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4 What is rhythmanalysis good for? Some gains, limitations and future directions of the rhythmanalytical project

Introduction

In Chapters 2 and 3 I considered Lefebvre's conception of rhythmanalysis, the range of fields in which it has been applied empirically and the diverse ways it has been developed methodologically. In particular, the discussion critically explored doing rhythmanalysis where the body is a central tool of research as exemplified in the work of Tim Edensor; where the body is present but displaced as effective rhythmanalysis requires attention to bodies *in conjunction with* material and immaterial elements of work, as in the analysis of high-frequency trade conducted by Borch, Bondo Hansen and Lange; and where the body is necessary but insufficient and audiovisual methods are employed to do what the body alone cannot to register and perceive rhythm, as in the case of my own work on Billingsgate fish market.

This chapter brings the critiques of the earlier discussions together, extends and deepens them, and considers future directions for rhythmanalysis. It is organized around four main areas. First, I discuss different practices of embodied and sensory research bringing Lefebvre's recommendations into dialogue with current ideas. The second topic is time. Here the discussion is on rhythm as a neglected form of temporality in relation to other temporal concepts. It further explores how rhythmanalysis might inform a better grasp of temporality and spatiality in research design and methods including the potential of 'synchronization' and 'disruption' as research tools. The third area concerns the scale and scope of rhythmanalytical research. A strength of rhythmanalysis is its applicability to a wide range of settings and questions. Here the reflection concerns its scope more

explicitly and what it offers as a mode of inquiry at and across different scales. The final section is on communicating rhythm. The discussion draws on examples which showcase different modes of representation – and modes beyond representation – through which research on rhythm can be conveyed, including in visual, audiovisual, sonic and written forms.

Rhythmanalysis as embodied and sensory research

There is a sense in which the rhythmanalyst *becomes* rhythm as the body's own rhythms combine with the ebbs and flows of other people's actions and interactions and the liveliness of the material world in which they are immersed. When I think now of walking across the market hall at Billingsgate shadowing a porter on the way to collect orders from one of the adjoining chill stores, what I recall is the reach of my stride mirroring his. I absorbed his rhythm. It was a stretch for my (shorter and smaller) body but meant I registered this walk at a kinaesthetic level in relation to my usual pattern and pace. This happened in a similar way in relation to different senses as I followed the gaze of the fish inspector with my own eyes, simultaneously asking him to describe what he was seeing and how he was looking, or when listening closely to the interactions of sellers and buyers on the market.

The rhythmanalyst seeks to inhabit the rhythms of others with his or her own body, tuning in to others' movements and gestures, attentions and anticipations, letting different rhythms make themselves felt. Beyond the moment or situation rhythm is noticed through the difference its absence makes. In this process, the rhythmanalyst's body is mobilized 'as a set of rhythmic relations through which the spatio-temporal turbulence of everyday life registers as so many intensities of feeling' (McCormack 2013: 42).

The body is clearly a tool of rhythmanalytical research as we saw earlier in the discussion of Lefebvre's and others' practices (Chapters 2 and 3). It is also an object of research in rhythmanalysis as attention to the relations between bodies and environments reveal the body's capacities to act (Kullman and Palludan 2011: 350). Such corporeal relations in the research process are well recognized by embodied ethnographic researchers (Perry and Medina 2015, Turner and Norwood 2013). Feminist scholars in particular have called for an appreciation of knowledge as 'situated' (Haraway 1988) in time,

space and known through the body, notwithstanding the complexities of acknowledging difference while resisting essentialist categories of biology and identity. However, despite the centrality of the body as a tool and object of rhythmanalytical research and the theoretical sophistication of embodiment in the current literature, the linkages between the actual flesh and blood, breathing and feeling body of the researcher and the experience of being in the field are often only faintly drawn. I noted this earlier (in Chapter 3) in relation to some of the work of Tim Edensor and colleagues but want to make a stronger point about it here.

There have been some important developments for empirical enquiry in the social sciences in recent years which are relevant here. Non-representational or more-than-representational theory or theories as it is variously called emerged in geography as a way of thinking which foregrounds practice, especially embodied practices, process and materiality (Thrift 2007). It recognizes the 'excess' of social life beyond our capacities for perception, conscious awareness and representation; it emphasizes so-called pre-cognitive aspects of life in everyday practices; and it promotes an open-endedness in accounts of the world. However, this focus on embodied practices does not always extend to a reflexive consideration of the researcher's body doing research; instead it continues to privilege the cerebral despite its acknowledgement of the corporeal. Mike Crang refers to this as a 'ghostly absence' in geography (2003: 499), a point previously made by others, notably Judith Okely (1992, 2007) with respect to anthropology.

Some of the literature on rhythmanalysis and time space more generally which puts the body centre stage also disregards important feminist scholarship since the 1980s. Discussions of affect for instance do not always give due regard to the contribution of work on emotion, embodiment and place, much of which was undertaken by women at a time when such concerns were marginalized (Pedwell and Whitehead 2012). I would argue that rhythmanalysis can do this differently. And since it relies on accessing intimate details of embodied experience to be done well, it needs to aim high in terms of the standards of its practice. If we use our bodies to perceive the world as a research strategy, the simple recognition that different bodies perceive differently implies taking account of who is doing what, to what end and with what effects. Embodiment can be mobilized as part of a reflexive process to unpack the relationship between researchers' own histories and capacities and the ways these inflect the production

of knowledge from design to interpretation, however complicated and varied this might be (Nencel 2014,¹ Parker 2016, Peake 2016, Rose 1997, Wright 2010).

The body is not a singular entity and the operation and deployment of the senses is important in any embodied research practice (Hockey and Allen-Collinson 2009). But standard sociological tools – the survey and the interview for instance – deal poorly with the fleeting, the distributed, the multiple, and especially the sensory, the emotional, and the kinaesthetic, as Law and Urry argue (2004: 403–4). In recent years, visual and sensory methods have emerged as part of broader move across the social sciences to ‘engage the senses’ (Pink 2005), offering a way of retaining the vitality and dynamism of the social world in our accounts of it (Back 2007, Back 2012, Back and Puwar 2012). The aim here is not to reproduce the social world as we encounter it but not to deaden it with the concepts, methods and style of the social sciences. Visual methods – still and moving images – have perhaps been at the forefront of the rise in sensory research and despite the dangers of overstating the significance of vision in everyday urban life in particular and in the construction of objects and sites of research, used imaginatively they remain valuable as in some of the examples already discussed (for reference see also Back 2007; Bates 2015; Harper 2012; Mitchell 2011; Pink 2005, 2007; Rose 2016; Spencer 2011; Wills et al. 2016). While the content of images may assist rhythmanalysis, the practice of doing research with the camera can also sensitize researchers to the embodied and material (Hunt 2014).

Lefebvre advocated cultivating the ‘attentive ear’ (2004: 27) in particular and for rhythmanalysts to learn ‘to listen to a house, a street, a city, as one listens to a symphony or an opera’. Moods, he says, are more important than specific images, atmospheres more relevant than spectacles. We have encountered examples already that explicitly explore music in urban space and rhythm as something which is embodied and experienced in sound (Bull 2000, Moore 2013, Labelle 2010). Sonic methods more generally seem to be gaining ground as a sensory approach in part as an important counter to the dominance of the visual in accounts of urban experience (Biddle and

¹ ‘How to be reflexive will depend on the objectives of the research, the type of knowledge produced, the position of the research subject in the broader society and the particularities of the research context’ (Nencel 2014: 75).

Thompson 2013). Below I briefly discuss two examples of the use of sound in rhythmanalysis.

George Revill (2013) argues for a more reflexive and active sense of listening than Lefebvre envisaged. Using psychoanalysis and the work of philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy, Revill focuses on listening rather than hearing. Although he does not explain exactly how he goes about this, in his account of listening to rhythm in a railway station he argues that this enables him to appreciate the station as a space of creative and imaginative possibility rather than simply one of linear regulation which a strict reading of Lefebvre might suggest. A second example is the study of bodily rhythms in festival spaces where Michelle Duffy and colleagues (2011) extend Lefebvre's thinking to highlight how the body senses rhythm and thereby inhabits it in space as well as rhythms inhabiting the body. This is made clear in the comparison of two festivals in Australia. In each, the researchers deployed their own bodies as research instruments, they kept research diaries to bring the operation of rhythm into conscious awareness, and they conducted swift on-the-spot interviews with parade participants. Whereas in the Swiss-Italian festa, participants were 'infected' with rhythm, in the ChillOut parade rhythm was 'diffused or lost' as 'its rhythmic flow was less than predictable' (18–22). Other senses – of smell, taste and touch, or the haptic (e.g. Paterson 2009) – are also important for rhythmanalysis if trickier to work with directly. Tim Schwanen and colleagues' (2012) 'smellscapes' for instance suggest routes through urban space, and reinforce the character and feel of a place (Degen 2008: 45). Lefebvre is contradictory on the olfactory. On the one hand, smells and scents act 'as traces that mark out rhythms', he says; on the other, 'odours seem not to obey rhythms' (2004: 21, 41) but there is clearly potential for creative research practices here.

What then does working with the sensory in the practice of rhythmanalysis add up to? Chen conceives of rhythmanalysis as a 'meta-sense'. Since rhythm is grasped at the level of the sensory she argues, 'rhythm is a *meta-sense* which synthesises bodily and extra-bodily impressions' (2017: 2). It is a *dispersed* kind of sensing. It is experienced at the level of bodily consciousness, recognizes how a sense of rhythm is shaped by the intangible and appreciates that rhythm is not bounded by the body. Chen argues we need to further develop a vocabulary for 'practising rhythmanalysis' which can speak to this 'temporal-spatial consciousness' and sensitivity to rhythm, and help cultivate critical, imaginative and creative possibilities in research.

Indeed, rhythmanalysis works well with the non- or more-than-representational, tuning into mood and atmosphere as Lefebvre recommends and sensing the pre-cognitive in everyday experience as bodies affect and are affected in their encounters (Kullman and Palludan 2011: 350). That said, the talking and reflecting body is still of interest to rhythmanalysts and many of the examples discussed in this book include combinations of collecting talk and text alongside the sensory. As mentioned earlier in the discussion of Tim Edensor's work, perhaps talking about rhythm can produce rhythmic talk revealing the operation of rhythm in the ebb and flow of an account. Rather than Lefebvre's suggestion that rhythmanalysis might replace psychoanalysis, rhythmanalysts might instead learn from psychotherapeutic practices (as narrative analysis and psycho-social approaches have done, for example Hollway and Jefferson 2013) to recognize rhythm in talk.² Here too it is important to be reflexive and transparent about the process by which one set of voices gets translated into another in the authorship of rhythmanalytical research. This chimes with James Ash and Lesley Gallacher's (2015) calls for a 'vocabulary of embodied methodology' that captures sensory experience beyond the boundaries of the body. They advocate 'becoming attuned' in order 'to increase our capacity, as researchers, to sense difference'.

Rhythm for thinking and researching time and space

Throughout this book, I have sought to demonstrate how working with rhythm and practising rhythmanalysis can generate insight into spatial and temporal relations within and beyond the everyday. Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis is not of course the only way to pursue this aim. In Chapter 1, I briefly discussed the time space geography developed in Sweden in the 1970s. In the last decades of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, geographers, philosophers, sociologists, anthropologists and legal scholars have conceptualized time and space in various novel ways. Rhythm is a component of the philosophers, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's (1987) 'refrain' (*ritournelle*) as a passage, communication or coordination between spacetimes which produces familiarity (Crespi 2014;

² Susie Orbach discusses just this in *In Therapy* (2016) and 'The Poetry of Therapy': <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/oct/29/susie-orbach-poetry-of-therapy>

McCormack 2013: 80) – and this has been taken up widely by geographers. Rhythm features in Barbara Adam's 'timescapes' (1998) and Edward Soja's (2010) discussions of spatial justice and notably in contributions by Nigel Thrift (and colleagues) to thinking time space (Amin and Thrift 2002; May and Thrift 2001; Parkes and Thrift 1979; Thrift 2007).

Rhythm is considered to be a useful basis for a conceptual methodology for cultural theory and Henriques, Tianen and Väliaho (2014) argue for a new conceptualization of rhythm as vibration, a force of the virtual and intensive excess outside of consciousness. Several scholars have made use of rhythmanalysis in conjunction with other conceptual resources. For instance, Stanley Blue (2017: 3) proposes a combination of rhythmanalysis and practice theory to shed light on 'processes of institutionalisation' and 'to capture the interconnectivity, multiplicity and complexity of social phenomena'. In particular, Mike Crang (2001, 2005) makes use of Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of 'chronotypes' originally devised for the analysis of fiction to consider space, time and the relationship between them, together with Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis (Muliček, Osman and Seidenglanz 2014: 310).

Whatever the conceptualization of time and space in a project, it has implications for research design. For working with rhythm, Lefebvre advises: 'In each case the analysis should ride with the movements in whichever work or whichever sequence of actions until their end' (2004: 15–16). I read this guidance as twofold. First, it is important to undertake a preliminary rhythmanalysis of a site, an activity or the unfolding of an event to identify the rhythms that are present. Second, it is these rhythms which then inform the research design. In Rob Smith and Tom Hall's (Hall 2010; Smith and Hall 2013; Hall and Smith 2014) study of urban outreach workers, their recognition of the cyclical character of rhythm and its duration in the city informs their 'twenty-four-hour design'. In a similar way, my own work on Billingsgate fish market through the night (Lyon 2016) registers rhythm through a complete cycle – albeit one embedded in broader cycles – of the life of the market from midnight to midday. Where and when we target our attention is a central consideration of rhythmanalysis – and of ethnography more generally, as Paul Atkinson points out (2015).

Time-use studies³ have long provided fascinating data about the 'quantities' of time people devote to different tasks and lead to important

³ See Centre for Time Use Research, University of Oxford: <https://www.timeuse.org/>

insights, for instance about cross-national variation in the gendered division of domestic labour. However, the conceptualization of time that underpins this research programme is linear, expressed in terms of the clock. Temporality is not chronology, Ingold reminds us (2000: 194). Chronometric time both misses the lived experience or 'texture' of time (Flaherty 2011) and what Mark Harvey (1999) calls 'economies of time'. Economies of time suggest that the coordination, sequencing and articulation of work/other activities produce particular temporalities – and rhythms. This can be seen at a macro level in his analysis of the economies of time in France and the UK. Similar ideas can also be explored at a micro level. Ben Snyder (2016, discussed in Chapter 2) develops a rhythmanalytical research strategy which allows him to gain a deep understanding of the rhythmic relations of everyday working lives. He explores *synchronization* in time and *sychorization* (coordination in space) among three groups of workers subject to the disruptions of flexible capitalism: financial professionals, truck drivers and unemployed job seekers. Snyder uses his own 'embodied thick description' of the intertwining of time and space to grasp rhythm. He is 'able to ride with drivers for multiple consecutive days and mirror their sleep/wake rhythms so that I could better understand the physical demands of delivering freight', he writes (21). He experiences directly how the delivery 'involves the transmutation of one set of rhythmic patterns into another set of rhythmic patterns using the vigilant body as a medium' (107). And he observes how the driver 'experiences economic exchange in his body' (123).

Lefebvre and Régulier point out how we largely become aware of our rhythms 'when we suffer from some irregularity' or disorderliness (2004a: 77). Indeed, disruptions and crises have 'origins in and effects on rhythms', Lefebvre notes. They produce a kind of 'hole in time' which can be filled by a creation or an invention (Lefebvre 2004: 44).⁴ While Lefebvre was keen to see the transformatory potential of these 'cracks' and openings in the flow of spacetime (his 'moments' discussed in Chapter 2), he argues that *disruption* reveals rhythm, rendering visible what was previously unnoticed and under the surface. 'The value of disruption' is as a site of politics and a space of possibility for newness, different actions and interventions;

⁴ There's some similarity with the Situationist idea of *détournement* here as a 'reversal or hijacking' of accepted norms (Merrifield 2006: 34).

and it is also a 'heuristic device' for doing research into rhythm (Edensor 2000: 135–7).

The ethnomethodology of Harold Garfinkel (1917–2011) already offers a long-standing sociological tradition of suspending the taken-for-granted to expose the workings of social life and power, often through 'breaching experiments', concrete interventions in social situations. Rhythm analysts might be attentive to disruption as it arises or, as in ethnomethodology, provoke it as a research tactic.⁵ Breakdowns and shortages are part of everyday life. They reveal its spatio-temporal fragility and 'offer a snapshot of rhythms as they unravel' (Trentmann 2009: 69). For instance, Stephen Graham discusses how the vast urban 'infrastructural circuits' of the west come into view when volcanic ash or power cuts make the uninterrogated background of everyday life 'startlingly visible'. He concludes: 'Infrastructure disruptions also present a major opportunity to understand cities better' (2014: 469–71).⁶

Others have explicitly sought to go against dominant rhythms in order to detect them as in some of the examples previously considered. For instance, Bowdler dances on a footbridge as people awkwardly attempt to pass her (Edensor and Bowdler 2015). Students stand still in a crowded stairwell in the *U-bahn* so as to sense (and film) the flow of the crowd (Latham and McCormack 2009: 5–7). And Degen, DeSilvey and Rose (2008) intervened in the space of a shopping mall to stimulate the reactions of passers-by. *By The Way* (1999), a journey undertaken by the artists, Tea, offers some novel ways of documenting and displaying disruption. The journey from Liverpool to Hull was made by car moving between four hotels and recorded in real time with a video camera pointing out of the passenger window. Each time the car came to a stop as a result of the rhythms and regulation of the traffic, a member of Tea took a photograph of that location. Once this initial journey was complete, Tea returned to those locations and asked people to comment on the places in the images. These commentaries (seventy-six of them) became the sound track to the video and excerpts are transcribed on the reserve

⁵ Ethical considerations are especially important here. Indeed, it is worth remembering that disruption is central to flexible capitalism with its emphasis on 'improvisation over planning' (Snyder 2016: 5) and is commonly used by IT companies ostensibly to stimulate creativity and innovation.

⁶ See: <http://www.teaweb.org/by-the-way.html>

Image 4.1 Concertina journey by Tea, *By The Way*, 1999 (with kind permission of Peter Hatton).

of the relevant photograph. The still images were published in concertina format, a section of which is shown in Image 4.1. If disruption reveals, it also creatively transforms (Revill 2013: 62) and the experience of the repeated journeys of *By The Way* were themselves shaped by the process of documentation and research. Such forms of exploring the rhythms of time and place also highlight their uneven production (Hubbard and Lilley 2004), in turn making researchers more attentive to apparent ‘interruptions’ both in the production and the viewing of images such as these.

The scale and scope of rhythmanalysis

Lefebvre was hugely ambitious for the significance of rhythmanalysis – nothing short of a new science, he asserted (2004: 3) – as well as for its empirical reach. It certainly lends itself to historical analysis and perhaps most readily to the detailed examination of the social at the scale of the everyday. Indeed, the previous chapters have discussed numerous examples of research which traces rhythm in the home, on the street, across the city and at work. These studies mostly use methods which are more commonly associated with ethnography, and rely on the body of the researcher as direct observer or supplemented by recording devices which mediate, extend or enhance its sensory apprehension. However, while rhythmanalysis can be said to have alliances with ethnography, it is not wedded to a singular method or restricted to qualitative approaches more generally. DeLyser and Sui (2012) argue that it cannot be captured within a qualitative–quantitative divide, and this chimes with broad understandings of time and space as both measurable and comprehensible through subjective experience. Indeed, rhythm ‘reunites **quantitative** aspects and elements, which mark time and distinguish moments in it – and **qualitative** aspects

and elements, which link them together' (Lefebvre 2004: 8–9, emphases in original).

Rhythmanalysis as conceived by Lefebvre was intended to cut across multiple scales, from the bodily to the cosmic (Simonsen 2004). In Chapter 3, we saw the rhythmanalyst as observer of the body-screen-algorithm amalgam through which rhythm operated. While the body remains relevant in this instance, are there other examples where methodologically it is further displaced? For instance, what methods can we use for grasping the global rhythms of travel, information technologies or flows of online communication (see Clough et al. 2015; Tinati et al. 2014)? What happens when the rhythms that are of interest for research exceed the body's capacity for enquiry? What kinds of research questions can and cannot be addressed? Chen (2017) argues that at the level of research design, instead of looking for classic agents that produce specific rhythms, we must instead identify and explore 'sites of rhythmic production', rhythmic 'assemblages', 'bundles' or entanglements. Studying rhythm therefore means studying social processes such as multiple interconnected interactions which themselves give rise to rhythms.

GPS technologies offer one set of possibilities for exploring rhythm. They have been used to amalgamate multiple individual datasets and expose routes in urban spaces for instance but face a challenge in not reproducing the kinds of rigid descriptive representations of the early days of time-geography (Hägerstrand 1970). One interesting example that sidesteps this danger is from the UrbanDiary project which includes a comparison of personal mental maps with GPS records. Such a methodology may not be feasible with large samples (Neuhaus 2010: 325) (although novel uses of big data are on the rise (Birkin 2018)). In an innovative development, Beverley Skeggs and Simon Yuill (2016) make use of rhythmanalysis with 'big data' to question how Facebook structures social relations and monetizes energies. As in the case of Borch, Bondo Hansen and Lange (2015) investigating capital's everyday from the position of high-frequency trade, Skeggs and Yuill 'get inside' one of 'capital's new lines of flight' (2016: 1356). Using bespoke software to study software as well as more conventional survey and interview tools, they produce data visualizations which expose patterns of interactions in time if not in space, notably in relation to Facebook's sponsored stories, advertising and newsfeeds. Their research process was 'not entirely straightforward' (ibid.) but opens promising new directions to explore rhythm at a bigger scale.

Conveying rhythm

Doing research through embodied, sensory, performative, visual or haptic means has been marked by innovation and creativity in all sorts of ways in recent years as discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Researchers have vastly expanded the range and character of the tools of their trade, making a real difference to the ways in which qualitative research in particular can 'get' how other people's lives take shape. However, the ground gained in what are effectively modes of data collection has not seen parallels in the forms through which research can be communicated and these remain limited. In this final section, I discuss what conveying rhythm might demand of researchers – and publishers – and explore the potential of some imaginative and experimental developments across different fields.

First, let's not give up on writing. While the written word is often criticized for deadening the liveliness of the social world, it doesn't have to be this way. Les Back calls for sociology to be a more literary craft 'informed by a commitment to patience, accuracy and critical judgement'. There is no letting up on the robustness of the research process here, only a hope that the result might lead to more 'artful description' and analysis (2007: 21). Ben Snyder's work does this well. In a passage entitled 'A Long Night' (2016: 103–8), Snyder waits with Alvaro, an owner-operator of the truck he drives to collect a load of frozen chicken. Snyder's writing conveys frustration, patience, mounting tension, stillness, resignation, uncertainty and the multiple recalibrations of the body necessary in relation to the unknown end point of the wait. In the meantime, the clock ticks: 7.00 pm, 8.33 pm, 3.32 am, 5.08 am ... It weighs heavily. I don't realize until they pull away from the poultry plant that as a reader I too have felt the strains and rhythms of the night.

Kathleen Stewart gained the attention of readers across the social sciences and humanities with the publication of *Ordinary Affects* in 2007. The book is entirely composed of vignettes of ordinary life in the form of stories, detailed observation and critique without offering an overarching analysis. In an entry entitled 'Odd Moments', she starts: 'At odd moments in the course of the day, you might raise your head in surprise or alarm at the uncanny sensation of a half-known influence' (2007: 60). Here she catches something that can't easily be put into words but is expressed between these lines and the reader's familiarity with such moments. Anna Gibbs (2015) – who also discusses *Ordinary Affects* – argues for a form of critical

writing that refuses to be contained by the injunctions of the academy. For instance, poetry might work for rhythmanalysts to make use of form as well as meaning to convey rhythm as, following Henri Meschonnic (1982), it is 'the mode of discourse closest to the body' (Gibbs 2015: 233).

While writing remains important, researchers also have other means at their disposal in today's mediated world – as we saw in the discussion of Billingsgate fish market in Chapter 3 and in some of the examples above. Philip Vannini (2012b) considers the non-linear, multi-modal (for instance, text, image and sound) web-based possibilities for sharing research that evoke and move readers and viewers beyond a cognitive register of informing them. In addition to creating bespoke websites, spaces for web-based publication are growing (e.g. *Journal of Video Ethnography* and *Sensate*⁷). Anthropologists have been at the forefront of advancing alternatives to text or new ways of working with text (Cox, Irving and Wright 2016; Elliott and Culhane 2017; Pink 2005; 2007). Lucien Castaing-Taylor stands out for forging novel modes of evoking everyday life through the audiovisual. I am thinking in particular of his film *Leviathan* (2012) with Véréna Paravel which through cameras situated on different parts of a fishing boat immerses and disorients the viewer (almost to the point of sea-sickness!) and brilliantly renders the fierce and expressive rhythms of life at sea for the fishermen bound up with the water, the boat, the fish and other sea life, as well as being subject to the movements of the sea itself. While the form relies on sound and image, Pink (2007) argues that video in particular appeals to multiple senses, not least since the senses themselves are connected so that we might "read" touch, smell and taste' from audiovisual images (Merchant 2011: 66).

Criminologist and film-maker David Redmon also undertakes experimental audiovisual ethnography 'that crafts sensory knowledge from aesthetic experience'. In *Mardi Gras: Made in China*, for instance, he shows 'temporal, topographical, and corporeal connections' as the viewer sees 'the repetitive movements of a teenage worker with red scars on her fingers from sewing beads' which he contrasts with 'the repetitive exchanges of beads transacted through revellers' hands' (2015: 433–4). No one does it better than David Hockney though. His *The four seasons, Woldgate Woods* (*Spring* 2011, *Summer* 2010, *Autumn* 2010, *Winter* 2010) multi-screen video work shown simultaneously on four walls of a square room immerses

⁷ *Sensate*: <http://sensatejournal.com/>

the viewer in an environment that reconfigures time as the video shows the camera moving along the same stretch of road across the seasons of the year.⁸

Other visual forms developed explicitly to show rhythm include Filipa Wunderlich's juxtapositions, layered photographs and 'spectral diagrams' (2008, 2010, 2013). Wunderlich's work is visually rich and evocative and the photographs she positions alongside one another are effective for identifying and showing different 'place-rhythms'. Images from her 'Freeze-time photography project' use different moments in time superimposed on one another so the viewer sees the same figure more than once in a single frame, for instance a few paces apart, and thereby gathers a sense of their movement through time and space (as in the work of photographer, Pelle Cass). Her spectral diagrams are an interesting attempt to combine different data (sound, image and movement). However, while formally rich, they risk losing their capacity for communicating the sensory when put together in a two-dimensional form in print. In addition, Joe Graham (2015) has developed an arts practice drawing technique to record the *moving present* as a means to reveal rhythm.

If sound is especially appealing to rhythmanalysts for registering rhythm, it is also a form in which rhythm can be conveyed, either from recorded sonic data or through the transformation of other data into an audible form, and there are some exciting developments in this field (see Gallagher and Prior (2014) for a review and future directions). In particular, Michelle Duffy, Gordon Waitt and Theresa Harada (2016) have devised what they call 'visceral sonic mapping as a research tool'. They repeatedly listen to their recorded sounds and annotate them in the form of a 'sound map', gradually adding the distinctions and interconnections between different layers of sound.⁹ In an ethnography of driving, they also shared these maps with research participants to trigger the emotional and affective resonances of the sounds for them. For instance, in 'Trevor's drive', the specific ways in which he drives *with* and not just *in* the car surface through this process (55).

Michaela Palmer and Owain Jones (2014) face a different challenge as the rhythms they are interested in, such as tidal patterns of the Severn Estuary in the west of England/south of Wales, are not directly accessible

⁸ For a glimpse of the work, see: <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/multimedia/the-four-seasons/>

⁹ Examples can be accessed here: <https://soundcloud.com/search?q=sonic%20geographies>

in audible or other sensory forms. Taking inspiration from Evans and Jones' (2008) aural representations of environmental data in a transdisciplinary application of rhythmanalysis across the human and non-human,¹⁰ they undertake a procedure of 'sonification', converting data from environmental processes into sound.¹¹ Sonifications identify and apply sounds to processes and rhythms and produce 'maps' which can be 'redrawn' in flexible ways. They make non-human rhythms that are usually beyond the reach of human apprehension available to the human senses and 'retain the liveliness of an event' (Palmer and Jones 2014: 225). This is a particularly fascinating application that has potential for diffusion across other fields. Finally, Eleni Ikoniadou (2014) also considers the 'rhythmicity' of the event at the margins of perception in an analysis of digital media art practices and experiments.

At this point, I hope the reader will appreciate what rhythmanalysis might be good for as an open-ended approach which operates in time and space at different scales attempting to grasp, analyse and render the rhythms of the social world in meaningful ways. In the concluding chapter, a worked example exposes in some detail the thinking behind a new rhythmanalytical project.

¹⁰ The published article is a transcript of the film which can be viewed here: http://www.blackwell-compass.com/home_video#gecofilm

¹¹ Their website, Sonic Severn, and examples of their own and students' work are available here: <http://www.sonicsevern.co.uk/about.htm>