Buzz. After a research journey almost exclusively to sites of cultural industries labour or spectatorship, Amanda mentions a newly opened café, expressing in particular the reciprocity between its interior design and her willingness to work there;

> "There's a little place by the Tetley, called Sheaf St Cafeteria, which has just opened. I've been there twice in the last month I think, mainly for meetings about cultural projects and I think it's just a really nice space to have those kinds of meetings. Just design-wise, I guess." (Holbeck Underground Ballroom, Amanda)

Similarly, Miles, a publishing and media entrepreneur, opts to have meetings

in what he terms as 'cool' places in the city;

> "We just like to experience the city, and talk to cool people doing lots of cool stuff. I think a lot of those conversations happen in really cool coffee shops. In Leeds, it's gotta be Mrs Atha's, La Bottega's…ugh, where else is there…I'm trying to think of the usual haunts…Oh, Lanes…yeah, those are the favourites." (Walking through The Calls, Miles)

And finally, illustrator Samuel describes the Belgrave Music Hall, a bar to the North of the city centre, in a similar fashion;

> "So the Belgrave Music Hall is another kind of creative place. Although, I'm not quite sure why, because we only really ever come here to eat and we'll go up on the roof. We'll bring the kids. But it's just a vibey kinda place, another sort of hipstery…I'm realising I'm a closet hipster, aren't I? So yeah, I love it. And quite often if I've got to meet someone in town, we'll come here, the foods great, and it has a lovely vibe about it." (Belgrave Music Hall, Samuel).

Each of the sites mentioned here, Sheaf Street Cafeteria, Mrs Atha's, La Bottega Milanese, Lanes, and the Belgrave Music Hall are similar in that they trade in a shared urban industrial aesthetic in terms their interior décor, with two or more of them having exposed lighting and electrical fixtures and fittings, poured concrete floors or exposed floorboards, red-brick walls, globular old-style filament lightbulbs suspended low above metal-framed tables, and white London Underground style wall tiles, for instance. Samuel's description of the atmosphere catalysed by such a styling as 'hipstery' is, although he himself laughs and winces upon saying it, quite apt; this décor is very much en vogue, and these establishments, and many others in the city (Headrow House, Nation of Shopkeepers, Crowd of Favours, for instance, immediately spring to mind) could have been styled by the same designer. Likewise, Amanda also uses the adjective 'hisptery' to describe Friends of Ham, a charcuterie restaurant;

> "So Friends of Ham…really like that place…even though they're a bit of a cool 'hipstery' place, they do all sorts of things….one of the last times I went there all of the serviettes had little poems written on them, and there's a lot of bars like that in Leeds which are incorporating an arts scene vibe." (Looking across to the restaurant 'Friends of Ham', Amanda)

There is a fashion, particularly it seems amongst bars and cafés favoured by my Creative and Cultural sector co-explorers regardless of their specific sector of work, for interiors which riff on industrial themes, however contrived they may actually be. Interestingly, Samuel demonstrates an acute awareness of the amount of considered design and curation involved in creating spaces which feel thrown together, and reflects upon the artifice involved in staging the Belgrave, which was in fact a nursery school and then a snooker hall, as some kind of artist occupied ex-factory space;

> "I'm very aware that I've been kind of sucked in by the brand, but it's so good I don't care. Normally, I'd resist you know, but, actually, it's interesting because I've brought a few people here who hadn't been before and they're always like 'wow, this is a great place', and I love that feeling that I've introduced someone to something." (Belgrave Music Hall, Samuel)

The way in which the built world is effective in creating atmospheres is, in this case, bound by its myriad associations and symbolisations, and whilst a leaky ceiling, an industrially blemished wall, or a collection of animal skulls, are individual things in a very literal sense, they function collectively to shape their respective spaces of affect through a seemingly automatic interpretation of them. There is a kind of symbolic and aesthetic currency or literacy at play here, through which sites of cultural activity articulate themselves as such to individuals, who are in turn able to read and decode the commonplace objects, signs, styles, and designs associated with such places. Whilst experiencing Buzz is a largely personal endeavour, its catalysts and vehicles

of delivery, the objects from which it emanates and the codes through which it is articulated, are perhaps more communal.

These seemingly tacit associations between a particular kind of built environment and Buzz is demonstrated further by festival director Becky;

> "There's something about environment as well. I think the interior of the playhouse isn't really somewhere where you'd want to hang out necessarily, it's very like a swimming pool, community centre sort of vibe." (West Yorkshire Playhouse, Becky)

Becky appears to agree with previous co-explorers, in reflecting critically upon the bar and foyer area of The West Yorkshire Playhouse and its lack of draw as a place for hanging out in. Unlike the historical industrial tendrils that give credence to Holbeck Urban Village, and unlike even the faux-distressed aesthetics of the Belgrave Music Hall, The West Yorkshire Playhouse, built in 1990, is clean, functional, and straight-laced. It is, as Becky quite accurately describes, a lot like a leisure centre. There is perhaps an issue of demography and audience here; the West Yorkshire Playhouse is a broad church, catering to the general public, and I'd suggest to an averagely older crowd than any of the sites previously mentioned. As such, it makes no bold design statement that might alienate certain groups, and it is also unchanged by the trends and fashions which appear to have been so instrumental in the shaping of the places previously discussed.

Whilst the aesthetic of exposed brickwork and reclaimed furniture so often found or curated in creative quarters and districts have been revealed by multiple co-explorers as tangible and codified signifiers of sites of creative endeavour and activity and therefore catalysts of Buzz, so too have more refined, finessed, and architecturally historic places and aesthetics been mapped as sites of interest. As Amanda describes;

> "It's so interesting, if you look up, and it's always the thing about a city like this, or anywhere really…I work in Halifax, and Halifax has got

some amazing historical, heritage buildings but everybody walks with the their heads down, but when you look up, you see these little details, these lovely little things that you wouldn't know about otherwise" (Walking on Briggate Street, Amanda)

Similarly, Mike states;

"Just walking past the back of the LGI, I always feel that I look down a lot, especially if I'm in my own head, thinking, you know, figuring out what my next rant is going to be about, and I forget to look up. And I think in Leeds, that's one of the things you should do, because it's beautiful. Everything, sort of, above half-way up a building, you know, past all of the advertising, and stuff, which is all just a blur, it's really beautiful." (Walking behind Leeds General Infirmary, Mike)

In the previous section of this chapter, which considered the ways in which spatially embedded histories and memories impact upon the experiencing of place, Jenny suggested the way in which Buzz can emanate from an appreciation of the history of a site and how that history gives weight to the affectual space in the present. Both Amanda and Mike, in their shared inclination to look up when walking around Leeds in order to revel at the splendour of the city's often ornate and intricate roofline, seems similarly historically mindful. Through the inclusion of such points of interest, and in general terms the association drawn here between a sensitisation to Leeds' architectural heritage and the city's Buzz, Amanda and Mike further demonstrate that Buzz can be rooted to objects or places quite separate to creative artworking or cultural clusters, and instead manifest more generally across the city in sites not specifically designed to be the meeting points or favoured haunts of a creative class.

This is noteworthy in that it demonstrates a meaningful departure from any existing assertions that Buzz is correlated only with sites of creative or culture working in trendy open-plan studios for instance, and instead evidences a Buzz tied to places and aesthetics that are explicitly historical

and unrelated to creative working entirely. Furthermore, in broadening an associated aesthetic for Buzz in Leeds to include something other than an urban-industrial, ex-factory, upcycled, or ramshackle design sensibility, which has proven to be so heavily remarked upon by my co-explorers, Amanda and Mike problematize and challenge any simplistic or reductive conclusions.

However, aside from these two instances, and interestingly despite Leeds' ornate and imposing galleries and museums, there were scant remarks upon the reciprocity between the aesthetics of Leeds more historical architecture and a sense of Buzz. In this case, Buzz has been correlated most often with objects, buildings, and symbols best thought of as shabby, run down, and a little rough around the edges, rather than with any sense of grandeur or finesse. In further reflecting upon my own experiences at Full Circle, the Buzz of the venue was related to a general sense of uncertainty about what might be happening on any given day, who else might be working in the café that morning, where my usual table might be after whatever antics took place the night before, and overall a feeling that I was on the periphery of the city in a venue without a name above its door, that seemed only to exist to those who had been told about it by a friend or colleague, or stumbled upon it serendipitously.

In Full Circle, and I think in the various locations of comparable aesthetic as described by my co-explorers, the sense of Buzz was related to a sense of the potential for change, the chance of inspiration from some unknown source, or new opportunities from happenchance meetings; this atmosphere has been codified by the eclectically influenced décor, the mismatched furnishings and changing layout, and the imperfect, unfinished, and 'in process' design of the spaces. Quite unlike Leeds Museum or Leeds Art Gallery then, which might more readily be associated with acts of conservation, stasis, and the celebration of that which is already established and recognised, all of which are reflected so aptly by the expertly crafted stone edifices and protected and preserved architectural forms of the buildings. Buzz then, as related to spaces and objects and their symbolic and aesthetic codes, is more commonly felt in sites that reflect notions of

repurposing, recreating, redefining, and reimagining, rather than protecting or sanctifying, and in this sense, seems inextricably bound to a broad definition and understanding of creativity itself as a process of adaptation, change, and movement, rather than preservation.

## 6.0 Buzz, Creativity, and Work

As was discussed in chapter four, existing scholarship has tended to consider Buzz as an atmospheric emittance from 'hives' of creative activity (Landry, 2005, p. 236), a kind of energy associated with cultural pursuits (Bilton, 2007, p. 111), an ambient consequence of cultural happenings (Bell, & Jayne, 2006, p. 170), or a general sense of excitement and place (Phillips, 2010, p. 47). In such discussions, Buzz is presented only as an outcome of creative activity, without any particular agency in terms of being contributively valuable in creative production, with the general contention being that Buzz exists separately to creative productivity. Originating in part from my own experiences as a graphic designer, as was outlined in the Personal Motivations statement which opened this thesis, and underpinned by the theoretical work regarding atmosphere and its effects on individuals, my contention is that Buzz can and does impact upon the processes of creativity itself.

The autoethnographic vignette which opened chapter four, reflected upon my sense back in 2012 of a kind of obligation to be industrious and creative in Watershed, which stemmed in part from a knowledge of the legacy of the organisation itself, as well as a broader understanding of the creative and cultural endeavours ongoing in buildings both nearby and across the city of Bristol. My sensitisation to the Buzz in Watershed, borne of a knowledge of the organisation and its work, the work of other companies within the proximity, and my broader experiences in and understandings of creative and cultural sites within the vicinity, contributed to my working in the sense that I wanted to 'join in' and to be part of the Buzz.  Similarly Mike, the musician and poet, for whom reading and writing are fundamental aspects of his creative practice, too assigns a sense of agency to Buzz specifically

associated with creative working;

> "Buzz for me is always, in terms of associations, is always about creativity, and predominantly working in pubs and cafes. And I don't know if that's because of the work that I do, but places that I can go read, places I can read and write basically, need Buzz." (Walking through Thornton's Arcade, Mike)

Mike associates Buzz with work not so much because the work he does generates Buzz as an ephemeral externality as has been the dominant narrative of existing scholarship, but rather because the Buzz of a given pub or café fuels his creativity. As opposed to Buzz being left behind 'post-work', Mike instead considers Buzz to be fundamental to his working processes, articulating that it's something that he 'needs' in order to read and write. Liegel (2014) categorises two contexts, or models, of creative production:

> "On the one hand, there is the model of working in retreat or in solitude of one's study (Thomas Mann), bed (Proust) or the cabin (Thoreau). On the other hand, there is the model of working in public, as in the Viennese or Parisian Café (Sartre, Hemingway). In recent decades, the latter definitely seems to have prevailed." (Liegl, 2014, p. 169)

For Mike, whose walking route up to now has included locations such as a pedestrian bridge over the ring-road, alleyways behind closed-down nightclubs, and as-yet undeveloped stretches of buildings on the banks of the River Aire, Thornton's Arcade, and the independent café to which he's casually gesticulating, is a somewhat unexpected departure. Most obviously, and reinforcing an observation from the previous section of this chapter which explored the relationships between Buzz and Aesthetics, it's one of the only sites that Mike has included in his walk that isn't mostly associated with the night-time economy or with the consumption of culture (in Mike's case, this has mostly included alternative club nights and live music that he frequents). Instead, in pointing out the type of space in which Mike can

himself be creative, rather than consume the creative pursuits of others, he both aligns himself to Liegl's (2014) second model of creative working, and speaks to a direct connection between his perception of Buzz and his capacity to work.

Similarly, Illustrator Jack speaks of tapping-into the latent Buzz of a site to catalyse current or future working;

> "One of the guys I do some artwork for, he runs like a music label type thing, we usually meet up round here, like meet up in here just for a chat and stuff, but also to sit down and work and use the Wi-Fi and stuff. If we're meeting up for work it's a good meeting place, quite informal, but also inspiring." (Outlaws Yacht Club, Jack)

Earlier in our conversation, Jack had shared various stories about his associations with and of Outlaws Yacht Club, as a place where has DJ'd in the past, somewhere where his work has been exhibited, where he's seen live music, and also where he's collaborated with other creatives on a range projects, for instance;

> "Some of the girls I did the artwork for some of his stuff with we usually meet up in here as well…a couple of months ago we had a Jelly fish installation, so we had loads of them hanging from the ceiling, and we did a few bits of work in here together for that project." (Outlaws Yacht Club, Jack)

Not dissimilar to my own experience at Watershed in Bristol then, Jack's knowledge of Outlaws Yacht Club as a site of myriad creative and cultural events and projects through time manifests in a Buzz that catalyses creative working in the present. As a result, as Jack describes above, he has opted to revisit the bar as a site of production, terming the space 'inspiring'. It's clear from our brief pause inside of Outlaw's Yacht Club, where we sit together for around twenty minutes talking over Espresso, that Jack comes here often; both the man behind bar who took our order and the lady who brought the

drinks over to our table know him by name, with the former talking with Jack for around five minutes about an upcoming club night and one of their mutual friends who will be DJ'ing at it.

This is my second time in Outlaws Yacht Club. It was on the first visit, perhaps 6 weeks ago, that I initially saw Jack's artwork being exhibited on the far-side wall which runs adjacent to the bar, and felt compelled to contact him regarding my research. We talk briefly about this, and pause momentarily to look over at the same stretch of wall, where someone else's work is now being displayed for both decoration and for sale. In retrospect, what felt in this moment as something akin to polite small-talk over coffee, a casual interruption during the main work of the research encounter, emerges more meaningfully as a contribution to the very narrative of this bar that lead Jack to bring me here; indeed, anybody on a nearby table overhearing our conversation would hear two designers complimenting the hand-lettering typographic skills of the illustrator being exhibited, and would perhaps glean from that precisely the sense of being in the midst of Leeds' creative scene that I myself experienced in Watershed for instance.

Both Jack and Mike's ability to draw productive inspiration from the Buzz of a site in the present is bound to past experiences in and knowledge of other creative activities that have taken place there. This exposes a cyclical process in which Buzz can be both the fuel of creative activity and its atmospheric result; indeed, the atmosphere of Outlaws Yacht Club for Jack is one formed by a constellation of associations both with past and future events with which he is familiar and past projects on which he has worked, which results in feelings of inspiration and stimulation, as Liegl (2014) describes;

> "For urban creative freelancers, a central mediator for the experience of being creative are devices and practices of mobility and place-making. Creative workers move in search of stimulation, inspiration, and sociability but also productive distraction, discipline, and reinvigoration." (2014, p. 169)

Both Jack and Mike suggest that self-reflective practices are central to their decisions of where to work, with each in turn demonstrating an engagement with questions around their own mobility as related to their creative process. Leigl (ibid.) concludes that the self-interrogation involved in this process of being attuned to where one works best wouldn't arise in the less flexible or standardized Fordist organisation, but is conversely quite commonplace for freelancers. Stuart, a video production company owner, who's walk also included various cafés and bars where he likes to work outside of his office, suggests that whilst the Buzz associated with a more social working environment is useful, for him dwelling in any particular Buzz for too long diminishes his ability to be enthused by it;

> "If I am going to work mobile for the day, I'll only spend about one hour in one place and then move on somewhere else. I just find that I can't be in one place for too long. I can't ever really focus for a long time without moving around." (The Belgrave, Stuart)

Like Stuart, I too have a mental map of Leeds comprised of various places where I find I can work particularly well outside of home or outside of the University campus; for me, it's bars such as Headrow House, Nation of Shopkeepers, or The Brudenell Social Club, which despite being busy with revellers in the evenings, are almost always lightly populated mid-week by lone workers staring into their laptops before 19:00. This kind of mobility is about more than a desire for a change of scenery though, as Mike explains;

> "When you write in your bedroom, you're sort of shut off, you're almost detached. It's just you and your paper, which is great sometimes, but, if you get writers block and you go, bloody hell, where do I go…writing for me needs to be a sort of social thing, in places that inspire me" (Waking through The Calls, Mike)

This tendency to relocate to specific sites for a period of time, whether that's for an entire day of work, a meeting, or for an hour, demonstrates a

relationality between particular places, their atmospheres, and working for creative and cultural sector workers. Interestingly, this is the case for three self-employed creative workers, each of whom associate the Buzz of certain social spaces, outside of their usual home or office workspaces, with an improved capacity for creative, focussed, and productive working. It's perhaps true that this alludes to the oft mentioned loneliness of self-employment or freelance work, commonplace in discussions of the so-called "digital nomad" (Kleinrock, 1996), as Leigl (2014) suggests:

> "This digital nomad expresses a desire to get out of the house where it is lonely; he is looking for human company, power for the laptop, light, traffic, and the possibility to stay for extended periods of time." (Liegl, 2014, p. 173)

Mike, Jack, and Stuart demonstrate however that the 'nomadicity' (Bogdan et al, 2006; Kleinrock, 1996; Liel, 2014) of creative and cultural sector workers achieves more than a desired social contact. Instead, they have each articulated that working from certain places either inspires their work or enhances their focus, not because the changed context alleviates the isolation of self-employment, but in the case of both Mike and Jack most explicitly, because the Buzz of certain locations fuels their productivity. Indeed, their nomadic working is less about escaping from home, and more about entering into a Buzz that results in them feeling more, or perhaps differently, productive.

The relationship between specific sites and a creativity or productivity boosting Buzz was explored further by Mike, who in addition to signposting certain pubs or cafés as Jack and Stuart also did, took a somewhat unexpected detour:

> "I sometimes sit up against this wall when I'm writing, cos I can still hear everything, and I can still see things, but it's sort of just quiet enough to concentrate. And it's little things too - like up under that bridge there's a little plaque to a homeless man who used to live

there, and sadly he passed away, but they put this plaque up for
him…and I don't know. I feel like someone else has some kind of
relationship with this place too, and the lyrics I write are political and
stuff, so it feels like a good place to write that kind of thing. I suppose
it sort of re-values that space, when something beautiful happens in it.
I've never been a very romantic person, but yeah" (Near to Crown
Point Bridge, Mike)

After my walk with Mike finished, I walked to the other side of the bridge in
order to locate the blue plaque for myself. At about hip level beneath the
lowermost riser of a set of metal stairs descending from Crown Point bridge
above, the plaque reads: "Frankie: 1955-2010. Amateur comedian and
homeless man. Spent his nights here 2005-2009". For Mike, who describes
his lyrics and poetry as being politically and socially driven, the sombre
atmosphere ushered forth by the relic to Frankie, and a desire to pay
homage to either the imagined or actual social injustices that lead to his
death, result in a productive Buzz on this site which he frequents when in
need of a place to write.

The way in which certain sites, in this case a seemingly non-descript section
of wall, can have such resonance speaks to earlier discussions around the
capacity for individual perceiving bodies to augment urban spaces (Booth,
2008; Casey, 2001; Rohkra, & Schulz, 2009). So too does the solemn nature
of the Buzz of this site for Mike challenge both existing Buzz scholarship and
the insights of other co-researchers. These ideas will be given further
exploration in the following section of this chapter which focusses more
explicitly on specific spatial aspects of Buzz.

Importantly here however, Buzz is not only an atmospheric outcome of
bygone creative working, but is also a catalyst for new work. This counters
Bilton's (2007, p. 111) suggestion that Buzz reflects only the 'impression' of
purposefulness, with Mike instead articulating how he has created work
fuelled by the agency of the Buzz he experiences there. In a similar way,
illustrator Samuel, who spent a considerable portion of his walk inside of the

co-working and events space at Byron Mill Streets, talks of being inspired by a Buzz borne of a constellation of happenings within the vicinity of the site:

> "You can be sitting in here working, but you can hear the music going, you can hear people wandering around outside, you can hear the clink of glasses as people are drinking and chatting, and there's that ebb and flow…with all of that stuff around you, you feel like you're kind of embedded in somewhere where something is going on, and I feel kind of inspired to join in with it all" (Byron Street Mills, Samuel)

Samuel articulates here a sense of embeddedness within a space and its Buzz, and resulting feelings of inspiration. For Samuel, this notion of embeddedness stems from a feeling of being sensorially engulfed by the space; he mentions here being audibly surrounded by the sounds of music, people moving around and talking to each other, and as was discussed more fully in part four of this chapter, particular visual or aesthetic components of Byron Street Mills also contribute to Samuel's sense of the ebb and flow of the space. This notion of embeddedness describes a feeling of connection to a site, and has been related to creative working by both Mike and Samuel. An attunement to the narrative of a space, whether that's the melancholic history of Mike's patch of wall or the eclectic humdrum of Samuel's co-working venue, encourages each of my co-researchers respectively to contribute to or be part of that narrative.

In part three of this chapter, the relationality between Memory and Buzz was explored. In that section, I uncovered how an individual's experiencing of the city or parts thereof in the present had been affected by recollections or associations of that site from the past. In so doing, a chronological verticality crucial the nature of Buzz was exposed, which demonstrated the ways in which the Buzzes of the past lay dormant but perceptible in-situ in the present. This section develops that thinking by considering how the individual's understanding of the narrative of a given site invites and inspires them to participate in that narrative; in reflecting upon my own experience in Bristol's Watershed this manifested in a sense of obligation to join-in in order

to fit-in, similarly for Samuel, his sense of being embedded in a creative ecosystem inspired him to contribute to that ecosystem, and for Mike, it catalysed an eagerness to create work that responds to the social, cultural, and political issues he associated with the site.

In critiquing the paucity of existing Creative and Cultural Industries scholarship which has considered a notion of Buzz, I suggested in chapter four that current thinking was limited in the sense that it overlooked the sensate urban experience and its potential efficacy. Indeed, whilst the *terra firma* of creative and cultural activity has been subject to much scrutiny, the impact of atmospheres upon the feelings, actions, and behaviours of the perceiving body, as explored for instance by Bjerragaard (2015) in the context of museum atmospheres, had been overlooked. By orientating myself via the lens of atmospheric enquiry, and by considering the subjective experiencing, or Espace Vécu (Lefebvre, 1991), of space rather than its built objective materialities in abstract isolation, I have demonstrated how Buzz might reconfigure our understandings of individual creative labour as related to spatial experience. Indeed, multiple co-explorers articulate a relationship between Buzz and creative production and innovation by describing a series of spatially contingent mechanisms related to feelings of inspiration.

## 7.0 Buzz; Non-Places, Dark Sites, and Liminal Spaces

By orientating myself via the epistemological perspectives of urban atmospheric enquiry, as was originally outlined back in chapter one of this thesis, the scholarly basis for scrutinising the capacity for individual perceiving bodies to experience urban spaces has been established as a key component of this work's engagement with the notion of place (Booth, 2008; Casey, 2001; Rohkra, & Schulz, 2009). Crucially, it is this sensitisation to a body of literature regarding atmosphere and its affects which approaches human-place interrelationships through dichotomies of perception and reception, object and subject, and objective and subjective, that have been lacking in Creative and Cultural Industries scholarship, including that which is spatially concerned.

The way in which specific sites can have particular and myriad resonances for individuals has been a recurring and underlying theme in each of the four thematically grouped discussions that have taken place in the preceding parts of this chapter. Indeed; firstly, in exploring ideas around openness, issues regarding accessibility and space arose; secondly, when considering the role of memory, the historic happenings in a space were implicated in its lived experience; thirdly, the way in which spaces are felt differently based upon various issues relating to their aesthetic were explored; and fourthly, in uncovering how Buzz and working correlate, specific places of varying types were unearthed as being useful for productivity for different co-explorers. This recurring theme, in terms of how individual perceiving bodies experience spaces subjectively, is summed-up by illustrator Jack:

> "It's interesting because obviously different places can be great for different people. Depending on the people I guess. Like one area of one place can be nothing, but then for someone else, the same place could be totally different." (Walking down Briggate Street, Jack)

The functional practicalities of different spaces for creative working were sometimes spoken of as being important for Buzz, for instance, videographer Stuart said that:

> "Then there's needing somewhere to plug-in constantly! Doing animation or video drains the battery so power is essential. I've got a map in my head of all of the places in the city where I can plug in!" (Walking down Briggate Street, Stuart)

However, in comparison to the volume of conversations which expressed the reciprocity between the spatiality of Buzz and the intangible aspects of being in place, the logistics of working, such as power or Wi-Fi as suggested by Stuart, have been secondary concerns. This could, of course, articulate less about the unimportance of the practicalities of working remotely, and more about the now commonplace siting of power and Wi-Fi for instance in city

central locations in Leeds, such that they don't factor into the day-to-day concerns of my co-explorers. Crucially of course, Buzz is not, as have the previous sections of this chapter explored, only about the logistics of working; whilst practical concerns associated with a site may impede upon it's work-related Buzz by acting as a disincentive for people such as Stuart to work in them, it's been shown that myriad experiential factors more prominently influence a given individual's sense of Buzz as related to space.

It would be interesting to further explore the role that factors such as the availability of Wi-Fi or power have on the way in which creative and cultural sector workers locate and experience Buzz in geographies that aren't either urbanized or developed as Leeds is. For instance, investigating Buzz in the context of the rural and remote creative economy (Luckman, 2012) or that of a developing African nation (De Beukelaer, 2016), might yield a spatiality of Buzz more correlated with the practical needs of workers. The ways in which this work, and the concepts that originate here, could be advanced moving forwards, including testing the ways in which its results are perhaps skewed in favour of its urban, Western, and developed exploratory context, will be spoken about more fully in the conclusion to this thesis.

In order to further consider the spatiality of Buzz in Leeds, and to scrutinise where specifically co-explorers have sited Buzz, this final part of the findings section begins its analysis from the terra firma of Leeds, forwarding an analysis of Buzz from the ground-up, and geo-locating co-explorer insights using the walking route data captured by the mobile application. It does so in order to expose the dialogic relationality between the built, tangible, and material spaces of the city (that which has been pinpointed by GPS) and the felt, intangible, and subjective experiencing of those space (that which has been articulated through conversation). Unlike the previous discussions of the fieldwork within this chapter which coalesced co-explorer insights around common themes, the following analysis is instead spatially driven, coalescing co-explorer insights around common places or place-types, specifically the notions of 'Non-Place', 'Dark Sites', and 'Liminal Space'.
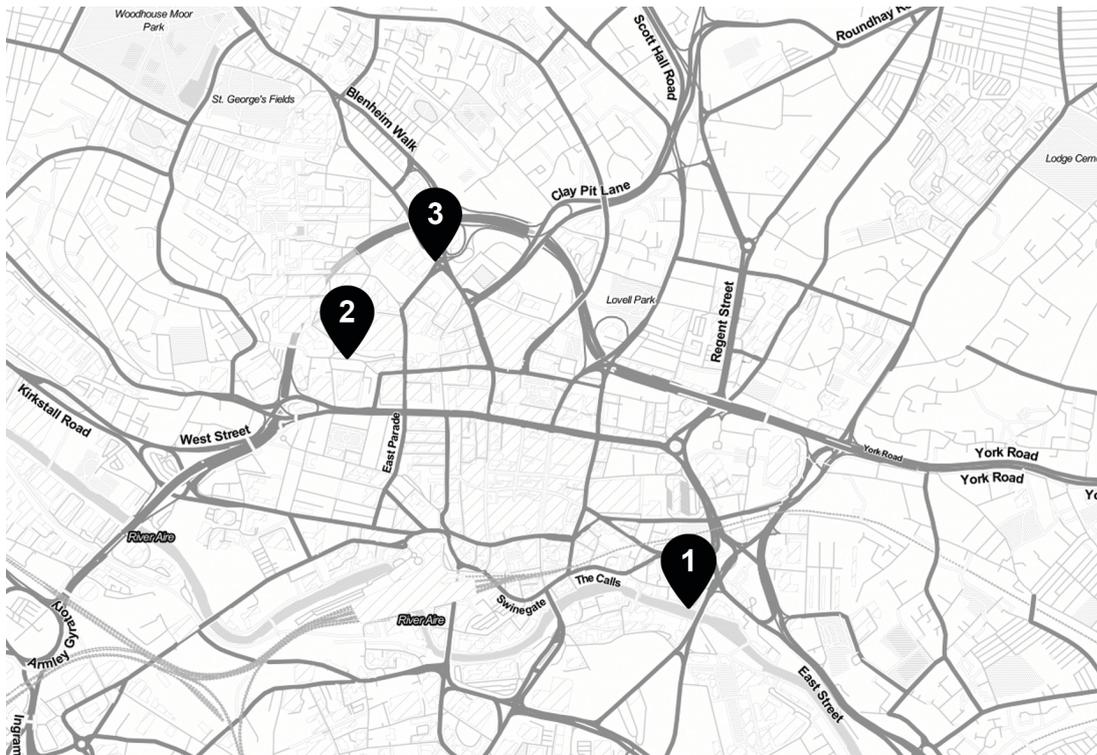
*Figure 2 Mike, Thomas, and Rebecca locating Buzz in 'place-full non-places'*

Mike, indicated in Figure 2 by location marker number 1, gesticulates to a section of wall on the banks of the River Aire nearby to Crown Point bridge, stating: "I sometimes sit up against this wall when I'm writing" (Mike, Crown Point Bridge). The part of wall to which Mike points is, to me, utterly nondescript from the many others within the vicinity; Mike directs my attention quite exactly to a section of brickwork about a third of the way along the four-storey outer wall of an apartment building, immediately adjacent to the cast iron Crown Point bridge, and set-back about three metres from the River Aire as it flows parallel to us in a roughly south-easterly direction towards the Royal Armouries and Leeds Dock beyond.

Photographer Thomas, indicated in Figure 2 by the location marker number 2, takes me to a precise area on Great George Street, outside of the Leeds General Infirmary (LGI), and says that:

> "So, this bit of hedge over there, the very flat one, is important. It's very related to me and my project because that's where I took my first picture. It's interesting because this isn't where I asked the first person, but where the first person said 'yes'! I've actually got to know

that guy really well since…he works just across the road. But yeah, it all happened just about here. This is where I started the whole journey. So now for me this is very much a…whenever I pass through here I always remember that time! I know that it's weird but just here feels very much like a vibrant and meaningful little bit of the city, just because it's where the first person said 'yes' after lots of 'no's'!" (Outside of the Leeds General Infirmary, Thomas)

Unlike Mike's section of wall, which had no pedestrian through traffic and felt in some way nestled beneath the city as a result of the busy road bridge that crosses almost overhead, Thomas' patch of hedge in front of the LGI feels positively bustling. I'm conscious of around a dozen or so people and multiple cars that pass behind us as we pause and talk, and I imagine that as we stand side-by-side about one meter in front of a hedgerow looking at it quite intently, a few of them threw us a sideways glance of some puzzlement. To them, and also to me, this is a sort of non-place; it's just a small part of the long hedgerow that runs the entire length of the wall in front of the LGI here, and appears no more or less remarkable or identifiable than any other patch.

Rebecca, as indicated by location marker number 3 in Figure 2, references in passing the noteworthiness of a pedestrian crossing where Woodhouse Lane intersects with Portland Way: "So, like the crossroads that we've just went through, it gets closed for Pride, so, that's always a pretty colourful, and amazing, and fun time" (Woodhouse Lane, Rebecca). From my experience, the pedestrian crossing in question always seems heavily populated; it's a significant pinch-point in terms of the flow of human traffic, in particular from both University of Leeds campus and Leeds Beckett University students' union, en-route towards the centre of the city. For me, this is just one of many similar spaces of transit, associated with little more than trying to negotiate vehicles and pre-empt the flashing green man, but for Rebecca, it functions as a catalysing node for a Buzz associated with memories of past-events.

Mike, Thomas, and Rebecca all identify with great precision locations across the city that are, to the casual observer, relatively non-descript, as is the case for Mike's section of wall and Thomas' patch of hedgerow, or utterly mundane, as is the case for Rebecca's pedestrian crossing. These are place-full non-places; although they lack any obvious identifiers or landmarks which might ordinarily delineate a fixed site as being noteworthy in comparison to all other seemingly similar sites, the specificity with which these co-explorers have been able to pinpoint them suggests that they are in fact salient to each of them respectively.

These three moments of exchange in the city have been extracted for comparison against the swathes of others captured precisely because they so plainly expose the oftentimes highly subjective nature of Buzz's spatiality; indeed, for other co-explorers, analysis in earlier sections of this chapter has considered the role of the subjective interpretation of shared spaces to Buzz as bound by a theatre or a café for instance, whereas in these cases, that subjectivity functions in sites without any fixed-usage or association that could be shared in the same way.

The role that human interpretation plays in the understanding of space has been considered in this thesis through Wirth (1938), in concerning the then nascent urbanity and its so-called modes of life, who reflected upon the need to consider city spaces beyond their physical materiality as "rigidly delimited in space" (p. 4). This notion was then refined through Lefebvre's (1974) conceptualisation of Espace Vécu' to define such parts of the city which are constructed through processes of meaning making, and then more recently through the concept of "Loose Space" (Franck & Stevens, 2006), which advances the role of human meaning making specifically in sites lacking clear definition (p.3). These place-full non-places are keen exemplars of the role of human meaning making in individual spatial experience; they demonstrate the key relationality between the subjective perceiving body and its attunement to the atmospheric and affectual terrains of Buzz, and its resultant impact on the everyday mobilities of creative and cultural sector workers.
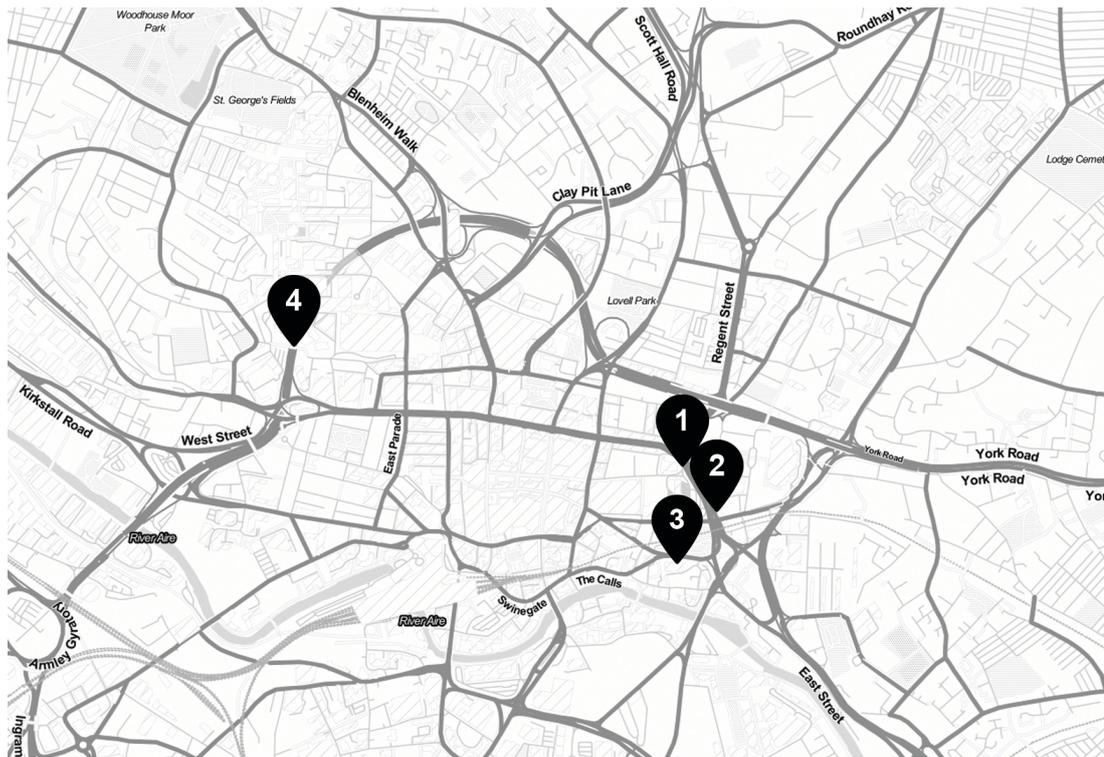
*Figure 3 Mike, Jack, Thomas, and Samuel locating Buzz in 'Dark Sites'*

As well an attunement to the Buzz of very specific sites within Leeds of great personal relevance, co-explorers have also demonstrated a sensitisation to similarly precisely located atmospheres, but with a more general connection to the narrative of the city. Photographer Thomas, indicated in Figure 3 by location marker number 1, exits our meeting point and first location of interest inside of Kirkgate Market, and walks me the short distance to the what's been known locally as Quarry Hill. Quarry Hill, now undergoing significant redevelopment since mid 2018, is a cultural cluster to the East of the city that's home to large cultural organisations such as the BBC, The West Yorkshire Playhouse, and Northern Ballet. Thomas says that:

> "So, the next bit I was going to come to was Quarry Hill, which doesn't actually exist now really. The reason I know about it is because of a photographer…he's a Leeds based photographer who's known internationally as well. He photographed a lot of Leeds in the 50s, 60s, 70s, and he still photographs a lot of Leeds now. He goes out and documents the local area, and he photographed Quarry Hill which was

basically a massive block of flats which used to sit here. I think the roundabout was still over there, but yeah, it used to just dominate the skyline really. And it was massive. They eventually tore it all down and forced all the families out. I guess for me the connection is the fact that photography is vital to documenting the bad things that happened like that…I guess when I think about the Buzz of it today I'm really thinking back to what it was like back then in those photographs compared to now." (Looking across to Quarry Hill, Z)

In addition to articulating further the relationship between lived experienced and past events as was the focus in an earlier section of the chapter, Thomas also speaks of a connection between Buzz and the site of what was then the largest social housing complex in Europe. The homes that were cleared from the site eventually made room for the imposing Quarry House government building, which still today houses the Department for Work and Pensions and the Department of Health. Thomas expresses here a clear sensitisation to the history of the site which he describes in negative terms pertaining to the displacement of families and communities that took place.

Samuel, indicated in Figure 3 by location marker number 2, similarly reflects upon the history of Quarry Hill and that which was here before the various cultural organisations, such as the arts shop Colours May Vary in which we first meet:

"I mean you've got the theatre here as well, and the buildings at the end and around the corner, and over at the back there's a few dance companies, so it has got that kind of vibey thing going on. And it's something like unusually aspirational as well I think, because I recently found out that this used to be basically a massive slum, and I like that now it's something that I kind of aim for, to exhibit in here, which has got to be better than it being a slum!" (Colours May Vary, Samuel)

Whereas photographer Thomas' sense of the Buzz of the site was borne of

his interest in the capacity for photography to document and in some way narrativise the displacement that took place, illustrator Samuel instead correlates a more optimistic 'vibe' here, pertaining to the regeneration and development that's taken place. This offers an interesting reflection upon their respective creative practices; for Samuel, an experienced commercial illustrator who is now keen to exhibit more personal and artistic projects, notions of renewal and development marry with his own aspirations, whereas for portrait photographer Thomas, who sees himself as "creating an archive of the city" through his work, the historicity of the site, however bleak that narrative may be, is important.

Regardless of the reflective versus forward-looking outlooks that Thomas and Samuel articulate, their lived experience of Buzz around Quarry Hill is similarly associated with their knowledge of its troubled history. Reflecting nearby as we exited Outlaws Yacht Club, DJ and Illustrator Jack, indicated on Figure 3 by the location marker number 3, said:

> "This is always a slightly strange bit of town for me. It's got like stuff I use a lot at either end, like Outlaw's just here, and then Munro House and Colours May Vary over there, which are both like hotspots of creativity and Buzz, and then in middle here, around the bus station and the bingo, it's more like hotspots of crack!" (Walking away from Outlaws Yacht Club towards Quarry Hill, Jack)

Jack alludes to Buzz not as a contained atmosphere of Creative and Cultural Industries activity, but rather as something felt to some extent by his experiencing of the atmospheres which surround it. In this instance, the Buzz of Quarry Hill, specifically here associated with the Creative Industries offices of Munro-House and the Colours May Vary arts shop, manifests in contrast to the atmosphere evoked by what Jack terms "hotspots of crack". Jack goes on to suggest that the relatively ubiquitous presence of individuals who look to be under the influence of unknown narcotics in this area is related perhaps to a nearby needle exchange and drug outreach organisation. Like both Thomas and Samuel, Jack too articulates a reciprocity between Buzz and a

felt sense of bleakness or edginess. Further still, poet Mike, indicated on Figure 3 by the location marker number 4, associates Buzz more overtly with danger:

> "It's that classic story, you know, you're hanging around with older generations of people who been playing in bands for a while, but, the Buzz about this place is that it was quite dangerous. I was out with a friend of mine who was a guitarist in a hard-core punk band, and she got a knife pulled on her before the gig had even started! I think that set the tone. It was proper dark." (Crossing a footbridge en-route to the site of a former music venue called Joseph's Well, Mike)

More than a sensitisation to a historic bleakness or a reflection upon the seeming ubiquity of drug taking in a site, both of which have been reflected upon as being 'seen' or 'known' but with some sense of personal detachment, Mike's association between Buzz and 'danger' is both more personal and more explicitly dangerous. The jovial way in which Mike reflects upon this pre-gig experience and associates it with Buzz is I glean more about a loose connection drawn between a narrative of himself and the punk scene of which he was part, than between Buzz and acts of violence generally; indeed, the Buzz, or 'tone', instigated by criminality, illicit activity, and the threat of violence correlates in Mike's configuration with the alternative, rebellious, anarchic, or 'hard-core' music, as is commonly discussed in scholarly discussions of Punk (Jones, 2002; McKay, 1999; Simonelli, 2002).

Mike's use of the word 'dark' to describe this Buzz is interesting for its relationship to human mobilities as discussed in tourism studies, as Sharpley (2009) describes:

> "Although it is only relatively recently that it has been referred to as "dark tourism", travel to places associated with death, disaster and destruction has…occurred as long as people have been able to travel…dark tourism may be defined simply and more generally as the

act of travel to sites associated with…the seemingly macabre."
(Sharpley, 2009, p.10)

Although the study of dark tourism is more explicitly interested in sites of death, and various ethical, political, and socio-cultural questions surrounding its popularity (ibid.), the underlying dichotomy it grapples with, between the usually hedonistic mobilities of tourism on one hand and 'dark' sites on the other, seems fitting here. Indeed, to borrow the term, Thomas, Jack, Samuel, and Mike have all associated Buzz with a site that might aptly be described as 'dark' for various reasons relating either to a knowledge of its history or a personal experience.

The way in which 'dark' places can catalyse Buzz for co-explorers problematizes previous conceptualisations of Buzz as something ephemerally appealing that creative and cultural sector workers seek out (Bell and Jayne, 2006) as a result of a "flourishing local creative economy" (Unesco, 2013, p. 34), or those that consider it merely as related to "hanging out in theatre cafes" (Murie, & Musterd, 2010, p. 152). Instead, various co-explorers articulate a clear sensitisation to a Buzz borne of spatial darkness, attuned to a broader and more complex narrative of the city as whole rather than only of its creative industries milieu.

Many co-explorers have sited Buzz in 'non-places' and 'dark sites', and in so doing demonstrated spatial sensitivities relating to their lives as creative and cultural sector workers outside of what might be formally understood as Creative and Cultural Industries spaces or atmospheres. Further, many co-explorers have similarly walked a route around the periphery of the city, avoiding its geographical centre and many of the larger civic cultural organisations located there. This trend towards the periphery may indicate perhaps a desire to 'capture' an all-encompassing narrative of the city by circumnavigating and lassoing the stories contained with it, similar to the approach adopted by Sinclair in London Orbital (2003) for instance. In this way, this may articulate something pertinent perhaps about similarities between my co-explorer's approaches to the research task.

*Figure 4 Sadie, Natalie, Nathan, Jenny, Samuel, and Andy locating Buzz in liminal spaces*

However, the narratives generated at the periphery of the city go further than reflecting upon activities within its centre. Instead, co-explorers have spoken multiply and explicitly about the spatiality of Buzz at the outermost edges of Leeds' city centre as distinct from those felt elsewhere. For instance, Sadie, as indicated in Figure 4 by location marker number 1, reflects upon the differences between the Buzz of the cultural quarter at Quarry Hill and that found elsewhere in communities around city:

> "But I guess this cultural quarter is really just one small hub…some of the smaller more community based artwork is happening out there…And I think that dynamic is plotted around the city, and I love what's happening in terms of what feels like the city pushing out of the peripherals, and to me it feels like the edges are starting to come alive." (Phoenix Dance, Sadie)

Sadie gesticulates upon saying 'out there', pointing simultaneously with both index fingers away from our current position at Phoenix Dance, and then

again, making a spherical gesture this time, when stating 'around the city', and then finally, she opens this sphere outwards upon describing the idea of the city as pushing out from the centre. Sadie's articulation that there is another separate cultural dynamic elsewhere in the city is interesting considering Sadie's job at a contemporary dance organisation within the cultural quarter, which she terms as just a 'small hub'.

Natalie, indicated in Figure 4 by location marker number 2, makes similar a point regarding creativity at the edges of Leeds, interestingly from a site just a short walk from Phoenix Dance across the footbridge that spans York Road:

> "When asked what would Buzz mean, what would that look like, for me it's about, if you imagine you could see the sort of underbelly of the city, that's what I feel like, like there is this is creative underbelly around the edges at minute, that's always kind of been there, but now there's a spotlight." (Patrick Street Studios, Natalie)

Natalie speaks both metaphorically and literally here when describing the creativity at the edges of the city. In a metaphorical sense, she alludes to the independent cultural creators with whom she works, and the associations between Buzz and themes of openness, grassroots activity, and DIY as described previously in the chapter. More literally however, as Natalie points in the direction of industrial and ex-industrial units now home to a variety of arts organisations alongside some remaining industrial activity, this 'edge' is a small parcel of land at North-Easterly perimeter of the city centre, known as Mabgate. This is also where Samuel, indicated in Figure 4 by location marker number 3, spent much of his walk, saying that:

> "This is kind of where it sort of happens…we might be about to go down a dead end here…what's interesting to me about it is that, well you'll see" (Mabgate, Samuel)

What Samuel was keen to show me was the electric mix of people and arts

activities located in the various re-purposed factories, which has been explored in further detail previously regarding the reciprocity articulated between Buzz and notions of accessibility, serendipity, and certain design aesthetics. Like Natalie, Samuel speaks also to a sense of things, by which he means unspecified and nonspecific creative and cultural endeavours, happening in the area.

Of the 16 walks completed, 5 included detours to the Mabgate area, and a further 2 spoke about organisations located in Mabgate without physically visiting them. Mabgate was, at the time of the fieldwork, something of a creative and cultural 'underbelly', to use Natalie's terminology; multiple co-explorers identified feelings of excitement around the potential for creativity here, borne of a knowledge of the areas then burgeoning creative scene, which was enhanced by feelings of being part of a movement not yet mainstream, aptly reflected by the areas somewhat ramshackle appearance.[22]

The geographical peripherality of Mabgate plays into a feeling of Buzz related broadly to notions of creativity itself, as a process of adaptation, change, renewal, and creation, rather than for instance an antithetical notion of preservation that might be more associated with the cities museums and galleries found at its municipal core. This sense that the 'formal' creative milieu of Leeds, and specifically its cultural clusters at Quarry Hill and Holbeck Urban Village, has a Buzz that is distinct from that of organisations at the edges of city, is exemplified further by Andy, indicated in Figure 4 by location marker number 4, who makes a point of walking me away from the city:

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[22] Since the primary fieldwork of this thesis was conducted, Mabgate has undergone, and is still undergoing, significant redevelopment. The relationship between the arts organisations then located in Mabgate, some of which have been displaced due to the development, and the resident population has been part of ongoing consultation. The way in which Mabgate, and the city in general, has evolved is considered in further detail at this thesis' conclusion.

> "The model these places seem to follow the template of Shoreditch...
> What happened before was an almost organic, accidental thing, and
> what's happened now is that, you know you can buy the little sachets
> where you pour the sachets onto a log and its grow mushrooms for
> you, that's somehow reflective of it. You replace the natural act of
> fungi with a kind of, 'oh that's a nice log' and it's not quite the same
> thing." (Looking across the city from a vantage point in Holbeck, Andy)

Multiple co-explorers have situated themselves within the loose space of the
city, as established by Franck & Stevens (2006), and as further detailed in
the Layered City model advanced earlier in this work; indeed, the looseness
of peripheral sites mapped by co-explorers have often been reflected upon
explicitly in antithesis to the structure or formality of sites found elsewhere in
the 'power' and 'labour' spaces. Nathan, who runs a charity that engages
individuals with mental health issues in a range of arts projects, explicitly
articulates this antithetical dynamic that exists between a loose space of
creative Buzz and a more restrictive labour space. Indicated in Figure 4 by
location marker number 5, Nathan says that:

> "I don't come into the city centre very often…what I find odd about it,
> is that I get really anxious. And I'm not an anxious person, I don't have
> the anxieties of some of the people that I work with, but…I went into
> Boots, and I felt, for the first time for ages, I felt unclean. I just felt, 'Oh
> My God, I don't know if I can do this', and going into shops to just buy
> stuff, it makes you realise how much of a shopping-orientated space
> this is. I mean like the library's over there, the gallery is way over
> there, it feels out of the way, doesn't it? I guess I just prefer to be
> outside of the city really, especially creatively. I find all of this quite
> oppressive." (Walking down Briggate Street, Nathan).

Further, the Layered City model suggests that loose spaces exists beyond
the built and material terrains of the city, as an atmospheric realm entered
into by individuals seeking to make their own meanings of space. In this
sense, the experiences of liminality and peripherally need not be bound so

explicitly by terra firma, but by impression and interpretation. Jenny, as indicated by location marker number 6 in Figure 4, evidences this:

> "So, I don't know if you've ever been to this Library that's next to Paperchase. I think it's just called Leeds Library, or something like that, and I think you need to be a member to get in or something like that so you can't just wander in, but as part of a show I got to in there once…it's like this tiny little old school library, and there's this tiny little spiral staircase that goes all the way up, and it was an amazing space to see that you wouldn't have been able to see if you weren't part of this. I think discovery is a big part of Buzz, it's about getting excited, and learning something about something that you didn't know before. (The Leeds Library, Jenny)

Although Jenny is situated in the retail heartlands of Leeds, literally on 'Commercial' Street surrounded by national and multinational retail brands, she articulates similar feelings of excitement related to the discovery of a site that feels peripheral. Despite not being on the outside edges of the city as has been the case for Natalie, Samuel, and Andy, Jenny speaks of a comparable feeling of being at the edges Leeds, experiencing a liminal space unknown to most other people, and therefore associated with a sense of Buzz cultivated by feelings of discovery and serendipity.

An interesting correlation with some of the motivations for urban exploration emerges here, with co-explorers articulating a similar "enthusiasm focused on exploring…liminal zones" (Garrett, 2014, p. 1449), and, as Andy suggests, an interest in a sense of urban authenticity related to unmanaged spaces.  Likewise, the expressed affinity for sites that feel open to change and that have a built and felt sense of movement and elasticity, as opposed to those which feel more oppressive in comparison, builds upon Geyh's (2006) suggestions that part of the enjoyment for practitioners of parkour lay in its ability for "creating a parallel, "ludic" city, a city of movement and free play within and against the city of obstacles and inhibitions (Geyh, 2006, p. 10)."

In considering the role of non-places, dark sites, and liminal spaces, a few things have been determined. Firstly, through detailing the placefullness of seeming non-places, key relationalities between the subjective perceiving body and its attunement to Buzz were shown to impact upon the everyday mobilities of creative and cultural sector workers. Secondly, the way in which 'dark' sites can catalyse Buzz, has problematized previous Buzz-related scholarship in demonstrating its relationship to a broader, more complicated, and 'darker' narrative of the city as whole, rather than only of its creative or culture scene and its hangouts. Finally, the role of liminal and peripheral places, has demonstrated a clear association between loose space and Buzz, which exists antithetically to the designated creative and cultural areas of the city.

# Chapter Seven: Conclusions

1.0 Chapter Summaries

In chapter one, I considered the three main theoretical traditions that contextualise this research project, exploring a history of scholarship about Space and Place (the field of study), a history of literature about Atmosphere (the concept of study), and finally a history of Walking (both concept and approach of study). I oriented my approach to urban space around a series of theories supporting its fundamentally subjective nature, and also coined The Layered City as a way in which to visualise the relationality between the built and felt dimensions of the city, and various issues of access, experience, perception, and meaning-making. Next, I explored the diverse history of atmospheric study, working towards understanding the relationship between humans and the places that they 'feel'. Finally, chapter one considered walking and its relationship to the experiencing of environments, in order to better understand the relationality between walking in and perceiving place.

In chapter two, I offered up a concise history of 'modern' Leeds, reflecting in particular upon its emergence as an industrial city in the 19th Century, through to the industrial changes which took place throughout the 21st century. In so doing, I provided necessary context and history in order to help frame and locate the various narratives of Leeds that are captured herein. As well as introducing some sites across Leeds which were returned to elsewhere in the thesis and therefore linking spatially, so too did the early autoethnographic reflections by which this chapter is underpinned seed various thematic links to the core empirical fieldwork also.

In chapter three, I considered the Creative and Cultural Industries (the subject of study), reviewing literature about the sectors as academic and policy concerns, with focus applied to the importance of geography and place in general to their scrutiny. I positioned my thesis within a history of geographic enquiry that has approached the sectors, both contesting a turn

to 'placelessness' as noteworthy, and secondly carving room for myself to explore the relatively unexplored atmospheric terrains of the Creative and Cultural Industries. Following this, I explored the Creative and Cultural Industries more specifically in Leeds, as well as in the wider region, pointing both to the need for further research in the city, and demonstrating the city's validity as the place of study.

In chapter four, I introduced the idea of Buzz through a consideration of existing ideas and engagements with the concept from multiple fields, and from the Creative and Cultural Industries field specifically. By establishing through literature review what ideas about Buzz already existed, it was determined that those which had become most commonplace were lacking, and that there was a general paucity of research into the concept. Off the back of this, I then developed two original concepts for understanding the newly established enhanced Buzz conceptualisation as presented throughout this thesis; The Buzz Cycle, and the Buzz Ecology.

In chapter five, I detailed my methodology and approach. I did this firstly by considering qualitative approaches in general terms in reflection of their capacities to capture particularly deep and individualised datasets. Secondly, the chapter evaluates more specifically methodologic considerations and techniques related both to atmosphere and to walking, which bring to the fore issues around knowledge, mobility, and perception. Then I introduce the mobile application developed for this thesis 'Geo Record', and consider its implications on ethnographic practice. I also out more pragmatically the processes and thinking involved in finding co-explorers and developing relationships with them, plus some data about the walks themselves.

In chapter six, I detailed the fieldwork outcomes across 4 themes, wherein interview transcripts and location data were brought together and analysed. By considering the insights gathered from my co-explorers thematically, I was able to engage them in conversation with each other via my interpretative and mediating endeavour. Fundamental aspects of Buzz were discovered, in regards to its relationship to certain kinds of communities and

structures, it's affinity to certain aesthetics, its relationship to memory and subjectivity, and its agency in the creative process. Following this, I presented an analysis of Buzz advanced spatially rather than thematically, and various types and experiences of place as related to Buzz were explored. Chapter six is both fieldwork and discussion, not only detailing the data gathered over the course of this project, but analysing it also.

## 2.0 Responding to the Research Questions

At the outset, this research was tasked with responding to four main questions. Seeking to advance pre-existing notions of Buzz which have been deemed as lacking in terms of both conceptualisation and evidence, the questions sought to develop a more nuanced understanding of Buzz and its impact on the Creative and Cultural Industries. I will reflect upon each of these questions in turn, responding specifically to them by considering the data that I have gathered over the course of the fieldwork, as well as learning more generally that has taken place through the synthesis of materials and literature analysed. In so doing, I will directly engage my co-explorers – or more specifically, the sum of their insights and my analysis of them – in dialog with my research questions.

Initially, and perhaps underpinning all of the other questions of this work, I wanted to explore, in the simplest terms, 'what' Buzz is. Through an engagement with existing theoretical pursuits and scholarly work which have studied and discerned 'atmosphere' and its myriad variants, I have been able to achieve two things; firstly, I have situated Buzz as part of a theoretical tradition looking broadly at the felt experience of space, which contains within it a series of complex relationalities and dichotomies, including those of perception and reception, objects and subjects, and objective and subjective. Further, I have been able to locate Buzz theoretically within a body of geographic thought that places emphasis on the distinctions between 'space' and 'place' in recognition of the role of the individual and their experience in the construction of a place understood relationally. Secondly, I have been able to forward Buzz as a type of urban atmosphere that has the ability to

extend vertically through time and past experience, as well as horizontally through place and 'live' experience. By establishing Buzz as an atmosphere that has a capacity for 'dormancy', I have carved out space for its uniqueness within the field of urban atmospheric enquiry.

My use of the term 'Buzz', to collate the sensate experience of being in the city, was unanimously unchallenged by my co-explorers, who took no issue reflecting upon their own experiences of the creative and cultural atmospheres of Leeds through the lens of Buzz. My position therefore is that Buzz can function meaningfully and usefully as a term that defines the felt experience of the city, in particular its creative and cultural terrains, with all co-explorers able to frame their diverse experiences of myriad spatial affects through this lens. Buzz then is a term which defines and collates the complex multiplicity of place-related affects as experienced through the subjective perception of them.

The next question tasked this research project to consider Buzz as related to the role of place, exploring existing notions around the Creative and Cultural Industries and their spatial organisation. Emerging from the fieldwork was a clear interplay between shared, civic, and community-driven places in Leeds, various interpretations and experiences of their openness and accessibility, and a resultant capacity for generating creative and cultural Buzz in the city. This association of Buzz with informal cultural spaces was deemed pertinent in the sense that Buzz emerged as more bound the by 'soft' infrastructure of the city rather than by tangible urban assets; Indeed, Buzz was in general associated with community and sociality rather than by built infrastructure. In some sense, the first important insight about 'where' Buzz is serves to dissociate it from the terra firma of the Creative and Cultural Industries, and instead tie it to more intangible social terrains more generally in the city.

Some physical and built aspects of the city have however proven important in the process of locating Buzz; Notably that it did tend to be more correlated with objects, buildings, and symbols in the city that might be considered somewhat shabby, run down, and a little rough around the edges. This

aesthetic association was often posited in antithesis to spaces of comparative exactitude, finesse, and grandeur, and have on the whole served to demonstrate that Buzz can be rooted to objects or places quite separate to creative artworking or cultural clusters, instead manifesting more broadly across the city. In this way, the experience of Buzz has been reflected upon more thoroughly in recognition of the Buzz Ecology rather than the Buzz Cycle. This outcome will be spoken of more fully in the final section of this conclusion.

In the main, Buzz was most commonly tied to places that felt 'active' rather than 'static', emitting a sense of potential or a capacity for change and opportunity. This tendency to associate Buzz with spaces which avoided a kind of material stasis has been codified numerously through the dominance of sites with eclectically influenced décor, mismatched furnishings, changing layouts, and the imperfect, unfinished, and 'in process' design of the spaces. Buzz then, as related to spaces, objects, and issues of symbolism and aesthetics, has been more commonly related to sites that mirror favourable acts of repurposing, recreating, redefining, and reimagining, rather than protecting or sanctifying. In this way, and reflecting upon the efficacy of the Layered City model, Buzz has been repeatedly associated with Loose Space rather than either the Labour or Power Place as delineated in that model.

Importantly though this was not always the case, as more formal and traditional cultural spaces were important to Buzz for some co-explorers. As was expected at the outset, no two research encounters followed identical routes. Instead, an appreciation of place as being constituted and experienced through a multiplicity of highly individualised subjective meaning-making endeavours was borne out in Buzz maps which are diverse in terms of how Buzz is located. This crucial individuality in the nature Buzz and its geography have been exposed through the common relationality between Buzz and memory, with many co-explorers relating Buzz to past experiences or places of work as well as more 'present' or 'live' sites. In this way, the 'where' of Buzz cannot be meaningfully distinguished from the 'when'. This temporal and historical aspect, implicated in the way in which

Buzz is located and experienced across the city, is an insight not originally expected at the outset of this study which emerges as crucial component of Buzz and its ongoing relationship(s) to people and place(s).

The third question tasked this project with exploring how Buzz impacts the Creative and Cultural Industries and the individuals who work in them. In order to conceptualise such a dynamic, I have in response developed two original models; 'The Buzz Cycle' and 'The Buzz Ecology'. In the simplest terms, 'The Buzz Cycle' conceptualises the cyclical dynamics between Creative and Cultural Industries workers in and with Creative and Cultural Industries places, and 'The Buzz Ecology' conceptualises the wider sensate city which is its context.

This research has explored the notion of The Buzz Cycle by demonstrating the ways in which Buzz manifests in sites of interaction and engagement between creative and cultural sector workers and places of creative and cultural sector activity. This has been shown, for instance, in the constant traversal of sites across the city associated with creative and cultural working, participation, or engagement more generally as co-explorers have mapped Buzz as related to their 'professional' lives in Leeds. The Buzz Ecology has been evidenced also as co-explorers have demonstrated repeatedly the ways in which their own experiences of place manifest in various notions of Buzz across the city, in sites not always associated in a traditionally mapping as being related to the Creative and Cultural Industries. The reciprocity between The Buzz Ecology and The Buzz Cycle was evidenced, as co-explorers repeatedly articulated the ways in which their experience of the Buzz of Leeds (Ecology) impacted upon their mobilities and activities more associated with their working lives within the Creative and Cultural Industries (Cycle).

The final question forced a somewhat self-critical reflexivity into the noteworthiness of Buzz and my efforts to capture, scrutinise, and conceptualise it. It asked, simply; how will an understanding of Buzz advance the intellectual scrutiny of the Creative and Cultural Industries? This research

project has unearthed multiple aspects of Buzz which add to the ongoing intellectual engagements with the Creative and Cultural Industries and the Creative Economy from both scholarly and political fields.

The fieldwork has revealed that Buzz binds (and draws) creative and cultural sector professionals to place in a dynamic, nuanced, and highly subjective relationality. This insight advances academic perspectives surrounding the geography of the Creative and Cultural Industries by demonstrating the fundamental importance of Buzz in terms of understanding the mobilities of the sector. It does this firstly by demonstrating the role of the wider city and its atmospheric terrains on Creative and Cultural Industries workers, and therefore suggesting that spatial analysis of the sectors moving forwards must look to the influence of place (and its Buzz) outside of those formally designated as creative or cultural.

Secondly, the research has demonstrated that creative and cultural sector workers can relate to place in highly individual ways borne of the subjectivity of experiencing Buzz. In this way, it suggests that analysis of the sectors should be sensitised to these individual geographies of the Creative and Cultural Industries, rather than only considering the spatiality of a more broadly understood Creative Class, for instance.

## 3.0 Unresolved Questions and Generative Conclusions

The previous section of this chapter forwards a summative reflection upon some of the conclusions of this work. Firstly, it has defined 'what' Buzz is in terms of a tradition of critical 'place' research, including that which encompasses the affectual atmospheric terrain. Secondly, it has explored Buzz in the context of the spatiality of the Creative and Cultural Industries, (dis)locating Buzz as a concept within some of the traditional or principle geographic nodes of enquiry for the sectors, namely that of cultural quarters and creative clusters, or their myriad public and private sector variants. Thirdly, the way in which Buzz impacts upon creative and cultural workers has been well modelled through the original conceptualisations of the Buzz

Cycle and the Buzz Ecology, relating the ways in which individual experiences of Buzz (the notion of 'ecology') impact upon mobilities and activities more associated with work within the Creative and Cultural Industries (the notion of 'cycle'). Following these summative conclusions, this section will reflect more upon those questions which remain unanswered, either because the fieldwork didn't fully respond to them as set out at the offset, or because new questions have been generated through the process of doing this work.

This thesis has suggested that the experience of Buzz, like the experience of place and atmosphere as I understand and use them more generally as described throughout chapter one, is intimately, intricately, and fundamentally relational to the individual human body and its capacities for experience, perception, emotional sensitivity, local knowledge and memory, and so on. In this way, this work poses a series of problems or challenges for future research on this theme.

Firstly, how might policy *use* Buzz, in knowledge of its role in the mobilities and activities of creative and cultural sector workers, as part of future Creative and Cultural Industries development? There is no easy answer or resolution to this question, which emerges more as a provocation for future thinking about how individual experience(s) of a place and its Buzz can factor into the psyches of policy-makers, planners, urban designers, and indeed all manner of disciplines and professions concerned with developing or shaping place. This is true both in a very general sense in terms of the sorts of questions such individuals concerned with urban development might ask themselves ("How can we plan, design, or allow for Buzz in this place?"), as well as more specifically for those individuals engaged in Creative and Cultural Industries development ("How can we plan, design, and allow for Buzz that catalyses creative working in this place?").

The notion of how Buzz might be 'used' is, in and of itself, another question that emerges here; Can Buzz be employed to achieve certain desirable outcomes in the same way as, for instance, a tool might be to complete a

certain task? This thesis has demonstrated that Buzz is bound both to certain types of places in terms of their aesthetic for instance, as well to certain kinds of governance in terms of notions of openness; such conclusions, considered in isolation, might suggest that policy could be able to catalyse Buzz if it, for instance, were to mimic or replicate that aesthetic or symbolic code most often affiliated with it, whilst also establishing institutions and organisations which are accessible and non-hierarchical for example. In these ways, it might well be that Buzz can be instigated or designed into the broader developmental agenda for a place, as part of a toolkit with which certain kinds of experiences and activities can be instigated. Ultimately, I question whether such an understanding of Buzz would see it wielded as simply another weapon in the arsenal of powers which seek to commodify place and our experience of it.

Elsewhere however, this thesis has demonstrated that Buzz is more related to an individual's highly subjective experiences of place, bound not by shared spatial associations but by, for instance, associations with very specific and seeming non-places across the city, or embodied memories of past-experience tethered to certain 'personal' sites. Indeed, it is true that such subjective and individualist perspectives regarding Buzz, its 'location', and the ways and means by which it is felt, outnumber or mask those alternative perspectives discussed above which might point towards more generalizable facets of Buzz. In this way, the aforementioned sense that Buzz might be able to be utilised in future as a developmental initiative or tool is problematized, and future research might seek to further respond to this problem.

Relatedly, the methods of data collection in this thesis have been, as discussed throughout chapter five and demonstrated throughout chapter six, one-on-one. In accepting and building upon an understanding of place as a subjective, experienced, and relational entity – rooted in a particular set of epistemologies and philosophies of place as presented in chapter one – the evidential basis generated by this work and its methods of course arrive at individualist conclusions regarding Buzz and its experience by people. The

question of whether Buzz might also function as a shared or collective atmosphere of place, and therefore be experienced in more shared or common ways, remains arguably unanswered by virtue of the methods employed here.

For instance, future research might consider how undergoing walks with multiple co-explorers simultaneously would either serve to further or to destabilise some of the conclusions arrived at here. Indeed; how might the co-created Buzz map of a group of designers generated by walking in tandem differ to that of an individual designer walking one-on-one with the researcher? And how might the Buzz map co-created or negotiated by a more diverse group across multiple sectors destabilise those insights yet further? This is a provocation not only for expanded approaches to gathering knowledge about Buzz in order to ascertain whether or not the approach of this work has excluded potentially interesting insights, but also to the methodology and app created in the course of this thesis for data capture; Indeed, how might Geo-Record, and my approach to using it as detailed in chapter five, be deployed when there are multiple co-explorers under scrutiny simultaneously?

It is true however that reframing the data which has already been collected here could, with further consideration and interrogation, respond to the above problem to some extent. Indeed, if I were to suspend my epistemic position regarding place as individually constituted and experienced, and consider instead an alternative whereby people grouped together by shared characteristics or cultures can together constitute some common sense of place, then perhaps I already have the data for such an analysis. For example, considered as a set of geographically anchored responses to a shared line of questioning, I have already a diverse group of insights about Buzz in various similar locales; Indeed, I have multiple insights collected in the Magbate area of the city, as just one exemplar, which, if considered more collectively rather than individualistically, might cohere around a shared sense of that particular place and therefore a shared sense of Buzz.

Hypothetically, such a finding would serve to extend, rather than to undermine, the conclusions herein by pointing towards herein unexplored conceptualisations regarding Buzz as a shared affective realm in addition to those more personal discoveries thus far made. A treatment of the existing data along such lines, or indeed any new fieldwork undertaken targeted at discovering shared and collective experiences of Buzz, would however require a reconsideration of some of thesis' philosophical building blocks in terms of place and how it is understood. Indeed; if the experience of Buzz can be evidenced as being similarly experienced between people, how might this force a reconsideration of the positivist or anti-positivist notions of place as discussed throughout chapter one for example? The incommensurability of different conceptualisations of the notion of place as presented in this work may well pose something of an epistemic challenge to future work regarding Buzz as a shared experience.

This thesis has demonstrated that there is a correlation between a felt sense of Buzz and the urban periphery in a literal and simplistic sense; the terrain of Buzz as discovered and explored in Leeds has tended towards those areas that fall immediately outside of the centre of the city, most often, although not always, in de-industrialised and loose spaces. Additionally, Buzz has been located multiply in sites that are expressly not the product of top-down, civic, particularly planned, well-funded, or deliberately structured development, but rather in places where, over some time and due to mismanagement, neglect, or oversight, 'empty' units are eventually peopled and animated in ways that are more community-led and organic.

Should urban policy that's mindful of Buzz therefore seek to deliberately neglect places in order to create space for Buzz, whilst simultaneously perpetuating economic circumstances that push certain Creative and Cultural Industries workers to the urban periphery? Although such a provocation overlooks those instances of Buzz which have been evidenced here in, for instance, Leeds' officially designated cultural quarters or publicly funded arts organisations, it is regardless a pertinent and potentially challenging interpretation of the data and outcomes herein presented which would

benefit from further consideration.

I have here presented some of the ways in which this thesis has generated as many, or perhaps even more, questions regarding Buzz than it sought to grapple with at the outset. I reflect upon this reality at this stage not as a failure or shortcoming of the project, but rather as an expected and in some way exciting outcome. Indeed, this thesis has engaged novel methods in a multi-disciplinary project targeted at understanding a concept with a scant evidence base. As articulated throughout chapter four, wherein the concept of Buzz was first introduced and existing academic engagements with the notion were first considered, it is true that this thesis has always intended to point towards the need for further research. This thesis' task has not been to pin-down Buzz, but rather to establish a theoretical and evidential foundation from which it – and the Buzz Cycle and Buzz Ecology Models arrived at – can be further developed moving forwards.

## 4.0 Limitations and Recommendations

The data presented throughout this thesis is limited geographically to the city of Leeds. In this way, it's important to acknowledge that the data collected, and therefore some of the insights gathered, are similarly bound to their context. It could be argued therefore that this project conceptualises Buzz in generalizable terms as a notion of significant applicability to Creative and Cultural Industries scholarship which is conducted in many countries, having arrived at those insights through testing them in only one context.

In this instance, new insights about Buzz and its efficacy for the Creative and Cultural industries, have been tested in the context of Leeds specifically over the duration of this PhD. More nationally, the context is that of a large multicultural city in the North of the United Kingdom. Further, looking to the World, the evidence base herein derives from fieldwork conducted in an advanced western nation of relative wealth.

There is significant opportunity therefore to test the summative conclusions

of this thesis, as well as those more generative conclusions and unresolved questions which have arisen, in other contexts. In the first instance, as Leeds continues to undergo significant redevelopment and expansion, a return to the changed streets of the city for comparative reasons would be fruitful. Secondly, exploring Buzz in other UK towns and cities for reasons of local or national comparison would also be interesting. And finally, exploring Buzz in other countries, including those that are developing across Africa, Asia, and South America, would be a stimulating endeavour. It would be interesting also to explore the role of rural Buzz, and to contribute to the increasing interest in the rural creativity and cultural economies. The inherent role of place to Buzz, and the way in which its experience and impact is so heavily contingent upon the historical, cultural, social, aesthetic, demographic, and industrial structures of place to name but a few, suggests that Buzz will, given further study elsewhere, manifest in new, novel, and exciting ways.

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# Appendices

1. Co-Explorer Details

The following details each of the 16 individuals engaged in this research project as co-explorers. It is sets out clearly their pseudonym and the title of their professional role (and Creative and Cultural Industries affiliation). The list is presented alphabetically.

1. Alison, Cultural Promotor and Funder
2. Andy, Theatre Director
3. Amanda, Theatre Producer
4. Becky, Festival Director
5. Boris, Independent Gallery Owner
6. Jack, Illustrator and DJ
7. Jenny, Theatre Producer
8. Mike, Musician and Poet
9. Miles, Media and Technology Entrepreneur
10. Nathan, Arts Charity Director
11. Natalie, Arts Organisation Director
12. Rebecca, Actor
13. Sadie, Dance Company Director
14. Samuel, Illustrator
15. Stuart, Video Production Entrepreneur
16. Thomas, Photographer

## 2. 'Geo-Record' App Screen Shots
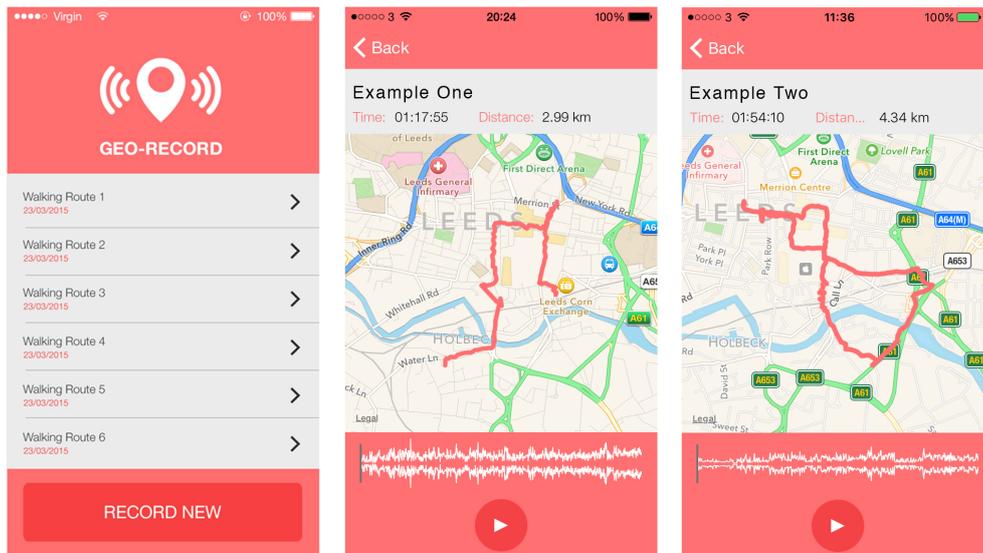
## 3. Ethical Approval Form

Performance, Governance and Operations
Research & Innovation Service
Charles Thackrah Building
101 Clarendon Road
Leeds LS2 9LJ  Tel: 0113 343 4873
Email: ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk

**UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS**

Samuel Stockley
School of Performance and Cultural Industries
University of Leeds
Leeds, LS2 9JT

**PVAR Faculty Research Ethics Committee**
**University of Leeds**

26 June 2014

Dear Samuel

**Title of study:**   **Buzz and the Creative City: Buzz, Creativity and Innovation**
**Ethics reference:**   **PVAR 13-089**

I am pleased to inform you that the above research application has been reviewed by the Arts and PVAC (PVAR) Faculty Research Ethics Committee and I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter, provided a fieldwork risk assessment is completed and authorised.   The following documentation was considered:

| Document | Version | Date |
|---|---|---|
| PVAR 13-089 SStockley Ethical Review Form.pdf | 1 | 13/06/14 |
| PVAR 13-089 SStockley - Information Sheet.pdf | 1 | 13/06/14 |
| PVAR 13-089 SStockley - Informed Consent Sheet.pdf | 1 | 13/06/14 |
| PVAR 13-089 SStockley - Initial and Follow Up Emails.pdf | 1 | 13/06/14 |

Committee members made the following comments about your application:

This ethics application demonstrates awareness of the key ethical issues of the research, and discusses how these will be addressed. The participant recruitment emails are suitable, and the participant information sheet contains all the relevant details a participant would need in order to make an informed decision about whether to participate. Due to the nature of the walking in public spaces (e.g. potential for tripping, road crossings, potential hazards), a risk assessment should be completed for this research and added to the application.

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any amendments to the original research as submitted at date of this approval as all changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAmendment.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation, as well as documents such as sample consent forms, and other documents relating to the study. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes. You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits.

## 4. Example Consent Form

**Buzz and The Creative City: Participant Consent Form**

Title of research project: _____

Name of researcher: _____

*Initial the box if you agree with the statement to the left*

1      I confirm that I have read and understood information about the
       above research project, either on the project website or the
       information sheet, and I have had the opportunity to ask questions
       about the project.

2      I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to
       withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without
       there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I
       not wish to answer any question or questions, I am free to decline.

3      I understand that my responses will not be kept confidential. I
       give permission for members of the research team to have access to
       my responses. I understand that my name will be linked with the
       research materials, and that I will be identified and identifiable in the
       report or reports that result from the research.

4      I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.

5      I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform
       the principal investigator should my contact details change.

_____   _____   _____
Name of participant                     Date                 Signature
(or legal representative)

_____   _____   _____
Lead Researcher                       Date                 Signature