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*Soundscapes of Feminist Protests in London:
Collective Identity Construction through Sonic Resonance*

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Abstract

Soundscapes of Feminist Protests in London: Collective Identity Construction through Sonic Resonance

Aiming to fill the gaps in sound studies of protests, and contribute to understand the relationship between rationality, meaning, affect, and emotion in social movement studies, in this thesis, I explore the role of, sound, rationality, meaning, affect, and emotion in creating a collective identity, within Feminist Protests in London. Based on, in-depth interviews, participant observation, sonic ethnography, and the analysis of sonic diaries, this research question was investigated from, organizational, sonically descriptive, and participative perspectives.

From an organizational perspective, and with the intent to build collective identity, sound is strategically used to produce Sonic Performances including Collective Singing, Music Broadcasting, Speech, and Drumming, which taken together constitute the Feminist protest soundscapes. The meanings of songs and speeches are articulated in such a way as to connect and embed participating individuals to the overall protest frame of gender inequality. Meanwhile, emotionality and affectability of musical styles, voices of speakers, and drum sounds are strategically considered, to unite individuals in collective experiences.

From a sonically descriptive angle, and via protest soundscape analysis, it was concluded that the meanings of the general protest frame and the expression of collective emotions and affects correspond, which dominate the protest soundscapes at once. It generates a collective, rational voice, responding to sonic surroundings including the leader's calls, other participant's sonic contributions, and the sounds of opponents.

From a participative point of view, by partaking in Sonic Performances, participants relate protest claim such as, unequal pay, and women migrant's injustice, to the general protest claim of gender inequality. Furthermore, being affected by positive emotions and sonic affect, participants felt that they were sharing similar experiences, thereby creating a sense of belonging. In this process, however, rational reflection takes place, as some participants chose not to attune (align themselves) with the sonic collective, if and when the meanings articulated in Sonic Performances misrepresented their identity.

As rationality, meaning, affect, and emotion resonate in Sonic Performances, Sonic Resonance was conceptualized to explain, the sonic strategies of activists, the fabric of the protest soundscapes, and the process of collective identity formation through the resonating experience of rationality, meaning, affect, and emotion, as enabled by the protest soundscapes. These entities are mutually reflecting and dialectically reinforcing in sound, constructing collective identity. In sum, this thesis contributes to explore 1) the relationship between the rational and the affective dimensions of contentious action; and 2) the interaction between affect, meaning, rationality, and emotion in exploring collective identity formation, especially from an experiential account.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

WML – Women’s March on London

WSA – Women’s Strike Assembly

ATP – Anti Trump Protests

Chapter 1 – Introduction

As a pianist, I have always been sensitive to and curious about sound. In the Umbrella Movement in 2014, sitting on the floor in Central Hong Kong, my heart was touched by the collective singing of *Umbrella in the Rain* (Ho, 2014). The soft and gentle collective singing voice, which echoed with sounds of rain, was still sounding in my memory. Why was that? What had happened in that moment? Having moved to London, these questions were still close to my heart. Albeit different in context and sonic surroundings, the sounds of protests in London, as in the UCU Pension Strike, the Women's March on London, the Women's Strike Assembly, and Animal Right protests, were remarkable in my experience. Sounds of extremely loud music, of extraordinary, carnival-like drumming, non-stop chanting and the sharing of jokes with other participants made protesting enjoyable. It was as if I was energetically recharged when in these protests. Before having to leave the venue, I always have a feeling of 'I love all the people here!', and 'I really don't want to leave!' There has been so much joy, fun and a sense of solidarity, although we were protesting. Thus, again, questions are raised. Why would I feel this way when participating in protests? I am quite sure that we, the participants, were normal, rational people who knew what we were doing and why, and with what purpose. So what had happened? What did sound do to create these experiences? I started searching for answers, which led to this study, an exploration of sound in protests – its rationality, meaning, affect and emotion, in relation to collective identity construction.

Sound in Protests and Social Movements

To my surprise, sound studies of protests were relatively limited, not only in quantity, but also in their coverage of sonic genres (DeLaurenti, 2015; Rosenberg, 2018). Through scholarship in musicology and cultural studies (Denisoff, 1966, 1969; Eyerman & Jamison, 1998; Frith, 1996; Hesmondhalgh, 2013), the study of protest music has dominated the discourse of sound studies of protests. Lyrical and melodic analysis of protest songs has contributed to the debate, by exploring the cultural role of music in creating meaning in protests. However, protest music is not only a cultural form, but also a performance, expressed through the action of singing. In other words, there is an emotional, affective, experiential aspect to the use of music in protests. However, besides music and songs, there are also other sonic elements in protests and social movements. Depending on the protest, for instance, the sounds of speeches, chants, cheering and drumming can also be central (DeLaurenti, 2015; Palmer, 2008; Rosenberg, 2018) – this was my experience when participating in Feminist Protests in London, in particular.

As I will further discuss in Chapter 3 with regard to case selection, compared with other protests in London, the Feminist Protests were sonically significant. Calling on potential participants to bring their ‘pots and pans’ (WSA, 2019, online), to make noise (WML, 2019, online), sound is adopted for claim-making, according to statements and calls for action. Because of their sonically oriented approach, I was interested in further exploring these protests under the umbrella of the Feminist Movement, including the Women’s March on London (WML), the Women’s Strike Assembly (WSA), and the Anti-Trump Protest (ATP). While at these protests, I realized that sounds were everywhere and constituted the space of the protests. Besides being able to identify the aforementioned sonic performances, such as songs, speeches, chanting and drumming, I noticed that these were not sounding in separation, as demonstrated in the existing literature (Denisoff, 1966, 1969; Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). Rather, they were overlapping and relating to each other, and this created a sonic space and continuously enabled a sonic experience.

For instance, in these protests, the sound of chanting was interacting with the crowd cheering, which covered the sonic layers of chit-chat and of music broadcasting from afar. Later, the sound of drumming joined in, which interacted with, and gradually overwrote, the chanting. The interaction of sonic elements that I observed in the space of protests was quite different from what has been described in studies of protest sounds, which explore these in terms of their respective genres, including music (Denisoff, 1969; Eyerman & Jamison, 1998), speeches (Osisanwo & Iyoha, 2020), drumming (Bogad, 2010; Bowers, 2015; Drott, 2018; Lee, 2012) and crowd sounds (Rosenberg, 2018). Albeit different in quality, these studies suggest that there are two major functions of protest sounds: 1) to make claims, and 2) to unite participants as a protest collective. These two objectives of protest sounds are connected to the concept of collective identity in social movement literature (Melucci, 1995), which explains the mobilization of strangers, and the sustaining of protest, in their meaningful (claim-making), and emotional and affective (building of a sense of ‘we-ness’) aspects. Therefore, I found this concept relevant to exploring sound in protests for this thesis.

Initiated by Melucci (1995) in order to explain non-class-based social movements, the notion of collective identity refers to the process of relating individual participants to the protest collective, which contributes to mobilization and participation. To explain collective identity construction, however, concepts stemming from different social movement approaches have different foci, which cannot reflect the interconnectedness between the entities of meaning, emotion, rationality and affect, in explaining collective identity. Rationality and resource mobilization (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) stresses the role of resources in creating collective experience, while scholars of the cultural turn emphasize the articulation of meaning in relating individual participants to the collective protest frame (Gamson, 1998; Snow & Benford, 2003). Starting in the 1990s, attention has been given to emotions, which are regarded as the

'invisible glue' for making participants connect to one another collectively, thus promoting and sustaining collective mobilization (Jasper, 1998; 2018). Alongside the advancement of emotion studies and affect studies, which stress the bodily experience of emotion, in the 2000s, social movement scholars started to explore participation, based on an affective participatory perspective (Ash, 2012; Auer, 2012; Gould, 2010; Quinn, 2018).

As we can see, in reflecting a changing social context, at times a variety of concepts were adopted in order to explain the formation of protest collectives, including concepts of rationality, meaning, emotion and affect. However, these concepts and approaches have been theorized and applied in a disjointed manner, which does not do justice to an understanding of the formation of collective identity. This is because collective identity is an experiential process, from both organizing and participating perspectives. Rationality, meaningful understanding and experiences of affect and emotion are all implicated.

Therefore, in this thesis, which is based on the, rational, meaningful, emotional and affective qualities of sound, I set out to explore the role of sound, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in creating collective identity in protests.

In the following section I outline my chapters, for introductory purposes.

Chapter Outline

To explore the role of sound, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in creating collective identity in protests, this thesis is grounded in social movement literature and in sound studies literature.

Theoretical debates of relevance to my research inquiry, conceptual framework and research questions are discussed in Chapter 2. Following this, in Chapter 3, I introduce my selected cases and methods. In Chapters 4 to 6, I discuss empirical findings, responding to each research question. Lastly, in Chapter 7, I conclude my empirical findings, discuss my conceptual and methodological contribution, and reflect on the research design.

Chapter 2: Literature Review, Conceptual Framework and Research

Questions

In Chapter 2, I demonstrate my research rationale by reviewing literature under the themes of 1) Sound, 2) Sound Studies of Protests, and 3) Collective Identity Construction. Based on discussion in the literature review, I introduce the conceptual framework. Concepts including those of Sonic Performances, Protest Soundscapes, Rationality, Meaning and Framing, Affect, Emotion, and Collective

Identity formulate the conceptual framework for this thesis. In relation to this, I raise one general conceptual question, and three empirical questions.

On a conceptual level, I ask: *What is the relationship between sound, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in creating collective identity?* Under the general conceptual question, there are three sets of empirical questions. Firstly, positioned from an organizing perspective, I investigate: *What are the sonic performances strategically considered by organizers in feminist protests in London?* Relating to this, I further investigate: *What is the role of sonic performances in protest soundscapes, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion, in creating collective identity, from an organizing perspective?* Secondly, responding to the organizers' sonic strategies, I explore their sonic production outcomes by asking: *How do protest soundscapes sound?* This research inquiry also aims to contribute to a qualitative and sonically descriptive account, within sound studies of protests. Thirdly, and connected to this, I explore participants' experience of being in such protest soundscapes, by investigating the role of sonic performances in protest soundscapes, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in creating collective identity, from a participating perspective.

In order to answer these research questions, cases and methods were selected, which are discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Cases and Methods

In Chapter 3, I discuss case selection and methods selected for data collection and data analysis. Firstly, regarding case selection, the Women's March on London (WML), the Women's Strike Assembly (WSA) and the Anti-Trump Protest (ATP) were selected, because of their sonic relevance, as shown in promotional messages and mobilization strategies. Framing their promotional messages by using sonically related phrases such as 'make a noise' (WML, 2019) and 'bring your pots and pans' (WSA, 2019), these protest organizations revealed their sonic orientation in their mobilization. Also, based on a piloting exercise, Sonic Performances, including singing, speeches, chanting and drumming, were identified, making these protests relevant as case studies for this thesis.

After this, I discuss methods of data collection and analysis. To explore the rational, meaningful, emotional and affective aspects of sounds in protests, I argue that a combination of ethno-methods and sonic methods of data collection, and of thematic analysis and protest soundscape analysis, were necessary. For data collection, methods including interviews, participant observation, sonic ethnography and sonic diaries were adopted. Meanwhile, data analytical methods, including thematic analysis and protest soundscape analysis, which I developed based on Schafer's (1994) soundscape analysis, were employed. Based on these methods, data were collected and analyzed in response to the research questions, as discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Chapter 4: Organizing Strategies for Sonic Performances: Sonic Resonance of Rationality, Meaning, Affect and Emotion

In Chapter 4, responding to the first set of research questions, I explore sonic strategies rationally considered by organizers in order to produce Sonic Performances for collective identity construction. I found that Sonic Performances, including Collective Singing, Music Broadcasting, Speeches and Drumming, were strategically produced by organizers to formulate Feminist Protest Soundscapes. To produce these Sonic Performances, organizers considered the rational, meaningful, emotional and affective aspects of sound, aiming to have participants relate to the general protest frame of gender inequality, and to create an experience of a collectivity.

For instance, in order to produce the Sonic Performance of Collective Singing, organizers selected songs including *Bread and Roses* (Kohlsaat, 1917), *The March for Women* (Smyth, 1912), and *We are Family* (Sister Sledge, 1979). These songs meaningfully represent the general frame of women suffering injustice, and celebrate feminist collectivity, in terms of the lyrics and the cultural meaning of songs. However, not only the meaning of the songs was considered, but also their emotionality and affectability, as carried in their musical qualities and in the act of collective singing. According to the organizers, only 'happy songs' that were culturally familiar to the protest community were selected for collective singing. Therefore, meaning, affect and emotion were considered for collective singing. It is important to note that these entities resonate and reinforce each other in response to the organizers' objective of creating a protest collective. Therefore, although not presented in semiotics, emotional categories, or embodied experiences like meaning, emotion and affect, rationality exists. These elements reinforce each other relevantly, rather than being randomly created, which reflects a rationality. Therefore, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion all resonate in sound, and are considered by the organizers to create a collective experience, anchored by a meaningful understanding of a shared feminist protest concern. The resonating quality of rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in sound is conceptualized as Sonic Resonance.

The strategy of Sonic Resonance is also revealed in the production of other Sonic Performances, including Music Broadcasting, Speeches and Drumming. To arrange for Music Broadcasting, WSA selected songs that represented its organizational values, criticizing a hegemony causing women's oppression. Meanwhile, upbeat rhythms broadcast at a disruptive volume were intended to create a 'party atmosphere' that affectively and emotionally bound participants into a collective. As for speeches, a wide representation of speakers from a variety of feminist organizations was considered. This arrangement ensured a meaningful portrait and framing of injustice affecting women, from different organizational aspects and under a general collective frame of women's collectivity. However, besides

the meaning of their speeches, the voices of speakers and the interactivity between speakers and participants were considered, aiming to create a collective experience among participants. Even with drumming, albeit without words, the loud, deep and low frequent sound of Samba represented rejection. Together with its vibrating qualities, vivacity and rhythmicity, the organizers aimed to arrange the Sonic Performance of drumming so as to unite participants in the protest arena.

In general, in Chapter 4 I will show how Sonic Performances are rationally considered by organizers. They consider and mobilizes resources from meaningful, emotional and affective aspects, which resonate with and lead to their protest objective, showcasing the existence of rationality among these entities. Also, it is important to note that, besides meaningful, affective and emotional considerations, other mobilizing resources, including technology, logistics, security measures and the support of allies, are necessary.

Besides explaining sonic strategies from an organizational aspect, Sonic Resonance is also a conceptual tool for explaining and portraying Protest Soundscapes, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Soundscapes of Feminist Protests in London: Crowd Sound, Music, Speeches and Feminist Marching Polyphony

In Chapter 5, responding to the second research question, I map out the Protest Soundscapes of Feminist Protests in London, based on five sonic episodes, including Pre-protest Noises, Crowd Sounds, Collective Singing, Speeches and Feminist Marching Polyphony. In relation to Sonic Resonance, I argue that Feminist Protest Soundscapes are rational, meaningful, emotional and affective. Furthermore, these entities are collectively expressed by a united collective voice produced by participants. This collective voice responds to the organizers' call for Sonic Performances, and to sounds of normality and of opponents, which demonstrate the rational and collective nature of crowd sound.

Firstly, Feminist Protest Soundscapes are dominated by the Sonic Performances of Collective Singing and Speeches. Based on a Protest Soundscape Analysis, I present these Sonic Performances in terms of acoustics, meaning, affect and emotion, which reinforce an interconnectedness between these entities, as different aspects, yet one in the medium of sound. In acoustics, the volume of choral singing, music broadcasting and the voices of speakers dominate the protest soundscapes, overwriting other existing sonic elements. Through this dominant sonic medium, the meaning of injustice and the collective frames of feminist protest are contained and expressed. Meanwhile, reflexive and collective emotions, including anger, a sense of determination, provocation, excitement and happiness, which are related to meanings of the frames, are carried and expressed through the musicality of songs and the tonal emphasis of speakers. Furthermore, because of their sonic dominance, the emotion expressed in Collective Singing

and in Speeches spread and fill the protest soundscapes, creating an atmosphere and collectively affecting participants' bodily movements and vocal expression.

Moreover, in these Sonic Performances, the sonic dominance of choral singing, music broadcasting and the voices of speakers are transformed into a collective voice. This is because participants are collectively taking part in cheering, singing and chanting, responding to the, leaders' call, their message and emotions. Their collective response creates one united voice, by chanting and singing collectively, at the same time, in the same space, expressing the same emotion and protest concerns. In this collective voice, meaning, affect and emotion resonate, which demonstrate a rational response to the protest leaders and their shared concerns and emotions.

Besides specific Sonic Performances, during marches, it was found that no single dominant Sonic Performance could be identified, but a mixture of various Sonic Performances, including singing, chanting and drumming, which I have conceptualized as Feminist Marching Polyphony. This concept contributes to theorizing the co-existence, and inter-connectedness, of different Sonic Performances, which all contain and carry the meaning of feminist protest frames, collective emotions relating to these frames, and of an affective embodiment based on their audio and sensual qualities. Moreover, in multiple situations, the Feminist Marching Polyphony collectively makes, without rehearsal, a sonic adjustment which demonstrates the nature of the collectivity and rationality of crowd expression, in relation to the objective of claim-making.

Thus, Sonic Resonance explains not only the organizational strategies for Sonic Performances, but also the quality of Protest Soundscapes. As I show in Chapter 6, through an experiential account, this concept also contributes to illustrating the role of Sonic Performances in creating a collective identity.

Chapter 6: Collective Attunement: A Collective Process of Attunement to the Collective Based on the Experience of Sonic Resonance

In Chapter 6, responding to the third research question, I conceptualize participants' experience of attuning one's sonic contribution to the sonic collective, and one's personal protest concern to the general protest frame of gender inequality, as a Collective Attunement. In this collective attunement, entities of rationality, meaning, emotion and affect resonate with participants' experience of, and participation in, Sonic Performances within Protest Soundscapes. Sonic Resonance thus explains not only sonic strategies and the constitution of protest soundscapes, but also the experience of collective identity.

In the Sonic Performances identified, including Collective Singing, Speeches and Feminist Marching Polyphony, participants rationally choose to partake in Sonic Performances only when meaning,

emotion and affect all resonate, which is a process and experience that makes them know, feel and experience that they are part of a feminist protest collectivity, sharing a collective identity.

For instance, in Collective Singing, participants are able to relate to the protest collective, because the collective frames of injustice in songs were broad enough. Under the general protest frame of gender inequality, as represented in songs, participants relate their specific personal concerns, such as unequal pay, migrant women's suffering and sexual violence. to the general injustice frame of gender inequality, in the context of Brexit. Furthermore, besides the framing of songs, the collective emotions released from songs and the action of collective singing, including a sense of collectivity, satisfaction, excitement and happiness, are also key to building a collective through experience. Related to this, in the process of experiencing these collective emotions, participants are collectively affected, and affect others, in terms of affective embodiment, including by shouting, moving their hands up and down, cheering, screaming and singing. As we can see, participants attune their sonic contribution to the protest collective, and identify themselves with the feminist protest community, only when meaningful framing, emotion and affect resonate in Sonic Performances. This is also the case with Speeches and with Feminist Protest Polyphony.

In the Sonic Performance of Speeches, which includes the sonic participation of listening, cheering and chanting, participants reveal that they attune their voices to the collective voice, and relate themselves to the protest collective in terms of identity, only when they agree with the meaning of speeches and chants, and feel at one with the collective, in terms of emotions and affective experience. For instance, participants rationally choose to stop chanting when they realize the meaning of the chant does not represent their own protest concerns. Meanwhile, however, they are not able to attune to the protest collective in terms of emotion if a sense of enthusiasm generated by, and experienced through, the collective sound of chanting and cheering is deemed to be lacking.

As with Feminist Marching Polyphony, participants attune their own sonic contribution, including talking, cheering, chanting and singing, to the 'mixture of everything' which represents the collective voice of Feminist Protest. Because of the emotions and the affective embodiment collectively experienced, participants attune their personal protest concern to the experience of collectivity, which makes them view their personal protest concern through the unit of the protest collective, thus contributing to constructing collective identity. Furthermore, in relation to Feminist Protest Soundscapes, as explored in Chapter 5, when encountering the sounds of opponents, and of normality, participants realize that the collective voice of the Feminist Marching Polyphony that they have attuned and contributed to is in contrast to these, in terms of meaning, affect and emotion. A sonic boundary between 'us' and 'them' is salient to the negotiation of meaning and creation of the experience of a 'we-community'.

In short, in the process of Collective Attunement, individual participants relate to the protest collective in terms of sonic participation and of collective identity, which leads them to an experience of Sonic Resonance, including a meaningful understanding of the general protest frame and of collective emotions and affects. Rational reflection takes place continuously, as participants evaluate their attunement to the sonic performance and the collective identity, based on their protest concerns.

As we can see, Sonic Resonance explains not only sonic strategies and the constitution of protest soundscapes, but the process of collective identity construction, in terms of experience of Sonic Performances. Therefore, through studying sound in protests, collective identity can be understood as both an attunement process between the individual and the collective, and an experience of the sonic resonance of rationality, meaning, affect and emotion.

Finally, all empirical findings relating to my research questions, conceptual and methodological contribution and reflexivity of research design are discussed in the concluding chapter of this thesis, Chapter 7.

Conclusion

In summary, in this chapter, I have introduced my research rationale and chapter outline. Aiming to fill theoretical gaps identified in sound studies of protests and collective identity in the social movement literature, this thesis explores the role of sonic performance in protest soundscapes, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion, in relation to collective identity construction. Because of their sonic relevancy, feminist protests in London, including WML, WSA and ATP, were selected for study, based on the methods of interviews, participant observation, sonic ethnography, sonic diaries, thematic analysis and protest soundscape analysis.

In the next chapter, in order to justify my research rationale, I firstly discuss literature relating to sound and collective identity construction. Then, I introduce my conceptual framework and research questions, which form the backbone of this thesis.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review, Conceptual Framework and Research Questions

Introduction

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, albeit relatively understudied, sound, like other cultural forms including text and image, contributes to the construction of social life and events, including protests and social movements (Clement, 2016; DeLaurenti, 2015; Palmer, 2008; Rosenberg, 2018). According to the literature on sound studies of protests (Ash, 2012; Auer, 2012; Quinn, 2018; Rosenberg, 2018), common protest sounds include chanting, singing, speeches, crowd sound and drumming. Also, because of the assembled setting of protests, visual capacity is restricted, as participants' view may be blocked by the crowd or by other protest artefacts. Therefore, the use of sound for communication in protests becomes prominent, from both organizing and participating perspectives.

To explore sonic forms in protests, both the sound studies and the social movement literature serve as a relevant theoretical and conceptual foundation. In the literature review, I investigate what the sounds in protests are. Sonic forms including music (Frith, 1997; Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999), speeches (Johnston, 2009; Musliu & Burluk, 2019), crowd sound (Nevill et al., 2002; Rasmussen et al., 2017; Rosenberg, 2018) and drumming (Bogad, 2010; Bowers, 2015; Drott, 2018; Lee, 2012) are common sounds in protest, according to the literature. Explored as separated genres, and in accordance with different conceptual foci, a textual approach has often been adopted for song and speech analysis, while affect and emotion are a conceptual focus in studies of drumming and crowd sound. However, it is important to note that sound is experiential, and therefore at once meaningful, affective and emotional, as embodied in the sonic form (Dollar, 2006). Therefore, to study sounds in protests without a relatively comprehensive approach that embraces both textual and affective aspects will not do justice to the topic.

That said, these studies (Frith, 1997; Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999) provide insights on protest sounds, in terms of their quality and functions. Music, speeches, crowd sound and drumming are mainly adopted for claim-making and uniting participants as a collective. By voicing their demands in public, collectively, participants' complaints become sonically demonstrative. These protest sounds highlight participants' commonality in relation to the protest concerns, which contribute to building a sense of collectivity. The meaningful (claim-making) and emotional (sense of 'we-ness') aspects of protest are conceptualized as collective identity by Melucci (1994), in order to explain the mobilization and sustaining of protest. Since the notion of collective identity chimes with the purpose of protest sounds,

which also touches on the meaningful, affective and emotional aspects of the mobilization process, I found it useful to explore the role and functions of sound in protests.

To explain the construction of collective identity, different approaches within social movement studies have contributed to the debate. Scholars of the cultural turn emphasize the role of framing and meaning-making in relating individual participants to a shared, collective protest concern (Gamson, 1998; Snow & Benford, 2003;). Meanwhile, with the rise of the emotional turn, emotion has been regarded as the invisible glue that ties participants together as a collective (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 2018). Besides, affect studies of social movements view bodily affect as a physical force that collectivizes participants in homogeneous bodily experience (Ash, 2012; Quinn, 2018). Although concepts of meaning, emotion and affect are interrelated, the relationship between these entities could not be revealed in the study of collective identity, because of their different theoretical foci. Even though, in some studies, relations between these entities are specified, a clear fissure between the rational and the affective remains. For instance, emotions are seen as responses to understanding (Jasper, 2018), while affect is seen as a bodily experience that supports the process of generating emotions (Massumi, 2002). In other words, meaning is paired with emotion, while emotion is linked to affect. However, sound and collective identity are experiential, so these entities should not be separated or paired. Therefore, I propose a study of protest sounds, which are meaningful, affective and emotional, as part of exploring collective identity construction.

Moreover, how is the experience of collective identity created? And who does this? Within the social movement literature, a rationality and resource mobilization approach (Jenkins, 1983; McCarthy & Zald, 1977) contributes to explaining the formation of protest, based on rational consideration of available resources and cost, including financial support and cultural resources. In other words, this approach sees rationality and culture as close to each other, but distant from affect and emotion. However, is rationality in collective identity construction concerned only with cultural resources? In relation to sound, what sonic strategies and resources are adopted in order to construct collective identity?

Albeit not intentional, the impasses between rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in explaining collective identity construction are clear, especially in the 1970s. However, albeit distinct research focus, effort have been made to integrate these entities in exploring movements. Concepts including morality and ethics (Broadbent, 2003; Jasper, 2008; Pearlman, 2018; Prato, 2003), social network (Broadbent, 2003; Brunner, 2017; Opp, 2001) and resistant culture (Berg, 1978; Cohen, 1985; Ryan, 1992; Taylor & Whittier, 1995) reveal an interrelated relationship between culture, emotion, rationality and affect. It is because the notion of rationality is beyond its instrumentality. What is accounted for reasonable is grounded in cultural understanding – shared and shaped by people of specific communities, who co-create and co-experience collective emotion and affect. In other words, emotion, culture and affect are

constitutive and expression of rationality. Based on this foundation as well as aiming to contribute to understanding the interrelated relation of these entities, I explore here the role of sound, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in creating collective identity in protests.

In the following sections, in order to justify my research rationale, I firstly review literature in sound studies and social movements studies, in order to explore the existing debate relating to sound, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in relation to collective identity construction. Secondly, based on this, I introduce my conceptual framework and research questions.

Literature Review

To explore sound, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in relation to collective identity construction, in this section I discuss literature mainly from 1) sound studies (Attali, 1985; James, 2013; DeLaurenti, 2015; Palmer, 2008; Schafer, 1993) and 2) social movement studies (Gamson, 1998; Gould, 2010; Jasper, 1998, 2018; Snow & Benford, 2003; van Stekelenburg et al., 2011). However, as mentioned, because of the experiential essence of sound and protest, I found that literature in 3) musicology (Rasmussen, 2010; Truax, 2008), 4) cultural studies (Bartalucci & Luzzi, 2020; Bieletto-Bueno, 2017; Yelmi, 2016) and 5) geography and urban studies (Jo & Jeon, 2020; Liu et al., 2014; Lobo Soares & Bento Coelho, 2016) also complement the conceptual framework, from different angles.

In order to review the role of sound in protests and to position it theoretically within the social movement literature, I propose two distinct sub-sections in this literature review. Firstly, I theorize below the concept of sound, and its relation to power relations and protests, with the aim of justifying the importance of sound in studies of protests. Moreover, as collectivity-building and collective claim-making are major functions of protest sounds, in my second subsection I explicate the concept of collective identity in social movement studies (Gamson, 1995; Melucci, 1996).

I start by reviewing the concept of sound and its relation to power and protest.

Sound

Sound is vibration travelling in the air, which generates substances perceived most recognizably through the aural sense (Rosenberg, 2018; Samama, 2016). Albeit relatively understudied in political science and sociology (James, 2013; Rosenberg, 2018), the existence of sound and the experience of it – listening – take part in structuring social fabric, life and events, including the everyday life and power structures that protests and social movements are intended to disrupt. Therefore, before reviewing literature on the sounds of protests, it is important to understand the notion of sound in society, which can be traced back to Schafer's (1973, 1994) studies of soundscapes, conducted back in the 1970s.

Soundscapes

Schafer's (1969) World Soundscape Project is known as the first systematic project in sound studies. In his project, Schafer (1969) documented and studied soundscapes, i.e., the sonic configurations that constitute a place, in a variety of environmental settings. According to Schafer (1969, 1993), soundscapes ideally reflect and promote a harmonic relationship between inhabitants and environment. For instance, starting his soundscape exploration in the countryside, he (1969, 1993) suggested that the sounds of a river flowing, sheep bleating or church bells tolling are perceived as harmonic by inhabitants because they represent the normality of a place, and that they facilitate the everyday life of inhabitants. However, following the impact of industrialization, machinery sounds were alarming to inhabitants and intrusive to the soundscape. Based on the notion of sonic disruption, he introduced the concept of noise – unwanted sounds which are not meaningfully reflexive to their context, and emotionally disturbing to inhabitants (Schafer, 1969, 1993).

Aiming to plant harmonic sounds and to minimize noises in soundscapes for environmental and well-being reasons – urban planning – Schafer's (1969, 1993) approach pinpointed a reflective and meaningful relationship between soundscapes and society. He proposed that policy-makers could introduce normal and harmonic sonic elements in order to create soundscapes that would benefit the ordinary living and social operations of inhabitants. Meanwhile, noises that hindered social functioning, and were out of context for the time, could be minimized or even become extinct.

Besides contributing to an urban planning perspective, the concept of a soundscape (Schafer, 1969, 1993) contributes to viewing sound as a socially constructive element which takes part in creating social experience and in the constitution of society. Also, because of its practicality, the concept has been adopted in musicology (Rasmussen, 2010; Truax, 2008), geography and urban planning (Jo & Jeon, 2020; Liu et al., 2014; Lobo Soares & Bento Coelho, 2016), cultural studies (Bartalucci & Luzzi, 2020; Bieletto-Bueno, 2017; Yelmi, 2016), anthropology (David et al., 2010; Till, 2014) and sound studies (Beer, 2007; Katopodis, 2019) in order to explore the meaning and functions of sounds in different environmental and cultural settings. Above all, a critical approach to sound offers insights on the role of soundscapes in constructing and sustaining power relations – the target of disruption in protests, as discussed below.

Soundscapes and Social Relations

Stemming from a critical approach to popular music which criticizes the mass production of, and therefore lack of qualitative diversity in, popular music (Adorno, 1973, 1988; Attali, 1985; Biehl-Missal et al., 2012; Gracyk, 1992), sound studies scholars inclining to a critical tradition argue that everyday

soundscapes that are repetitive and without meaningful and emotional expression reflect and reproduce social relations (Attali, 1985; James, 2014; Kessous, 2020).

As a medium, sound entails relationship, involving a sender who usually holds and/or implies power over the receiver(s) in a particular space. As Attali states (1977, pp. 10-20), 'it is sounds and their arrangement that fashion societies... Everywhere codes... the primitive sounds of social relations'. For instance, the projection of a master's overpowering voice over silent servants, which is enabled and facilitated by the architecture of the Palace of the Marvels (Attali, 1977), or the transmission of the central policing voice to individual prisoners via listening tubes installed at the Bentham prison (Foucault, 2008; Johnston, 2008; Markus, 2013), demonstrated and reinforced power relations between sound-maker and receivers in those spaces. As is apparent nowadays in a variety of institutional settings such as schools, offices and hospitals, soundscapes tend to be manipulated and dominated by teachers rather than students, by superiors rather than juniors, and by doctors but seldom by patients – that is, by those who exercise relative social control and sustain social relations through their voices (Gallagher, 2010). Moreover, sonic-related cultural rituals, such as the performance of church choirs or national orchestras, contribute to the relation between subjects and institutional power (Lajosi, 2015; Revill, 2000).

Aside from exploring sonic dominance in specific institutional spaces (Attali, 1985; Gallagher, 2010; Johnston, 2008), scholars have studied everyday soundscapes where noise is omnipresent but less likely to be perceived as such (David et al., 2010; James, 2013; Oosterbaan, 2009). In cosmopolitan cities, including London, the sounds of traffic, business transactions and scattered human interaction form a fuzzy sonic layer of noise. This dominates everyday soundscapes, reflecting and reinforcing power relations (Fecht et al., 2016; La Belle, 2010; Memoli et al., 2008). Firstly, traffic noise, including the hissing of bus engines, hooting of car horns, the passing of tube and metro trains, trams and planes, are by-products of the transport infrastructure that sustains and promotes mobility and efficiency. The noise of traffic continuously structures the speed of a city, taking part in guiding the daily rhythm of its citizens. Moreover, the 'monopolized noise' of exchange (Attali, 1985, p. 114), including the hawker's shouting, negotiation, advertising and the operation of shops and markets, contributes to interjecting capitalist ideas and practices into soundscapes, reminding us of the agency and role of customers. Moreover, the noise of scattered human interactions, including isolated talking on phones and separate small groups of conversations, discourages human interaction and facilitates otherness and individualism (Rosenburg, 2018). In other words, everyday soundscapes are dominated by noise (Schafer, 1993), which is unwanted sound that discourages human interaction, but reflects and promotes social functioning.

Furthermore, in terms of acoustics, noise in everyday soundscapes is repetitive and lacks meaningful and emotional orientation (Adorno, 1949; Attali, 1985; James, 2014; Szetela, 2018; Vasseur & Yodzis, 2004). Extending Adorno's (1949/1988) argument on music production and mass culture, Attali (1984) argues that the repetition of sonic structure in musical works creates a model for a 'musical ideal', which is pure and free of deviant expression (Attali, 1985, p. 122; James, 2014). In other words, repetition offers a practical way to normalization, by repeatedly educating the agency of the 'norm', while suppressing voices and deviance in a subtle and continuous way.

To extend the notion of sonic repetition to everyday life, James (2014) argues that the repetition of sonic structure in everyday soundscapes, which are dominated by noise, intensifies the operation of power relations from a neo-liberal point of view (Attali, 1984; James, 2014). According to Attali (1984, p. 114), 'today noise triumphs and reigns supreme over the sensibility of men... the machine today has created such... noises that pure sound... no longer arouse any feeling'. As mentioned, general noise in everyday soundscapes is a result of mass production in capitalist society. As a continuous aural by-product of social operation, mobility facilitation and capitalist activities, noise becomes an ongoing background in cosmopolitan cities, and is repetitive and omnipresent. It contributes to creating a normality that ensures the operation of social relations, rather than promoting human interaction and meaningful and emotional expression (James, 2012).

As we can see, the sonic qualities of everyday soundscapes are repetitive, lacking in meaningful expression and apathetic, which demonstrates and reinforces power relations and normality (Attali, 1977; James, 2012) – a notion that protests intend to disrupt. So, what are the common sounds in protests? What is their role in disrupting normality? These questions are discussed in the next subsection, based on studies of sounds in protests (Clement, 2016; Tausig, 2019; Rosenberg, 2018).

Sounds in Protests: Music, Speeches, Crowd Sound and Drumming

Countering the normality manifested in everyday soundscapes, sound is meaningfully adopted for, and organically emerges in, protests (Clement, 2016; Denisoff, 1994; Tausig, 2019; Rosenberg, 2018). Drawing from literature in history (Darton, 2010; Danton, 2014), popular music studies (Frith, 1997; Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999), sociology (Denisoff, 1994), sound studies (Kunreuther, 2014; Tausig, 2019; Rosenberg, 2018) and cultural studies (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998; Hesmondhalgh, 2013), in this subsection I review sounds that are relatively prevalent in protests, including music, speeches, crowd sound and drumming.

Among these sonic elements, I start with music. This is the most studied sonic element in protests, which explains the longer length of the following.

Music in Protests

Music – an organized sonic form that consists of melody, rhythm, harmony and, depending on the genre, lyrics – has been a potent weapon of protest and of social movements (Danton, 2014; Denisoff, 1994; Frith, 1997; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Historically, as early as the 18th century, poems were melodically sung to complain about and critique the king's misconduct in France (Darton, 2010), while in Britain the *Diggers' Song* was popularized to protest injustices within the agricultural community (Danton, 2014). Later, in the 20th century, at social and political events including the civil rights movement and protests against the Vietnam War, songs such as *I Ain't Marching Anymore* (Phil Ochs', 1965), *We Shall Overcome* (Tindley, 1901) and *Blowin' in the Wind* (Dylan, 1962) were widely sung (Danton, 2014). In short, music is a way of expressing collective claims in protests, including feminist protests – the type of protest that I explore in this thesis (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). Therefore, in the following paragraphs, I focus on exploring music in feminist protests (my case selection rationale is discussed in Chapter 3).

Songs in Feminist Protests

According to scholarship in popular music and cultural studies (Frith, 1997; Hobson, 2008; Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999), starting in the 1960s, with the emergence of feminist movements in the United Kingdom and the United States, songs representing feminist protest claims were growing. Mainly based on lyrical analysis (Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999), it has been found that songs protesting women's enslavement and wifehood, such as *Female Suffrage* (Cohen, 1867) and *Let Us Speak Our Minds If We Die For It* (Brough, 1863) were sung on feminist protests to denounce women's oppression in a household setting. Meanwhile, songs including *Modern Union Maid* (Guthrie, 1907) and *The March of the Women* (Smyth, 1910) were adopted to promote women's union and action. Later, in the 1980s, responding to the changing social context, with the number of working women increasing, song themes on feminist protests centre on inequality at work, women's social independence and collectivity (Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999). Songs like *9 to 5* (Parton, 1980), *The Freedom Ladies* (Chicago Women's Liberation Rock Band, 1973), *We are Family* (Sister Sledge, 1979) and *Sisters are Doing It for Themselves* (Eurythmics & Franklin, 1985) are some examples.

In the late 20th century and early 21st century, with the rise of personalized communication and social media platforms, feminist protest songs have been not only heard in the physical space of protests, but also widely circulated online. Although online protest is not the focus of this thesis, feminist protest songs are circulated online, reflect the protest claims of, and have been adopted for, feminist protests offline. According to literature in feminist cultural studies (Baade, 2019; Gonzales & Maher, 2021; Martínez-Jiménez et al., 2018; McGee, 2019; Weidhase, 2015), songs of women singers including

Beyoncé, Lady Gaga, M.I.A., Princess Nokia, Destiny's Child and Ariana Grande promote girls' power in every aspect of life, including career, education and family. Furthermore, compared with feminist protest songs in the 1990s and before, critical narratives on gender oppression are bold, direct and provocative, which is reflected in lyrics and song titles. For instance, in these songs, it is proclaimed that women could, and should, '*Run the World*' (Beyoncé, 2011) because women are '*Independent*' (Destiny's Child, 2000), '*Wonderful*' (Lion Babe, 2016) and '****Flawless*' (Beyoncé, 2013) – '*Q.U.E.E.N.*' of the world (Monáe, 2013). Furthermore, anti-rape songs such as *WAP* (Cardi B, 2020) and *A Rapist in your Path* (Las Tesis, 2019) criticize the normality of rape culture and state violence. These songs have been adopted in feminist protests around the world to express and honour the intentions, desires, emotions, rights and impact of women.

As we can see, music is adopted to express claims, criticize opponents and promote collectivity among participants in protest. However, how can music attain these objectives? Stemming mainly from a textual analytical approach, studies have suggested that the lyrics and cultural meaning of music highlight protest claims and celebrate collectivity (Berger, 2000; Damodaran, 2016; Denisoff, 1966, 1972).

Lyrics and Cultural Meaning

Music contains lyrics that meaningfully express protest claims. Dating back to the 1960s, Denisoff (1966, 1972) explored the lyrics of songs of the American left-wing movement sung during protests, and developed a typology based on that analysis. This typology is still relevant and adopted for protest music analysis in the 21st century (Berger, 2000; Damodaran, 2016; Denisoff, 1972; Haycock, 2015). According to Denisoff (1966, 1972), two major lyrical structures can be identified: 1) the situation remedy structure – highlighting the existing problem and celebrating protest as a remedy, and 2) the remedy in movement structure – celebrating collectivity and the immediate success of the ongoing protest. In other words, lyrics carry symbols, which construct meaningful frames, highlight the protest rationale and the wrongdoing of opponents and/or of the authorities; and celebrate the collectivity and success of the protest (Gamson, 1991; Snow & Benford, 2003). This lyrical structure is reflected in the feminist protest songs mentioned, which emphasize gender inequality and celebrate women's collectivity in general (Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999).

Although lyrics are a semiotics that connotes meaning, it is important to note that they also express emotions. Resonating with Wetherell (2013) and Leys (2011), the relationship between semiotics and emotion is dialectic. In the aforementioned feminist protest songs, words like 'cry' (Brough, 1863), 'wonder' (Lion Babe, 2016) and 'powerful' (Beyonce, 2011) imply and create emotions. Also, collective nouns and pronoun like 'we', 'women' and 'girls' not only suggest a collective identification of women,

but generate collective emotions (Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999). However, as I reveal in the next subsection, protest songs not only express emotions in their texts, but also in other sonic elements of the musical form, which are relatively understudied. Moreover, besides lyrics, the protest song is a cultural form that reflects meaning circulating in society and in a particular time frame (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998; Guimarães-Costa et al., 2009; Spiers, 2016). This contributes to the ideology and culture of a community. As mentioned, the themes of feminist protest songs are changing across time, reflecting different protest claims and expressions of the feminist protest community. During the suffrage movement, protest songs complained about women suffering in the household and called for unity; while in the 1980s the focus of protest songs centred on work inequality and collectivity. In current times, girls' power, motherhood and women of colour are celebrated. Albeit touching upon a variety of issues, the general theme of feminist protest songs across time surrounds gender inequality and collectivity – the central protest claims of the feminist protest community (Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999).

These cultural meanings of protest songs are mobilized to highlight commonalities shared among participants in the protest community, in order to create a collective. Exploring the relationship between protest songs and cultural practice, Eyerman and Jamison (1998) found that the anthem of the civil rights movements *We Shall Overcome* had been appropriated by a variety of democratic movements around the world, while the feminist protest anthem *We are Family* was sung in the feminist protests of different cultures. The songs of protests in the past are culturally meaningful to protests in the present, in the same protest community, because they represent the history, common ground and spirit of that community, connecting the past to the present.

As we can see, based on lyrics and meaning, protest songs are adopted to make claims, express emotions and connect participants as a collective. However, as mentioned, music contains not only lyrics but also other sonic elements, including melody, rhythm and harmony, which are strong in generating emotions (Hesmondhalgh, 2013).

More than Words

Music mirrors emotion. Tracing back to classical music, the tremolo of heavy strings imitates the emotion of fear because of its shocking sound, which is similar to the suddenness of thunder and storms. Meanwhile, the repetitions of minor musical sequences mirrors the sound of sighing and crying. Therefore, music is sentimental because of its ability to imitate emotions. In social movements, the use of harsh tunes and heavy music imitates the anger and sadness of protesters (Kunreuther, 2014). Meanwhile, the singing of mellow melodic lines mirrors the peaceful minds of participants.

Albeit relatively understudied, literature in popular music studies (Frith, 1997; Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999) provides insights on the musicality and emotionality of feminist protest songs. Based

on notation and melodic analysis, it has been found that there were two main types of protest songs during the suffrage movements (Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999). In songs that carried the meaning of women's suffering, their melodies were simple – without contrasting intervals and relatively melancholic, resonating with a negative expression of women's mistreatment and inequality. However, in songs of action, the melody and tempo were bright and lively, mirroring the contentment of unity and hope for change. Differently from the 1960s, feminist protest songs in the 1980s were in major keys, accompanied by harmonic progression and with a vivid and lively beat and rhythm. Albeit complaining, the music in general creates a happy and encouraging sentiment. In the 20th century, with the adoption of a variety of genres including jazz, blues, rap and punk, feminist protest music created a powerful, exciting, intrusive and sometimes aggressive touch and sensation (Baade, 2019; Gonzales & Maher, 2021). Tunes are fast in tempo and dominated by a strong woman's voice. In sum, although studies of music in protests have mostly focused on meaning and culture, this is also emotional, as meaning and emotion are connected. However, as demonstrated, the exploration of protest music has largely been textual (Berger, 2000; Damodaran, 2016; Denisoff, 1966, 1972). Lyrics have often been a research focus, with less attention paid to other musical components such as melody, harmony and rhythm. Even if these musical components were explored, the discussion of protest songs has been dominated by their role in meaning-making, and thus in claim-making.

Nevertheless, the use of songs in protests is not only textual or notional, but also emotional and affective – experiential. As mentioned, music – a type of sound, is perceived via the audio sense, which creates sensual and affective experiences in a collective manner. Complemented by literature on choral singing (Bensimon, 2012; Omotayo, 2019; Pretorius & Van der Merwe, 2019), the act of singing and listening together is shown to be a collective practice and experience, during which choir members affectively experience bodily intensity and emotions at the same time and in the same space, collectively. In protests, songs are not only a textual form, but expressed by participants through the action of collective singing.

Therefore, and related to this, aside from a textual approach, what is the role of songs in protests, in facilitating claim-making and collectivity construction? And how do the meaning and emotion of protest songs interact in the experience of singing in protests? These questions are raised in response to the literature, which contributes to the formation of a conceptual framework and to my research questions.

Besides music, speech is another sonic form that stands out in the sound of protests. This is discussed below.

Speech

Relatively unrecognized compared with that of song, the analysis of speeches in protests can be traced back to persuasion studies in cognitive psychology (Kosokoff & Carmichael, 1970) and to rhetoric studies (Boase, 1980). Based on semiotic analysis, these studies found that the adoption of poems and lyrical lines for speeches in protests was an effective way to create attitudinal change. Lines adopted from protest songs such as, '*For the UNION MAKES - US - STRONG!*' and '*WE SHALL OVERCOME!*' are, short, direct, moving and easy for participants to remember (Kosokoff & Carmichael, 1970). Schneiderman's (1912) suffrage speech echoed the poem and protest song *Bread and Roses* (Kohlsaat, 1917). In her speech, she proclaimed that 'the worker must have bread, but she must have roses, too!' (Rohan, 2008; Schneiderman, 1912), which implied the importance to women of both fair wages (to buy bread) and a decent lifestyle (to enjoy and appreciate roses).

Aside from this, deriving from speech-act theory and analysis (Johnston, 2009; Musliu & Burlyuk, 2019), communication scholars have highlighted the importance of action implied in semiotics in protest speeches, when addressing different interlocutors in protests. For instance, when addressing the authorities or opponents, verbs including, 'demand', 'accuse' and 'denounce' were adopted, aiming to make claims and demand changes; meanwhile, action words such as 'protest', 'go' and 'help' were adopted to call for action, targeting participants as audience (Johnston, 2009).

Besides semiotic analysis, the practices of speech in protests are documented in recent sound and cultural studies (Kunreuther, 2018; Tausig, 2019; Rosenberg, 2018). The People's Microphone in the Occupy Movement (Rosenberg, 2018) and the 'Hyde-parking' practice in the Red Shirt protest in Thailand are some examples. These studies revealed that in protests speeches are given not only by organizers and politicians, but also by 'normal people' – participants, if their message is meaningful to the protest. As we can see, protest speeches that embody semiotics are a meaningful expression of protest claims. However, it is important to note that speech is about not only words, but also sound – the human voice, which carries and releases emotions. So, besides semiotics, what is the role of the voice in speeches in protests?

As semiotic analysis has dominated protest speech studies, in order to review the sonic significance of speeches I have explored literature in vocal and speech studies (Beebe & Beebe, 2009; Bell, 1984; Broth, 2011; Dollar, 2006). According to vocal studies (Dollar, 2006), the human voice is a medium that expresses emotion. The projection of the human voice – speaking – is a sonic process that contains tonal emphasis, rhythmic and volume dynamics and timbre varieties. The same word can be expressed in more than 70 different shades, each representing and expressing subtly varied emotions. Furthermore, according to literature in speech studies (Beebe & Beebe, 2009; Bell, 1984; Broth, 2011; Ladegaard,

1995), the speaker's identification of an audience in relation to themselves – whether the audience is an addressee, auditor, overhearer, eavesdropper or a mass – will contribute to a different emotional expression and performing style. For instance, to address the mass of supporters, a politician's voice is high in volume and pitch, confident and powerful; however, if speaking to classmates in a graduation ceremony, the class representative's voice is still distinguished in acoustics yet emotionally relatively friendly and encouraging. Therefore, speech is not only about semiotics, but also emotional expression; meanwhile, the speaker's emotional expression is also a reflection of the cultural context.

In sum, speech, which is relatively understudied, is a sonic form that articulates protest claims via semiotics; meanwhile, these are expressed via the human voice, which expresses emotions in accordance with the target audience and cultural context. In other words, although these have been explored separately, emotion and meaning are not separate but both are embodied in the sonic medium of speech. The fissure between meaning and emotion in the medium of speech is also seen in protest music studies, as discussed in the previous subsection. So, what is the role of meaning and emotion in the sonic form of speech, in relation to claim-making and collectivity building? To close the conceptual fissure between meaning and emotion is one of the objectives of this thesis, and is discussed later.

Besides speech and music, there is another type of sound identified in protests – the sound of the crowd.

Crowd Sound

In recent years, crowd sound has been receiving growing attention in sound studies of protests (Klunreuther, 2018; Rosenberg, 2018; Tausig, 2019). Stemming from studies of the atmosphere of large cultural events (Davidson & Keene, 2019; Nevill et al., 2002; Rasmussen et al., 2017), and of urban planning (Zappatore et al., 2017), crowd sound is a sonic reflection of human assembly. Composed of human interactions, including talking, chuckling and laughing in a public space of assembly, the acoustics of crowd sound is fuzzy in quality, thick in density and dynamic in volume, depending on the changing size of the assembly. Although sharing the quality of human expression, differently from white noise, elements of crowd sound are connected to and/or very close to one another. This is because crowd sound reflects assembled humans gathered as a collective – close to one another, in the same space and at the same time, which is different from isolated talking on phones with someone not physically present, as in the normality of soundscapes.

Furthermore, according to studies of affective atmosphere (Davidson & Keene, 2019; Nevill et al., 2002; Rasmussen et al., 2017), responding to different occasions, crowd sound is not only a fuzzy layer of human interaction, but a collective expression of emotions. For instance, in football matches, the collective cheering and clapping of the crowd is a collective expression of excitement and happiness. Meanwhile, collective booing expresses disappointment and condemnation in a united fashion. Focusing

on the affective aspect of crowd sound, Rosenberg (2018) has argued that crowd sound represents a collective body of participants and affectively touches bodies in the protest arena. In the space of protests, crowd sound creates a consistent, strong and dense vibration that continuously touches the skin and vibrates the ear membranes of participants. Therefore, crowd sound in protests, which is collectively generated and experienced by participants, is affective (Rosenberg, 2018).

Besides being affective, crowd sound in protests is culturally specific (Klunreuther, 2018; Rosenberg, 2018; Tausig, 2019). For instance, in the Red Shirt Protest in Thailand, crowd sound consists of the banging of pots and pans, while crowd sound in Indonesia consists of crying and the adoption of traditional percussion instruments (Klunreuther, 2018; Rosenberg, 2018; Tausig, 2019). In other words, crowd sound – the collective expression of the assembled crowd – is not only affective, but also culturally specific, and implies meaningful protest traditions. As inductively informed, in feminist protests crowd sound often involves drumming, which is discussed below.

Drumming

Drumming is the process of making noise by hitting the outer membrane of a compressed box – the drum – to create an intense vibration (Knoblauch, 2011). Because of the high compressive pressures generated, drum sound is often deep, amplified and noisy, and low in frequency. It travels long distances, creating vibrations and touching subjects and objects in a space.

In protests, drumming is often used to gather attention and create an exciting, positive atmosphere (Gallagher et al., 2014; Knoblauch, 2011; Simpson, 2017; Snider, 2007). For instance, in the Occupy Movement, the drum circle – drum players jamming rhythms in a circle – was adopted in order to attract participants. According to Drott (2018), pedestrians were attracted to and guided by the sound of the drum circle, and thus arrived at the protest venue. Then these pedestrians got to know more about the Occupy Movement and later became regular participants in its protests. In other words, the sound of drumming attracts people's attention and contributes to facilitating participation.

However, what exactly in the drumming attracts people's attention? According to studies of drumming in protests (Bogad, 2010; Bowers, 2015; Drott, 2018; Lee, 2012), it is emotions of excitement, alteration and provocation, and affects that are experienced as bodily intensity, such as bouncing heartbeats and bodily movement, that capture the attention of subjects. As I further discuss in the next section, affect refers to the bodily experience of affecting and of being affected (Massumi, 2002; Quinn, 2018). As confirmed by affect studies of sound (Gallagher et al., 2017; Snider, 2007; Simpson, 2017), the drum sound strongly affects the body. Effects of an intense drum sound and its vibrating touch, including body movement and heartbeats bouncing in time with the beats, and skin sensations, are reported by protest participants (Drott, 2018). And, since drumming rhythmicity is usually fast in tempo and rich in

layers, emotions of excitement are generated. Such bodily affect resonates with exciting rhythms and creates an energetic mood in the space of the protest. Referred to by participants as the ‘energy’ of the protest (Drott, 2018, online), the general mood of excitement binds participants into the same atmospheric space, which makes them feel that they are a collective (Bogad, 2010; Bowers, 2015; Drott, 2018; Lee, 2012).

Although studies of drumming stress its affective and emotional influence (Gallagher et al., 2017; Snider, 2007; Simpson, 2017), it is important to note that drumming in protests is also culturally specific. For instance, although sharing the commonality of using base drums, the rhythmic patterns and layers of the Occupy Movement and of the Global Justice Movement are different. The rhythm of the former is relatively interactive and spontaneous because of the jamming nature of the drum circle. However, in the Global Justice Movement, the drumming pattern is based on South American and North African traditions – Samba rhythmicity that mimics the rhythm of the heartbeat and of paramilitary uniformity, contrasting with the Anglo-American patterns (Bogad, 2010).

As we can see, despite its conceptual focus on affect and emotion, drumming in protests is also culturally specific. So, what are the meanings of drumming in protests? Although without semiotics, the volume, the rhythmic patterns and their interactive layers also constitutes meaning. Furthermore, as the volume of drumming is relatively loud, how does it function with other sounds in protests?

Sonic Elements in Separation

As I have shown, sound is used to protest and disrupt normality. Sounds, including music, speeches, crowd sound and drumming, are documented in literature from a variety of disciplines (Darton, 2010; Danton, 2014; Eyerman & Jamison, 1998; Frith, 1997; Hurner, 2006; Kunreuther, 2014; Rodnitzky, 1999; Rosenberg, 2018; Tausig, 2019). Among these, it is salient that much attention is given to the study of protest music and that, within protest music studies, the meaning of lyrics in relation to various protests is an analytical focus. However, as mentioned, lyrics are not separate from other sonic elements, including melody, rhythm and harmony, which are strong in generating emotions. Furthermore, in this literature review, I show that, across disciplines, protest music has been studied as a text rather than as an experience. A conceptual fissure between meaning, emotion and affective experience, and a methodological separation between text and sound, are identified. This is not only in studies of music, but such impasses are also revealed in studies of speeches, crowd sound and drumming in protests.

As mentioned, in studies of protest speeches, the meaning of speech is of analytical focus. However, semiotics in speeches could not be presented without a human voice, which carries and expresses emotions. As for studies of crowd sound and drumming, attention is given to affective experience, with less focus on meaning and emotion.

Nevertheless, as discussed, sound is experiential – it carries meaning, expresses emotion and creates affective experience. Therefore, I propose an exploration of protest sounds, embracing aspects of affect, meaning and emotion. Furthermore, how are protest sounds produced? What are the strategic considerations for such production? These questions demonstrate a fissure between the rational – rationality and resource mobilization – and the experiential – affective, emotional, and meaningful understanding – in explaining the role of sounds in protests and more broadly in processes of social change.

Moreover, it is important to note that in the literature these sounds are analysed separately. However, in terms of the concept of soundscapes (Schafer, 1993), sonic elements are not isolated but constitute a space, and the experience of it. Therefore, I propose that the concept of a soundscape (Schafer, 1993) offers a comprehensive approach to exploring protest sounds and their relationships in protest.

Although protest sounds have been studied in separate genres, with differing conceptual foci, all these studies reveal major functions of sounds in protests: 1) to make claims via the sonic medium and 2) to unite participants as a collective. There is an emphasis on the (sonic) expression of protest claims in relation to the building of a sense of collectivity, as an aspect leading towards the construction of collective identity (Gamson, 1995) – a concept in the social movement literature that explains the mobilization and sustaining of protest.

Common Goals – Claim-Making and Building Towards a Collectivity

As discussed, songs and speeches are adopted because the semiotics embedded in these sonic forms represent protest claims. Via sonic expression, protest claims are demonstrated through the medium of sound. For instance, as mentioned, '*Bread and Roses*' was a demand raised in the Women Suffrage Movement (Schneiderman, 1912). Via the song with this same title, and highlighted by speakers during their speeches, the protest claims for gender-equal pay and household equality are expressed vocally, sonically, and heard by pedestrians, opponents and the authorities. In other words, sound is a medium that serves the function of claim-making in protests. Although crowd sound and drumming do not contain semiotics, their sonic qualities – loudness and spatial density – attract attention, which leads subjects to be aware that a protest is happening, and somehow subsequently of the protest's demands (Drott, 2018).

It is important to note that a general protest claim is collective in nature, attracting those with similar concerns, which are commonly shared among participants. And according to sound studies literature, another objective of protest sounds is to articulate a sense of 'we-ness'. For instance, as discussed, in speeches, collective nouns and pronouns like 'we' and 'we women' are used to unite participants as a 'we-community' (Berger, 2000; Damodaran, 2016). As for drumming and crowd sound, because of their

spatial and atmospheric affectability, participant's actions and emotions are collectivized, building towards a collective body (Snider, 2007; Simpson, 2017; Knoblauch, 2011).

In other words, the notion and experience of collectivity are, or can be, demonstrated and emphasized in sonic expression. Via sound, protest claims can be made vocal, and a sense of collectivity is forged in the process (Berger, 2000; Damodaran, 2016; Denisoff, 1966, 1972). The meaningful (claim-making) and emotional (sense of 'we-ness') aspects of collectivity are conceptualized as collective identity in the social movement literature (Gamson, 1995), which I found relevant to exploring functions of sound in protests.

Collective Identity

Collective identity is regarded as a key concept within social movement literature because it contributes to explaining the collective mobilization of strangers for social good, and to the forging of collectivity out of individuality (Gamson, 1991; Jasper, 1997; Melucci, 1985; Tarrow, 2011). Out of their ordinary routine, what reasons bring protesters together? And how can protests and movements be sustained? With the decline of class-based labour movements beginning in the 1960s, Melucci (1996) developed the concept of collective identity further in order to explain the formation of so-called New Social Movements (NSMs). Different from class-based movements, NSMs were formulated on the basis of common values grounded in culture, social and personal identity (Buechler, 1995; Bartholomew & Mayer, 1992; Melucci, 1996). For instance, gender, environmental, sub-cultural and racial concerns are what some of the protest claims of NSMs are about. Because people who are concerned about these issues are not necessarily interacting daily, and nor do they have an already formulated group-based association, a better theorization was needed to explain their collective mobilization.

To explore this, and theorizing from a constructivist perspective, Melucci (1996) viewed collective identity as the backbone of NSMs. According to Melucci (1996), collective identity is the construction process of a shared understanding among a group of people, over issues and concerns related to their respective collective actions. In the process of heading towards a consensus, relationships between actors are mobilized; meanwhile, a meaningful consensus is negotiated, cognitively comprehended and agreed upon by individuals in the group. A common understanding and a sense of 'we-ness' is thus generated, which contributes to mobilization and to sustaining it.

Albeit criticized for its abstract nature in application (Buechler, 1995, 2007; Flesher Fominaya, 2010), Melucci's understanding of collective identity offers a processual and constructivist approach to exploring the formation and sustaining of social movements, rather than viewing movements as irrational riots, or single outcomes which are structured by available resources, and stemming from

class-based ideologies. Based on Melucci's (1994) conceptualization, collective identity is further explored and developed within social movement literature, through a different conceptual lens.

In the following sections, I review concepts including those of framing (Gamson, 1998; Snow & Benford), emotion (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 1998; 2018; van Troost et al., 2013) and affect (Ash, 2012; Quinn, 2018), and their relationship to collective identity construction. As I aim to show, although these concepts are related to one another, the focus of each conceptual approach has been explored relatively separately, which does not do justice to understand the relationship between rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in the collective mobilization. As I explain in the last section, feminist protests in London were selected for case study in this thesis. Therefore, in my review of the literature on collective identity, below, I also relate to the discussion of constructing collective identity in feminist protests (Taylor & Whittier, 1995; Sheehy & Nayak, 2020).

First, however, I review studies of collective identity that focus on meaning and framing, because of its conceptual dominance in the cultural turn – a time that coincided with the rise of collective identity (Gamson, 1998; Snow & Benford, 2003). This explains its relative conceptual development, compared with the emotional and affective approach, while debate surrounding collective identity was increasing.

Meaning, Framing and Collective Identity

From a constructivist approach, meaning-making is regarded as crucial in constructing collective identity (Gamson, 1991; Gamson, 1995; Snow & Benford, 2003). To mobilize this, semiotics is strategically adopted and articulated, aiming to create a specific point of view. These strategically articulated angles, which usually promote and justify protest claims and debase opponents, are known as protest frames (Gamson, 1991; Snow & Benford, 2003). By analysing textual materials from protests, including calls for action, press releases, newspaper reports, flyers, slogans and banners, a variety of protest frames can be identified (Aslanidis, 2018; Gamson, 1991; McClelland-Cohen & Endacott, 2020; Snow & Benford, 2003; Steinberg, 1998). These frames create specific points of view, connecting individuals to shared protest concerns, which contributes to activating their relationship with the collective.

As potential participants in protests are from diverse backgrounds, a general frame that covers and represents the central protest claim is often found in protests, as illustrated in the next subsection.

General Protest Frames

At movement level, general or master frames focus on a wider perspective of protest concerns, which are grounded in movement history and universal rights (Gamson, 1995; Snow & Benford, 2003). Via a general protest frame, social movement organizers aim to connect participants with the broader values

of their movements, some of which are relatively universally applicable to actors across organizations and cultures. For instance, a liberty frame, which is connected to the civil rights movement, has also been adopted by democratic protest movements such as the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong (Bhatia, 2015) and anti-colonial protests in India (Baylor, 1998).

As for feminist movements, the general frame of gender equality, which originated from the suffragist movement at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, still serves as the general master frame in feminist protests around the world. Protests including the Women's March on Washington, Women's March on London, and the Million Women March are still adopting this central message in their calls for action (McClelland-Cohen & Endacott, 2020). According to Snow and Benford (2003), and related to cognitive understanding and collective identity (Gamson, 1995), through general protest frames, individual participants focus on and relate to the universal common ground and history of the larger movement. This ties individual participants to the collective, and contributes to collective identity construction.

Besides general frames, on an organizational level, injustice and collective frames are tailor-made for specific protests, calling for participants with specific identities.

Injustice Frames and Collective Frames

On an organizational level, various frames highlighting specific problems, demands and solutions are articulated in order to emphasize common concerns relating to particular social incidents, contexts and/or protests (Gamson, 1995; Johnston & Noakes, 2005; Snow & Benford, 2003). Albeit different in their terminologies, frames including diagnostic frames, prognostic frames, injustice frames, action frames, motivational frames, remedy frames and collective frames can be identified (Johnston & Noakes, 2005; Snow & Benford, 2003), which contributes to the development of frame analysis in relation to collective identity construction in social movement studies (Clark, 2016; Potuoğlu-Cook, 2015; Sheehy & Nayak, 2020).

In feminist protests, besides protesting gender inequality – the general protest frame grounded in the larger feminist movement as mentioned – various frames are adopted in order to mobilize participants from certain cultural groups and with certain experience. For instance, frames including those of sexual violence against black women in Dunbar Village (Sheehy & Nayak, 2020), women's lack of safety in public space in London (BBC, 2021) and the oppression of mothers in Turkey (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2015) are examples of injustice frames on an organizational level. These frames create specific angles, which emphasize specific cultural commonalities of potential participants. These aforementioned injustice frames, besides mobilizing women in general, draw women from specific cultural groups, including

black women in Dunbar Village, women in London who have had unpleasant experiences in the public space, and Turkish mothers.

It is important to note that various frames (Johnston & Noakes, 2005; Snow & Benford, 2003) provide analytical tools for investigating the discourse of protests, and that the meanings of these frames may be overlapping. Injustice frames, which focus on problems, may also be action frames and collective frames. As reflected in the name, action frames aim to call for action, while collective frames are created to celebrate solidarity. These frames, however, can also be incorporated in injustice frames, as these elements all contribute to reasons for protest. Frames like supporting domestic violence survivors responding to the case of Ray Rice (Clark, 2016), or calling for protest in support of victims of femicide in Ciudad Juarez (Starr, 2015) are some examples. In these frames, the meaning of injustices – violence and femicide – and the call for action and support are included.

Regardless, I argue that these frames draw individual participants to the collective, by acknowledging their commonalities in terms of specific social and cultural experience and under the general frame of gender inequality. In terms of meaning, these frames are centred on the commonality of potential participants' everyday experiences (such as public space safety), cultural concerns (domestic violence faced by minority women), and on potential solutions that require a collective effort (Clark, 2016; Starr, 2015). These frames contribute to connecting individual participants with the collective, via specific perspectives of cultural and gender injustice that are commonly shared. And, to highlight the notion of collectivity, collective pronouns and nouns are frequently seen, which are identified under the category of collective frames. For instance, collective pronouns including 'we' and 'ours', and collective nouns such as 'mothers' (Noonan, 1995), 'black women' (Rapp et al., 2010) and 'feminists' (Weber & Dejmancee, 2018) are adopted for feminist protests.

As we can see, meaning is articulated in order to create various frames, aiming to guide individuals' understanding towards a shared protest concern, and therefore to identifying with the collective. As discussed in the introduction to this section, NSMs, including the feminist protests selected as case studies for this thesis, are formed and based on the meaning and understanding of cultural and social identity, rather than on class-based ideologies. Individuals' understanding and self-perception of their feminist identity can be relatively diverse and fragmented (Taylor & Whittier, 1995; Sheehy & Nayak, 2020). So what is the role of framing in relating the personal with the collective?

Fragmented Personal Identities

Related to Melucci's (1994) concept, collective identity is a process, connecting the personal with the collective. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, by contrast with class-based protests and movements, participants in NSMs are collectively mobilized not because of class struggles, but social

and cultural concerns that are personally experienced as well as collectively shared (Buechler, 1995; Flesher Fominaya, 2010; Melucci, 1994).

These social and cultural concerns are regarded as resources, to be mobilized by movement organizers. In the late 20th century, when collective identity was emerging, participants' personal ties with movement organization were seen as a major drive to mobilization and conceptualized as strong ties (Friedman & McAdam, 1992; Gamson, 1997). However, with the changing social context, organizations have become less important in mobilization. In other words, commitment on a movement level is becoming less stable and significant. Meanwhile, personal experience relating to protest concerns that are relatively short-lived and contextual is central to forging collective identity. Therefore, in NSMs, it has been argued that collective identity is less stable and is formed by weak ties, and is thus becoming weaker and thinner (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Chen, 2013; Daskalaki, 2010; Rohlinger & Bunnage, 2018). However, according to studies, both strong and weak ties contribute to collective identity construction. And the way to deepen understanding of collective identity is not to overlook these ties, but to explore their relationship to forging collective identity (Flesher Fominaya, 2010). This aspect reinforces Melucci's (1995) definition, which stresses a relational and processual aspect of understanding collective identity. As this thesis is based on a study of feminist protests, I further discuss fragmented personal identities, although with a shared concern for gender inequality. In feminist protests, (Taylor & Whittier, 1995), participants' personal understanding and experience of injustices may be relatively different and fragmented, which contributes to a fragmented identity of feminist protest participants (Budgeon, 2001; Sheehy & Nayak, 2020).

Tracing back the history of feminist protests and movements, feminist collective concern has been changing, which has influenced the framing strategy of collective identity construction (Taylor & Whittier, 1995; Sheehy & Nayak, 2020). In the 1910s, when the suffrage movement was emerging, feminist concerns were relatively united – surrounding issues of gender inequality in household and factory settings. Later, in the 1980s, with the rise of women workers in an office setting, claims centring on women's rights at the workplace were a focus in feminist protests, in the US and across Europe. However, starting in the 1990s and reaching into the 2000s, with the development of feminism in different cultures, feminist identity is becoming more fragmented. For instance, the rise of black feminism, concerns of women of colour and immigrants, and social issues such as sexual violence in household and work contexts have complicated feminist collective identity. Collective identity among feminists is not merely defined by a central concern with gender inequality, but also by personal identities grounded in racial, cultural and social experience.

Based on this development, according to studies of feminist identity in the late 20th and the 21st centuries (Charles & Wadia, 2018; Hird, 1998; Nelson, 2006), feminist identity is becoming more

intersected, fragmented and contextual. Whether a person identifies themselves as part of the feminist body in a protest depends not only on social and cultural identities, but on features of those identities in relation to their personal interpretation of feminist-related incidents or events. For instance, participants reported that they were feminists in the Anti-Trump Protest, but not when conversing with others about Feminista, a feminist organization (Calder-Dawe & Gavey, 2017). This was because they do not agree with Feminista's strategies and do not want to be identified with this feminist collective body (Calder-Dawe & Gavey, 2017). Although stemming from a general concern with gender inequality, for some women a feminist identity is not static, but can be adopted or let go of, responding to context.

As feminist identities are becoming more fragmented and diverse, to construct a collective identity in feminist protests, the meanings of protest frames are adopted in order to connect the personal protest concern with general and collective frames (Taylor & Whittier, 1995; Sheehy & Nayak, 2020). According to recent studies (Clark, 2016; Starr, 2015; Sheehy & Nayak, 2020), in order to construct collective identities, a variety of injustice frames are adopted, aiming to cover women of various identities. For instance, injustice frames including unequal pay, trans-gender rights and Trump's sexist comments, to name a few, have been raised in feminist protests (Clark, 2016; Starr, 2015; Sheehy & Nayak, 2020). Organizers aim to connect with participants, via specific injustice frames, in order to guide their understanding towards the common concern with gender inequality – the general protest frame. In the process of connecting the personal protest concern to the general frame, individual participants identify with the general concern, which is commonly shared by collective participants. In other words, an understanding of collective identity is generated.

As we can see, framing creates specific vantage points, which links individuals to the collective, and constructs collective identity. Related to protest song, as discussed, framing strategies, including situation remedy structure and remedy structure, can be identified in feminist protest songs across time. For instance, *Let Us Speak Our Minds if We Die for It* (Brough, 1863), *We are Family* (Sister Sledge, 1979) and *Run the World* (Beyoncé, 2011) are some examples. These songs highlight the injustices of gender inequalities and celebrate a feminist collectivity. Furthermore, in speeches, as discussed, semiotics that are sharp and concise are adopted in order to highlight injustices and claims. Furthermore, action verbs and collective pronouns are used to articulate collectivity.

However, contained in the medium of sound, song and speech are not only textual, but sonic and experiential. Besides a framing perspective, what can sound offer in understanding collective identity in protests? This leads to the next sub-section on emotion, meaning and collectivity.

As revealed, the naming of framing strategies, including injustice frames and collective frames, implies an emotional aspect – injustice, resentment and a sense of collectivity. These emotions are not only

individually owned, but also collectively shared, which also contributes to the construction of collective identity. Before relating this to sound, I firstly discuss below the role of meaning in collective identity construction.

Emotion, Meaning and Collective Identity

Complementing the cultural turn, the role of emotion has received growing attention in social movement studies in the past twenty years (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 1997, 2014, 2018; Liu & Opatow, 2014; van Troost et al., 2013). Responding to discussion of meaning, culture and identity (Anderson, 2008; Gamson, 1995; Proweller, 1998; Waldron & Veblen, 2020), Jasper (1997, 2014, 2018), van Troost et al. (2013), and Gould (2002), among others, have argued that collective identity in protests is not only cognitive, but also emotional. As Jasper (1998, p. 415) puts it, ‘The “strength” of an identity comes from its emotional side. Identities can be cognitively vague, for instance, yet still strongly held’. So, what is the role of emotion in constructing collective identity, alongside meaning?

Reflexive Emotions Responding to Injustices

Derived from a constructivist approach, which is aligned with Durkheim (2008) and Williams (1954), with their conception of emotion as socially produced and experienced, Jasper (1997, 2018) and Gould (2002) have argued that emotions in protests are cultural. According to them (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 1997, 2014, 2018), like norms and cultural meaning, emotion is a constitution of social life and events, including protests. Rather than merely being an individual feeling, in the context of protest, emotion is regarded as a collective experience. It is felt by people, based on their cultural groups and belonging, who are having similar emotional reactions to social concerns.

According to scholars of the emotional turn (Jasper, 1997, 2018; Landmann & Rohmann, 2020; Stürmer & Simon, 2009; Tang, 2021), even before the start of a protest, emotions which are generated in reaction to injustices – reflexive emotions – are cultural. During pre-protest stages, negative emotions, including anger, fear, sadness, sorrow, disappointment, humiliation, hopelessness, threat and hatred, are prevalent, responding to injustices.

It is important to note that at pre-protest stages, when potential participants are not yet mobilized or collectively assembled, these reactive emotions are already shared by people with the same social identity. Albeit separate in physical terms, personal identity is relational and social (Adams & Van de Vijver, 2015; De Federico de la Rúa, 2007). Echoing concepts of social identity (Gilbert, 2010), and of cultural identity (Jenkins, 2014), recent studies of protest have reinforced the notion that individual participants are social beings, who make sense of their protest rationale on the basis of their social positions and cultural groups (Casey, 2010; Baysu & Phalet, 2017; Verkuyten, 2017). For instance,

gender, religion, nationality, race and political values are some of the social and cultural aspects of identity. When injustices relating to one's social and cultural belonging arise, reflexive emotions are generated and experienced, not only individually but culturally, along with people aligned to the same cultural identity. Therefore, in social movement literature, reflexive emotions are shared by groups – a collective identification on the basis of emotions. For instance, group-based anger among a German student protest body (Stürmer & Simon, 2009) and collective fear and sadness among faculty members facing unequal pay (Smith et al., 2008) are some examples of collective reflexive emotions.

As for feminist protests and movements, although upholding fragmented personal identities, emotions can be experienced collectively by participants, responding to injustices of gender inequality (Ahmed, 2010; Eliot, 1863; Friedan, 1965; Jaggar, 1989; Rousseau, 1762; Srivastava, 2005). Although differing in their claims, under the general frame, emotions including anger, a sense of injustice and dissatisfaction, and oppression are prevalently felt by women who, across time, have desired liberation. Experiences of gender inequalities in household, social and political settings are faced by women not only individually, but socially, from a gendered perspective (Ahmed, 2010; Cohen, 1985). Furthermore, as feminist identity is becoming fragmented and diverse, the categorization of group-based reflexive emotions has been relatively precise (Ahmed, 2010; Polly & Whither, 1995). For instance, responding to white women's privilege, reflexive anger among women of colour is intense and expressive, as seen especially in the 1990s. And reacting to 'killjoy' accusation after rape, anger and confrontation are collectively owned by rape survivors (Brigley Thompson, 2017; Moore, 2018).

In short, because of the social and cultural nature of identity (Gilbert, 2010; Jenkins, 2014), reflexive emotions in reaction to injustices and claims are cultural and collective in nature (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 2018). Therefore, on the one hand, albeit separated physically, reflexive emotions generated in reaction to social issues connect us emotionally to the collective. In other words, collective identity is already in existence, even before the start of a protest, which promotes mobilization. However, on the other hand, how can such group-based emotions be experienced and promote collective identity during protests?

Collective and Reciprocal Emotions

In order to sustain participation, individually felt reflexive emotions are strategically channelled and transformed by protest organizers into collective concerns and emotions (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 1997, 2018). In this process, emotions are collectively experienced in response to shared concerns that connect the individual to the collective, formulating collective identity.

As discussed, because of fragmented identities, participants may have diverse points of view regarding protest issues. However, via frames, organizers aim to unify participants, not only in terms of their understanding of a shared protest concern, but also of feeling and emotions. In relation to framing by

semiotic articulation, as discussed in the previous subsection (Gamson, 1998; Snow & Benford, 2003), a common anchoring point is created. For instance, this is done by publicly denouncing the wrong deeds of opponents and/or authorities in banner display and slogan shouting, and injustice frames are presented openly. Focusing on specific injustice frames, participants are all condemning the same opponent, and in general feeling bad about the specific comments of opponents or and authorities, for instance. In other words, reflexive emotions are channelled via frames, with participants collectively targeting enemies and/or the out-group. With the emphasis on 'them', naturally, and contrastingly, a realization of 'we' becomes salient. Stemming from the assumption of belonging to a 'we-community', emotions including a sense of collectivity, community and togetherness, satisfaction, pleasure, friendship, hopefulness, solidarity and loyalty are generated (Jasper, 1997; 2018). Also, in the process of protests, participants interact with one another. Reciprocal positive feelings towards others in the we-community, including friendship, a sense of trust and togetherness, are also experienced. In feminist protests and movements, collective feminist emotions are key to promoting participation. Mutual support, the collective satisfaction of healing from gender-related trauma (Page & Arcy, 2019), the sense of collective strength among black feminists protesting violence (Davis, 2015; Hall, 2016) and the general sense of empowerment experienced in collective actions (Gorton, 2007) are some examples.

In short, via a differentiation between the in-group and the out-group, and a reinforcement of in-group commonalities, participants realize that reflexive emotions responding to protest issues are not only individually owned, but collectively shared among participants. Because of cognitive and emotional resemblances, which are salient in public demonstrations, collective and reciprocal emotions are experienced. Individuals realize that they are sharing the same emotion with the collective, in response to shared protest claims. A resonance of reflexive emotions thus contributes to generating collective and reciprocal emotions, connecting individual participants with other participants, and with the collective. In other words, individual participants identify with the collective, because of emotional resemblances within the collective.

Sounds in protests, including protest songs and speeches, as discussed in my second subsection, articulate boundaries between us and them, which reinforces reflexive and collective emotions. However, besides lyrics and text, the sonic medium is rich in generating emotions. Singing, melodies, rhythms, various shades of the human voice and crowd sound are human expressions that release and generate emotions. Therefore, besides reflecting emotions from a textual and meaning aspect, sound is also in essence emotional and affective. In light of this, besides reflexive emotions stemming from meaning, I argue that the emotional and affective essence of sound contributes to an understanding of collective identity.

However, in studies of collective identity, the role of affect is receiving less attention, compared with meaning and emotion. As revealed in this subsection, affect – bodily experience – is sometimes understood as an aspect of emotion, of bodily and liminal impulses (Jasper, 2018), which shows its close relationship with emotion. As mentioned, social movement participation is a form of, and/or an event of, social life (Jasper, 2018; Gamson, 1995). It is a bodily experience – affective, which is the essence of participation requiring physical presence. Therefore, affect, besides meaning and emotion, is also an aspect of social life. Based on the experiential and trans-personal aspect of affect, I argue that this concept offers insights into the understanding of collective identity construction in protests and social movements.

Before reviewing studies of affect, in the subsection below I discuss the separation of these entities and in particular the lack of emphasis on affect, in relation to collective identity construction.

What is Missing?

As we can see, a cultural approach that focuses on meaning, and on emotions responding to these meanings, is central in studies of collective identity (Gamson, 1998; Gould, 2010; Jasper, 1997, 2018; Gamson, 1995; Snow & Benford, 2003). Albeit exploring collective identity from an emotional perspective (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 1997, 2018), the understanding of collective identity construction is still to a large extent cognitive and has overlooked the non-cognitive, but affective and experiential, side of participation, which is essential to identity construction.

As discussed in the previous subsection, the studies of emotion in social movements shed light on understanding, on the collective nature of emotions in protests, and on the role of emotion in forming a collectivity (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 1997, 2018). Albeit focusing on emotions, these studies reveal that emotion and meaning are not separate, but related to one another. For instance, reflexive emotions are a reflection and expression of injustice frames; while collective emotions are responses to collective frames (Jasper, 2018). As discussed above, and chiming with the cultural approach, meaning and emotion are closely related (Gilbert, 2010; Jenkins, 2014). Or, to put this more actively, meaning – thinking and understanding, and feeling emotions – are aspects of experience. Therefore, the two entities are in fact one in experience, which contributes to identity construction (Desai-Stephens & Reissour, 2020).

Reinforced by a cultural approach (Bolin, 2017; O'Reilly, 2010), the formation of identity is experiential. Identity, including personal, social and cultural identity, is constructed via interaction and affective and sensual experience. Regarding collective identity, as discussed in this section, the process of its formation is based upon meaningful framing, reflexive emotions and collective emotions. Although valid in itself, it is important to note that experience is more than meaning and emotion; it is also affect (Quinn, 2018). As revealed by Jasper (2018), there is a bodily, experiential aspect to emotions, which is

categorized as affect (Masumi, 2002) or as ‘urges’ (Jasper, 2018) – physical impulses experienced by the body, including rising heartbeat, sweating and shaking. These affects are experienced in the process of generating emotions. Albeit non-cognitive in real time, these physical experiences support, resonate with and reflect emotions. For instance, rising heartbeat and sweating are affects reflecting excitement and nervousness, while shaking reflects a sense of fear.

If affect is related to emotion, and relatively non-cognitive, and emotion is connected to meaning, then are these entities one in experience, rather than separate? If so, what is the role of affect in creating collective identity in protests? Still in its developmental stage, compared with framing and emotion, studies of affect in relation to collective identity are limited. However, according to recent studies of affect in protests (Wall, 2018; Quinn, 2018) and complemented by studies of atmosphere and large events (Anderson, 2009; Kim, 2021; Tan, 2021), it has been found that, together with meaning and emotion, affect contributes to facilitating collective participation and to identity construction. In the next subsection, I review these studies and connect them with the discussion of collective identity construction.

Affect and Collective Identity

As discussed above, affect refers to bodily impulses and intensity, resulting from the experience of affecting and being affected, which promotes and sustains participation (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 2018; Masumi, 2002; Quinn, 2018). Moreover, according to recent studies of affect in protests (Literas, 2019; Quinn, 2018; Wall, 2019), affect contributes to collective identity construction, alongside meaning and emotion. Affecting the body, the most basic physical unit of participation, sensations, urges and intensities have ‘marked’ the body as a ‘protest body’ (Quinn, 2018, p. 63). In other words, through being physically affected by the space of protest, new meaning regarding the body is formed.

Furthermore, the protest body is not only individually affected, but also affects other bodies, which are affected as a collective. Therefore, affect not only marks ‘protest bodies’ individually, but also trans-bodily and collectively, giving rise to the formation of a collective body via shared affective experience.

In the following paragraphs, in order to review the role of affect in collective identity construction, I discuss the influence of affect on individuals, and between individuals and the collective. Meanwhile, echoing a non-separating approach to affect, emotion and meaning (Leys, 2011; Wetherell, 2013), I highlight an inter-related relationship between these entities, based on studies of affect in protest (Literas, 2019; Quinn, 2018; Wall, 2019). This paves the way to the next section on the conceptual framework.

Affect, Bodies and Personal Identity

Firstly, on an individual level, a participant's body is affected by their experience in protests. Albeit non-cognitive in real time, affective experience, which is contextually reflexive, contributes to reinforcing their identity as a protest participant. Based on an auto-ethnography of a student protest in Quebec, Quinn (2018) recalls that her body experienced affects including vibrating ear membranes, itching fingers, numbing tongue, painful joints, burning lung and bounding heart. In retrospect, she (Quinn, 2018) concludes that these affective experiences were reactions and responses to the protest environment and resonated with her emotions. For instance, vibrating ear membranes were reactions to the voices of organizers, which were broadcast by megaphone. And her bounding heart was affected by the messages on banners, the flashing lights of a police car and the crowd cheering. As we can see, these affective experiences were responses to, and reflected, the protest environment. Meanwhile, these physical impulses relate to and support the process of generating emotions, including passion, expectancy, excitement and fear, which at the same time relate to one's understanding of protest claims.

It is important to note, though, that while affect, contextual meaning and emotions are categorized as perspectives for clarity, they are not experienced in separation, but as one. However, by focusing on the role of affect in her study, Quinn (2018) highlights the importance of affect in transforming her body into a protest body, which consolidated her identity as a protester – an experiential account. According to Quinn (2018, p. 63), 'I am [...] motivated by the lived intensity and embodied experience, resulting in my continuous and ever-present protest body. I am marked, and I have marked'. In other words, the researcher (Quinn, 2018) identifies her body within the protest, because of specific affective experiences she has there.

Besides affecting bodies individually, in the same environment bodies can be affected collectively, which connects the personal with the collective in terms of experience.

Affecting Bodies Collectively and Transversely

Secondly, contextual elements in protests affect the body not only individually, but also collectively (Liu & Opotow, 2020; Wall, 2019; Quinn, 2018). Although physical sensations are experienced within individual bodies, they can be manifested in bodies, in a collective manner. For instance, screaming within a 'cacophony of screams' (Quinn, 2018, p. 54), sudden quietness shared in a crowd, and tears in everyone's eyes are some examples. These affects, which are reactions to police arrests and organizers' messages, were experienced not only individually, but also shared among the collective. This is because these affective elements in protests are social, environmental and contextual, applying to and affecting all participants in the space of a protest. In other words, affects are physical responses to the protest environment, which affects the protest collective relatively homogeneously. Because of collective

affective experience, impacted by the same context, one's body is related to the collective, forming a collective body. As Quinn's (2018) auto-ethnography describes reacting to a police attack with tear gas, '... but the toxin was in our bodies now... Waves of tear gas slamming our shores. Riot shields and riot boots, pounding our bodies'. Being affected collectively, 'my protest body' is transformed into 'our protest bodies' (Quinn, 2018, pp. 54-61). The protest identity of a body is marked, not only individually, but within, related to, and as, a collective body of protesters.

The collective impact of affect is in line with studies of crowd sound (Ash, 2012; Rosenberg, 2018) and atmosphere in cultural events (Anderson, 2009). In studies of affect in football matches (Brown & Sheridan, 2020), it has been found that the sound of the national anthem, filling the whole stadium with collective singing, creates a sense of pride and loyalty in the space. Affects such as vibrating voices, bounding heart rates and a sense of flow in the heart are experienced by individuals, collectively. Also, at rock and roll concerts, physical objects and bodies vibrate, collectively affected by the beats and rhythms of the music. This is conceptualized as a sonic affect in sound studies scholarship (Anderson, 2009; Gallagher & Prior, 2014). Albeit invisible and non-cognitive, spatial elements that contribute to creating a general mood in the space or atmosphere bind individual bodies in a collective experience (Anderson, 2009). Therefore, in some affect studies of atmosphere (Anderson, 2009; Brown et al., 2019; Riedel & Torvinen, 2019), affect refers not only to manifest bodily reaction and expression, but also to the general mood felt by individuals collectively affected by the atmosphere – the general emotion filling a particular space. As I illustrate later in the conceptual framework, in this thesis, which captures the processual and experiential essence of affect, it is defined as both a bodily reaction and an expression of those affected and affecting, as well as the general emotion and atmosphere of the space, which affects subjects within it.

As we can see, in recent studies of affect in protests (Ash, 2012; Auer, 2012; Quinn, 2018), participants are often viewed as passive bodies, as being affected. However, it is important to note that in collective events bodies are not only collectively affected, but also actively affect other bodies. Affecting elements in the environment of protests, including crowd cheering, quiet, and general mood, are co-created by participants. Complemented by the concept of community of practice (Wenger, 2011), when collectively participating in and contributing to the same social event and environment, subjects are sharing similar thoughts and feeling similar emotions. In the processes of participation, interaction and negotiation, they not only communicate in terms of meaning, but also affect others in terms of experience and emotions.

Exploring policing strategies in protests, Wall (2019) adopts a biological account in order to explain the contagiousness of affect, which traverses bodies, although invisible. According to her study (Wall, 2019), in protests, when expecting massive arrests, fear, tension and a sense of hopelessness are felt by

participants and atmospherically circulating in the space. Bodily manifestations of affective reactions, including sweating, dry mouths and sinking hearts, are experienced by participants, alongside the aforementioned emotions. These affective experiences impact not only individual bodies, but traverse bodies in a physical way. For instance, physical changes in hormone levels, fluid circulation and energy projection can be perceived by and resonate with other bodies. Albeit not visible, these manifest affects are contagious, traversing bodies and reinforcing a sense of fear.

In sum, affect contributes to giving meaning to the body, via physical experience. In protests, being impacted spatially and atmospherically, bodies are affected not only individually, but also collectively. An individual body is related to, and is one with, the collective body, sharing the same protest experience.

Also, albeit non-cognitive and non-semiotic, affects are bodily reactions to and a mediated experience of organizers' messages and protest claims, and of symbols and actions of opponents and authorities. In other words, affects do not come from nowhere, but from a meaningful understanding of symbols in the environment. Meanwhile, these affective experiences are generated alongside emotions, which are also meaningfully reflexive. Therefore, aligned with my previous subsection, from an experiential perspective, not only meaning and emotion but also affect are related.

Furthermore, as revealed throughout this subsection, in protests, sound plays an important role in generating affective experiences (Rosenberg, 2018). Crowd cheering, quiet, sirens, protest songs and speeches are some examples. These contribute to creating the space and experience of protests, which is meaningful as well as emotional. However, how are sonic experiences of protests produced? What resources and strategies are rationally considered for collective identity construction?

Rationality in Social Movement Studies

Within social movement literature, debates regarding rationality came to the foreground mainly as a response to the crowd approach, which approached protest as irrational and illegal collective behaviour (LeBon, 1908). According to LeBon (1908), participants of protests lose their individuality and rationality as they transform from single individuals into a crowd easily swayed by rumours and characterised by uncertainties. Therefore, the protest crowd was seen as mostly violent and dangerous. Many scholars criticized the presumptive account of participant's irrationality prevalent in the crowd approach by explaining social movements in terms of rational reasoning and based on frameworks including the Resource Mobilization Approach (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) and the Rational Choice Theory (Klandermans, 1984; Oberschall, 1994; Opp, 2009). However, aligned with social movement scholars who critiqued a reductionist approach to rationality in these frameworks (Collins, 2003; Eyeman, 2003; Gould, 2010; Opp, 2009; Polletta, 2003; Valiente, 2015), rationality is interrelated with

emotion and culture, interacting between the self, the collective as well as the complexity of social fabrics. In the sub-sections that follow, first, I discuss major rational approaches to social movement studies originated in the 1990s, including the Resource Mobilization Approach (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) and Rational Choice Theory (Oberschall, 1994; Klandermans, 1984; Opp, 2009). Second, I discuss the essence of rationality and its relation to culture and emotions, and explore concepts within social movement literature that attempts to investigate the complex relationships between these entities. Third, based on the close relationship between culture, emotion and rationality, I address these entities from a feminist protest perspective.

To start with, I will firstly discuss major rational approaches to social movement studies originated from the 1990s – the Resource Mobilization Approach (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) and the Rational Choice Theory (Oberschall, 1994; Klandermans, 1984; Opp, 2009)

Resource Mobilization and Rational Choice Theory

From an organizing perspective, the resource mobilization approach (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) explains the formation of movements, based on rational consideration of available resources and cost, and relating to the desired outcomes. Aligned with the rise of economics, social movements are understood as an outcome of economic support and of marketing strategies offering personal incentive to participate (Tarrow, 2011). To mobilize participants, social movement entrepreneurs need to rationally consider available resources, including finance, cultural and social resources, media attention and coalition support, in relation to the protest objectives (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Relating to the consideration of resources, the political process model and contentious politics (Tarrow, 2011; Tilly, 2008) highlight the importance of the process and dynamics between resources, and factors that enable or constrain the use of such resources.

Aside from an organizing perspective, Rational Choice Theory tries to explain movements as outcomes of rational choices made by participants (Oberschall, 1994; Opp, 1989; Klandermans, 1984). Stemming from a rational choice tradition in sociology and economics (Hedström & Ylikoski, 2014; Kroneberg & Kaltes, 2012; Wittek, 2013), rational choice theory explains individual's decisions and actions as a result of rational choices, which are made based on logical reasoning. Whether a choice is logical is appraised according to one's objective and preference, and potential opportunities and constraints that the potential choice may bring about. In social movement studies, rational choice theory was adopted to explain protester's decision for and action of participation (Oberschall, 1994; Klandermans, 1984; Opp, 2009). In the face of social and political problems, individuals aim to solve the issue and to improve their everyday life. To attain one's objective, individuals appraise possible gains and risks of a potential action such as protest, as well as other alternatives. After evaluating all options, one makes a choice that would

bring about the biggest gain and the lowest risk, meanwhile getting closest to the particular goal (Kroneberg & Kaltes, 2012; Opp, 2013).

As we can see, responding to the notion of irrationality of the crowd approach (LeBon, 1908), rationality is central in rational choice theory (Oberschall, 1994; Opp, 1989; Klandermans, 1984) as well as resource mobilization approach (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). These approaches see rationality as purely instrumental to movements – as a means directly responding to a particular political objective. This view is critiqued by social movement scholars who inquired further about the notion of rationality (Collins, 2003; Davis, 2002; Goodwin et al., 2004; Gould, 2010; Polletta, 2003; Zhou & Wang, 2018). Is rationality in movements only about the relationship between the means and the end? What accounts for what is sensible and what is not? Based on a sociological tradition (Illouz & Finkelman, 2009; Freudenburg, 1993), I argue that rationality is influenced by and interacts with cultural understanding, emotional and affective experience, which reinforces a close relationship between the rational, cultural and emotional and the affective.

The Interconnectedness between Culture, Emotion and Rationality

According to Illouz and Finkelman (2009), the birth of rationality stems from culture, which can also be a result of and give rise to emotion. Aligned with the notion of rationality as adopted for the resource mobilization and rational choice theory, rationality is the conscious consideration based on calculation of cost and benefit of a process and the result of an action (Kalberg, 1980). It is the reason for actions and the explanation for outcomes. Four qualities of rationality are to be found, based on Weber's (1940) study: 1) practical rationality – the choice of solution according to expedience, 2) theoretical rationality – the abstract consideration process based on theory, 3) substantive rationality – calculation based on values, and 4) formal rationality – a systematic guide such as law in social life. No matter which type of rationality, they all share a commonality, which is a conscious calculation and consideration based on something deemed to be sensible. What, however, constitutes the rational in society? For example, why is the calculation of costs and benefits understood to be a rational practice in a capitalist society but not in a religion-dominated state such as Bhutan? Culture plays an important role in shaping rationality (Illouz & Finkelman, 2009; Freudenburg, 1993).

Culture produces rationality and emotion and brings interactions among these three entities (Illouz & Finkelman, 2009). The calculation of cost and benefit is seen as one of the most logical premises in capitalist society, because of its profound economic history and development. History and context are behind every policy that is perceived as substantially rational. In return, rationality also produces culture. Out of culturally-built rationality, a system of rules and laws is developed, which creates culture and emotion.

Furthermore, having a close relation with rationality, culture, which can be understood through meaning and symbols, is the cause and expression of affect and emotion. Affect studies scholars have understood affect as visceral intensity and as a pre-subjective force prior to signification. However, this affective force is not separate from cognition. Originally, it was related to the human brain, stemming from consciousness. It is not convincing to say that affective force is connected to the brain because it is visceral; however, it can function independently from consciousness and understanding (Leys, 2011; Wetherell, 2013). Also, affective response is a continuity of understanding learnt from everyday life (Damasio, 1999). In other words, affective response is an ongoing cycle, supported by a progressive feedback process (Russell & Mischel, 2003). Furthermore, according to psychology and neuroscience scholars, the functions of embodiment, emotion and cognition are integrated and cannot be set apart into different systems. Tracing back to a psychological experiment in the 1960s, bodily action is guided by understanding, and vice versa (Schachter et al., 1962). This thesis gained popularity until the 1990s, when the affective approach started growing.

Affect, emotion, meaningful understanding and rationality are aspects of human experience that are closely related and mutually reinforcing. However, in studies of collective identity, focus on meaning, affect or emotion has created a fissure between these entities, which is grounded and revealed in the development of social movement approaches.

Social movement studies have been an area of study touching on different fields and disciplines, including political science, sociology, media and communications, and cultural studies. Different traditions and approaches within social movement studies have their own rationale and focus. Whereas many social movement scholars emphasize the role of resources, rationality and cognition in contentious politics (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Opp, 1989), others have foregrounded the importance of culture, affects, emotions and passion (Goodwin, et al, 2001; Gamson, 1995). Albeit their distinct conceptual focus, efforts were made to adopt an integrative approach to social movement studies (Collins, 2003; Davis, 2002; Goodwin et al., 2004; Gould, 2010; Polletta, 2003; Zhou & Wang, 2018). These studies serve as solid foundation for the exploration of relationships between cultural meaning, emotion and rationality in the protest sounds in this thesis.

An Integrative Approach to Social Movement Studies

A relatively narrow understanding of rationality – focusing on instrumental rationality as is the case in the resource mobilization approach (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) and rational choice theory (Oberschall, 1994; Opp, 1989; Klandermans, 1984) was acknowledged. This calls for an integrative approach to the study of social movements. Exploring movements through the lens of rational choice theory since the 1990s, Opp (1989, 2009, 2013) recognized that emotions such as grievance and solidarity are “possible

preferences and constraints that often determine participation in protest events” (Opp, 2013, online). Because of social and political problems such as war and pollution, discontentment grows. Potential benefits of protest, including minimizing discontentment, fulfilling social morality and experiencing solidarity are often considered as benefits alongside potential cost, such as the sacrifice of time, alternative activities if not protesting, and the risk of being arrested. In other words, the experience of collective emotion and the minimization of discontentment serve as factors for consideration in protests.

It is aligned with scholars who intended to explore rationality in protest, beyond its instrumentality (Kroneberg & Kalter, 2012; Opp, 2013; Sa’di, 2015). As critiqued by Sa’di (2015) and Opp (2013), some have adopted the notion of rationality in social movement studies in a relatively narrow sense, referring only to instrumental rationality (Klandermans, 1984; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). As mentioned, according to Weber (1986), instrumental rationality reveals relationships between the means and the end.

Referring to a previous example in the last paragraph, if one’s purpose is to minimize discontentment – the end, therefore, the action of protest, which is regarded as a practical, instrumental means that would lead to the end, is deemed logical and thus rational. However, holding a similar stance with Neblo (2020), Opp (2013) and Sa’di (2013), rationality is more than its instrumentality. By further exploring Weber’s (1986) typology for social action, Sa’di (2013) argues that rationality in protest is demonstrated not only via the relationship between protest objective (ends) and the action of protest (means), but also through an affective and value-laden motivation to participation. For instance, especially for long-term social struggles such as the anti-slave movement or the civil rights movement, it was unclear if particular protests would bring about the expected outcome. However, anger (affective motivation) stemming from one’s view on inequalities (value) provides a logical explanation to protest.

The debate on the relationship between emotion, rationality, and culture in social action is also long standing among scholars interested in Habermas’s (1990) theory of communicative rationality.

According to Habermas (1990), communication based on mutual understanding, which allows actors to understand each other’s legitimate grounding and accountability is a form of rationality. It leads to what is regarded as right and reasonable for social and political good, among participants in the communication process. Therefore, the deliberative process and its outcome is seen as reasonable. In other words, what is deemed rational relies on the articulation, content and the revelation of assumption behind and as revealed in the use of language. It has to be agreeable among participants of the communication process – which is mutually understandable, agreeable (albeit sacrifices) and cultural. Some critiqued communicative rationality has downplayed the role of emotion when reasoning (Sanders, 1997; Young, 1985). However, aligned with Neblo (2020) and Smith (2013), I hold another stance. As stated by Habermas (1990, 2018, online), “resentment and personal emotional responses in general point to suprapersonal standards... emotion is to practical reason as sense perception is to scientific reason”

(Neblo, 2020). In other words, what feels right is a reflection of cultural standard, which is the base and element of reason (Krause, 2011; Neblo, 2020). (Here, the focus is of the relationship between rationality, culture and meaning. How the feminist protest community understands these entities will be discussed in the next subsection.)

Within social movement literature, drawing on a variety of concepts, effort have been made to integrate these conceptual lenses in our understanding of collective mobilization (Collins, 2003; Polletta, 2003; Zhou & Wang, 2018). These studies explore the benchmark of rationality, which is stemming from culture and is also expressive and experiential via emotion and affect. Exploring morality and ethics in mobilization, scholars found that moral emotions guide participant's rational judgement, which reflects what counts for right and wrong according to the collectively shared cultural norm and values (Broadbent, 2003; Jasper, 2008; Pearlman, 2018; Prato, 2003). As specified by Elster (1999), the moral emotion of pride often implies what is ethically right in terms of action in a culture, thus regarded as rational by members of that community. For instance, in their recent studies of anti-Japanese protests in China, Zhou and Wang (2018) found that the experience of national pride inspires participants to see their protesting action as rightful. It is because this shared feeling implies their proud identity as a member of the Chinese community, supporting the anti-Japanese foreign policy of the Chinese government. A defining role of culture in guiding and shaping rationality is also revealed in the study of social networks in movement participation (Broadbent, 2003; Brunner, 2017; Opp, 2001). As Broadbent (2003) has put it, being cultured in a particular network system, individuals are exposed to the opinion of other members of the community. Processes of social interaction shape one's understanding of what is deemed sensible, and which structures facilitate participation.

In short, culture shapes norm and values, as well as informs what counts for a rational judgement for social movement participation. Besides this, it is relevant to note that even participation that is regarded as random and spontaneous – relatively less strategically planned and derived from catalytic incident, is also closely related to culture, which reveals sensibility according to the norms and value of a particular community. For instance, the black student sit-in protest in North Carolina back in 1960 (Polletta, 2002) as well as the protest against Arizona House Bill 2281 (Otero & Cammarota, 2011, online) were viewed as “instantaneous” and as an outcome of participant's anger. However, it does not necessarily mean that these protests were irrational and without strategy. It is because the long existing historical racial and ethnic problem was firmly embedded in the participant's heart and mind. By retelling their shared narratives of injustice and imagined protest discourse, potential protest strategies, as well as a collective identity which are responding to the shared racial problem. was already in construction.

As we can see, from a participating point of view, whether a decision to protest is rational, is grounded in culture and is experienced as emotions. Furthermore, from an organizational perspective, these

entities are also interconnected, as organizers tend to strategically mobilize emotion and articulate cultural meaning to drive participation. Exploring protest leader charisma (Cai, 2016; Schbley & McCauley, 2005; Tranter, 2009) and rituals (Baringhorst, 2004; Pfaff & Yang, 2001; Thomassen, 2020), it is found that to mobilize and to recruit, social movement entrepreneurs strategically select their representatives – the face of the protest, who are capable of communicating not only the content of the call of action, but also to channel emotions of passion, compassion and anger relating to the protest discourse. Meanwhile, political rituals such as vigils and celebratory parade are used by protest leaders to consolidate membership as well as constructing collective identity. This is because rituals are cultural; they are practices that are only understood and shared among members of the same group. In the process, a sense of community and solidarity could be experienced.

In summary, culture, emotion, and rationality are closely related to each other in the context of collective mobilization. What is deemed rational and felt emotionally is culturally relevant. Connected to this, feminist scholars and the feminist protest community in general have for a long time critiqued a normative view of rationality, which is largely structured by a male dominant approach which neglected a feminist perspective (Cudd, 2001; Driscoll & Krook, 2012; England, 1989; Fraser, 1990, 2014; Mumby & Putnam, 1992; Pateman & Grosz, 2013; Pajnik, 2006; Stone, 2012). Then, according to the feminist protest culture, what is understood as rational and emotionally relevant?

A Feminist Perspective on Rationality

Feminist scholars of different fields have critiqued the general sociological understanding of rationality as male dominant, which does not reflect, and further suppressed a feminist perspective (Cudd & Holmstrom, 2011; Driscoll & Krook, 2009; England, 1989; Fraser, 1990, 2014; Mumby & Putnam, 1992; Pateman & Grosz, 2013; Pajnik, 2006; Stone, 2012). Responding to rational choice theory, which is grounded in the field of economics, feminist scholars questioned a narrow notion of rationality in the choice making process, which is based upon instrumental, often statistical calculation (Opp, 1989). Speaking from a feminist perspective, scholars argued that because of social structures and everyday experiences, there are other factors, including a different gendered understanding of self, relationships, and the experience of emotions such as solidarity that influence decision-making processes (England, 1989; Pateman & Grosz, 2013). Albeit these factors may not always bring about an instrumental gain, they could be regarded as logical reasoning for women.

Also, responding to a broader sociological discussion on rationality (Habermas, 1989; Weber 1940), feminist scholars critiqued the notion of communicative rationality as it has longed excluded a feminist perspective (Cudd, 2001; Driscoll & Krook, 2009; England, 1989; Fraser, 1990, 2014; Mumby & Putnam, 1992; Pateman & Grosz, 2013; Pajnik, 2006; Stone, 2012). Firstly, in terms of membership,

albeit according to Habermas's (1989) theory, all citizens should have the right to participate in the deliberative process, during which mutual understanding could be achieved. However, feminist scholars argued that historically and as reflected by existing societal structures, it were men that have been dominating the process of communication actions. And albeit women started increasing their influence in the 1980s in political participation (Pateman & Grosz, 2013), the culture of communicative action and what is understood as the proper, normative way of communication, is still the result and outcome of male dominant participation. To a large extent, communicative rationality implies that and requires women to think and to act more as men, in order to participate and to get heard (Driscoll & Krook, 2009; England, 1989; Fraser, 1990, 2014; Mumby & Putnam, 1992; Pajnik, 2006; Stone, 2012).

Secondly, though Habermas' (1990) understanding of rationality stresses deliberation, it is still considered as largely instrumental, according to feminist scholars (Mumby & Putnam, 1992; Pajnik, 2006). This is because communicative rationality sees practical communication and mutual understanding as reasoning for action, aiming for problem solving. However, besides symbolic languages, there are other elements including emotional expression, imagination and memory that exists and are dynamically flowing in communication processes (Braaten, 1995). Albeit not directly relating to a desired outcome and probably not appropriable as a solution, it is still part of the communication process and deemed truthful and reasonable. Furthermore, voices of all genders should be deliberately heard, even not directly, instrumentally related to a problem-solving imperative.

In short, feminist scholars extended the notion of rationality, by considering a feminist understanding of the self (England, 1989), citizenship (Stone, 2012), goals and desires (Pateman & Grosz, 2013) and political identity (Cudd, 2001; Pajnik, 2006). These conceptual lenses posited a competing discourse to the general notion of rationality, which is grounded in a male-dominant, elite discourse. This resisting approach is also revealed in feminist protest culture, which will be discussed hereafter.

A Feminist Protest Resistant Culture and its Complex Emotions

The development of feminist collective identity was discussed in the third subsection (see page 36). Here, I intend to focus specifically on exploring the relationship between culture, emotion and mobilization strategies, from a feminist protest perspective. To oppose what is regarded as the normative and the rational in a male-dominating society, a resistant culture started to develop from the 1960s onwards (Berg, 1978; Cohen, 1985; Ryan, 1992; Taylor & Whittier, 1995). It takes part in formulating a feminist protest resistant culture, as revealed and practiced not only in protests, but also in feminist protester's everyday life (Taylor & Whittier, 1995). Tracing back to history (Berg, 1978; Cohen, 1985; Ryan, 1992; Taylor & Whittier, 1995), in the 1800s, American philanthropist women started getting involved in social and charity work. They visited and provided social care to worse-off

and sick women. What these philanthropist women realized through their actions, was not only class differences between themselves and the women that they were visiting, but the essential similarity that they shared – being a woman (Berg, 1978; Ryan, 1992). Echoing an essentialist feminist point of view, these women realized that they were different from men, in terms of biology, gender, social opportunities and conditions. A countering discourse which recognized the unequal social opportunities of women started to emerge. Meanwhile, because of their relatively caring nature and a relational approach to social relationships, women also started to acknowledge their commonality, sisterhood bonding and a sense of solidarity (Taylor & Whittier, 1995).

As mentioned above, since culture is intimately related to emotions, it must be noted that the emotions of the feminist protest community are also culturally dependent (Ahmed, 2010; Hermes, 1995; Taylor & Whittier, 1995). According to Ahmed (2010), the generation of feminist emotions involve a variety of social situations and critiques, both within and outside the feminist circle, which makes it diverse and complex. As feminist movements were emerging, female protesters were seen as angry women who were not content with their role in the household, as from an outsider point of view. They are regarded as the troublemakers who ignore reasons. Responding to this accusation, feminist activists defended their claims based on rightful reasoning grounded in liberal democracy. As mentioned in the section on feminist fragmented identity, in the 1960s and 1970s, feminist protests under the umbrella of the women's right movement were on the rise, based on the legitimate claim of gender equality in terms of political and working rights. Meanwhile, because of unequal social treatment as well as the troublemaker accusation, organizers were able to channel emotion of anger for mobilization purposes. Also, collective emotions such as solidarity and relational bonding were used to unify women participants.

Besides protest in action, it must be noted that a feminist protest resistant culture was also developing within everyday life setting. It reveals the connection between structure, cultural meaning and emotion in women's everyday life protest strategies. Exploring the women's movement of Ohio from the 1960s to 1990s, Taylor and Whittier (1995) found that a set of feminist language was developing, intended to resist and push back against mundane male domination (Brison, 2019; Kleinman & Copp, 2021; Taylor & Whittier, 1995). For instance, in the 1980s, the word 'womyn' instead of 'woman', and 'herstory' rather than 'history' was deliberately adopted by women protesters, to minimize the acknowledgment of 'men' in everyday language. Meanwhile, some women resisted the linguistic expression of 'bitches' and 'girly', which they thought was downplaying and making fun of women. Furthermore, in terms of fashion, some feminist protesters countered the normative feminine dress code and deliberately dressed in a neutral gender style. Also, in several social and cultural settings, including book clubs, music festival and film screening, feminist activists shared their narratives and beliefs, aiming to popularize

feminist concerns and contrasting their views to a male dominant approach (Taylor & Whittier, 1995). Together with the general economic growth of women as comparing to the past, feminists, lesbian feminists or feminists who support homosexual relationships were able to afford their own home. They chose to move out from their original family, as a way to break the old structure and allow more space to develop their own identity. In short, in terms of everyday life practice, aligned with their claim for gender equality, feminist protesters adopt actions that counted a male-dominating culture. These practices were deliberately adopted, meanwhile reflecting feelings of women as structured within the patriarchal system.

It is important to note that in the previous paragraph, I referred to examples of practices that contribute to building a feminist resistant culture, which are deemed sensible to the feminist protest community, in a general sense. However, even within the feminist community, there are different practices and cultural specificities, depending on context. Therefore, as I have discussed in the section of feminist fragmented identity, feminist protest concerns have been changing – from suffrage right, work equalities, to fragmented, individualized and contextually based feminist protest concerns, such as migrant women rights, women night safety in a particular city, trans rights, etc. In other words, the collective emotions shared among members of the feminist protest community, and what is counted for in the relevant mobilization strategies are also becoming relatively diverse, and ever changing depending on context and the targeted audience.

For instance, in protests against sexual abuse, it was found that organizers aim to mobilize participation through turning emotions of shame to anger, solidarity and hope (Campell, 1994). Meanwhile, in public hearings in courts, activists advised female victims to express their vulnerability and sadness, to relate to the judge and the public through a sympathetic path. Besides this, in protests against household violence, cultural resources including the circulation of victim narratives, building of social ties and organizational support for victims are regarded as significant and hugely important (Munshi-Kurian et al., 2019; Valiente; 2015). Aside from this, to draw public attention as well as to release anger, organizers of the red feminists and some lesbian feminist groups included radical strategies for disruption purposes. To strategically channel radical emotions as well as to allow participants to express intense discontentment against social structure, strategies such as interrupting Catholic Mass by naked feminist activists, circulating radical and violent messages online in authoritarian regimes, and women roadblocks tactics were adopted (Brison, 2019; Chopra, 2021; Clough, 2012; Mikhaylova & Gradoselskaya, 2021; Reger, 2004). In other words, albeit different in context, diverse emotions experienced by women protesters reflected social structure and context, which take parts in formulating a varied feminist protest resistant culture. Meanwhile, as a response to structure as well as resonating

with the feminist protest community, emotions and cultural strategies were being tactfully and tactically considered.

In summary, within the feminist protest collective, emotions of anger, solidarity and a sense of hope are strategically mobilized, which is a response to the cultural norm as owned by the feminist protest community in general – to counter a male-dominating culture. At the same time, protest strategies and everyday life practices are adopted as a way of expression as well as to protest. In the process, the collective identity of individuals is reinforced, through connecting to the protest collective via a shared rationale, shared emotions and cultural practices. In the next subsection, I will discuss collective identity as process, experience and as outcome, which is essential to this thesis.

Collective Identity as Process and Experience

Throughout this subsection, the discussion on collective identity is based on Melucci's (1995) definition, because of its validity in explicating the identification process between the self and the collective. According to him (Melucci, 1996, p. 70), collective identity is a process of "constructing an action system", which is both "interactive and shared" among individual participants and other actors. In other words, collective identity can be understood as a process whereby the self is connecting to and interacting with the collective.

Echoing its processual quality, scholars have explored collective identity from an experiential point of view (Neville & Reicher, 2011; Omori, 2016; Steidl, 2020). Some argue that interpretation of individually experienced injustices and group-based interaction contribute to collective identity formation (Friedman & Leaper, 2010; Steidl, 2020). Meanwhile, others view reflexive and collective emotions as experienced in protests as a form of collective identity (Neville & Reicher, 2011). In other words, the role of sensual and participatory experience has been emphasized in exploring the process of collective identity construction. Although stressing an experiential account, it is either meaning or emotion that has been emphasized in understanding collective identity.

Although explored through their different conceptual foci, it has been revealed that collective identity is processual and experiential. Because of this, I propose that the study of sound in protest provides a comprehensive approach to exploring collective identity. As I have mapped out in this section, no matter whether from a meaningful, rational, emotional or affective point of view, these contribute to collective identity construction by relating the personal with the collective – a process based on the experience of an individual. These entities are also contained in the medium of sound. As discussed in the first subsection, protest sounds carry meaning, express emotions in musical and sonic components, and create affective experiences, which are rationally produced and organically emerge in protests. Moreover, it is important to note that the processual nature of collective identity is not only relational,

but also flows throughout different stages of protests. Within social movement literature, scholars of the cultural turn see collective identity as a process constituting the ebb and flow of social movements (Eisenstadt & Giesen, 1995; Melucci, 1995), while those of the emotional turn understand collective identity as a pre-existing stage, a process, as well as an outcome of shared emotion and affective participation (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 1997). It is true that it is not easy to reach a concerted definition concerning the conception of collective identity. However, it is also unnecessary to do so, since collective identity exists at any stage of a social movement, in different forms, with different functions.

Despite its function of building a protest collective, some may argue that with the rise of fragmented identity, especially in the digital age, the conceptual usefulness of collective identity is fading. However, I do not argue this.

The Conceptual Relevance of Collective Identity

As mentioned, it is true that, with the change of social context starting in the 20th century, organizational commitment is becoming less significant in mobilization (Chen, 2013; Daskalaki, 2010; Rohlinger & Bunnage, 2018). Instead, personal experience and lifestyle are regarded as the major drivers of protest. With the rise of the digital age, personalized networking is viewed as the major way of recruitment and communication, which strengthens short-lived and spontaneous connection between actors, with less potential for forging long-term commitment. In other words, movements become more connective, rather than collective (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). Relationships between the personal and the protest body are becoming weaker and thinner (Rohlinger & Bunnage, 2018). Although still sharing a similar concern, the way that individual participants relate to the overall protest becomes more personalized, with diverse motivation and fragmented identity. In such cases, the conceptual usefulness of collective identity seems to be devalued (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012).

However, does this mean that the concept of collective identity is no longer relevant? I argue that this is not so. This is because, regardless of its form or organizational pattern, the essence of protest lies in collectivity – the collective, agentic power formed by individuals in order to leverage and disrupt (Piven, 2006). Although the way an individual relates to the collective and the interaction between actors may be changing, as reflected in the dynamics of social context, this does not necessarily mean that they are not self-identifying with the protest concern and the protest body as a whole. Therefore, it may not be fair to downplay collective identity, when organizational commitment and membership is less important in mobilization.

Aligned with some social movement scholars (Chen, 2013; Flesher Fominaya, 2007, 2010; Rohlinger & Bunnage, 2018), I agree that the way to deepen the understanding of fragmented collective identity is not to overlook and/or emphasize either strong or weak ties, or to stress either organizational or

personal connections, but to explore their relationships and the different levels of interaction between actors. It is not only actors but their relationships and interactions that construct collective identity, which relates to the essence of Melucci's (1994) concept of collective identity as a process.

Although relationships between organizers and participants are not a research focus here, I propose that the study of protest sounds elevates the understanding of collective identity, not only by informing the interrelated relationship between actors, but also by looking into different experiential attributes of protest sounds, and their interactions as embedded in such interactive processes between actors. This is because, from an organizational and participatory perspective, sounds are adopted by organizers, as well as involving participants who share a similar concern in relation to the protest and/or movement.

Conclusion of Literature Review

In this literature review, in order to justify the study of sounds in protests, firstly I have reviewed the role of sound in relation to society, power and protest. According to a critical approach to sound (Attali, 1985; James, 2013), like other cultural elements, the soundscape (Schafer, 1993) of normality is a reflection and by-product of power relations. To disrupt power relations, sounds such as protest songs (Denisoff, 1994) and speeches (Kosokoff & Carmichael, 1970) are adopted for protest purposes. Although sound in protests has been explored, the focus was on song lyrics (Denisoff, 1994), musical melodies, the text of speeches (Kosokoff & Carmichael, 1970) or the affect of a crowd gathering (Rosenberg, 2018). Therefore, an impasse between affect, meaning, emotion and rationality – the strategic production of sound – has been salient, which does not do justice to the experiential nature of sound, within which these entities are one in experience.

Albeit explored in separate conceptual respects, different protest sounds share similar objectives – to make collective claims and unite participants as a collective – which make the concept of collective identity relevant in this regard (Gamson, 1995).

Therefore, in my second subsection, I have reviewed different concepts relating to collective identity. Although the focus differs between concepts of meaning, emotion and affect in studies of collective identity, it has been revealed that these entities are related to one another, although different and unequal in importance. Rationality is deemed to be more related to cultural resources and meaning, meaning more related to emotion, and emotion more to affect. However, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion are one in experience. Aiming to contribute to an integrative approach to social movement studies (Collins, 2003; Polletta, 2003; Zhou & Wang, 2018), I propose an exploration of protest sounds in relation to collective identity. Drawing on the literature review, in the next section I introduce my conceptual framework and research questions.

Conceptual Framework

As outlined in the previous section, there are two major theoretical gaps identified in social movement studies and sound studies in relation to collective identity construction, which this thesis aims to explore and address. First, there are impasses concerning the precise relationship between rationality, meaning-making, emotion and affect in constructing collective identity in social movements. And second, although it is a constitutive aspect of protests, the role of sound in constructing collective identity and a sense of belonging in social movements has been under-studied.

Based on this, and in order to position my study within social movement studies and sound studies, the following concepts are adopted: **Protest Soundscapes and Sonic Performances, Protest and Social Movements, Collective Identity, Rationality, Meaning, Affect and Emotion.**

It is important to note that, as protest and social movements involve both organizers and participants in the experience of protest sounds and collective identity, these concepts are explicated from an organizing, sonically descriptive, and from a more participative perspective. Although pulled apart analytically, these two perspectives are not mutually exclusive, and in some instances they are overlapping and reinforce one another.

Protest Soundscape and Sonic Performance

In exploring sound in the space of protest, the concept of a **Protest Soundscape** is relevant (Schafer, 1993; Rosenberg, 2018). Building on Schafer's (1973, 1994) concept of a soundscape – the sonic fabric of a space, Rosenberg (2018) has explored sounds in protests from an affective perspective and developed the concept of a **Protest Soundscape** – sounds that constitute the space of protest. So, what concept will be useful in exploring the sonic elements that constitute Protest Soundscapes?

Inspired by the concepts of the **Protest Soundscape** (Rosenberg, 2018) and of contentious performance (Tarrow, 2011), and informed inductively, I derive the concept of **Sonic Performance** in order to explore the active production of **Protest Soundscapes** by activists and protesters. Contentious performance is understood as the action of claim-making, with a target audience including opponents, the authorities, and a third party – pedestrians. In other words, an audience perspective is grounded in the concept of performance, which entails the presence of both the performer and the audience, with the society as a stage. Therefore, in this thesis, both organizers and participants could be the performer of contentious performances, depending on their intention and action. If one is to perform or to participate in a continuous action, with the objective of communicating with any party, including opponents and/or other participants, then such contentious action is regarded as performative, and therefore – as performance. Tarrow (2011) has identified three repertoires of contentious performance: violence,

contained action and disruption. It is interesting to note that sonic elements are mentioned as part of these performances, such as singing, shouting slogans and noise-making, which are sonically performative and demonstrative. However, a sonic aspect to contentious performance has not yet been thoroughly explored.

Furthermore, inspired by my pilot study and later inductively informed by my data, the use of sound in protests can be identified in different forms of performance for claim-making, both by organizers and by participants. Therefore, for this thesis, I have initiated the concept of **Sonic Performance** in order to explore

Protest Soundscapes.

Sonic Performance refers to the use of sound for claim-making purposes, which is demonstrative. Deductively inspired by literature in sound studies of protests, and inductively informed by data analysis, four major sonic performances were identified, including Collective Singing, Music Broadcasting, Speeches and Feminist Marching Polyphony. For clarity purposes, I explain here the conception of **Sonic Performance**, relating to results of data analysis, in order to avoid conceptual ambiguity. Since different actors, including organizers and participants, may have a different understanding and experience of sonic performances, different names may be used by them when referring to the same Sonic Performance. For instance, as I discuss in Chapter 4, organizers see drumming as a sonic performance to be adopted for marches. However, participants see drumming as part of the marching polyphony, co-existing with other sounds. Therefore, participants do not necessarily see drumming as a sonic performance. Thus, in this thesis, both drumming, and marching polyphony are used, when referring to organizers and participants respectively.

Also, it is important to note that for analytical purposes different sonic units are described in this thesis. Firstly, through a general lens, before analysis, all sonic recordings, including my sonic ethnography and participant's sonic diaries, are referred to as sonic episodes (methods of sonic ethnography and sonic diaries are discussed, in the next chapter). Based on sonic dominance according to quality, sonic episodes are identified accordingly as sonic performances, including collective singing, music broadcasting, speech, chant, drumming and feminist marching polyphony, from both organizing and participating perspectives. Besides, there are sonic episodes without sonic dominance, such as crowd sound, which are categorized under the unit of sonic episode, since sonic content cannot be identified.

In short, the notions of **Sonic Performances** and **Protest Soundscapes** are adopted in order to explore sounds in protests and social movements, as explicated below.

Protest and Social Movements

As pinpointed in the literature review, this thesis is grounded in the social movement literature. Although different in conception, the concepts of **Protest** and of **Social Movements** are intrinsically related. This is because both protest and social movement are equally relevant to making sense of Feminist Protests in London, which is the case I selected for this study.

Analysing the major approaches of social movement studies, including the collective behaviour approach (Smelser, 2011), the resource mobilization approach (Jenkins, 1983), the political process model (Tarrow, 2011; Tilly, 2008), the new social movement approach (Melucci, 1995) and the emotional and affective turn of social movement studies (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 2018), all their conceptions of social movement share a commonality – a dynamic and ongoing claim-making process involving different actors, including agency, groups and/or institutions. These actors, then, become a part or the whole of the contesting group which stands on the same side, opposing the other side or a third party through making claims and demonstrating contentious actions. In other words, an ongoing and agentic constitutive aspect is emphasized in **Social Movements**. This implies a relatively mature development in terms of time, protest culture and strategy, compared with **Protest**. Under the umbrella of **Social Movements**, **Protests** are separate events of contentious actions that sustain the ongoing movement. However, it is important to note that **Protest** can also exist by itself, without being contained in a **Social Movement**.

For this thesis, as I discuss in the next chapter, Feminist Protests in London were selected for analysis. According to organizers, the contentious actions that they have organized are, on the one hand, protests. On the other hand, they have also identified their respective protests as part of the ongoing feminist movement, which the organizers would like to sustain in the long run. Therefore, these protests are part of a bigger movement, sharing the same general protest frame of opposition to gender inequalities, with specific claims and foci from different organizations. And therefore, the contentious actions that this thesis is based on are protests, while also being part of a movement. Sharing, as they do, the same notion – actions of collective claim-making involving feminist protesters (claimants) and opponents and/or authorities, the concepts of both protest and social movement are adopted. Thus, throughout this thesis, empirical findings respond both to studies of protest and to social movement literature.

As discussed in the literature review, this thesis aims to explore the role of sound in protest in creating collective identity. Therefore, the next concept I explicate is that of **Collective Identity**.

Collective Identity

As discussed, although disagreed by the definition of **Collective Identity** within social movement literature, in this thesis a processual and experiential approach to **Collective Identity** is adopted because of its relevance to the experiential nature of sound. Firstly, based on Melucci's (1993) concept, collective identity refers to a cognitive process whereby an individual relates to a collective, sharing the same identity as other protest participants. Furthermore, besides being a process, collective identity is also defined as an experience of collectivity, whereby individuals feel and experience being one with the protest collective, with a meaningful understanding of their collective identity as protest participants (Jasper, 2018). It is important to note that the construction of Collective Identity involves the process of strategic consideration, which implies the importance of Rationality.

Since the construction of collective identity involves rationality, meaning, affect and emotion, which are also entities that contribute to the experience of sound, these concepts are included.

Rationality

The tension between rationality and irrationality has been a part of social movement studies from their inception. As discussed in the literature review, rationality is a central concept in the resource mobilization approach, as well as the political process model, in explaining mobilization, the action repertoire, and in claim-making. According to these approaches (McAdam, 1999; Tarrow, 2011), rationality is defined as the structural planning of a protest, which involves the calculation of cost and benefit, the mobilization of resources and the possible outcome. Although a consensus has not yet been reached (Illouz & Finkelstein, 2009; Freudenburg, 1993), from the perspective of a sociological tradition the essence of rationality lies in sensibility, which implies an evaluative account based on a standard and/or related context. Drawing on this nuance in the context of protest, in this thesis rationality is conceptualized as a manifestation of sensibility, relating to collective identity and protest objectives.

From an organizing perspective, firstly, rationality refers to a strategic consideration of resources for Sonic Performances, based on organizational concerns and protest objectives. It involves a calculation of cost and benefit, based on available resources and relating to the protest objective. These resources include materialistic and technological resources for sonic production, cultural resources such as songs and chants, emotional and affective resources drawn from cultural resources, and social capital such as support alliances and human resources.

Furthermore, as mentioned, rationality is reflected here, based upon an appraisal standard, in this case the protest objective. Therefore, the existence of rationality is not only demonstrated via human expression, but also whenever sensibility is revealed in relation to the expected outcome or objective

(Illouz & Finkelman, 2009; Freudenburg, 1993). Based on this, I argue that rationality can also be revealed through Sonic Performances, which at the same time can also be approached as entities of emotion, affect and emotion. Albeit unlike these entities, which are represented and expressed in cultural form, in sentimental categories and in embodied experience (as I discuss later in this chapter), the extent of rationality can be demonstrated if these entities reflect and relate to the protest objective. Since this aspect of rationality is relatively widely applicable, depending not on actors but on the relationship between the object studied and the appraisal ground – in this case protest and collective identity – it is applied throughout this thesis, not only from an organizing perspective, but also from a sonically descriptive and participating aspect.

Moreover, from a sonic descriptive perspective, according to Schafer (1993), the rationality of sound refers to its measurable acoustic attributes. This is because these acoustic attributes allow sonic production and soundscapes to be created, measured and controlled rationally, in accordance with objectives. Therefore, rationality and acoustics come in pairs when exploring the rational side of soundscapes. Acoustic attributes, including volume – level of loudness, frequency – level of register anchoring on pitch, and density – extent of thickness, are all explored.

Also, as discussed, incorporating a sociological tradition, rationality refers to the level of sensibility, which may also be revealed in sonic expression (Illouz & Finkelman, 2009; Freudenburg, 1993). So, when exploring their sonic aspect, are protest soundscapes disorganized and out of control? Based on this, from a sonically descriptive perspective, rationality refers to the level of sensibility and compliance of sound, in relation to the common evaluative ground – protest concerns. The level of rationality can be demonstrated and explored via sonic attributes including volume, sonic meaning, affect and emotion in sound, with regard to their correspondence to protest concerns, which results from the organization of sonic performances.

Besides, from a participative perspective, as discussed, participants evaluate their contribution, gain and risk from time to time, while participating in protests, based on their identity and personal protest concerns. Therefore, in this respect, rationality refers to the rational reflection and appraisal of the experience of protest, grounded in participants' protest concerns.

Albeit in the conceptual framework, the essence of appraisal based on sensibility is highlighted, it must be noted that what counts for rational is culturally relevant and emotionally expressive. This is because meaning, affect and emotions are both constitutive as well as expressions of rationality. Also, as explored from an organizing, sonically descriptive and participant perspective, the process of constructing sonic performances, as well as the emotional expressions embedded within the structure and culture of the feminist protest community of the selected cases could be revealed. In other words,

besides investigating rationality from an instrumentalist perspective, by investigating sonic performances from different aspects, what is regarded as sonically, strategically, and experientially rational to the feminist protest community of the selected cases could be demonstrated. For instance, what sounds are regarded as appropriate as the expression of the feminist protest community? How would those sonic elements interact? What do those sonic interactions entail regarding a dialectic between feminist rationality and emotionality?

Next, I introduce the conception of meaning for this study.

Meaning-Making

Social movements and protest are formed and formulated by meaning-making processes. Based on the new social movement studies, meaning is a personal understanding that is constructed, and meanwhile shared, by particular groups of people, based on norms, values and context. This shared understanding of meaning creates and sustains collective identity (Melucci, 1985).

In this thesis, from an organizational perspective, meaning refers to an understanding strategically created by organizers, which can be represented in cultural products and articulated through semiotics. Drawn from social movement literature (Gamson, 1995; Snow & Benford, 2003), this is conceptualized as framing – the articulation of semiotics and symbols, aiming to create a specific vantage point and to guide participants towards understanding certain events from articulated perspectives. As discussed, there are certain major frames in feminist protests, including the general protest frame of injustices suffered by women and the collective frame that celebrates women's collectivity. These frames are an articulated meaning of protest concerns, aiming to connect with participants via cognitive understanding. Since meaning is articulated via frames in order to create an understanding from an organizing perspective, concepts of both meaning and framing are used here when referring to meaning.

Furthermore, meaning also refers to the understanding and interpretation of cultural products, which are constructed in a particular context and culture (Gamson, 1995). For instance, although not in semiotics, particular songs, symbols and art pieces connote a specific meaning, representing social happenings and experiences.

Related to the above, from a sonic descriptive aspect and related to meaning and framing, as mentioned, meaning refers to protest frames as presented in song lyrics, semiotics, speeches and chants, and in the cultural understanding of songs, chants, speeches and any other cultural products. From a participative perspective, meaning refers to participants' understanding and interpretation, which is grounded in their identity and experience and in their relation to protest concerns.

It is important to note that, albeit specific in some respects, these conceptualizations operate across different perspectives as these concepts may be overlapping and reinforce each other.

Besides meaning-making, emotion and affect are also key to connecting participants to the protest concern, which leads to the third and fourth major concepts of my conceptual framework – emotion and affect.

Emotion and Affect

Since emotion and affect are strictly speaking related, I explicate these concepts together, for clarity. According to social psychologists (Ellis & Tucker, 2015), emotion is a sentimental outcome rather than a process; affect, however, is the process of generating emotion (Massumi, 2002). Emotion and affect are two sides of the same coin, representing and expressing the sentimental and affective side of human experience.

As discussed, social movement scholars have identified emotions in protests, including reflexive emotions towards injustices, such as anger, sadness and hopelessness. Meanwhile, reciprocal and collective emotions stemming from assembly, including happiness, joy, encouragement, a sense of hope and contentment, also exist (Jasper, 1998, 2018).

Within social movement studies (Auer, 2012; Quinn, 2018), affect is defined as bodily intensity manifested via the body, as a result of being affected and of taking part in affecting others and the environment. Variation in blood pressure, rising heartbeat, twitching muscles, shouting and change of vocal tone are some examples (Massumi, 2004).

In this study, from an organizational perspective, emotion refers to sentiments that organizers aim to mobilize and create for purposes of mobilization. This includes reflexive emotions such as anger, provocation, instigation and a sense of determination. Meanwhile, reciprocal and collective emotions are also significant for mobilization, such as a sense of togetherness and collectivity, happiness, satisfaction, contentment and excitement, according to social movement literature (Jasper, 1998; 2018). As for affect, from an organizing aspect this refers to bodily experience that organizers aim to create in order to affect participants. This includes the affective experience of bodily movement, aural and skin sensations.

Besides, from a sonic descriptive perspective, emotion also refers to reflexive and collective emotions in protests, as through the lens of organization, but in a different presentation. In protest soundscapes, these emotions are reflected in semiotics and/or emotional expression such as a complaining tone, or laughter, through the medium of sound. As for affect, it is defined as affective reactions and expressions in sound that are expressed bodily, such as vibrating voices or contagious screaming. It is important to

note that conceptions of emotion and affect can be relatively ambiguous because of their interrelated nature. Their differences can be further specified by an explanatory account, as I discuss in Chapter 3.

Also, from a participative perspective, emotion is defined as sentiments felt and experienced by participants, which include reflexive, reciprocal and collective emotions, as mentioned. As for affect, this refers to bodily experience resulting from being affected and affecting others. This includes bodily movement, aural and skin sensations, screaming and shouting.

Although I have tried to identify these concepts – rationality, meaning, emotion, affect – one by one, it is of crucial importance to note that these four concepts are connected, not separate. As mentioned, rational consideration of sonic performance is based on meaning, while meaning is one of the factors that produces emotion and affect, leading to collective identity construction. And this is just one way of understanding the connection and interplay between these four entities.

Based on theories and data analysis, this thesis aims to reveal the relationship and connection of rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in social movement studies, in relation to collective identity, through the study of sonic performances in protest soundscapes.

Research Questions

Based on the literature review and conceptual framework, the general conceptual question is:

What is the relationship between sound, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in creating collective identity?

Following this, there are three empirical research questions, based on the case of Feminist Protests in London. Since collective identity construction involves both organizers and participants, I position this research from both aspects.

- 1. What are the Sonic Performances strategically considered by organizers in Feminist Protests in London?**
 - a. What is the role of Sonic Performances in Feminist Protest Soundscapes, Rationality, Meaning, Emotion and Affect in creating Collective Identity, from an organizing, strategic perspective?**
- 2. How do Feminist Protest Soundscapes sound?**
- 3. What is the role of Sonic Performance in Feminist Protest Soundscapes, Meaning, Emotion, and Affect in creating Collective Identity, from a participating perspective?**

As we can see, by exploring sonic performances of protest soundscapes from an organizing, sonically descriptive and participatory perspective, through analysing the Feminist protest soundscape and its role for protesters and movements, this thesis aims to explore the relationship between rationality, meaning, affect and emotion relating to collective identity construction, as identified in social movement literature.

Conclusion

In conclusion, in this chapter, firstly, I have reviewed the literature regarding sound and collective identity. As an element contributing to social experience, sound not only reflects power structures, but is also strategically adopted for protest purposes. Because of its experiential nature, sound is rational, meaningful, affective and emotional. Although there are conceptual impasses between these entities, common objectives of protest sounds are revealed – to make claims and unite participants as a protest collective. Since meaningful claim-making and collective-building have been conceptualized as aspects of collective identity construction in explaining protest mobilization and sustainment, I find this concept relevant to functions of protest sounds for this study. In the literature of collective identity (Melucci, 1995), framing theory and the cultural approach (Gamson, 1995; Melucci, 1995) see meaning and framing as central to relating individual participants to the collective. Meanwhile, scholars of the emotional and affective turn see emotion and affect as an invisible glue that sustains participation and collectivizes participants (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 2018). From a resource mobilization perspective (McAdam, 1999), rationality and available resources are regarded as central to mobilization. As we can see, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion have all been used to explain collective identity. However, as discussed, the process of identity construction is an experiential one, in which all these entities resonate, but are not separate.

Therefore, based on the interrelated relationships between rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in sound, and on the process of collective identity construction, this thesis aims to explore the role of sound, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in the collective identity construction process. To do this, ethno-methods including interviews and participant observation, and sonic methods including sonic ethnography and sonic diaries were adopted, and these are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 – Case and Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the selected case and methods, responding to research questions as raised in Chapter 2. To explore the role of sonic performances within protest soundscapes, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in constructing collective identity, methods including interviews, participant observation, sonic ethnography and sonic diaries, and analytical methods including thematic analysis as well as protest soundscape analysis, were adopted in order to research the role of sound in terms of constructing collective identities in Feminist Protests in London.

First, I justify and discuss here the sampled protests and their context. For clarity, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the protests chosen as sites of data collection are self-identified as part of the wider Feminist Protest and Movement in London. Albeit different in specific organizational values, they all share a general protest frame of gender inequality in the context of Brexit in London. Therefore, in this thesis, in general, the selected case is referred to as Feminist Protests in London. Meanwhile, sampled protests under this category, including the Women's March on London (WML, 19 January 2019), the Women's Strike Assembly (WSA, 8 March 2019) and the Anti-Trump Protest (ATP, 4 June 2019) are addressed in order to reflect on organizational values and practices in relation to the conceptual framework and research questions.

As sampled protests were decided in relation to the conceptual framework, and informed methods, I therefore, following an explanation of case selection, illustrate my methods in response to the selected case. It is important to note that, although a variety of methods were selected and adopted across the whole study, they were selected in response to specific research questions, attempting to explore aspects of sonic strategies, protest soundscapes and participation. Therefore, they are presented and discussed in accordance with the research questions and in order to delineate a clear methodological picture in relation to theoretical relevance.

To start, in relation to the conceptual framework, I discuss in the next section the rationale for case selection.

Case Selection

As discussed in Chapter 2, this thesis aims to explore the role of sonic performances within protest soundscapes in creating collective identity. Responding to an essential focus on sound, Feminist Protests in London including WML, WSA and ATP were selected for study because of the sonic significance in their promotional messages and protest strategies.

In this section, in accordance with my reflective process of purposively sampling, I discuss the sonic emphasis demonstrated in WML and WSA, the common context that both protests shared and how they brought me also to include ATP in this study.

Sonic Significance

Self-identified as protest organizations belonging to the wider feminist movement, WML and WSA were purposively sampled because of their sonic orientation.

Women's March on London and Women's Strike Assembly

The element of sound was central to the protests and mobilization strategies of the Women's March on London (WML). Its first call for action was entitled 'Bring the Noise' (WML, 2018). Grounded in its core value of women's unity, WML urged potential participants to bring their pots and pans and to shout and scream 'to amplify the voices of women and girls who are there, but also the women and girls who are not there', constructing and demonstrating the power of solidarity (Women's March Global, 2018). Because of its sonic emphasis, I had been keeping an eye on WML's protests, reviewing articles and videos of its previous protests. In the media that documented WML's protests, sonic elements including singing, shouting, chanting and screaming could be observed (Amnesty International UK, 2018; Gillis, 2018; WML, 2018; Women's March Global, 2018). Because of this sonic orientation identified in WML's protests, I started to get more involved in their 2019 protest, from a participant-observing perspective. The theme for WML's 2019 protest was Bread and Roses, which is the title of a feminist protest song and originally a line from a speech in a suffrage rally (Rohan, 2008; Schneiderma, 1912; WML, 2019). An association between WML's 2019 protest theme and the protest song and speech referred to, a sonic orientation, can thus be identified and has been reaffirmed by organizers (Participant M, 2019). Also, according to organizers (Participant M, 2019) and to WML social media (WML, 2019), as in the previous year, a protest choir was to be organized for the Bread and Roses event. Because of its sonic strategies, WML's 2019 protest was relevant to the study of sound in protests.

Besides WML, another feminist protest organization, the Women's Strike Assembly (WSA), also stressed noise-making for mobilization. Self-declared as a 'red feminist' organization that aimed to destroy gender patriarchy through protests and disruption, WSA (2019) called on potential participants to 'bring your pots or pans and a wooden spoon to bang on them!'. Moreover, according to my pilot participant observation at WSA's protest in 2018, among other protests, including the UCU pension strike, animal rights protests and the Free Palestine Assembly, WSA is more sonically relevant. It consisted of lots of chanting, screaming, cheering, loud music and speeches. The sonic dominance in WSA events made it a relevant protest for study.

WML and WSA have different core values. Aiming to create peaceful rallies celebrating solidarity, WML (2019) sought to unite women across differences in race, culture occupation and concerns and in the context of Brexit. As for WSA (2019), criticizing capitalism and the power structures causing injustices against women, it saw protests and the interruption to everyday life, and eventually the dismantling of hegemony, as the solution to women's suffering. The respective organizational values of WML and WSA are discussed further in Chapter 4, in relation to rational consideration of sonic strategies. However, regardless of differences, these are allied organizations that see female inequality as a protest claim in times of Brexit in London.

Feminist Protests in London in the Context of Brexit

Citing *The Impact of Austerity on Women* (Fawcett Society, 2012) and reports on feminist protests in London (Gupta, 2020; Mott et al., 2018), WML (2019) and WSA (2019) claimed that women were relatively vulnerable because of Brexit. In London, an international city, the social status of women is diverse, depending on their occupation, race, culture, immigration or settlement status, to name a few factors. Because of Brexit, alongside impacts of economic downturn, women are in general more vulnerable in their occupational positions. Filling temporary positions because of family obligations, social disadvantage and working hours subject to visa constraints, women workers are among the first to be let go. Besides work rights, the settlement status of women may not be certain, not to mention their rights to family reunion, social protection and health care. Aligned with the general ideology of liberal democracy, both WML (2019) and WSA (2019) promoted freedom and equality for women and protested gender inequalities, which brought them to support the organizations of the Anti-Trump Protest in 2019 – another protest selected as a case for this study.

Anti-Trump Protest

Differently from WML and WSA, the Anti-Trump Protest (ATP) was selected not in the first instance, but during the research process, because of the involvement of WML and WSA members and because of its sonic significance, which became apparent during the ATP pre-protest period.

Responding to Trump's state visit to London on 4 June 2019, protest organizations, including WML and WSA, came together under the umbrella of liberal democracy with the intention to demonstrate a gesture of 'unwelcome' to the then US president. Because of Trump's attack on immigrants and his sexist and misogynistic comments about women including Hillary Clinton, the former US Secretary of State, Senator Elizabeth Warren, and the Republican presidential candidate Carly Fiorina, feminist protest organizations in London concerned for women and women migrants' rights were fighting back (Prasad, 2019). Since WML and WSA were responding to Trump's state visit to the UK and calling for feminist mobilization in support of ATP, this all shared the same context as other WML and WSA protests – a feminist concern in the context of Brexit in London. Furthermore, in the list of allied and supporting organizations, I found that musical and sonic groups were involved, including political choirs such as Raised Voices, and Holler4Activists, and instrumental groups including the Samba Sister Collective and Trumpets Against Trump (Diagram, 2018). Because of its sonic relevance and ideological alignment with WML and WSA, ATP was also purposively sampled for this thesis.

Differences

As we can see, WML, WSA and ATP were purposively sampled, based on their sonic relevance and consistent concern for gender inequalities. However, it is important to note that despite their similarities and relevance, differences between these protests are recognized, including in core values and organizational strategies and in the size of their respective protests.

As discussed, as organizations supporting ATP, WML and WSA were smaller in scale. In the WML protest held on 19 January 2019, there were an estimated 100,000 participants (Amnesty International UK, 2019). As for WSA, it was reported that around 2,000 participants gathered at respective assemblies and marches highlighting different topics including the Women's Strike Assembly, Women's Strike March and Sex Worker's Strike on International Women's Day (*Freedom News*, 2019). At the ATP event on 4 June 2019, 250,000 people assembled, protesting the then US president's visit (Roache, 2019). This difference in terms of size is dealt with, especially in my soundscape analysis, in terms of sonic quality and spatial dimension, as reflected in sonic ethnographies, sonic diaries and participant observation.

Also, in relation to the first research question, sonic strategies considered by WML and WSA are a focus, as they were an organizing factor in both protests. Meanwhile, rational consideration of music

and sonic groups supporting ATP are also included, but not the general organizational strategy of ATP, as this is not relevant to a sonic approach to protest.

Sonic Specificities of Sampled Cases

Moreover, it is important to note that by selecting Feminist Protests in London as a case study, the types of protest soundscapes to be analysed were culturally and temporally specific, which influenced the research result. In relation to Soundscapes (Schafer, 1993), as discussed in Chapter 2, as a sonic reflection of society, the protest soundscapes of WML, WSA and ATP would reflect their respective organizational values, the context of Brexit in London and the expression of participants living in the city. Also, from an overall perspective, feminist protests in London are relatively ritualistic, happening annually close to International Women's Day and aiming to build solidarity. Since the types of protest soundscapes that these cases would offer were culturally and temporally specific, these would not be generalizable in terms of research results.

Summary

In this section, I have discussed the rationale for case selection. Based on sonic relevance, WML, WSA and ATP were selected for the exploration of sonic strategies, protest soundscapes and participation experience, relating to collective identity construction.

In the next section, based on the sampled protests and connecting to the conceptual framework and research questions centring on entities of sound, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect, I discuss data collection methods including interviews, participant observation, sonic ethnographies and sonic diaries, and analytical methods including thematic analysis and soundscape analysis.

Methods

As discussed above, in this section, I illustrate the methods used in this thesis. As a variety of methods were adopted in different phases of the research process, responding to different research concerns, these are presented and discussed, for clarity purposes, in accordance with aspects of the research questions, including strategic considerations, protest soundscapes and participation.

Strategic Considerations: Interviews with Organizers, Participant Observation in Meetings and Thematic Analysis

Referring back to Chapter 2, the first research question asks: *What sonic strategies and sonic performances are considered by feminist protest organizers for collective identity construction?* Therefore, in order to understand their strategic consideration of the use of sound, I interviewed organizers of WML and WSA, and leaders of musical groups supporting ATP. Also, in order to explore the unspoken concerns relating to sonic strategies, and to understand the organizational culture of these organizations associated with their strategic considerations, I also participated in and observed organizing meetings.

Interviews

An interview is a method of acquiring information, based on conversations between interviewer and interviewee (Musante & DeWalt, 2010; Ann, 2017; Nelson, Bechtol, & Johnson, 1977). Stemming from a social constructivist epistemology, the interview assumes that, through talking, social beings who take part in constructing social events and living experience – here including protests and social movements – can explain their views and express their emotions.

In order to explore their sonic strategies, interviewing feminist protest organizers provided an explanatory account of rationales behind sonic performances that they had produced, and of strategic considerations relating to resources, organizational values and cultural, emotional and affective strategies. From January 2019 to January 2020, seven interviews were conducted for the category of organizers, based on purposive sampling. In accordance with the protests selected, I approached organizers of the respective organizations in a variety of ways, including email conversations and joining their open meetings. Furthermore, based on their website information, I reached out to their affiliated music groups to ask for interviews.

Firstly, on an organizational level, I interviewed organizers of WML, and actors who supported the organization of WSA and ATP, but who did not regard themselves as official organizers because of different time commitments and other self-identification concerns. However, these actors took charge and were involved in the decision-making process on an organizational level, including sonic strategies,

logistics, resources and organizational values and concerns. Therefore, they are included as organizers in this thesis. Besides, since there were music and sonic groups supporting WML, WSA and ATP, which are sonically relevant, I interviewed leaders of these groups. The leaders of a protest choir, the Raised Voices, and the leader of the Sama Sister Collective were purposively sampled because of their sonic contributions to the protests. Despite multiple attempts to reach other musical groups such as the aforementioned Trumpet Against Trump, intended to provide a richer picture, the pandemic's start in March 2020 made further reaching out to organizers less possible. That said, data collected from interviews was saturated, which led me to the data analytical stage for interviews with organizers.

Among different types of interviews, I adopted the format of the semi-structured interview. This was because it provides a relatively open space for interviewees to explain their thoughts and express their emotions. Meanwhile, I could have a certain degree of space to lead the conversation's direction in accordance with my interviewing guides. This setting allowed me to ask for further clarification when needed.

This study aligns itself with a social constructivist epistemology, and considers that interview conversations contribute to the formation of social experience (Ann, 2017; Musante & DeWalt, 2010). The content of the conversation, emotion expressed in process, and the researcher's assumptions and interpretation were influenced by a variety of interrelated factors. For instance, the place and setting of the interview, the tone and expressed attitude of the interviewer, and the dynamic of the interview. In short, information acquired during an interview is co-created and influenced by the interviewer and the interviewee, mutually, during the process. Because of this, I was careful and reflexive when conducting the interviews. When interviewing organizers and leaders of sonic groups, my objective was to understand their sonic strategies, which involved strategic planning of the protest or other analytical thoughts regarding resources and other concerns. Therefore, if not requested otherwise, I chose an office and/or meeting room setting for these interviews to take place. This was because such settings are relatively neutral and quiet, which allows interviewees to explain their concerns. Furthermore, I was self-aware of my tone and attitude. Albeit having a similar political stance and cultural preference to interviewees as part of my own identity (as reflected upon in the last section of this chapter), I aimed to ask questions and participate in the conversation from an impartial perspective, as a researcher. However, upon reflection, this was not always possible as interviewees might ask for my views when expressing their concerns relating to organizational values. However, I tried my best to minimize expression of my own views, going back to their thoughts.

As we can see, conducting interviews allowed me to collect information on sonic strategies, directly from organizers' explanatory accounts. However, potential limitations of this method exist, such as dishonesty on the part of interviewees and discrepancies in their accounts (Ann, 2017; Musante &

DeWalt, 2010). Because of social position and concerns, interviewees may provide socially desirable answers rather than their true thoughts. In this study, interviewees might provide answers that helped to promote their organization and protest, rather than true considerations. To minimize this, I reflected on the relationship between information provided by interviewees, their backgrounds and the context that they were in, in order to map their versions of the whole picture and identify any discrepancies. Furthermore, I also triangulated information collected from sonic ethnography, media reports, the organizations' websites and social media accounts and participant observation, in order to verify the data collected from interviews.

To understand organizational concerns in a deeper sense, besides interviews, I observed and participated in organizing meetings whenever possible, as discussed in the next subsection.

Participant Observation in Organizing Meetings

The method of participant observation is a strand of ethnography; therefore, to discuss the relevancy of this method in relation to the exploration of sonic strategies, I firstly explicate below the notion of ethnography (Musante & DeWalt, 2010; Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008). 'Ethno', the root of the word 'ethnography', means people (Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008).

Originating from anthropology, ethnography is the studying of people of a specific culture, by living as they do. It depends on the researcher's active immersion in the culture, in terms of practice, thought and feelings. In this process, the researcher will write ethnographic fieldnotes on the lived experience, which serve as data for reflection in relation to the research rationale. Depending on the research orientation, different levels of ethnographic fieldwork exist, including ethnography – a high level of participation and immersion, participant observation – participating in the culture to some extent while being reflexive as an observing researcher, and observation – merely observing.

To explore sonic strategies of feminist protest organizations, participating in organizing meetings helped me to understand their organizational values, common practices, unspoken concerns and norms, which are all factors that influenced the strategic considerations and decision-making on sonic strategies. Because of access issues, I carried out participant observation in organizing meetings of WSA. Unlike the meetings of WML and ATP, WSA's organizing meetings were open to all who were interested in contributing to organizing the protest. Since my objective was to understand the organizational concerns relating to sonic strategies, full participation was not necessary; my goal was not to explore the role of a protest organizer. That said, to have a deeper understanding of unspoken organizational norms and practices, a certain level of participation was necessary. Therefore, I decided to be both a participant and an observer when participating in organizing meetings.

Before participating in meetings, I wrote to the core organizing team expressing my interest and intention. Having been invited to the meetings, which were open to the public as mentioned, I participated by contributing my ideas on issues such as where to assemble, and by volunteering for communication work. In this process, I was able to have a deeper understanding of the unspoken norms and concerns of the organization, which are discussed in Chapter 4. Meanwhile, I was also observing, not only cultural practices, but especially anything related to sonic strategies. For instance, what sonic equipment was to be used, what were the concerns, who was going to take care of the equipment, to name a few. Before resources and logistical concern, in relation to my research questions and conceptual framework, I was also observing the interaction between organizers and their emotional expression when discussing sonic strategies. This was because these data would allow me to reflect on the role of rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in relation to sonic strategies.

I observed and participated in five organizing meetings and one practice session of the Samba Sister Collective. After my participation, I wrote fieldnotes, reflecting on my thoughts, emotions and experiences in relation to sonic strategies.

It is important to note that one of the major limitations of participant observation lies in the researcher's intrusion into the community and culture (Musante & DeWalt, 2010; Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008). However, stemming from a social constructivist approach, as discussed, social experience is viewed as co-created by actors and therefore, although aware of my 'intrusion', I viewed my participation as part of my contribution to these meetings. That said, I was aware of my role as both a participant and an observer. Therefore, when I was participating in meetings, responding to general organizing issues, I aimed to participate but not to initiate novel ideas not aligned with the organization's objectives. Specifically, in relation to sonic strategies, I set my mind to exploring and understanding organizer's concerns. In this process, I asked questions, but did not contribute my own ideas.

After conducting participant observation and interviews, thematic analysis was adopted in order to analyse the data collected through these methods.

Thematic Analysis

To analyse interview transcripts and fieldnotes relating to the rational side of sonic strategies, thematic analysis was adopted (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is a systematic method for organizing qualitative information, based on topics, themes and codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In analysing my data, six steps were involved. Firstly, I made several close readings of transcripts and fieldnotes in order to have a familiar understanding of the general meaning of the data collected. Then, I identified and generated codes, both deductively, based on theoretical concerns, and inductively, informed by the data, with the assistance of an organizing software, Nvivo. In this process, codes including rationality,

security, disruption, concerns, singing, chanting, systems, happiness, togetherness and collectivity were generated. After that, I organized codes based on themes and then connected different themes into a collage. Now having a relatively comprehensive picture constituted by themes, I re-read and re-organized the themes, before writing up the analysis in response to research questions.

As mentioned, thematic analysis offers a systematic way to analyse qualitative information. However, it depends largely on the analysis conducted by the researcher, which might incline to one side of the picture, based on one's own identity or view. To solve this issue, I analysed my data not only in a deductive way but also inductively, in order to minimize the problem of theoretical overshadowing as a result of theoretical biases.

Summary

In this section, I have discussed the methods of interview, participant observation and thematic analysis, which were adopted to explore strategic considerations of the use of sound in feminist protests, from an organizing perspective. It is important to note that, although these methods were central to addressing this research inquiry of sonic strategies, other methods, discussed below, also contributed to, informed and reinforced the empirical picture.

In the next section, I discuss the methods of sonic ethnography and soundscape analysis, which were adopted in response mainly to my second research question: *How do feminist protest soundscapes sound?*

How do Feminist Protest Soundscapes Sound? Sonic Ethnography and Protest Soundscape Analysis

To explore how feminist protest soundscapes sound – to capture and investigate the sonic quality of the space of feminist protests, I adopted the method of sonic ethnography. As discussed, 'ethno' means people (Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008), and, stemming from an ethnographic tradition, the essence of sonic ethnography lies in an exploratory focus on sound as it contributes to lived experience. Echoing the discussion of sound in the literature review, sonic ethnography views sound as a part of the constitution of lived experience and social events, including protests (Gershon, 2013). For instance, ways of speaking among protest participants, the background noise of the space of protests and the sonic setting of an assembly all constitute one's experience of the protest, and therefore of the protest event and of the culture of the protest community (Gallagher & Prior, 2014; Gershon, 2013).

Sonic ethnography relies on the researcher's active immersion in the field of study, focusing on active listening (Gershon, 2013). Based on the listening experience, the researcher reflects on their thoughts and feelings, responding to research concerns. So, what should the researcher listen to? How should one

listen and collect sonic data? The data documentation practice of sonic ethnography has not yet reached a consensus and is basically divided into two streams: the textual and the phonological approaches (Boland, 2010; Gallagher & Prior, 2014). In the following subsections, I discuss these approaches and justify my adoption of both the textual and the phonological approach, in relation to my conceptual framework.

Textual Approach

A textual approach to sonic ethnography is aligned with an anthropological tradition that relies on the researcher to write an ethnographic fieldnote after participation, focusing on their listening experience. In other words, the data of sonic ethnography is collected based on the researcher's experience, and documented and transcribed in the form of text. Themes of sonic ethnographic fieldnotes include descriptions of the sonic space, expressions of feeling and experience in the sonic environment, and observation of the formation process of such an environment, to name a few (Strauss, 1984; Gershon, 2013). In short, relying on the researcher's participation, a textual approach to sonic ethnography sees textual ethnographic fieldnotes as the main source of data, which is different from a phonological approach.

Phonological Approach

In contrast, a phonological approach to sonic ethnography relies on sound as the major source of data, with textual ethnographic fieldnotes seen as supplementary (Boland, 2010; Gallagher & Prior, 2014). In practice, researchers make audio recordings when participating in the field, to document and collect sonic data. After that, they analyse these in accordance with sonic attributes including acoustics, musical genre and categories of sound and noise (Schafer, 1993).

It is argued that a phonological approach captures sonic data in a more comprehensive way, because the receiving and documenting capability of a recorder is more open and inclusive, compared with human ears (Auer, 2012; Boland, 2010; Gallagher & Prior, 2014). Human audio perception is relatively focused, which requires attention, like other senses. For instance, when one's audio reception is dominated by a loud noise of traffic, other sonic elements in the space may be missed. However, a sonic recorder that captures the sonic space relatively indiscriminately documents 'everything' in that sonic space, depending on its location, sonic surroundings and the quality and functioning of the recorder. That said, because of its indiscriminate recording function, the recording material may also be relatively unclear, and hybridized.

Which is more suitable?

As we can see, in sonic ethnography, in order to collect data a phonology approach depends primary on sonic recordings, while a textual approach relies on the analysis of textual fieldnotes to document the sonic experience and space (Auer, 2012; Boland, 2010; Gallagher & Prior, 2014). Like every method, both approaches have their limitations and contributions. Because of textual availability, the textual approach allows a relatively direct analytical procedure, as data are already transcribed into text, which can be analysed via analytical methods such as thematic analysis. Furthermore, this process of documenting sonic experience in written words involves the researcher's reflection on the research rationale. Therefore, the analytical process has already started to take place, which is reflected in sonic ethnographic fieldnotes.

However, a textual approach depends heavily on the researcher's own experience in the sonic space, in which other sonic elements may have been missed because of the limitation of human audio reception, as mentioned (Auer, 2012; Boland, 2010; Gallagher & Prior, 2014). Although a phonological approach also shares similar limitations, it is relatively inclusive. It is true that the outcome of sonic recordings is influenced by the recording location, by other co-existing sonic surroundings and by affordances of the recording technology. However, it is relatively inclusive, compared with human ears. Therefore, missing sonic elements can be identified later, when the researcher is listening and re-listening to the field recordings. Moreover, it is argued that a phonological approach acts as a reproduction, representation and performance of sonic experience, which is beneficial to understanding the sonic space, from a listening and re-experiential perspective.

As we can see, both approaches offer insights into exploring sound in a particular space, a soundscape. Below, in relation to my conceptual framework, and especially responding to the second research question regarding feminist protest soundscapes, I argue that a phonological approach to sonic ethnography is relatively relevant to this study.

A Sonic Documentation of Feminist Protest Soundscapes

Relating to my second research question – *How do feminist protest soundscapes sound?* – I argue that a phonological approach to sonic ethnography is a relevant method for data collection. That said, it is important to note that reflexivity is also important in the research process. Therefore, besides adopting a phonological approach to sonic data collection, I also wrote sonic ethnographic fieldnotes after participating in feminist protests, which worked together with field recordings in exploring protest soundscapes.

As discussed, both textual and phonological approaches offer practical ways to document sonic experience. However, one of the objectives of this thesis was to explore feminist protest soundscapes, and it focuses largely on sonic qualities that are spatially flowing and generally represented in the scale of soundscapes, but not particularly on sonic elements in isolation. Therefore, firstly, I took a phonological approach to sonic ethnography – making field recordings when participating in WML, WSA and ATP and aiming to document their protest soundscapes.

Inspired by literature in sonic ethnography (Auer, 2012; Boland, 2010; Gallagher & Prior, 2014), I arranged for a recording timeline of my participation at WML, WSA and ATP events. For instance, events preparatory for the protests, major demonstrations, the finale and the soundscape after the finale were planned for recording. Besides, inductively informed, as discussed, and based on previous experience of participation for my pilot study and on videos capturing WML and WSA events of recent years, I planned to record sonic performances including singing, chanting, speeches, cheering and drumming. Also, as sonic ethnography pays attention to the researcher's own ethnographic experience, in relation to my conceptual focus on collective identity, I recorded meaningful moments of my own experiencing of a sense of togetherness and collectivity when participating in these protests. In short, by arranging for field recording, and being informed both deductively and inductively, I intended to explore feminist protest soundscapes, based on my field recordings.

Besides field recordings, I also wrote sonic ethnographic fieldnotes describing the protest soundscapes that I experienced, and reflecting on their role in relation to collective identity construction. Moreover, besides fieldnotes on participation, in the analytical process I found fieldnote writing for field recordings useful because text would eventually be the form of presentation for this thesis. And, it was useful to relate fieldnotes on field recordings to data collected from interviews with organizers and participant observation, in order to explore sonic recordings of protest soundscapes as outcomes as strategically produced by organizers.

In short, in order to explore the sonic representation and quality of feminist protest soundscapes, I participated in WML, WSA and ATP events, made field recordings while participating, and wrote fieldnotes focusing on sound. Altogether, I made 73 sonic recordings, which last about eight hours and 40 minutes of recording time. Besides field recordings, I wrote sonic ethnographic fieldnote on participation and fieldnotes on field recordings, which contributed a total of 20 entries of textual data from sonic ethnography. These fieldnotes are sonically oriented, which are all categorized as fieldnotes in the rest of this thesis, with abbreviation of the protest as references.

After collecting data from the protest soundscapes of WML, WSA and ATP, it was time for analysis. In the next subsection, I discuss the relevance of soundscape analysis and an analytical framework of

protest soundscape analysis that I derived, based on the concept of soundscapes, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion, as discussed in the literature review.

Protest Soundscape Analysis

Inspired by sound studies literature (Gershon, 2013; Rosenberg, 2019; Schafer, 1993; Stern, 2011), there are multiple ways to analyse sonic data and textual data about sound, including thematic analysis of sonic ethnographic fieldnotes (Auer, 2012; Rosenberg, 2018), repeated listening to sonic materials (Gershon, 2013; Stern, 2011) and sonic wave form analysis (Rosenberg, 2019). Matching my theoretical rationale, which explores rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in protest soundscapes, an analytical approach based on Schafer's (1993) soundscape analysis was developed, which I have called *Protest Soundscape Analysis*.

According to Schafer (1993), soundscape analysis is a process of breaking down the sonic elements constituting a space, in accordance with aspects of acoustics, semantics, psychoacoustics and aesthetics. Since these aspects responded to my research rationale to a medium extent, but are not totally relevant, I modified these entities into acoustics, meaning, affect emotion and rationality, responding to an integrative approach to social movement studies, as discussed in Chapter 2. It is important to note that although these analytical attributes are similar to the concepts in my conceptual framework, which includes rationality, meaning, affect and emotion, they have different functions. The analytical attributes of Protest Soundscape Analysis are analytical categories for the analysis of sonic recordings or of textual documentation and description of sonic data, which are relatively operational. Therefore, although repetitions may exist, since the meaning of these concepts are similar, I find it necessary to reiterate them, this time from a practical point of view, in order to explicate the process of data analysis of this newly developed analytical framework. Meanwhile, these concepts are discussed and raised in my conceptual framework to form the theoretical backbone for this study.

Furthermore, based on Schafer's (1993) emphasis on harmonic relationships between sonic elements in soundscapes, Protest Soundscape Analysis also explores the composition, relationship and interaction between these sonic attributes.

It is important to note that, although protest soundscape analysis is mainly adopted to analyse sonic data collected from sonic ethnography and sonic diaries, these attributes and results of Protest Soundscape Analysis were also triangulated with other data. In other words, I used all the data collected and analysed to explore the fabric of protest soundscapes, not only sonic methods and Protest Soundscape Analysis, and vice versa. In the next subsections, I illustrate the analytical aspects of Protest Soundscape Analysis that relate to the conceptual framework discussed in Chapter 2.

Acoustics

Firstly, in relation to the literature review, according to Schafer (1993), acoustics specify the physical and technological aspects of sound, which can be measured and mobilized rationally in accordance with the objective of sonic production. Acoustic attributes including volume, frequency and density are categories to be identified in field recordings and explored.

Besides, in relation to soundscape (Schafer, 1993), it is important to note that acoustics refers not only to the physicality of sound, but also to the constitution of these constructs, which form the soundscape. For instance, the volume of a sonic element is loud only because it is positioned against a quieter background. In other words, an acoustic mapping is necessary in order to explore constellations of sound, which are the essence of a soundscape.

To explore Feminist Protest Soundscapes, I disaggregated sonic elements in terms of acoustics and their relationship, as documented in field recordings. For instance, by differentiating sonic elements based on acoustics, I found that the acoustics of speech stood out in terms of volume against the background crowd sound, which was softer yet denser.

Aside from acoustics, sound carries meaning, as discussed below.

Meaning

Besides its acoustic nature, sound carries meaning, which is referred to as the semantic dimension in Schafer's (1993) soundscape analysis. Schafer's (1993) conception of semantics contributes to analysing meaning in sound, in relation to related text and to context. Based on this, I further develop Schafer's (1993) concept in relation to the role of meaning in protest, as discussed in the conceptual framework in Chapter 2.

Firstly, as mentioned in Chapter 2, in social movement studies meaning refers to the understanding articulated by organizers, presented in protests and perceived, created and interpreted by participants. In other words, retaining the essence of Schafer's (1993) concept, meaning is categorized in accordance with context, which in this case is the protest. This can be presented in semiotics or in cultural form. Therefore, in field recordings, semiotics, as contained in songs, speeches and chants, was categorized as meaning and analysed in relation to differing organizational concerns, to the context of protest, and to individual protest concerns. Furthermore, the representational meaning of these sonic forms, which contains semiotics, was analysed in accordance with the context of protest. For instance, as discussed in the literature review, the protest song *We Shall Overcome* represents the Civil Rights Movement (Eyerman, 2002), while alarm signals at the beach represented the 311 nuclear disasters in Japan, and later the related protests in the area (Dinitto, 2014; Gallagher & Prior, 2014).

To explore Feminist Protest Soundscapes, I categorized the meaning of identified semiotics in sonic elements, including the lyrics of protest songs and the semiotics of speeches, chants and talking. Furthermore, the cultural meaning of these sonic forms was also specified in relation to the different protests.

Relating to Schafer's (1993) conception of semantics, which explores sonic meaning across the semiotics of sonic elements, of other related text and of the context, I further expand here the exploration of meaning, across not only the meaning of text, but meaning that connotes across different analytical categories. For instance, referring to the aforementioned example of chanting and crowd sound, to explore the meaning of a chant, not only the semiotics of the chant was analysed in relation to the context of the protest. Its acoustic elements – loudness, which is distinguished against a softer background of crowd sound – were considered together, as they were co-existing in the soundscapes. What is the meaning of a sonic dominance of chanting, against a soft background of crowd sound? Would this meaning be different if a siren was ringing? What meaning does the overall soundscape represent in relation to the context of protest?

Based on the concept of soundscapes (Schafer, 1995), not only the semiotics and cultural meaning of sonic elements, or their relationship to other text or to the context, reveal meaning. In view of its acoustics, and the meaning and acoustics of other sonic components in protest soundscapes, the meaning of a soundscape can be understood in a relatively comprehensive manner that also informs and reflects the social context.

Besides, not only acoustics and meaning constitute soundscapes, but also emotion and affect.

Emotion and Affect

Aside from being meaningful, sound is also emotional and affective, as discussed in the literature review. In Schafer's (1993) soundscape analysis, a psychoacoustic and aesthetics dimension is introduced. This tells us about the mental and emotional qualities of sound – such as vivid, serenading or sad. Schafer's (1993) psychoacoustic and aesthetic dimension has been criticized because of a lack of clarity, which is a view that I share (Auer, 2012). What is meant by a mental perspective? And how should researchers conceptualize aesthetics? Based on what artistic standard?

Aiming to explore the interconnectedness between rationality, meaning, emotion and affect, I argue that, besides exploring the acoustic and meaningful aspects of protest soundscapes, an additional investigation of affect and emotion contributes to explore the relationship between these entities. To explore emotion and affect in protest soundscapes, and concurring with Auer (2019), I identified emotion and affect from sonic recordings, based on sonic qualities and human expression.

First, referring to reflexive and collective emotions in social movements, as discussed, I identified the semiotic description of these emotions, as pinpointed verbally. Second, human emotional and affective expressions including laughter, screaming and crying were also categorized, in accordance with protest emotions.

Third, reinforcing an emphasis on the interconnectedness of sonic elements in a soundscape (Schafer, 1993), I argue that by viewing analytical attributes relationally affect and emotion can be further revealed. For instance, anger can be identified through loudness, while fear can manifest itself in high-pitched screaming. Meanwhile, in terms of density, collective excitement can be expressed through ongoing mass cheering and chanting. Therefore, emotion in soundscape can be identified not only in terms of verbal expression, but also of emotional and acoustic expression. This is because, as discussed, entities of emotion, meaning and affect are one in sound, and therefore these attributes are reflective of one another.

Fourth, besides analysing sonic attributes across entities within the same sonic elements, these sonic elements are also further explored in relation to other sonic elements and to the context of soundscapes. For instance, in sonic recordings, the sound of passionate chanting may not be alone, but responding to the speaker's call or to sounds of counter-protesters. Thus, relationship and interaction between sonic elements inform the understanding of the emotion, meaning and context of protests.

As for affect, although not all bodily intensity resulting from being affected can be documented in sound, by exploring the relationship between sonic elements, the interaction between affected and affecting can be specified. For instance, a weak yet clear clapping sound close by may be mimicking and responding to a loud and dominant rhythm of drumming. Therefore, by exploring the relationship between sonic elements and their acoustics in relation to the context, the source of affecting and the sonic result of being affected can both be analysed.

As we can see, based on the encapsulating capacity of sound, I argue that in order to analyse protest soundscapes, acoustics, meaning, affect and emotion, identified sonic elements should be included and reflected upon in terms of their relationship. This is because these entities are one in sound, with no specific order of importance. They reflect and reinforce the same emotion, affect and meaning via the medium of acoustics.

Furthermore, in relation to the notion of soundscapes (Schafer, 1993), I argue that it is necessary to view and analyse sonic elements via a relational approach. This is because it will not do justice to soundscape analysis if only sonic entities are singled out, separately from other sonic elements and from the context of soundscapes. Sonic elements co-exist and reinforce one another, which is informative about their different contexts.

Based on a notion of how acoustic entities and sonic elements are mutually reflective and reinforcing, I argue that although rationality is not salient, it can be demonstrated by exploring the relationship between these entities in soundscapes.

Rationality

As discussed in the conceptual framework in Chapter 2, rationality refers to sensibility (Illouz & Finkelstein, 2009; Kalberg, 1980), which implies evaluation in relation to a standard and/or contextual grounding. Differently from acoustics, meaning and emotion, which can be identified in terms of sonic measures, semiotics and interpretation, and of expression, rationality is revealed rather than directly presented.

As mentioned, the essence of rationality lies in appraisal of sensibility, based on a contextual grounding. In other words, if not corresponding to the expected norm or context, the particular behaviour or expression would be deemed out of context and out of control, and therefore irrational.

Therefore, in sonic recordings, by exploring the relevancy of sonic elements in relation to the context, and of the relationship and interconnectedness between sonic elements, based on the context of soundscapes, rationality can be revealed. For instance, referring to single sonic elements, is the particular protest sound, as recorded, responding to the protest claim? If so, rationality is revealed, since the song is relevantly related to the context. Moreover, viewing across sonic elements, how is the sound of chanting related to other sonic elements, as recorded? Was it standing alone, or responding to a call from the leader? What did the leader say? Were these sounds expressing the same meaning and emotion, which was related to the context of the protest? If so, a synchronization and correspondence across sonic elements, which are all relevant to and reinforcing the same contextual grounding, could be identified. This implies the existence of rationality.

Summary of Protest Soundscape Analysis

In sum, based on Schafer's (1993) soundscape analysis, and aiming to contribute to an integrative approach to social movement studies, as discussed in Chapter 2, I have developed Protest Soundscape Analysis, based on sonic analytical attributes of acoustics, meaning, affect, emotion and rationality. Besides analysing these aspects of separate sonic elements, I argue that, by exploring the relationship and interconnectedness between sonic elements, the understanding of the meaning, affect, emotion and rationality of sonic elements, and of protest soundscapes in general, can be further strengthened.

To do so, the following steps were adopted. To begin with, in the first listening, I identified the sonic performances and sonic elements and their meaning, emotion and affect, as documented in the recordings. It is important to note that repeated listening is required, as the process of sonic

identification takes longer than the real-time playback of recorded materials. Then, I focused on exploring the relationship between sonic performances and other sonic elements in the surroundings. By doing so, a more comprehensive understanding of the protest soundscape was made possible. After that, I noted the meaningful, affective and/or emotional significance, as identified within the relational mapping of sonic performances and sonic elements. Following this, I reflected on the notion of rationality, by assessing the relevancy and correspondence between analytical attributes and the protest objective. It is important to note that, although this analytical framework is specifically for sonic data analysis, it can also be applied to textual data about sound, which includes the documentation and description of soundscapes or sonic experience. Therefore, as I show in the next chapter, the results of my Protest Soundscape Analysis are mainly discussed in Chapter 5, responding to the research question: *How do Feminist Protest Soundscapes sound?*. Meanwhile, these analytical attributes are also discussed, in Chapters 4 and 5, in relation to organizers' and participants' descriptions of a sonic scenario.

As Protest Soundscape Analysis is an analytical method for Sonic Ethnography, next, I close this section by highlighting major discussions about this method.

Summary of Sonic Ethnography

In this section, firstly, I have discussed the method of sonic ethnography and its textual and phonological approaches to data documentation. Adopting both phonological and textual approaches, I derive an analytical framework for protest soundscape analysis, based on Schafer's (1993) soundscape analysis.

Building on Schafer's (1993) sonic analytical attributes of acoustics, in response to my research rationale, I argue that analytical aspects of acoustics, meaning, affect, emotion and rationality provide a comprehensive landscape for protest soundscape analysis. Besides exploring these entities in single sonic elements, in response to the essence of a soundscape (Schafer, 1993), I argue that an investigation of different sonic elements inspires an understanding of these entities and of the general protest soundscape, in relation to the context.

In terms of practice, I made field recordings while participating in WML, WS and ATP, as well as writing sonic ethnographic fieldnotes on participation and fieldnotes for field recordings. After that, I analysed field recordings in accordance with aspects of acoustics, meaning, emotion, affect and rationality, as discussed. Besides, I also adopted thematic analysis for fieldnotes, before triangulating the data extracted from field recordings.

Although it contributes to an exploration of protest soundscapes, a limitation exists in sonic ethnography, as discussed in the next subsection.

Limitations of Sonic Ethnography

As discussed, sonic ethnography is a method focusing on sound. However, and also because of this, it can be relatively sonically biased. Firstly, as mentioned, the reproduction, representation and performance of sonic recording depends on the conditions of recording. For instance, the position of the recorder, the quality of the recording instruments, who is doing the recording and how one was carrying out the recording all impact the recording outcome. In order to explore protest soundscapes in relation to collective identity construction, I saw myself as a participant, based on the ideology of sonic ethnography, as discussed. Therefore, like other participants (as discussed below), I used my phone to record moments that I found meaningful. That said, I am aware of the importance of documenting different layers of protest soundscapes. Therefore, I also used another recorder, which has an open microphone, in order to capture the wider sonic surroundings of protest soundscapes.

Furthermore, another downside of sonic ethnography rests on an over-emphasis on the aural sense (Gershon, 2013). It is important to note that, although sonic ethnography pays attention to the aural, it does not neglect the existence of other senses. To clarify this limitation, I reflected on my role as a researcher when participating in the field, and on other elements that impacted my sonic experience when writing my fieldnote.

Besides exploring sonic qualities of protest soundscapes, my research aimed to investigate the role of soundscapes, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in creating collective identity, from a participating perspective. Responding to this, sonic diaries, interviews and thematic analysis were adopted, as discussed below.

Collective Identity from a Participating Perspective: Sound Diaries, Interviews, Thematic Analysis and Protest Soundscape Analysis

Aside from exploring protest soundscapes from an organizing and sonic analytical perspective, my research also aimed to explore the role of protest soundscapes, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in creating collective identity, from a participating perspective, which is the focus of the third research question. To do so, I adopted the methods of sonic diaries and interviews to collect data, and analysed these data based on thematic analysis and protest soundscape analysis, as discussed in the previous subsection. Here, to start with, I discuss the methodological relevancy of sonic diaries, followed by that of interviews with participants.

Sonic Diaries

Developed by Duffy and Waitt (2011), the sound diary is a method for exploring the role of sound in relation to social life, by recruiting participants to write their sonic diaries. Originating from the tradition of participant observation and life histories in ethnographic studies (Duffy & Waitt, 2011; Zimmerman & Wieder, 1977), diaries are introduced to minimize the intrusion of the researcher into the ethnographic process. In practical terms, participants are asked to log moments and events which are meaningful to them (Zimmerman & Wieder, 1977).

Developed further by scholars of sound studies, sonic geography and the social sciences in general (Duffy & Waitt, 2011; Gershon, 2011), the diary method is transformed into a sonic diary. Through attentive listening and recording of relevant moments in everyday life, this method aims to understand the role of sound in cultivating place and shaping social interaction and identity, from a participating perspective.

In practice, participants are asked to attentively listen and to make audio recordings when encountering sound that they find relevant to the research focus, in the process of participation (Duffy & Waitt, 2011; Duffy & Waitt, 2013). For instance, immigrants in Australia were asked to record sonic diaries and these contributed to shaping their home identity in their everyday lives (Duffy & Waitt, 2013). Furthermore, grassroots football players were asked to make sonic diaries in Oxfordshire, which informed their identity formation process as football players in the region (Whitty & Ford, 2018). In other words, a sonic diary is a method of collecting sonic data by capturing the moment that is relevant to the research focus, based on participants' experience, participation and reflection.

To explore from a participating perspective the role of protest soundscapes in creating collective identity, the sonic diary is a relevant method. Based on active listening, it allows participants to reflect on the role of sound in their experience of protest participation, which directly responds to my third research question. Furthermore, theoretically speaking, a sonic diary sees sound as an ongoing sensual entity that continuously touches being in the social formation process, including the process of collective identity construction (Duffy & Waitt, 2011; Gershon, 2011). As discussed in the literature review, every place has its own particular soundscape, which is meaningful to its people culturally, emotionally and affectively, in a collective sense. In other words, being in the same environment, subjects have a similar sonic experience, which is shared between themselves and others in the same space. Therefore, the sonic diary is a relevant method for exploring the role of protest soundscapes in creating collective identity, from a participating perspective.

In accordance with the timeframe of the sampled protests, I started recruiting participants two months before the dates of the WML, WSA and ATP protests. Email and social media posts and messages ere

ways to communicate recruitment messages. Eventually, 12 participants were recruited to keep sonic diaries.

To guide participants in making sonic diaries relating to collective identity, I prepared a flyer in both digital and physical forms, indicating what sonic moments the participants should be recording in their diaries. As the term 'collective identity' can be relatively conceptual, I guided participants to record moments of participation that they found 'meaningful' when 'being together with other participants as a collective' and 'wanting to be identified with', and/or 'self-identifying as part of the protest collective'. Verbal conversation was included, to ensure participants' understanding of the purposes of their sonic diaries. Later, upon reflection, in order to minimize the bias of this method, as discussed later in this subsection, I also included a relatively open recording guide. For instance, rather than specifying meaningful moments, I asked participants to record whatever they 'felt like', or even not to record anything if they did not want to.

In total, about two hours of sonic diaries were recorded by participants, which captured sonic moments that they found relevant to the protest collective. It is important to note that, because of technological and participation issues, some participants were not able to record sonic diaries. For instance, the technology of their phones was not recording-friendly, or recordings that they had recorded disappeared. However, they were able to recall their memories and describe the sonic moments that were meaningful to them.

Although sonic diaries provide recordings of sonic moments, which represent the sonic outcome of experiences of collective identity and contribute to understanding the role of sound in the process of collective identity construction, limitations exist too. Why did participants think and feel that these sonic moments related them to the collective? How so? And, what was the role of rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in creating such experience, according to participants? To answer these questions, which are crucial to responding to the third research question, semi-structured in-depth interviews were used to understand participants rationales, emotional expression and recollections regarding the sonic diaries they recorded.

Interviews with Participants Based on Sonic Diaries

Although sharing the same epistemology with the interview method, unlike the interviews with organizers discussed in the first sub-section, interviews with participants focused on their affective and emotional experiences in meaningful interpretation of, and rational reflection regarding, protest soundscapes. As discussed, without participants' own accounts it is impossible to understand why they think, feel and affectively experience collective identity through sound and when within a protest soundscape. Furthermore, as discussed above, especially for the exploration of affect and emotion, which

are part of subjective experience, participants' own explanations helped to explain and verify these entities in sonic diaries, which are also part of protest soundscapes (topic guides for interviews can be found in Appendix).

Moreover, to investigate the role of protest soundscapes from a participating perspective, which is essentially experiential, during the interviews I asked participants to play back their sonic diaries, and/or I played my own sonic ethnographic recordings, which were relevant to their experience. This was because, based on pilot interviews, I found that the playing back of sonic recordings contributed to bringing participants back to the sonic scenario, and leading them to a deeper experiential reflection.

Because of the need to listen to recordings, aside from special requests, I chose quiet spaces including meeting rooms and quiet cafés in which to conduct the interviews with participants. During the process, I discussed with participants their choice of recordings and how their sonic diaries represented their relationship with the protest collective, among other things.

After this, in order to analyse collected data, just as for the organizers' interviews, I adopted thematic analysis for analysing interviews with participants. Meanwhile, I adopted protest soundscape analysis in order to analyse participants' sonic diaries and to collate the analytical material thematically. For instance, affective and emotional experiences described by participants during interviews were noted in soundscape analysis of sonic diaries, and vice versa. Furthermore, as participants' sonic diaries also represented protest soundscapes, I included these as part of the analytical data, especially in response to the second research question: *How do feminist protest soundscapes sound?*

Limitations

In this subsection, I have discussed the sonic diary and interview methods. As the limitations of interview methodology were discussed in the first section, this is not repeated here. However, as for the downside of sonic diaries, it has been argued that the quality of the recording technology may not be validly reflexive (Duffy & Waitt, 2011). Like sonic ethnography, the representational validity of a sonic diary depends on the standard of the recorder. This could impact the recording quality and therefore influence the interviewing process and its outcome. Because of my limited research budget, I was not able to provide participants with a high standard of recorder. However, as discussed, I also conducted my own sonic ethnography, with two recording devices, intended to complement the possible negative outcome of the sound diaries. As mentioned, when recordings provided by participants were unclear, I played back a similar and relevant recording from my own field recordings to re-create a sonic experience of the protest soundscape.

Furthermore, since the ideology and practice of sonic diaries guided participants to record sonic moments that they found 'meaningful', this could have been guiding participants to assume a positive role of sound, which would influence their experience of participation. Therefore, upon reflection, I included a relatively open recording option for participants and even asked them to raise any negative comments, if there were any. However, it is important to note that the participants I recruited had already decided to participate in the different protests. In other words, they already had an incentive and a positive impression with regard to the protests.

Also, ethical and privacy concerns were raised for sonic diaries. However, as the sampled protests, including WML, WSA and ATP, were public events taking place in an open space, the issue of surveillance recording was not a concern.

Overall Research Design and Data Triangulation

As we can see, a variety of methods were adopted, relating to the conceptual framework and responding to specific research questions. Firstly, exploring sonic strategies, methods of semi-structured interview with organizers, participant observation at organizing meetings and thematic analysis were all used. Secondly, in order to understand the sonic quality and nature of feminist protest soundscapes, sonic ethnography using both textual and phonological approaches and protest soundscape analysis were selected. Moreover, in order to explore the role of protest soundscapes in collective identity construction from a participating perspective, sonic diaries and semi-structured interviews based on the sonic diaries were used.

It is important to note that the research process involved the use of different methods and of multi-dimensional data triangulation between sonic data and textual data, surrounding analytical concepts of rationality, meaning, affect and emotion. For instance, when analysing sonic recordings, I related emotions to the sounds identified, such as excited shouting and laughing, to organizers' intentional song selection and to participants' experience of enthusiasm, in accordance with interviews. On the other hand, I related my interview data to my analysis of sonic materials. For instance, in order to explore participants' descriptions of their affective experience, such as the looping of chants in response to drumming, I looked for these elements in sonic recordings and explored participants' meaningful reflections in relation to their affective experience. Therefore, the data collection and analytical process were definitely non-linear and in fact quite messy, as different analytical entities were interacting with one another. That said, this process was inspiring and informative.

In this process, as a researcher, I reflected on my own identity and possible influences on the research outcome, as discussed in the next subsection.

Reflection

To be reflexive of my own personal identity and involvement, and of ethical concerns, in the research process is crucial in ethnomethodology, as these could influence the outcome and interpretation of data.

Personal Reflection

Firstly, regarding my personal identity, as a pianist and inclining to a liberal democratic orientation, I view sound as a positive and affirmative cultural form that can spread awareness and messages of freedom and equality. In the process of conducting sonic ethnography, I noticed my own preference for music-making over other types of sound-making such as the banging of pots and pans, shouting and screaming. However, on reflection, other sounds also constitute the protest soundscape and are also affectively, emotionally and culturally influential. This constitutes an important insight.

Also, because of my political orientation, I am inclined to believe in the bright side of sound in promoting protests. However, I realized that my view is personal and that I should be open to exploring participants' stances. Therefore, I was careful when asking questions and following up with participants regarding their view of sound in protests. It was informative that the research results included both sides of the argument and provide a comprehensive picture regarding soundscapes of feminist protest.

Furthermore, as a researcher adopting the method of sonic ethnography, I realized that in some instances my own voice chanting, cheering and conversing with other participants had been recorded. It is true that, stemming from an ethnographic tradition, the researcher's experience and the interpretation of such experience are viewed as part of the data. To verify my understanding and interpretation of emotional and affective expression, I triangulated data collected from sonic diaries and from interviews with organizers and participants.

Besides reflection on personal identity, ethics is also another aspect for consideration, as the research process may influence the actors involved.

Ethics

In terms of ethics, my data was collected from social events and experiences situated in public spaces. Therefore, informed consent from protest organizers was not necessary. As for interviews with organizers and participants, as discussed in the research ethics form submitted to the LSE Research Ethics Committee, because the identity of protest organizers and protest participants was sensitive, informed consent, which requires personal identification information, was deemed not to be necessary. Also, before I recorded interviews, I asked for verbal consent and sonically documented that consent

whenever possible. Furthermore, to protect organizers and participants they are anonymized, with their identity information surrogated.

Also, to protect my own sonic data, including recordings of interviews, participants' sonic diaries and my field recordings, these recordings are stored on the LSE Cloud, which is a safe online space approved by the LSE Research Ethics Committee. As discussed on the research ethics form, these sonic data, interview transcripts and all analytical materials will be destroyed seven months after the submission of this thesis.

Conclusion

In conclusion, in this chapter, I have discussed case selection, methods of data collection and analysis, and my personal reflections and ethical concerns. Firstly, because of sonic relevance, feminist protests in London including WML, WSA and ATP were selected as sampled protests. Then, responding to the three research questions, and relating to the conceptual framework, methods including interviews, participant observation, sonic ethnography and sonic dairies were adopted for data collection. Meanwhile, analytical methods including thematic analysis and protest soundscape analysis were used to explore the role of protest soundscapes, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in creating collective identity in feminist protests in London.

It is important to reiterate that, although a variety of methods were adopted and are presented here in accordance with my research rationale, the data were triangulated in the research process, aiming to explore protest soundscapes in a relatively comprehensive manner. The triangulation of data relating to the conceptual framework is presented and discussed in the following chapters.

In the next chapter, I discuss sonic strategies from an organizing perspective, based on these methods.

Chapter 4 – Organizing Strategies for Sonic Performances: Sonic Resonance between Rationality, Meaning, Affect and Emotion

Introduction

In this chapter, responding to the first research question – *What are sonic performances strategically considered by organizers in feminist protests in London?* – I have identified four sonic performances: collective singing, music broadcasting, speeches and drumming, based on interviews with organizers of the Women’s March on London (WML) and the Women’s Strike Assembly (WSA), and with leaders of music groups supporting the Anti-Trump Protests (ATP), on my fieldnotes, and triangulated with my sonic ethnography, with participants’ sonic diaries and with information on the website and social media of the aforementioned organizations.

Throughout the conversations I had with protest event organizers, I explored their concerns from strategic and rational, meaningful, affective and emotional perspectives, which responded to the sub-question beneath my first research question: *What is the role of sonic performances in Feminist protest soundscapes, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in creating collective identity, from an organizing, strategic perspective?*

Also, derived from my analysis of the data, and relating to the conceptual framework, I conceptualized the organizers’ strategic consideration of acoustics, meaning, affect and emotion in Sonic Performances in terms of their Sonic Resonance. Referring to the sonic process of harmonic reverberations between different aspects of the same entity (Ford, 1999; Porter, 2020), sonic resonance contributes to explaining the resonance and the totality between rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in Sonic Performances. These are aspects of concerns strategically considered by organizers when aiming to create collective identity. It reflects an interconnected relationships between these entities, from a feminist protest organizing perspective. As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, what is considered as reasonable and what is not, is culturally and emotionally specific. And what is regarded as sonically proper to the studied feminist protest organizations is different from a normative understanding of protest soundscapes. Also, according to organizers, sonic strategies employed are not only pointing to their ultimate goal of protesting gender inequality, but also allowing women to affectively experience the collective emotion and affective, participatory experience of solidarity and mutual support. In other words, the way organizers see rationality is not only limited to the relationship between the means and the end - being instrumental. It is a process of strategic planning that considered the emotional, affective experience of women of different cultures in London, and grounded in the historical, ritualistic practice of respective protest organizations. Therefore, responding to the conceptual framework, these entities

are dialectically constitutive, which resonate for the construction of sonic performance. As an introductory note, the essence of Sonic Resonance lies on a harmonic blend between these entities, which explains not only organizers' consideration of producing Sonic Performances, but also the constitution of Protest Soundscapes and participants' experience of Sonic Performances in Protest Soundscapes, which are the foci of Chapters 5 and 6 respectively.

In this chapter, the conceptualization of Sonic Resonance is illustrated from an organizational perspective. According to organizers, Sonic Performances, including collective singing, music broadcasting, speeches and drumming, were strategically arranged in consideration of their capacity to create meaning, affect and emotion, which all contribute to constructing collective identity. Besides cultural, affective and emotional resources, in order to produce sonic performances, other resources including technology, organizational and allied support and logistics are also necessary. Also, it is important to note that, although rationality may not be directly manifested or reflected in semiotics, emotional categories and/or embodied experience, it is demonstrated via an evaluative account of sensibility, in relation to objectives. Therefore, from an organizing perspective, rationality is continuously present and demonstrated in the mobilization process of sonic performances. However, it has to be stressed that what defines rationality is based on an emotional, meaningful and affective account – with the intention of creating an experience of collective identity. Thus, complementing the resource mobilization approach (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), besides economic considerations, emotions and affects are also central to the mobilization process, which is demonstrated in the production of sonic performances. It demonstrates that feminist protest rationality of the studied organizations is sonically vocal, emotional and affectively expressive through sound and music, and collectively experiential. This is aligned with a feminist critique on a normative understanding of rationality (Brison, 2019; Kleinman & Copp, 2021; Taylor & Whittier, 1995), which stresses on the importance of a feminist understanding of self and relationship, and the experience of mutual support and solidarity between women. In the conclusion to this chapter, I respond to the general conceptual question of how affect, rationality, meaning and emotion are mutually reflective and dialectically reinforcing, which resonates and, through such a process, constitutes sound.

In the next section, I illustrate some strategic considerations, firstly in relation to collective singing, and then to music broadcasting, speeches and drumming. This presentation order is based on the importance of Sonic Performances, as revealed by protest organizers.

Collective Singing

According to organizers (Fieldnote #7, 2019; Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019; Participant O, 2019; Participant P, 2019), the use of music has been central to Feminist Protests in London including those of WML, WSA and ATP. Among others, organizers of WML emphasized the importance of protest music and singing (Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019), which dominated one third of WML's protest soundscapes (Fieldnotes #2, 4, 2019). Because of its significance, in this section I firstly discuss the use of music and singing by WML.

According to organizers of WML (Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019), songs are important tools in protests because they 'speak to the people directly' about protest concerns, and this is discussed in the next subsection. I then explore the emotion and affect of songs and collective singing, which are mobilized to create an experience of collectivity.

The Protest Theme

As my fieldnotes (#1, 2019) and sonic ethnography (2019) of WML, and participants' sonic diaries (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019) reveal, songs including *Bread and Roses* (Kohlsaas, 1917), *The March for Women* (Smyth, 1912), *We are family* (Sister Sledge, 1979) and *Sisters are Doing it for Themselves* (Eurythmics & Franklin, 1985) were sung at the WML protest.

When explaining reasons for song selection, organizers related the protest theme 'Bread and Roses' to honouring and demanding equal work opportunities for women in the context of Brexit, when women of particular groups are suffering more than others (Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019; Robson, 2019, WML, 2019):

The theme of this year was Bread and Roses. There was a song called that, so we sang it. It was a line from a speech by a suffragette and we know it's still true today.

(Participant M, 2019)

As stated by participant M (2019), an organizer of WML, and echoing a message on WML's website (2019), the protest theme of Bread and Roses was drawn from a speech given by Rose Schneiderman, an activist of the Women's Trade Union League, during a suffrage rally in 1912 (Robson, 2019; Rohan, 2008). Relating to feminist protest history, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Rohan, 2008; Schneiderman, 1912), in the 1910s about eight million women had entered the workforce to fill unskilled roles in factories, and they were being unfairly paid. As Schneiderman's speech put it, 'The worker must have bread, but she must have roses, too' (Schneiderman, 1912) – she was demanding not only fair wages (to buy bread), but also lifestyle enjoyment (to appreciate roses). According to WML organizers, the

meaning of 'Bread and Roses' in 1912 was still applicable in 2019 and in the context of Brexit. Another organizer of WML, Participant N (2019), explained:

It wasn't fair. A lot of women, especially those who are underprivileged are living in austerity already because [of] the economy. They have to take care of their kids, and they couldn't choose which job to take. And it is crazy to me that migrant women may need to leave their kids [because of Brexit], they will be forced to leave the country and separate from their kids. How can that happen? [there were tears in her eyes].

(Participant N, 2019)

According to organizers (Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019) and a report entitled *The Impact of Austerity on Women* by the Fawcett Society, an ally of WML, socially disadvantaged women are 'being hit hardest' by austerity measures (Fawcett Society, 2012, p. 5). For instance, women's wages are 15% lower than men's and more than 60% of low-paid jobs are taken by women, which they considered, in participant N's (2019) words, 'unfair ... as people shouldn't be treated differently at work because of gender' (Fawcett Society, 2012; Participant N, 2019).

Relating to the context of Feminist Protests in London and of Brexit, as discussed in Chapter 3, EU laws protecting women's work rights, including minimum maternity leave and childcare, will no longer guarantee these rights in the UK (Gupta, 2020). As for migrant women, many of whom are suffering from economic insecurity and filling temporary and precarious positions, their immigration status will remain in limbo, which will influence the quality of their family lives and social lives (Mott et al., 2018).

To protest organizers (fieldnotes on WML, 2019; Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019), women's disadvantage in the context of austerity and Brexit made the protest theme 'Bread and Roses' relevant. They selected songs that speak for the suffering and the collectivity of women, in lyrical terms:

I wanted to include *The March of the Women* by Ethel Smyth because it is obviously [about] the suffering of the general women, and we wanted to have something that is more recognized, so... *We are Family* and *Sisters are Doing it for Themselves*. These songs are all about the suffering and the power of women, and what women can do. There is a line in *We are Family*: 'They have got all my sisters in me', which, for the feminist movement, it works perfectly.

(Participant M, 2019)

According to the analysis of my data, and relating to the general protest frame (Gamson, 1995; Snow & Benford, 2003), organizers selected songs that 'are all about the suffering of women (Participant E, 2019). Considering diverse protest concerns, especially in the context of Brexit in London (Sheehy & Nayak, 2020), these organizers selected songs that portrayed a general injustice frame of gender wide

enough to include, and respond to, participants' fragmented feminist identities (Taylor & Whittier, 1995), including as migrant women, rape survivors, sex workers or mothers, to name a few.

However, it is important to note that selected songs did not end with suffering, but also invoked 'the power of women, and what women can do' (Participant M, 2019). As data analysis reveals, in lyrical terms, *The March for Women* (Smyth, 1912) starts with a picture of women being 'crowded in dread'; however, being an activist herself, Smyth (1912) called for, and celebrated, the collective power of women. Using the collective pronoun 'we', she stated that women are 'strong' and 'fearless', ready to 'Shout, shout, up with your song!... and March, march, swing you along!' (Smyth, 1912). A similar lyrical narrative can be identified in *Sisters are Doing it for Themselves* (Eurythmics & Franklin, 1985) and *We are Family* (Sister Sledge, 1979), which start by narrating women's disadvantage and the fact that the definition of a 'great woman' is dependent on a 'great man' (Eurythmics & Franklin, 1985); however, women, as sisters, 'are a family' (Sister Sledge, 1979), which is a collective, and they are 'coming out of the kitchen' to 'celebrate the conscious liberation of the female state' (Eurythmics & Franklin, 1985).

As we can see, relating to injustice and collective frames (Gamson, 1995; Snow & Benford, 2003), and considering participants' diverse protest concerns, organizers strategically adopted songs that lyrically narrate the general suffering and celebrate the collectivity of women. Through these songs, they aimed not only to guide participants to position their own claims within the general injustice frame; they also intended to relate women to the collective, by seeing and understanding themselves as members of the 'family' and of a 'we' community, as articulated in the selected songs.

However, songs are more than lyrics. WML took up the historical practice of using songs also because of their sonic components, including melody, rhythm and harmony, and because singing songs creates collective experiences in which meaning, frames, affect and emotion are intertwined.

Joy and Collectivity

As discussed, the semiotics of lyrics is regarded as a tool for framing. Moreover, lyrics are not only text, but also content carried and expressed in the form of music. During her interview, participant N (2019) emphasized the significance of music in songs:

It's really important because music brings joy, it brings people energy and joy! It raises the spirit. Music gets people together and something like this, like *We are Every Woman*, *We are Family*, *Sisters are Doing it for Themselves*, they're all positive songs... that really works, really gets people going.

(Participant N, 2019)

According to participant N (2019), and echoed by other organizers (Participant M, 2019; Participant R, 2020; Participant S, 2020; Fieldnotes #2, 4, 5, 2019), songs were adopted to bring ‘joy’ and ‘positive energy to participants. As a musician, participant N (2019) explained that selected songs are ‘all positive’, lyrically celebrating women’s collectivity, musically starting and ending in a major key and, in terms of tempo and general style, vivid and *vivace*.

Aligned with studies of popular music (Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999), feminist protest songs from the late 20th century, which include those mentioned by participant N (2019), are in major keys, with simple harmonic progressions, and in a lively tempo. As noted in studies of the psychology of music, in general these musical features are ‘easy on the ear’, which creates an experience of pleasant feelings (Becker, 2010; Collier & Hubbard, 2001; Dyer, 2013; Hunter et al., 2010; Smith-Polderman, 2013).

Relating to emotions in protests (Jasper, 1998, 2018), organizers aimed to use such ‘happy’ music to create positive emotions including joy, happiness, and excitement (Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019). However, how were these positive emotions in songs felt by participants?

Protest music is something special, you know... that resonance. Music speaks to our souls; it is the unwritten language of our hearts. I think people want to be part of something, something positive. This positive feeling is why we are doing what we are doing, fighting for female equality. Music is a collective, we become more than each one single person when we make music together, also in protest.

(Participant N, 2019)

This quote from participant N (2019), which was echoed by other organizers (Fieldnote on WSA #3, 2019; Participant N, 2019) and by protest choir leaders (Participant O, 2019; Participant P, 2019), speaks for the affective quality of ‘singing together’, in constructing a collective. As participant O (2019), a protest choir leader who has organized singing performances for feminist protests and ATP in London, explained, in processes of collective singing, a person’s voice is resonating with, and merging into, others’ voices, which allows the individual to experience and participate in the construction process of one united voice out of many.

Relating to affect (Auer, 2012; Massumi, 2002; Quinn, 2018), when singing together, participants are collectively being affected by the sound of united singing, and meanwhile affecting one another. Firstly, positive emotions in music affect individual participants, as it ‘speaks to our souls’ (Participant N, 2019). However, it does so not only individually but collectively, to everyone in the same space. While singing together, they were being affected in the same way by audio and vocal expression, singing out and listening to the same sound and feeling the same positive emotions generated from songs.

Furthermore, responding to the affective abilities of affect (Massumi, 2002), participants were not only being affected, but actively acting and affecting others by ‘giving their own [voice]’ (Participant N, 2019). In this process, they contributed to the same larger entity and were ‘creating something bigger than themselves; and formulating ‘a collective’ (Participant N, 2019; Participant O, 2019). Because of this experience of collectivity, collective emotions of happiness, togetherness and mutual support are generated (Jasper, 1998; 2018).

Therefore, responding to affect studies of protests (Auer, 2012; Quinn, 2018), besides viewing affect from a participating aspect of ‘being affected’, it can also be a strategy aiming to affect participants’ experience and to guide them to take part in affecting others. In this process, organizers aimed to bind participants into sharing the same emotion and affect, and thus to construct a collective based on shared experience.

Besides meaningful, affective and emotional concerns, to create the sonic performance of collective singing, acoustic concerns and resources are necessary. As organizers revealed (Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019), and relating to resources mobilization (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), to maximize the volume of singing in protest soundscapes, they had recruited twelve opera singers and brought along a keyboard and a sound system. According to participant M (2019), ‘opera singers are really loud, their voices vibrate... and penetrate the space...’. He explained that participant N (2019) had set up a social media platform to recruit and liaise with singers; meanwhile, he took care of logistics, which included bringing the sound system to the venue and printing out the lyrics of songs to be circulated in the WML space.

Summary

With the aim of uniting individual participants with the general protest concern for gender inequality, and of uniting them as a collective, specific protest songs were selected for collective singing. As discussed in relation to cognitive understanding and collective identity (Melucci, 1996), songs that represent injustice and summon collective frames were selected. However, being more than a cultural text, music can be mobilized as a resource – not only as a text, but also for collective singing. This is because collective emotions of encouragement and happiness, as well as affect experienced aurally, can be channelled to affect participants’ experience. A collective experience, together with a shared understanding of general protest claims in relation to gender inequalities, can contribute to building towards a feminist protest collective.

It is important to note that, although rationality is not mentioned as frequently as meaning, affect or emotion, it can be revealed by the synchronicity and correspondence between these entities, in relation to the protest objective. As discussed in the conceptual framework, rationality refers to reflection and

appraisal in relation to objectives (Freudenburg, 1993; Illouz & Finkelstein, 2009). Whether something is sensible is associated with an evaluative account for which an appraising standard or grounding is necessary. From a protest organizing perspective, the evaluative grounding for rationality is based on organizational values and protest objectives.

Therefore, although different from affect, emotion or meaning, which can be represented and manifested in terms of bodily experience, or from categories of feeling, or semiotics, rationality is demonstrated in sensibility and in relation to objectives. As in the decision to arrange for collective singing, rationality is present throughout the consideration process. From an organizing point of view, based on an evaluation and hence a selection of available acoustic, cultural, emotional, affective and technological and material resources, protest organizers rationally and strategically arranged for collective singing in accordance with their organizational concerns. Entities including injustice and collective frames in songs, and collective emotions and affect enabled by collective singing, correspond to one another, reflecting and aiming for the same objective – to create a protest collective sharing the general protest concern of gender inequality.

As we can see, organizers strategically produced the Sonic Performance of collective singing because meaning, emotion and affect all resonate, which reflects a production process that is rational, reflective and relates to organizational values and protest concerns. This responded to an integrative approach to social movement studies as discussed in chapter 2 (Collins, 2003; Polletta, 2003; Zhou & Wang, 2018), what is reasonable is culturally reflexive as well as affectively, emotionally expressive. Also, aligned with a feminist critique on normative rationality (Berg, 1978; Cohen, 1985; Ryan, 1992; Taylor & Whittier, 1995), according to organizers, what is regarded as rational sonic strategies is not only about practicalities, acoustic measurement and instrumentality. As the analysis of data revealed, the kind of protest soundscape that sounds reasonable to WML organizers is filled with positive, encouraging music. In such musical experience, joy, collectivity and a sense of sisterhood could be produced. It demonstrates that WML emphasizes and treasures relationships, solidarity, collective joy and shared memories – the use of good old protest music, which is aligned with a general feminist approach to rationality (Berg, 1978; Cohen, 1985; Ryan, 1992; Taylor & Whittier, 1995).

In other words, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion are involved in the production of a Sonic Performance of collective singing for feminist protests, which I conceptualize as a Sonic Resonance. In the social movement literature, the concept of resonance was adopted by Snow and Benford (1998) to explain participants' meaningful alignment with a general protest frame, which is known as framing resonance. However, the conceptual relevancy of resonance was criticized in this instance, as it was used to refer to a congruence of meaning between the personal and the organizational, which does not do justice to or reflect the notion of resonance (Starr, 2017). Stemming from musicology and sound studies

(Greve & Wiersche, 2017; Porter, 2020), resonance is more than a meaningful alignment between different parties. It refers to a process where different notes of the same frequency level, and/or the same chordal position, reverberate. In this process, the vibration of each note not only sounds out by itself, but also creates an oscillating effect on other notes. In other words, they are vibrating and sounding at the same time, co-creating and sustaining the sonic output. Although arising from different tunes, the vibrating notes are aspects of the same root. They are connected, and mutually bounce off and reinforce one another. For instance, the notes of C, E and G are in the first position of C major. These notes resonate with one another, creating a sonic consonance. Simply put, this resonance reflects not only a certain level of congruence between sonic elements, but also their interconnectedness, corresponding echoes and mutual reinforcement in the sounding process.

The production of collective singing, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion is like tunes from the same chord, and all are different aspects considered for a sonic performance, aiming to construct collective identity. As I have revealed, organizers aimed to use lyrics in order to unite individual participants with the general protest claim against gender inequality and for feminist collectivity. Meanwhile, the meaning of these claims not only corresponded to collective emotions and affects enabled by collective singing, but also contributed to the intensity of such emotions and to affective experiences such as joy and satisfaction, and bodily movement. It should also be pointed out that the collective emotion and affective experience of collective singing contributed to shaping the meaning and understanding of the selected protest songs. It created a collective experience that echoed the notion of feminist collectivity, and a shared account of the claims with regard to gender inequality.

A consideration of meaningful frames, meaning and affect points to the aim of mobilization and of creating collective identity. For the organizers, this was enabled by the articulation of protest frames via lyrics, and by a collective experience that resonated with such frames. These entities are interconnected, mutually corresponding and reinforcing. And, referring back to my literature review, although rationality is less reflexively salient in direct semiotic and sensual expression, a correspondence between these entities reflects a certain level of sensibility. Thus, the meaning, affect and emotion of collective singing were all considered rationally in terms of a Sonic Resonance, aimed at collective identity construction.

Besides collective singing, these aspects of sound were also strategically considered for music broadcasting, as discussed below.

Music Broadcasting

Differently from WML, WSA adopted songs not for singing but for broadcasting. In the analysis below, based on the strategic use of music by WSA, I explore the relationship between sonic strategy and

organizational value, and the role of rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in a strategic consideration of Sonic Resonance.

The Sound System

According to my fieldnotes on WSA (#7, 2019) and interviews with organizers (Participant R, 2020; Participant S, 2020), as for WML, music is key to WSA's protests. However, rather than the human voice, as was the case with WML, organizers of WSA stressed the importance of technology for music broadcasting, namely the sound system:

The sound system is so central... All the way during the march we will broadcast music, to raise attention and disrupt people who are standing outside the restaurants, chatting and smoking.

(Fieldnote on WSA #5, 2019)

It's public, people are talking... a lot is going on... it's noisy. When you broadcast something, the sound just disrupts them... [in] the space there, you get their attention.

(Participant R, 2020)

When participating in organizing meetings, 'disruptive' is the word I would always hear (Fieldnote #7, 8, 10, 11, 2019). According to organizers, and in relation to the notion of protest, as discussed (Piven, 2006; Tarrow, 2011), 'to protest is to disrupt', in order to make people 'realize something is not right' and to 'let people hear us' (Fieldnotes #10, 11, 2019). An emphasis on disruption reflects the values of WSA, which thus positions itself as a claimant against its opponents. As revealed by my fieldnotes (fieldnotes on WSA, 2019) and as stated in a WSA blogpost (2019):

The demands of the Women's Strike Assembly are not confined to International Women's Day. We will not rest until we succeed in dismantling the capitalist patriarchal systems of power that oppress us all...

(WSA, 2019, Online)

Self-declared as 'red feminist' (Weigand, 2002), WSA sees 'the capitalist patriarchal systems' as the cause of women's oppression. The solution, according to them, is to disrupt, and eventually dismantle the structure through continuous protests (WSA, 2019). Aligned with these values, the major objective of WSA's protests is to create disruption to everyday life; and the sound system was adopted and regarded as central to this aim, because it can create 'a loud and vibrant march through the street', disrupting the everyday soundscape (WSA, 2019, Online).

According to acoustic studies, a sound system amplifies small vibrations, which allows the sound to travel longer distances (Obata & Tesima, 1935; Pistor et al., 2013). As discussed by Oosterbaan (2009, online), who explored the role of the sound system in creating sonic supremacy, 'the amplified sound transcends the limits of particular micro-areas', which 'momentarily overcomes territorial divisions'. Aligned with this, WSA aimed to use the sound system to generate loudness, to touch upon, interact with, overwrite and disrupt the sounds of normality. This was in line with the critical studies of sound and power discussed in Chapter 2 (Attali, 1985; James, 2014).

As the sound system is key to creating disruption, security and logistical concerns were raised in organizing meetings:

“Without the sound system, it’s nothing...”, said an organizer. I asked if the sound system we are going to use will be powerful enough to create such a disruption, as I can see a small one sitting quietly in the meeting room. Another organizer replied, “we will use a very big one in the march, which is to be borrowed from XXX organization”. Some organizers have agreed to take the responsibility to book a truck, get and transport the big sound system.

... we will have to do our best to secure it from the police – we will carry it from Bank along with us, all the way to Leicester Square. Just in case the big sound system is taken by the police, we will have a small spare one...

(Fieldnote #7, 2019)

As data analysis revealed, and relating to resource mobilization (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), organizers rationally mobilized resources and considered potential risks of music broadcasting. Intended to disrupt everyday soundscapes (Participant R, 2020; Participant S, 2020), the sound system is regarded as a key technological resource to create sonic disruption, via volume penetration. In order to ensure and maximize its functionality and impact, support from allied organizations to lend a 'big sound system', logistics arranged by members within the organization, and alternative security measures were all considered. As we can see, rationality, the calculation of potential risk and benefit, relating to the goal of disruption, was involved. However, besides technology and logistics, content is also necessary for broadcasting, as discussed in the next subsection.

What to Broadcast?

As mentioned, WSA intended to broadcast music during marches; however, I was surprised that song selection was not discussed in organizing meetings:

After discussing the security and logistics of the sound system, I was surprised that what to broadcast, song selection, was not part of the agenda. “Why are we not discussing what to play?”, I asked an organizer sitting next to me; “We already have a playlist, we use that all the time... those are good ones... people know them... when it’s on, everyone will dance along, sing along...”, she responded.

(Fieldnote #9, 2019)

As revealed by my fieldnotes (Fieldnote on WSA #4, 2019) and on the website of WSA (2019), highlighted songs in the playlist included, *9-5* (Parton, 1980), *Borders* (M.I.A., 2015), *Run the World* (Beyoncé, 2011), and *Rebel Girl* (Bikini Kill, 1993). To organizers, broadcasting these songs at their protests seemed ‘normal’ to the extent that an explanation and discussion was not considered to be necessary, because these songs had been ‘used all the time’ and represented WSA’s protests in terms of practice and values (Fieldnote on WSA #4, 2019).

As mentioned, WSA (2019) intended to disrupt the patriarchal and capitalist structure, as is revealed in its 2019 protest theme:

When discussing the theme... we were chatting about issues in everyday life. An organizer said, “It is so challenging to arrange for childcare in the weekdays, which is so unfair... you have to rush back home after work...” A lot of pressure is on the mothers, as the society, including the bosses, family members, and almost everyone, are expecting women to take care of almost everything.

(Fieldnote #12, 2019)

These conversations brought about the theme of the 2019 protest: ‘MY MUM IS ON STRIKE!’ (WSA, 2019, Online). This theme echoes a manifesto on WSA’s (2019) website which states that, because of the ‘unfair conditions under which we [women] are all forced to live’, women are ‘exploited’ by ‘unpaid work’ in order to ‘prop up the world economy’ (WSA, 2019, Online).

According to data analysis, and relating to injustice frames (Gamson, 1997; Snow & Benford, 2003), WSA sees women’s exploitation as an outcome continuously created by the capitalist system. Therefore, songs that reinforce this point of view in relation to injustices affecting women were selected. For instance, known in WSA as the ‘legendary anti-work anthem’, (Fieldnote #9, 2019; WSA, 2019, Online), the lyrics of *9 – 5* (Parton, 1980) portray a critique of capitalism from the perspective of women in secretarial jobs. In *Borders* (M.I.A., 2015), a female voice is questioning world powers on their exploitation of refugees (Kornhaber, 2015; WSA, 2019, Online). Other selected songs, including *Run the World* (Beyoncé, 2011) and *Rebel Girl* (Bikini Kill, 1993), invigorate women to rebel against patriarchy

and to take charge of their own lives and even of the world (Powers, 2019). Responding to studies of feminist protest songs (Hurner, 2006; Jones, 2018), these selected songs criticize the capitalist system and world powers, the whole hegemonic structure that creates injustices against women. The organizers aimed to make participants, pedestrians, opponents and the authorities all relate to this particular injustice frame, via its representation in selected protest songs.

Here, it is interesting to note that music broadcasting targets participants, pedestrians and opponents. As mentioned, for WSA, music broadcasting via the sound system was intended to create, on the one hand disruption to the everyday soundscape, via volume intrusion. However, on the other hand, these songs were intended to relate participants, in-group members, with the general protest frame of women's inequalities and a critique of the hegemony. In other words, music broadcasting is a sonic strategy for both disruption (of normality) and construction, relating participants to the general protest frame and building collectivity. The protest organizers' strategy of using music to construct a community was also revealed in their concern for the musicality of selected songs. According to them, the selected songs were 'good ones' because they could get everyone to 'dance along, sing along...', building an exciting atmosphere and importantly, again, a sense of collectivity and of a 'we'.

Joy in Resistance

According to fieldnotes (Fieldnotes on WSA, 2019) and also to organizers (Participant R, 2020; Participant S, 2020), marches can be 'dry and cold'. Scheduled on a winter evening, marching for more than an hour in the cold and rain could be an obstacle to protest (Fieldnote #7, 2019). Therefore, in relation to affect (Auer, 2012; Massumi, 2002; Quinn, 2018), organizers aimed to broadcast music, to inject an 'upbeat... and energetic [rhythm and] mood' into the protest soundscape. By doing so, strong vibrations of beats and rhythms would affect participants' bodies, collectively in the protest soundscape, which can 'make people feel like partying', and help them to 'keep up the energy level' (Fieldnotes on WSA #7, 9, 2019).

However, it is important to note that not all 'upbeat' songs were considered 'good ones' for broadcasting in WSA's protest soundscapes, but only those songs that 'everybody knows', which would bring 'joy. As participant R (2020) put it:

There's a lot of joy in resistance. If you play a song, people can catch on... they sing and dance along... you can, feel, it is a collective, [a] feeling that protest already brings, with music it comes a lot stronger...

(Participant R, 2020)

As data analysis reveals, ‘good songs’ that can bring joy depend not only on musicality, including beat and style, but also on cultural familiarity. Connecting to a cultural dimension of feminist protest songs (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998; Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999), in the 21st century, the songs of singers including Beyoncé, M.I.A. and Ariana Grande are popular in feminist discourse, both online and offline. They celebrate women’s liberation and condemn patriarchy, which represent the protest theme and organizational values of WSA. According to organizers, these tunes are popularly known by ‘everybody who cares about it [feminist concerns]’ (Participant Q, 2020) and therefore they ‘easily resonate’ with participants (Participant R, 2020).

Summary

As we can see, WSA organizers aim to produce a Sonic Performance of music broadcasting in order to disrupt normality and construct an experience of collectivity. To do so, the meaning, affect and emotion of songs, and the technology and acoustics for broadcasting, were considered. These considerations reflected the objectives and values of WSA, which demonstrated a rational aspect in the arrangement of music broadcasting. Furthermore, the meaning, emotion, affect and acoustics for music broadcasting reinforced one another, responding to, and reflecting, organizational values and objectives, which reveals the presence of rationality. As discussed in the literature review, under the umbrella of feminist protests, mobilization strategies are culturally specific, depending on the ideologies, history and rituals of respective feminist organizations. As I have shown in this section, different from WML’s musical approach, musical strategies that are reasonable to WSA is loud and disruptive, rather than mainly being joyous and celebratory. For WSA’s protest soundscapes, the kind of emotion and affective experience that organizers intended to create is noisy and disruptive, meanwhile being exciting and collective. As we can see, the way feminist organizations understand rationality is culturally grounded, which is intrinsically related to and expressed via emotion and affect. These entities resonate in sonic performance, responding to the organization’s history and objective specifically.

Also, responding to impasses between different entities, as well as building on an integrative approach to social movement studies, as discussed in Chapter 2, Sonic Resonance contributes to providing a conceptual lens through which to explore rationality, meaning, affect and emotion, and their interconnectedness and totality, as revealed in the production of music broadcasting. To produce the Sonic Performance of music broadcasting, organizers considered the meaning of songs and their musicality, which relates to an emotionality and affectability that enabled the creation of disruption and of collectivity – objectives of WSA’s protests.

Firstly, from a constructivist aspect, in order to make participants ‘get high’ at the ‘party’ (Participant Q, 2020), and so affecting them collectively within protest soundscapes as well as relating them to the general protest frame of injustices affecting women, organizers strategically selected songs for broadcasting. Because of the emotionality of upbeat music, the meaning of popular feminist songs and the collective affective experience of dancing and of the bodily movements enabled by it, organizers saw music broadcasting as a way to create a protest collective. These entities resonate in the protest soundscape of music broadcasting, reflecting and responding to WSA’s objective of building a feminist protest collective to criticize the hegemony. Meanwhile, with the aim of disrupting normality, the volume of broadcasting, the meaning of songs that criticize capitalist and world powers, the emotions of excitement, and the affects of a provocation to interrupt the apathic nature of soundscapes of normality, were all taken into account. From the organizers’ point of view, music broadcasting was strategically considered as a sonic performance for creating collective identity, because within it meaning, affect and emotion mutually reinforce one another, co-creating a protest soundscape that interrupts normality – the objective of WSA. The correspondence and resonance of these entities demonstrate the rational nature of the sonic performance of music broadcasting.

As we can see, entities of meaning, emotion and affect are considered for music broadcasting with a view to collective identity construction. These aspects of sound were interconnected, mutually reflective, and correspondingly reinforcing of one another in relation to the organizational values and protest frame of WSA.

Besides singing and music broadcasting, speeches are the next significant Sonic Performance, according to feminist protest organizers. This is discussed in the next section.

Speeches

Although different in order, speeches are another Sonic Performance identified in Feminist Protests in London. In WML, speeches come after collective singing, while in WSA they come in the first session of the demonstration. Regardless of order, organizational strategies for speech-giving are similar and include the representativeness of speakers, their vocality and the construction of collective experience, all of which are discussed in subsections below.

Allied Organizations

During interviews and participant observation, I was surprised that the precise content of speeches was less of a concern for organizers compared with the question of who, from their potential allied organizations, would be invited as speakers:

Everyone was brainstorming excitedly and shouting out names of different organizations, “We can invite XXX, see if they will respond!” ...

We wanted to invite representatives from different organizations which are supporting our values – women’s oppression under the patriarchal system. We have mentioned some feminist organizations of different race and religion, and/or with different social and political concerns. It will be great to have different organizations to tell the same story, women's oppression, from their point of view... Everyone has volunteered to contact an organization, including myself – the Asian Feminist Student Organization.

(Fieldnote #8, 2019)

WSA sought to include voices from different organizations to narrate their own story of women’s oppression, reinforcing WSA’s value from different perspectives, which was aligned with WSA’s ally strategies, as demonstrated in their online *Call for Action*:

In Britain we have organized against the far-right’s attempt to hijack our experiences of sexual violence for their racist agenda. We are organizing with and unionizing some of the most exploited migrant workers in the service industries. We have stood in solidarity with our sisters from Brazil, Poland, Kurdistan and Ireland. The Women’s Strike is a strike for solidarity between women.

(WSA, 2019, Online)

In WSA’s *Call for Action* (2019), the far-right, which upholds an anti-feminist and anti-immigrant view, is positioned as the opponent (WSA, 2019). Therefore WSA (2019) was ‘organizing with’ oppressed women in order to stand ‘in solidarity with sisters’ from different cultures. Referring back to my theory chapter (Gamson, 1997; Snow & Benford, 2003), in the *Call for Action*, injustice frames can be identified within a collective frame – women of different cultures and experiences, including women suffering sexual violence, racial discrimination and migration disadvantages, are positioned as claimants facing injustice in their particular circumstances; however, facing the same opponent, WSA aims to unite women. Since ‘The Women’s Strike was a strike for solidarity between women’ (WSA, 2019), a collective frame can be identified.

As shown on the website and in tweets of WSA (2019), representatives of allied organizations of different social, cultural and religious groups, for instance, the Kurdish Women’s Movement, United Voices of the World and Support Student Sex Workers, were invited as speakers to narrate their own stories of women’s oppression, aiming to reveal the shared nature of their claims and shared enemy, and therefore to stand in unity to fight against patriarchy (WSA, 2019). As discussed, framing is an

articulation of symbols and meaning, aiming to create a protest agenda that facilitates mobilization (Gamson, 1995; Melucci, 1996; Snow & Benford, 2003). WSA's arrangement of speakers created a variety of injustice frames – women of different cultures spoke about their story of oppression, while co-creating and reinforcing a collective frame and sharing the same self-identification as oppressed and as claimants united against their common opponent – the patriarchy.

The arrangement of speakers, enabled by organizational support for framing purposes, was explained by an organizer who had taken part in supporting WML, WSA and ATP:

You contact them [representative(s) of allied organizations], you ask them if they would like to come; then you tell them the theme, and they will know what to do. It's just a few minutes of speaking, you share your thoughts, experience, like, let other people know what you're going through. It's important to let other people know, because you know, Kurdish, Palestine, Hong Kong, India, we are all the same, you tell the story so people know they are not the only person who is suffering... at the end you encourage each other, you are in solidarity....

(Participant R, 2020)

According to participant R (2020), and echoed by other organizers (Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019; Participant S, 2020), a diverse representation of speakers creates a rich narrative of women's suffering, by providing a variety of perspectives on the same picture; it 'let other people know what you're going through', and eventually 'people could realize "we are all the same"' (Participant R, 2020). As part of a single protest collective sharing the same suffering, organizers stressed that it was important to 'encourage each other', as everyone was 'in solidarity' (Participant R, 2020). As also put forward by framing theory, I argue that the arrangement of speakers at feminist protests is a practice of the collective frame (Gamson, 1995; Snow and Benford, 2003). Aside from semiotic articulation, the arrangement of speakers aims to reveal the commonality shared among participants and speakers in terms of social struggle, and to encourage one another as a collective.

A similar strategy of speaker arrangement was adopted by WML (2019). In order to protest gender inequality in the context of Brexit, while celebrating women's collectivity, representatives from 'anti-austerity groups, refugee organizations... and family planning charities' (Christian, 2019; WML, 2019) were among the list of speakers. However, aligned with the values of WML (2019), which are echoed to some extent by WSA (2019), protest stresses not only demands, but also celebrates collectivity; therefore, other strategies for speeches were considered, including the vocality of the speakers.

The Speaker's Voice

Besides the representative nature of speakers, organizers revealed that the sonic qualities of the speaker's voice were an important consideration:

I was surprised that... almost all organizers agreed that the vocal ability of the speaker is more important than the content of the speech - "It is important that the voice of the speaker is not boring. It will be great to have XXX, her voice is amazing. When she speaks, everyone just listens to her"; "What about XXX from XXX [a name of an organization]? She speaks so encouragingly in a way, the crowd will cheer".

(Fieldnote on WSA #4, 9 February 2019)

According to WSA organizers, a good speaker's voice is 'not boring' and is 'encouraging', so that 'everyone' will listen and 'the crowd will cheer' (Fieldnotes #4, 5, 2019). As echoed by WML organizers (Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019), the vocality and emotionality of the speaker's voice are considered because "if their voice is encouraging... people can feel that", and 'you want to uplift them'. In other words, the speaker's voice is viewed as a medium, to connect participants with the speaker emotionally. Differently from written text, speeches are delivered via the voice – a medium that carries, expresses and transposes emotions (Dollar, 2006); this responds to a poem quoted by participant N (2019) on the Facebook event page of WML, 'the caring and compassion imbued in your voice finds passage to the listener's soul - Daisaku Ikeda' (WML, 2019, Online). This echoes with studies of protest leader charisma (Cai, 2016; Schbley & McCauley, 2005; Tranter, 2009). As discussed in chapter 2, organizations strategically select representatives to communicate with the public, intended to mobilize emotion, which is a strategic approach to mobilize passion, excitement and anger for participation. Organizers further revealed that the sonic qualities and emotionality of an ideal speaker's voice are uplifting and encouraging, calling for and uniting, participants as a collective.

You have to be loud, you want people to listen to you, pay attention to you. Why do people come to protest? They want to be encouraged. Everyone has their own problem, and you don't need to cry and sob on stage. You want to be firm, you want to be strong and standing together. To encourage people, uplift people.

(Participant R, 2020)

Echoing Participant R (2020), organizers (Fieldnote on WSA, 2019; Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019; Participant S, 2020) agreed that protests originate from problems, which is negative; however, when participants gather, they want to be encouraged and stand together; and the speaker's voice, which is ideally strong and firm, brings encouragement to participants, not only individually but collectively,

by addressing and connecting with them as a collective audience. As stressed by the speech studies literature (Beebe & Beebe, 2009; Bell, 1984; Broth, 2011; Ladegaard, 1995), the speaker's self-identification with their audience, whether the audience is an addressee, auditor, overhearer, eavesdropper, or a mass, will contribute to shaping a speech in terms of its content, emotional expression and performing style. In other words, according to organizers, the notion of 'standing together' was not only expressed in words, as a collective frame in speeches, and practiced in action, protesting together, but also experienced through emotions, encouraged as a collective. In order to intensify the feeling of collectivity, interactive chanting may intersect with speeches, as discussed in the next subsection.

Interactive Chanting

In order to intensify collective emotions and affect participant's experience of participation, interactive chanting was adopted in the middle or at the end of speeches. According to organizers:

We want to get the crowd involved.... XXX has some really good chants, she usually does that, like, shouting [together], chanting a bit in the speech. People like it, it gets them involved, really engaging.

(Participant M, 2019)

A speaker will be speaking, sometimes in the middle or at the end [of the speech], she would have a call [and response]. It's so difficult for people who are gathering to see everybody. Sometimes, on the stage, they can't see you, and you can't see all of them. Overall, still not everyone can participate... you want to ensure that it [the sound of human voice] doesn't die out, as the protest process is long...

(Participant R, 2020)

Organizers of both WSA and WML included interactive chanting in speeches, to get participants, identified as a collective, to participate, engage and be involved in a shared experience. To further explain, Participant M (2019) and Participant N (2019) referred to an interactive chanting moment at the end of a speech at WML (2019), which was also documented in my fieldnotes:

The speech was powerful. Everyone was participating, using their voices. I was chanting with everyone; however, I could not hear my own voice, but one strong voice in unison, especially when chanting "WE ARE CHANGE":

Speaker: For some people who are in power, who are disrespectful and disgraceful, and we can see quality and dignity are taken down. Minority and migrants are being singled out and separated. As women, we WILL NOT allow this division.

Host: ARE YOU READY PEOPLE?!

Crowd: (Cheering)

Host: SHOUT WITH ME - WE ARE CHANGE!

Crowd: WE ARE CHANGE!

Host & Crowd: WE ARE CHANGE! (X4)

(Fieldnote #6, 2020)

In the chant above, the speaker has adopted a collective pronoun, “WE”, identifying the ‘people’ present at the protest as a collective responding to, and in solidarity with, women of different cultures –this reflects the beliefs of WML (Fieldnotes #11, 12, 2019). Participants were positioned as a collective in-group, protesting against those ‘who are in power’ (Fieldnotes #11, 12, 14, 2019). Aligned with literature on framing and collective identity (Melucci, 1997; Snow & Benford, 2003), the semiotic articulation of collective positioning, drawing a boundary between we – participants – and them – opponents, authorities – as outsiders, is a strategy for constructing collective identity and mobilizing.

However, as discussed earlier, according to organizers, chanting in speeches is not only about framing, but also has an experiential dimension. During chanting, participants were ‘shouting [together]’, which ‘gets them involved, [and] really engaging’, which is something in which ‘everyone can participate’ (Participant M, 2019; Participant R, 2020). As discussed, sound is a medium that relates the sonic source to its receiver (Attali, 1984). Based on this, call and response chanting connects the speaker’s voice with participants’ collective response, constructing experiences of social interaction, which is a process of declaring and reaffirming values together with other social actors (Benford & Hunt, 2004). Also, during collective response, the voice of individual participants relates to and mixes with other participants in unison, constructing a big, united voice (Fieldnote #13, 2019).

In addition to this, as mentioned with regard to collective singing and music broadcasting, literature in affect studies (Auer, 2012; Quinn, 2018) highlights how, when they are in the same space, subjects’ reactions, expression and responses are homogeneously affected by the environment, to different extents depending on elements in the surroundings. In protest soundscapes dominated by interactive chanting, participants are audibly receiving sounds of chanting, sensually feeling the rhythm of vibrations on their skin, and vocally responding to the speaker. Affected by the same protest soundscape at the same time

(when responding to the speaker's call), and for the same purposes (protesting), a sense of commonality and community can be experienced. This collective affective experience binds them more closely with one another as a collective (Quinn, 2018; Wenger, 1998, 2006). In the words of organizers, interactive chanting in speeches 'calls' and 'motivates everyone', all participants, to 'engage' with one another as a collective and 'involve' themselves in the action of collective participation by using their voices (Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019; Participant R, 2020; Participant S, 2020; Fieldnotes, 2019). As we can see, an affective aspect was being considered, aiming to affect participants' experience and thus uniting them as a collective, via interactive chanting.

Summary

As shown in the arrangements for speeches, organizers aimed to relate to participants via injustice frames within a collective frame, and to get them involved in the experience of collectivity, leading towards the building of a collective identity. According to them (Fieldnotes #7, 9, 11, 2019; Participant M, 2019), a speaker's vocal emotionality expresses and reinforces reflexive and collective emotions related to the meaning of protest frames. Meanwhile, affects such as collective cheering and the synchronized bodily movement enabled by interactive chanting, as well as the speaker's call, contribute to collectivizing participants, as in the experience of speeches. The affective experience of collectivity corresponds to, and intensifies, the meaning of feminist collectivity and its related emotions. As we can see, the emotional, meaningful and affective aspects of speeches were rationally considered in relation to the organizational values and protest objectives, which is a strategy for the sonic performances that I have conceptualized as sonic resonance. Therefore, according to organizers of WML, WSA, and ATP, what is regarded as a reasonable arrangement for speeches is grounded in their cultural value, and the relevant emotional, affective experience that it enables. Besides speeches, music broadcasting and collective singing, Sonic Resonance is also reflected in the production of drumming.

Drumming

According to organizers, drumming has been another key Sonic Performance in Feminist Protests in London (Fieldnotes #4, 6, 9, 11, 14, 16, 2019; Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019; Participant R, 2020; Participant O, 2019; Participant P, 2019; Participant S, 2020). Although playing a key role especially in marching, the logistics of drumming was not arranged by the organizers, but taken care of by an allied feminist organization that specializes in drumming, the *Samba Sister Collective* (SSC). As a feminist drumming group, SSC was invited to support WML, WSA and ATP by giving drum performances. In this section, the analysis of data is mainly based on interviews with the leader of SSC and on my fieldnote on one of its practice sessions, and triangulated with fieldnotes on organizing meetings and interviews with organizers.

‘Saying NO, NO, NO!’

According to organizers and leaders of music organizations supporting WML, WSA and ATP, drumming is significant because it produces ‘a loud and strong voice’ (Fieldnotes, 2019; Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019; Participant R, 2020; Participant O, 2019; Participant P, 2019; Participant S, 2020). As Participant S (2019), a leader within SSC, explained:

We’re a bunch of feminist women, just wanted to make some noise together... How to say this? It's more like speaking out, without altering words... like saying NO, NO, NO! Saying NO, NO, NO!...

(Participant S, 2020)

As shown on the Facebook pages of SSC (2019) and WSA (2019), and revealed by organizers of WML (2019), SSC was invited to perform at their protests against issues of the Trump presidency, of violence against Jamaican and Brazilian women, of refugee women’s imprisonment, etc. In short, gender inequality and other Feminist demands are closely aligned with the beliefs and values of SSC. As Participant S (2020) explained,

People got there and what they wanted to do is to make a noise.... for example, in the Trump protest, as the president of America you impact the entire world, right? ... come on this guy, he is a racist, sexist... making women want to say no to you...

(Participant S, 2020)

Organizers of WSA and WML (Fieldnotes on WSA, 2019; Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019) agreed that the drum sound connotes the meaning of ‘NO’, because it is “loud and noisy that one can’t ignore”:

Drums make so much noise, “TUM! TUM! TUM!”, that is sort of what you would hear, but it was really loud, especially when twenty drummers were playing together... Imagine, in the space [of a protest], what are you going to hear first? You're going to hear the bass drum from afar first, because the bass is going to transport furthest... it resonates through the air...

(Participant S, 2020)

As illustrated by Participant S (2020) and aligned with literature on drum and affect studies (Gallagher et al., 2017; Knoblauch, 2011; Simmel, 2006; Simpson, 2017), because of the compressed vibrational process of drumming, drum sounds are loud and can be very noisy and deeply disruptive. By hitting the outer membrane of a compressed box, the drum, an intense vibration is created by compression, which

generates an amplified deep sound travelling over distance (Knoblauch, 2011). Being able to dominate the protest soundscapes because of its loud volume and travelling capacity, the intense vibration of drumming touches on subjects who are present, affecting participants' reactions, response and expression, which is, in short, an experience.

Furthermore, in Feminist as well as other protests, drumming is performed not individually but collectively by a drumming group, which makes the voice of 'saying NO!' even stronger:

It's basically saying, "I don't agree", loudly and collectively... A collective "NO" is always easier to say than an individual [one]. ... No is not easy for anyone, when you're with your friend, it is easy to say I'm not going to come with you, but if you're on your own and that person is pretty much pushing you... I think that is why the drum is the manifestation that you would see in a protest, the collectiveness is representing...

(Participant S, 2020)

As explained by participant S (2020) and echoed by organizers of WSA and WML (Fieldnotes #9, 11, 2019; Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019; Participant R, 2019), the notion of group drumming is aligned with protest – to collectively 'say NO!' to injustice (Fieldnotes, 2019; Participant S, 2020). Collectively played by more than twenty drummers, the volume and reachability of drum sound is amplified and expanded, creating a big noise in unison. Concurring with the concept of disruption (Piven, 2006) and with literature on critical sound studies (Attali, 1984; Janes, 2014), to protest is to collectively disrupt the sonic structure of normality, to produce noise, raise attention and be heard. Therefore, to organizers, the sound of collective drumming was a representation of protest. However, the noise created for disruption purposes was also aimed at building an atmosphere that 'gets people together', as I discuss in the following sub-sections (Fieldnotes, 2019; Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019).

'It Gets People Together'

Organizers of both WML and WSA saw drumming as a strategy to 'build a collective spirit' (Fieldnotes on WSA, 2019; Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019).

We all agreed that we would contact the Samba Sisters Collective to invite them to perform in the protest... we were imagining the scenario [of the protest] ... with the drums, everyone will be so excited, with people dancing, cheering and shouting around. Some organizers were cheering a bit during the meeting - "Woo hoo!"... feels like getting the mood on with an imaginative drum sound....

(Fieldnote #7, 2019)

According to my fieldnotes on WSA (2019), then, WSA organizers agreed that the drum sound could get ‘people dancing, cheering and shouting around’, as ‘everyone will be so excited’. As explained by participant M (2019) and participant N (2019), two organizers of WML, ‘people get attracted to drum sound’ and at some point ‘the crowd will start responding to it’ by clapping, dancing, cheering and shouting, creating a collective of participants who are all responding to drum sounds and sharing their excitement.

So, how does drumming create collective excitement and motivate collective participation? Analysis of my fieldnotes, as well as of a practice session at SSC and of interviews with participant S (2020) and other organizers (Fieldnotes, 2019; Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019), makes clear that the Samba drumming is not only loud in volume, but also rich in texture, contributing to a lively and exciting atmosphere:

Within the Samba group, there were three sub-groups. I was trying to listen to, and master, the rhythm that my group was playing. The leader started by whistling four whole tones twice – **X--** -- **X---** **X---** **X---** (“X” refers to the beat that was played, while “-” refers to the tone on hold), to set the time frame for other layers to fill in. After that, the first group joined in with a syncopated rhythm – **X--X** **X---** **X--X** **X---**. I can feel a sense of excitement in the room. After the second layer was played four times, the third layer entered, with dotted and/or triplet rhythm, interacting with whole tones and syncopations wonderfully - **X--X** **X-X-** **X---** ----. We played faster and faster. My heart was filled with excitement – it was such an enjoyable experience.

(Fieldnote #16, 2019)

As explained by participant S (2020) and aligned with the literature on Samba rhythmicity (Knoblauch, 2011), Samba is polyrhythmic and constituted by syncopation, dotted and triplet rhythms, which highlight unexpected beats in a dialogical and harmonious way, creating excitement in, and interjecting energy into, a space. As participant N (2019), an organizer of WML, stated, ‘It’s always good to have the drums... there is so much difference, it just... changed the atmosphere’. As echoed by other organizers, in an exciting atmosphere created by Samba drumming, participants are more likely to engage and interact – constituting a dancing collective.

Vibration

Organizers wanted to include Samba drumming, because ‘the [general] mood will be great’, and ‘people will be following, and dancing’, interacting with Samba rhythms in excitement (Fieldnotes on WSA,

2019). Participant S (2020) explained how Samba could get participants engaged easily, therefore SSC gets invited to perform at protests frequently:

Drum sound is really, really deep... I think it's the relation with the heart beats.... When you bang it, you feel it [the vibration] on your belly. People can feel that too, it resonates through their bodies... That's the way you call for people to come together... they could feel the beats... and not surely when the crowd started responding, also the car was honking [according to our beats]. Sometimes you have people clapping with us, dancing, you have people to join in, making it together. I thought we moved a crowd.

(Participant S, 2020)

As illustrated by this quote from participant S (2020) and also stressed by sonic affect studies (Gallagher et al., 2017; Howard & Ingram, 2020; Simpson, 2017), the frequency of drum sound is a deep one, so everybody in the space can feel, resonate with and be affected by the vibration and its rhythm. As organizers of WSA mentioned, 'the drum is important, because everyone can feel the beat... and get moving together' (Fieldnotes #11, 12, 2019). Samba rhythmicity not only creates a good atmosphere, which is collectively feelable, but it also constitutes a homogenous vibrational structure, touching upon bodies, so participants were responding in a variety of ways, including collective clapping, dancing, honking, chanting and singing, yet in time with the beat. A leader of one of the music groups supporting WML, WSA and ATP said that 'there is so much interaction between the drum and the protesters... it was such a lovely collective' (Participant O, 2019).

Summary

Relating to a feminist perspective of rationality as discussed in chapter 2 (England, 1989; Fraser, 1990, 2014; Stone, 2012), Samba drumming – its loudness, dynamic, interactive layers and the sound of unity relevantly represent the ideologies and beliefs of WML, WSA, and ATP. It was arranged by the protest organizers to bring 'energy and solidarity to many more women and girls across London and beyond' (SSC, 2019, online). Whilst saying a big loud 'NO!' to gender inequality by disrupting normality with loudness, the organizers considered the affective impact of drumming, intended to get participants physically moved with the beat and rhythms of drumming, and emotionally immersed in the atmosphere of excitement, collectivity and festivity that drumming enables.

As we can see, according to organizers, sonic affect and emotionality enabled by drumming are meaningfully connotative. By disrupting normality with loudness, a big loud 'NO!' to gender inequality was proclaimed. Meanwhile, organizers also intended to get participants physically moved with the beats and rhythms of drumming, and emotionally immersed in the atmosphere of excitement,

collectivity and festivity that drumming enables. To produce the sonic performance of drumming, affect, *meaning and emotion were rationally considered, aiming to create a collective experience for participants, meanwhile disrupting everyday soundscapes, which interrupted the normality of opponents, authorities and pedestrians.*

Conclusion

In conclusion, responding to the first research question – *What are sonic performances strategically considered by organizers in feminist protests in London?* – in this chapter, based on interviews with organizers, leaders of music groups supporting WML, WSA and ATP, and my own fieldnotes, and triangulated with sonic ethnography, sonic diaries and information on the websites and social media of these organizations, I have identified four sonic performances, including collective singing, music broadcasting, speeches and drumming. As I have shown, the organizers intended to produce sonic performances in order to relate participants with the general protest frame and to create collective experience, which leads to the building of collective identity. To do so, they rationally considered the affective, meaningful and emotional aspects of sound. This leads us to a discussion of sonic resonance, a concept I developed in response to the sub-question beneath my first research question: *What is the role of Sonic Performances in Feminist Protest Soundscapes, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in creating Collective Identity, from an organizing and strategic perspective?*

Sonic resonance, then, is a sonic strategy whereby the emotion, meaning and affect of sound are rationally considered for Sonic Performance, aiming for collective identity construction. Firstly, intending to create a collective experience for feminist protest participants, WML had selected songs that lyrically represented general protest frames and organizational values, representing injustices affecting women in the context of Brexit in London. Meanwhile, these songs were also selected because of their collective frames, celebrating women's unity. Among other singing styles, organizers arranged the songs for collective singing, intending to create collective emotions and affective experience, binding participants into a collective in terms of experience. As for music broadcasting, aligned with WSA's organizational values of disrupting patriarchy and normality, protest songs that criticize hegemony and glorify women's power were adopted. Meanwhile, upbeat music, and the use of sound systems, was strategically considered in order to create sonic disruption in the space of protest and to construct an uplifting atmosphere that 'will get everyone to dance and sing along' (Fieldnotes on WSA, 2019). Although different in their understanding of the causes of women's suffering and in their framing of that suffering, both WML and WSA celebrate the collectivity of women and protest against gender inequality in general, which explains their similar strategies for speeches, constructing injustice frames within a collective frame, which in turn resonates with the collective experience of interactive chanting.

This also happened with drumming – saying a ‘collective NO!’ via amplified drum sound, while constructing a shared and exciting atmosphere allowing participants to interact and enjoy themselves as a collective.

As we can see, and according to the protest organizers, sonic affect, the meaning represented in sonic forms, and reflexive and collective emotions, are all of equal importance in producing sonic performances that enable collective identity construction. Like notes of the same chord, albeit different in qualitative expression, these aspects of sound are interconnected and mutually reflective and reinforcing, which resonates when creating collective experience in protest soundscapes. Meanwhile, collective experience was also anchored by the meaning of a shared protest concern, specifically gender inequality, which made the experience of collectivity meaningful and culturally specific. In the process, an understanding of a collective identity, a ‘we’, was generated, along with collective experience. Entities of meaning, affect and emotion correspond to and reinforce one another in the context of organizational values and protest objectives. The correspondence of these entities in reflecting and leading towards the protest objective reveal the existence of rationality in sound.

Besides emotional, affective and meaningful concerns, resources are necessary to produce sonic performances (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). As I have shown, material and technological resources, including sound system, keyboard and flyers of lyrics, were prepared for collective singing and music broadcasting. Meanwhile, support from members within the organization, especially for logistics and security of the sound system, were also important. This was because without the sound system the emotion and the affective impact of sonic performances would not be possible. Also, it was realized that allied support was central to the arrangement of speeches and drumming in particular. To actualize a collective frame representing injustices affecting women from a variety of backgrounds, support from speakers from different organizations, but sharing a general protest concern, was necessary. Also, it is important to note that drumming was solely a support and provided by an allied feminist organization specializing in Samba drumming. Therefore, as we can see, besides emotional, affective and meaningful concerns, resources are also important for producing sonic performances.

All in all, responding to the discussion on rationality in relation to mobilization (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), it is true that the rational aspect of protest involves a strategic mobilization of material resources. However, more than that, as shown by the production of sonic performances, emotional, cultural and affective resources are of equal importance, as these entities are not separate but function as one in the medium of sound, contributing to collective identity construction. Furthermore, rationality is not only about resources, but also a process of strategic consideration relating to an objective (Illouz & Finkelstein, 2009). As in the case of sonic performance production, what resources and mobilization strategies seem rational to organizers is based on affective and emotional considerations in order to

create an experience of collectivity. Therefore, relating to impasses between the rational and the cultural and between the affective and the emotional, as discussed in Chapter 2, although rationality may seem to be more apparent from an organizing perspective, the organization process is guided and informed also by affective, meaningful and emotional aspects in relation to the protest objective. The rational and the affective are not only related, but dialectically mutually reinforcing. This resonated with scholars who advocate an integrative approach to social movement studies, who emphasize the interconnection between emotion, meaning and reasoning based on cultural norm (Davis, 2003; Polletta, 2003; Gould, 2010).

Also, by exploring sonic strategies, it is revealed that the notion of rationality is beyond its instrumentality, which echoes with a feminist critique to communicative rationality (Cudd, 2001; Driscoll & Krook, 2009; England, 1989; Fraser, 1990, 2014; Mumby & Putnam, 1992; Pateman & Grosz, 2013; Pajnik, 2006; Stone, 2012). Albeit sonic strategies are regarded as means to protest, in the process of organization, it involves communication and bonding with other feminist protest organizations and activists. Meanwhile, as discussed throughout in this chapter, it was the feeling of solidarity and mutual support in the experience of sound that is regarded as important by organizers. In other words, relationships and feminist collective emotions were seen as essential. According to organizers, what count for reasonable is culturally relevant as well as emotionally and relationally laden. Also, it must be noted that a variety of voices and their expressive emotions were intended to be included in the explored feminist protest soundscapes, from an organizational perspective. The sonic, affective expression of joy, disruption, protest claims of allied organizations as well as anger are all intended to be infilled into the protest soundscapes. It reflects that what feminist organizers aimed to produce for protests, are not necessarily only about the direct result, but also stressing on an experience that allow the existence of different voices.

After exploring sonic strategies from an organizing perspective, in the next chapter I explore the outcome of these adopted strategies and respond to the second research question: *How do Feminist Protest Soundscapes sound?*

Chapter 5 – The Soundscapes of Feminist Protests in London: Crowd Sound, Music, Speeches and Feminist Marching Polyphony

Introduction

In this chapter, responding to the second research question – *How do feminist protest soundscapes sound?* – I identify five major sonic episodes, including pre-protest noises, crowd sound, music, speeches and *feminist marching polyphony*, which are derived from analysis of my sonic ethnography and fieldnotes, and from participants' sonic diaries, and triangulated with interviews with both organizers and participants. In addition to an inductive approach, the data analytical process is also informed by the analytical framework of Protest Soundscape Analysis that I have developed based on Schafer's (1993) soundscape analysis, and by the conceptual framework of meaning, emotion and affect in social movement studies, as illustrated in Chapter 3.

The first and second sections, Pre-protest Noises and Crowd Sound in relation to the sonic structure of normality, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Attali, 1985; James, 2014) and the emergence of crowd sound (Rosenberg, 2018) that gradually overwrites the noises of normality, are shown to reflect human connectedness and assembly in a public space. Building on conceptions of crowd sound in protests (Clement, 2016; Porath, 2020; Rosenburg, 2018), and in relation to the crowd and irrationality (Le bon, 1908), I argue that the sonic reflection of human assembly in the sound of a crowd gathering is not just noise or unwanted and meaningless sound (Schafer, 1993), but a meaningful and emotional reflection of collectivity contrasting with the disorienting sonic structures of normality.

In the context of crowd sound, I here present sonic performances of music and speech that carry and express feminist protest frames and emotions and create affective experiences, which together represent constitutive elements of the protest soundscape. Also, in relation to crowd sound (Clement, 2016; Porath, 2020; Rosenburg, 2018), my analysis reveals that crowd sound in feminist protests is not only a collective expression of emotion, but also a meaningful and affective response to the sounds produced by their organizers. From the fuzz of talking, crowd sound is transformed into cheering, singing and chanting, in response to music broadcasts, operatic singing, and to lines in speeches strategically created by organizers. The connectedness, interaction and united expression of crowd sound, and organizers' sonic contribution, create a sonic collective in sonic performances.

Lastly, I introduce the sound of Feminist Marching Polyphony, or the co-existence and interaction of a variety of feminist protest sonic performances, including singing, chanting and drumming, in the same space during the same time frame as marches. As discussed in Chapter 4 and explored later in this chapter, sonic performances including music and speech contain a centralized sonic genre, as referred to

by protest organizers, and/or an easily recognizable sonic dominance, as identified by participants. For instance, songs were dominant in the sonic performances of singing and music broadcasting at the protests studied, while voices occupied the sonic performance of speech. However, in the protest soundscapes of these feminist marches, the sonic dominance of one single sonic performance was absent; instead, it consisted of a variety of sonic performances including music, chanting and drumming. Therefore, capturing the mingling during marches of sonic performances expressing the same concern with gender inequality in terms of meaning, affect and emotion, the sonic moment is here conceptualized as a *Feminist Marching Polyphony*. Originated from musicology (Abbate, 1996; De Bruyn, 2016; Stumpf & Trippett, 2012), polyphony refers to a symphony of different melodies that harmonically resonate with one another, contributing to the same musical piece. The concept of Feminist Marching Polyphony captures the co-existing and interactive nature of a variety of themes of Sonic Performances that contribute to a collective voice. Also, as a moving sonic flock streaming across the streets, the sound of Feminist Marching Polyphony touches upon, interacts and contrasts with the sounds of normality. It creates and presents a sonic boundary between the collective voice and the sounds of opponents, the authorities and pedestrians. In short, crowd sound, sonic performances of music and speech and feminist polyphony are all rational, meaningful, emotional and affective expressions of feminist protest concerns that reflect the essence of Sonic Resonance, as put forward in Chapter 4. These sonic episodes constitute the soundscapes of feminist protests, contrasting with the sonic structures of normality (Attali, 1973; James, 2014).

As I will discuss, by exploring protest soundscapes of the selected cases, it reveals the connection and correspondence between collective emotion, affect and meaning in sonic performances. Relating to the discussion on rationality in chapter 2 and aligned with a feminist critique (Cudd, 2001; Driscoll & Krook, 2009; England, 1989), the explored feminist protest soundscapes demonstrates that rationality is not only instrumental, but also expressive and relational. It could be expressed in a sonic, descriptive form, which contains and captures the affective moment of collectivity, women's voices as well as relationships and dynamics between different voices. It is the collective voice of the selected feminist protest communities, that reflects their reasonable grounding to protest and their collective identity. It is significant to note that the meaning of collective voice is not necessarily implying a synchronized voice in absolute sonic unison. As revealed from the explored protest soundscapes as well as according to organizers (see chapter 4), the voice of feminist protests refers to moments of expression by participants from a variety of cultures and backgrounds. It is dynamic, interactive, and infused with a variety of emotional and tonal shades, which is regarded as sensible expression that sonically representing the explored feminist protests.

It is important to reiterate here the different notions and usage of sonic episode, sonic performance and protest soundscapes. As mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3, inspired by sound studies of protests (Clement,

2016; Porath, 2020; Rosenberg, 2018) and by the concept of contentious performance in social movement studies (Tilly, 2008), demonstrative actions using sound that are aimed at a target audience including potential participants, pedestrians, opponents and the authorities, for protest purposes, are conceptualized as sonic performance in this thesis. Also, inductively based on interviews with organizers and on analysis of my sonic ethnography and participants sonic diaries, sonic performances including music, speech and crowd sound composed of drumming, chanting and singing are identified. Before being identified as sonic performances, these recorded materials were stored and numbered as sonic episodes. Therefore, a sonic episode is a general category for all recordings, while sonic performance refers to performances at protests that were sonically demonstrative and contentious. Furthermore, there are sonic episodes that were not intentionally created as sonic performance yet do inform the studies of protest soundscapes, including sonic episodes of Pre-protest Noise and Crowd Sound that are illustrated below this introductory section. In other words, both sonic episodes and sonic performances are units for exploring the sonic fabric of the space of protest, which is conceptualized as a protest soundscape (Rosenberg, 2018). In short, sonic episodes and sonic performances are not identical; rather, the latter is a type of the former, and both contribute to forming protest soundscapes – the sonic fabric composed of a variety of sonic elements, in a specific space and time in protests (Schafer, 1993).

Also, as discussed in Chapter 3, albeit sharing the same conceptual attributes of rationality, meaning, emotion and affect, Sonic Resonance and Protest Soundscape Analysis are not the same, but work together in a mutually reinforcing way. Sonic Resonance provides a conceptual lens for exploring the rational, meaningful, affective and emotional qualities of sound. Meanwhile, derived from Schafer's (1993) soundscape analysis, the essence of Protest Soundscape Analysis lies in an exploration of these attributes, not only in isolated sonic forms, but also in their composition, relationship, interaction and connectedness, in constituting protest soundscapes.

Therefore, as I conclude at the end of this chapter, based on Protest Soundscape Analysis, I seek to further explicate and develop the concept of Sonic Resonance. From a sonically descriptive perspective, in Sonic Performances of Protest Soundscapes, entities of rationality, meaning, emotion and affect all resonate. Furthermore, via the analytical framework of Protest Soundscape Analysis, the relationship, interaction and connectedness of these attributes of sonic elements can be specified, thus contributing to an understanding of the collective voice of protest in countering soundscapes of normality. Therefore, relating to Chapter 4, Sonic Resonance explains organizing strategies not only for Sonic Performances but also for Protest Soundscapes. To begin, in the following section, I explore soundscapes before the start of protests – Pre-protest Noises. Albeit not intentionally created for protest purposes, pre-protest soundscapes reflect the soundscapes of normality that protest soundscapes intend to disrupt, therefore

providing a contrasting picture that is useful for the exploration of sonic performances in protest soundscapes.

Pre-protest Noises: Traffic, Footsteps and Non-interactive Talking

According to my sonic ethnography (#8, 2019) and fieldnotes (#1, 8, 2019), before the assembly time, protest venues were filled with the noise of traffic and of non-interactive talking:

... Situated at the open plaza outside the Bank of England, surrounded by traffic roads near the tube station of Bank, the venue was busy, especially around the time that the protest was starting – around 5pm, which marked the end of a working day. The noises of traffic, rushing footsteps and isolated conversations on phones were coming through from all directions...

(Sonic ethnography #8, 2019)

... the street of Portland Place was quiet like a normal Saturday morning. You can hear people speaking in their phones, passing by, and vehicles crossing. It just sounds so normal...

(Fieldnote #1, 2019)

Albeit different in date, time and place, long before the official start, the soundscapes of protest venues mainly contained the sounds of transportation, footsteps and non-interactive talking. Relating to sound and power, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Attali, 1985; James, 2014; Lacy, 2013; Schafer, 1993), these sounds were not intentionally created for the scene, but generated as unwanted by-products, which are categorized as noise (Schafer, 1993). In the spaces of pre-protests, normal public spaces, these noises of traffic and people passing by were the outcomes of transportation and mobility, while non-interactive talking resulted from individual communication with someone not at the scene and was unintentionally caused by social functions (Fecht et al., 2016). As echoed by studies of noise and of urban planning (Attali, 1985; Jo & Jeon, 2020; Liu et al., 2014; Lobo Soares & Bento Coelho, 2016), in acoustic terms these noises were drawn from 'all directions' (Sonic ethnography #1, 7, 2019), and are disconnected, disorienting and repetitive. They reflect, represent and promote the operation of normality, which is the status-quo that protest organizers aimed to disrupt.

When the assembly time was closer, another sonic layer started to emerge in the soundscapes, a layer that transformed and disrupted the soundscape of normality.

Crowd Sound: Chit-chat, Chuckling and Laughing

As the assembly time drew closer, the sound of chit-chat, chuckling and laughter became denser and louder. As revealed in my fieldnotes (#1, 7, 2019),

... it was quiet, only traffic noise was penetrating the empty space occasionally... from time to time, chit-chat, chuckling and laughing were gradually growing and filling up the space... these sounds were merging into one, like a sonic layer flowing in and covering the space... It surrounded you, and you were inside it...

(Fieldnote #1, 2019)

Though you don't know what people were talking about, you know they were talking with each other, laughing, and interacting, there is a sense of human presence developing alongside the traffic noise...

(Fieldnote #7, 2019)

This was echoed in interviews with participants in WML, WSA and ATP events (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant I, 2019; Participant K, 2019). Reaching the assembly time, the "fuzz" (Participant I, 2019) of chit-chat, chuckling and laughter formed a sonic layer that overlapped with traffic noise and the sounds of normality, and later filled the soundscape.

Relating to the sounds of normality, and to crowd sound as discussed in Chapter 2 (Klunreuther, 2014; Tausig, 2019; Rosenberg, 2018), in everyday soundscapes the sound of human interaction is composed of isolated talking on phones and talking in distanced and unrelated separate groups. It is separate and disorganized. In contrast, crowd sound reflects human assembly, connection and interaction, which is dense, united and converging. The analysis of my data shows that, as the size of the assembly was growing, the sounds of chit-chat, chuckling and laughter were mixing with one another, which formed a fuzzy sonic layer of crowd sound, with occasional identifiable semiotic expressions that were sonically distinguished in volume and pitch. The fuzziness and density of crowd sound represents human assembly, the close physical distance between participants, their interaction and connection (Rosenberg, 2018). Also, as a mixture of chatter and laughing, it releases positive emotions. Exploring this layer on the basis of the notion of a soundscape (Schafer, 1973, 1993), we can note that crowd sound was building up and interjecting into the venue, co-existing with and overwriting the noise of normality. It transformed the soundscape of normality into the soundscape of protest, by gradually filling the soundscape, which was affectively experienced as a sonic environmental surrounding (Fieldnotes, 2019; Participant I, 2019).

Relating to the conceptual framework, sound is a medium that is meaningful, emotional and affective (Dollar, 2006; Rosenberg, 2018). In this section, I have shown that crowd sound, although having less semiotic expression, is a meaningful reflection of human assembly. Meanwhile, because of its embodied emotional expressions, including laughter and cheering and sonic density, it is also emotional and

affective. Reciprocal and collective emotions such as excitement, anticipation and a sense of ease are generated from crowd sound and circulate in protest soundscapes. Furthermore, it is important to note that the integrative nature of human expression in crowd sound contrasts with separate human interaction in the normality of soundscapes, countering the sonic structure of normality.

As we can see, crowd sound is a stable and foundational sonic layer of protest soundscapes that reflects and reinforces the essence of protest as human assembly. Also, as I reveal in the following sections, the sonic quality of crowd sound is dynamically transforming. It is a collective expression of protest participants, and is rational, meaningful, emotional and affective in responding to the sounds created by organizers. These entities resonate in the medium of sound, responding to the concept of Sonic Resonance that I put forward in Chapter 4. In the next section, I illustrate the most prominent sonic performance in protest soundscapes – music, discussing its rational and its acoustic, meaningful, affective and emotional qualities. Also, it is important to note that these sonic qualities are presented through the lens of Protest Soundscape Analysis, in order to specify the relationship and interaction between sonic attributes.

Protest Music in the Air

Relating to sonic strategies, as discussed in Chapter 4, music was adopted by the organizers of WML, WSA and ATP in order to gather attention and kick off a protest, which is also reflected in my fieldnotes:

... it started getting noisier – a gradual crescendo of chatting without identifiable messages – crowd sound was surrounding my head and enveloping the space... Some time later, some music from a traffic light [in the] distance started coming into my ears, which was travelling above the sonic layer of chatting. My ears were tracing the source and the content of the music. It brought me to the sound system located at the central steps. It was soft, tender and delightful. Later, the sound of operatic singing joined in; it was high in pitch and loud in volume. Those operatic, vibrating notes and tones were flowing in the air and entering the membranes of my ears. A sense of strength and confidence was spreading ... My ears, mind and heart were following the line of the music...

(Fieldnote #1, 2019)

As my fieldnotes on WML reveal, cutting through crowd sound, operatic singing was ‘high in pitch and loud in volume’ (Fieldnote #1, 2019). Mapping out the soundscape from an acoustic perspective (Schafer, 1993), the loudness of operatic singing intervened in the sonic ecology by dampening other sonic elements with a lower level of volume, which called attention as ‘you can hear it above other

[sounds]’ (Participant B, 2019). Complemented by literature in opera studies (De Souza et al., 2020; Duvvuru et al., 2015), among other singing styles, opera singing is relatively high-pitched, which creates vibrations that travel at a higher frequency. It sounds sharp and acute, standing out from sounds of a usual mid-level register, such as the sound of adult conversation. The high-pitched and distinguishable operatic singing was also reflected in participant A’s (2019) sonic diary. I had recorded the same moment in WML’s soundscape, but participant A (2019) documented a different sonic picture, when compared with my sonic ethnography:

The sound of general chatting was thick, in which some laughs and words were occasionally jumping out from the sonic layer, which were produced by participants being nearby the recorder. Then, a sharp and vibrating line was coming in “As we go marching, marching in the beauty of the day. A million darkened kitchens A thousand mill lofts grey ...” [from *Bread and Roses* (Oppenheim, 1911)]. Although not very loud, the sung line was sharp, high in pitch and vibrating, leading and directing the sonic direction... It seems that the operatic singing line was the melody – leading the singing in a *cantabile* way on a higher register, while the chatting was accompanying as the base. And the whole music, including the singing and the chatting, was situated in a spatial environmental, sounding with occasional traffic and wind blowing in the distance...

(Sonic diary #2, Participant A, 2019)

According to participant A (2019), she was standing relatively distant from the operatic choir. Therefore, although referring to the same moment in the soundscape of WML, compared with my fieldnote, her sonic diary recorded a thicker layer of crowd sound and more distant operatic singing (Participant A, 2019). However, as also noted in my fieldnotes (#2, 4, 2019), sounding at a higher pitch, operatic singing was very distinguishable. Meanwhile, it co-existed with chatting, which created a sonic base of human assembly.

As we can see, the feminist protest soundscape of WML was formed by operatic singing in a higher register, as planned by the organizers, and by chatting in a middle register, which demonstrated participants’ assembly. The sound of operatic singing stood out from the chat and the usual environmental noise in terms of volume and pitch. It became a sonic focus in the soundscape of WML, overwriting the repetitiveness of noises in the everyday soundscape.

Besides WML, WSA’s opening music was also conspicuous, although in a different way. As my fieldnote reveals (#6, 2019):

It was very noisy... everyone was talking, the vehicles, the tube broadcast... the thick layer of chatting and noise was rushing to my ears from all dimensions. Suddenly, a very loud music jumped off and poured down to all your senses... I was caught from afar... the music was penetrating every corner of the space from the centre... The melodic notes were leaping up and down in incomplete and unharmonized tonal intervals – [Not in the choral intervals of a major key that usually creates a sense of peace and harmony...] Those notes were accelerating into your ears, in a fast, syncopated and intense manner. Albeit without lyrics, it pushes a sense of power, strength and intensity into the space. You know that something is happening – we were there to protest, to enforce something...

(Fieldnote #6, 2019)

According to my fieldnotes (#1, 6, 7, 2019) and interviews with participants (Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019), with regard to the feminist protest soundscape, the opening music of the WSA event overwrote, disrupted and pierced the thick layer of crowd sound and traffic from a variety of perspectives. In terms of volume, it was even louder than the existing mixture of chat and traffic, which was projecting towards every corner of the space. And, in terms of time, the opening music entered unexpectedly, interrupted the relatively steady rhythm of chat and traffic noise, and overwrote it with syncopated rhythms stressing weak beats and creating an unnatural temporal emphasis. Together with an uncompromising melody, the opening music stood out from, and was travelling through, the messy layer of chat and traffic, which lacked sonic orientation. Although without lyrics, because of the above sonic qualities, an understanding of ‘something is happening’ for protest purposes and a feeling of intensity and provocation were spreading in the air.

Relating to the discussion on meaning and emotion, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Leys, 2011; Wetherell, 2013) and as revealed from the analysis of data, although there were no lyrics, one could hear not only the music but also the intensity and the notion of ‘getting ready to fight’, as described by participants (Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019) and in my fieldnotes (2019). Responding to literature on protest music (Denisoff, 1969), a combination of an inharmonic melody, accelerating tempo and uneven rhythm instigates excitement and intensity, mirroring participants’ emotion and shaping an understanding of readiness to protest.

The dialectic relationship between meaning and emotion in music was also revealed in the aforementioned operatic singing at WML. Not only the high-pitched, vibrating singing line, emblematic of operatic singing, was heard and spreading, but also the lyrics and emotions embodied in it:

Different from a poem, lyrics sung by voices are human ... Tonal emphasis was put on for some words, for instance “As we go MARCH-ing, MARCH-ing in the BEAU-ty of the day....” [from

Bread and Roses (Oppenheim, 1911)]. I can hear not only the lyrics, but also a picture of what we were doing at that moment – we were protesting on a beautiful day, and a sense of confidence, strength and delightedness.

(Fieldnote #2, 2019)

Based on my fieldnote (# 2, 2019) and on interviews with participants (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019), and relating to protest songs as discussed in Chapter 2 (Denisoff, 1969; Snow & Benford, 2003), the lyrics of *Bread and Roses* (Wolff, 1976) and of *Va pensiero* (Verdi, 1842), which represented WML's collective frame for marching and injustice frame of women's liberation respectively, were contained in the song and being heard via the operatic voices. Also, tonal emphasis and emotions released from human voices mirrored the potential emotions of participants, including a sense of hope and determination, and a longing for change (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Although this was emotional, reception is not a focus in this chapter (it is discussed in Chapter 6 from a participating perspective). The aforementioned emotions were one with the lyrical expression in the singing voice, which was being released and dispersed in the space of WML, according to participants (Fieldnotes, 2019; Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019). Therefore, as we can see, based on the medium of music, and relating to the conceptual framework, meaning and emotion are not separate, but embodied in the form of sound, and these are mutually reflective and reinforcing.

Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 2, an impasse between meaning, emotion and affect is identified in existing studies of protest music (Denisoff, 1969; Hurner, 2006; Rodnitzky, 1999). However, according to literature in choral studies (Bensimon, 2012; Omotayo, 2019; Pretorius & Van der Merwe, 2019), music is experiential. As analysis of my data reveals, music at WML and WSA was creating vibrations that touched upon skin and ear membranes. It was experiential, not only via the body and the affective, but also in the space of protests as an unseeable guiding force, which led one's attention to trace the sonic source and follow the beat and rhythm of the music.

In short, according to the analysis of data, and connecting to the concept of a soundscape (Schafer, 1993; Rosenberg, 2018), the opening music at WML and WSA was not an isolated cultural form, but interjected a sonic focus and overwrote other sonic elements in terms of acoustics – volume, pitch and frequency, meaning, emotion and affect – countering the sonic structure of normality, which is disorganized, lacking in focus, repetitive and less affecting in terms of emotion and experience (Attali, 1985; James, 2014).

After the opening, the music of WML and WSA was emerging into a different form of sonic expression – from sonic focus to sonic mass.

A Singing Transformation

In the feminist protests that I have explored, after a musical opening, songs continued to dominate the protest soundscapes. In WML, after the operatic singing of *Bread and Roses* (Wolff, 1976) and *Va pensiero* (Verdi, 1842), the tunes of *We are Family* (Sister Sledge, 1979), *Sisters are Doing It for Themselves* (Eurythmics & Franklin, 1985), and *The March of the Women* (Smyth, 1911) sounded out, which were referred to by WML organizers as popular tunes that ‘everybody knows’ (Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019). Both participant A (2019) and participant B (2019) in WML, as well as myself, recorded these singing moments in sonic diaries and sonic ethnography (2019) respectively. Below is an excerpt from one of my fieldnotes (#5, 2019) documenting the singing of *Sisters are Doing It for Themselves* (Eurythmics & Franklin, 1985):

... it was the sound of chatting, in which laughs and chuckles from time to time popped up from the chatting mixture ... then, a melody with lively drumbeats excitingly and happily dropped into the space. A small choral group arranged by organizers was singing out *Sisters are Doing It for Themselves* (Eurythmics & Franklin, 1985). After the first four lines, the singing was joined by cheering:

Now there was a time, when they used to say

That behind every great man, there had to be a great woman (Cheering)

But in these times of change, you know that it's no longer true (Cheering)

(Excerpt from lyrics of *Sisters are Doing It for Themselves*, Eurythmics & Franklin, 1985)

High-pitched, scattered and joyous cheering was intimately picking up and linking to the singing lines. Also, in the middle of these lines, clapping and whistling were interacting with the beat of the music. Then, the cheering turned into something bigger in terms of both volume and expression:

And we say:

SISTERS ARE DOIN' IT FOR THEMSELVES

STANDIN' ON THEIR OWN TWO FEET

And RINGIN' ON THEIR OWN BELLS, WE SAY

SISTERS ARE DOIN' IT FOR THEMSELVES ...

(Eurythmics & Franklin, 1985)

A mass singing voice, which was obviously out of tune and sounded more like shouting or even screaming than singing, was generated from a four-dimensional direction, formulating a massive voice feeding back to my ears. Almost every single word in the lyrics was being stressed, so that a sense of determination and excitement was embodied in the singing. The mass singing covered and merged with the choral singing...

(Fieldnote #5, 2019)

According to my fieldnote (#5, 2019), which resonated with participants' sonic diary entries on *We are Family* (Sister Sledge, 1979; Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019), the sound of 'popular feminist tunes' was gradually building up. In the beginning, crowd sound was co-existing with and backing up the small group singing voice. Then, reaching the development before the chorus, cheering echoed with the singing and participants' response was connecting to the voice of the singing group. When it came to the chorus, cheering turned into collective singing that was 'loud and determined' (Fieldnotes #5, 6, 2019). A strong and united collective singing voice was also recorded in the chorus of *We are Family* (Sister Sledge, 1979), as reflected in participants' sonic diaries (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019). As we can see, the sound of the singing line was developing from a performative choral singing voice into an interactive echo between choral singing and cheering, and then turning into a collective singing voice merging the choir and the mass. An interactive and transforming singing voice sounded not only in the soundscapes of WML, but also in those of WSA, although different songs were selected.

As discussed in the previous chapter, songs that represent an injustice frame of women's oppression and/or a collective frame celebrating feminist power and liberation, and which are meanwhile upbeat and exciting, were selected for broadcasting by organizers, and initiated by participants for singing at WSA (as I show in the next chapter). For this reason, Beyoncé's songs, such as *Run the World* (Beyoncé, 2011) and *Independent Women* (Beyoncé, 2009), were popularly heard in the soundscape of WSA. As my fieldnote reveals (#9, 2019),

Under a noisy background constituted with traffic and chatting, a fast and exciting tune was transmitting from the front – the front section within the march, where the moving sound system was being carried. A fast, energetic and instigative rhythm was beating and stirring. Cheering, screaming and shouting were echoing with the rhythmic line on a higher pitch and register. Then, the musical lines were coming in:

Lucy Liu
With my girl, Drew

It was only Beyoncé's monologue at first; however, when it came to the development and chorus, the monologue was joined by an utterly passionate shouting voice formulated by ten to fifteen, which was out-of-tune, yet rhythmically synchronized:

The shoes on my feet, I've bought it
The clothes I'm wearing, I've bought it ...

ALL THE WOMEN, WHO ARE INDEPENDENT

THROW YOUR HANDS UP AT ME

ALL THE HONEYS, WHO MAKING MONEY

THROW YOUR HANDS UP AT ME ...

(Beyoncé, 2009)

Within this sonic mixture, "YEAH!!", cheering and screaming were echoing, and interacting with the singing voice.

(Fieldnote # 9, 2019)

The broadcast singing voice of Beyoncé (2009) was first leading and then mingling with a shouting and screaming of the lyrical line, which was connected to cheering. A mixture of Beyoncé's broadcast singing voice, participants' shouting and screaming, and the cheering, was forming.

According to the analysis of data and related to the soundscape (Schafer, 1993; Rosenburg, 2018), at an earlier stage, albeit filled with crowd sound and distant traffic noise, the protest soundscapes of WML and WSA were dominated by music and singing. Responding to the discussion on sound and power (Attali, 1985; James, 2014), like their opening music, as mentioned above, the singing at WML and WSA events overwrote the sonic structure of normality in acoustic, meaningful and emotional and affective ways. In terms of acoustics, depending on location, the singing was higher in volume and pitch, compared with to the general crowd sound and distant traffic.

Also, gradually joined by the assembled mass, the volume and density of singing was expanding, overwriting and dominating other sounds. Transforming from a one-sided presentation – choral singing and music broadcasting – to an interactive and collective singing mass, the volume and density of singing was increasing. The singing voices of the assembled mass were closely connected to one another and sounding out collectively, at the same time and in the same space. Albeit not entirely in tune, a strong and united expression, synchronized in rhythm and emotion, further increased the intensity of such sonic dominance.

Embodied within this dominant sonic form, lyrics carrying a meaning of injustice and collective frames (Denisoff, 1969; Gamson, 1998; 2013) were spreading in the space. Meanwhile, aligned with lyrics and musical qualities, emotions of excitement, instigation and encouragement could be felt in the protest soundscapes. These collective emotions of participation could be heard via the screaming and shouting out of lyrics, and the expressions of laughter and cheering along with the music. And, in affective terms, the high vibration of screaming and the beating of rhythms were touching bodies collectively in the environment.

Summary

Relating to the conceptual framework and to sonic resonance, as I conceptualize this in Chapter 4, music is a sonic medium that contains, reflects and produces rationality, meaning, emotion and affective experience (Dollar, 2006). In the sonic performance of music, the meaning of protest frames surrounding concerns of women liberation and empowerment was specifically narrated in lyrics, and represented in selected songs, at the protests studied. In other words, the meaning of protest claims was spreading in the protest soundscapes via music. (For my analysis of the meaning and representation of selected songs, please refer to Chapter 4). Meanwhile, emotions such as excitement, collectivity and instigation were expressed via the musical qualities of the songs and the tones and dynamic of the singing voices. These emotions were adhered to, and expressed, together with the meaning of the protest frame. Also, from an acoustic perspective, the acoustic qualities of the broadcast music and singing voices penetrated the soundscape. They created massive vibrations, which were audibly perceived and affectively resonated in participants' bodies. Although all these entities are presented and analysed separately, for clarity, they are interconnected, mutually reflective, and dialectically reinforce one another. Like notes of the same chord, these entities resonate, while constituting the sound of collective singing. For instance, lyrics that narrate the protest frames of women's liberation created excitement; meanwhile, the melodies and rhythm of the music generated encouragement and collective affective experience, which produced a collective experience that echoed the meaning of the collective frame.

It might seem that rationality is not as frequently mentioned here, compared with meaning, emotion and affect, and is therefore viewed as less important in Sonic Resonance. However, this is far from the truth. Relating to Protest Soundscape Analysis, which explores the constitution, relationship and interaction between rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in creating Protest Soundscapes, a rational collective response was demonstrated in the crowd sound of these protests, as well as in the collective singing. As discussed in Chapter 2 and in the previous section, crowd sound is a condensed sonic mixture of human interactions, which reflects human assemblies (Klunreuther, 2014; Tausig, 2019; Rosenberg, 2018). Relating to the data analysis in this section, crowd sound is a constant sonic layer in protest soundscapes. Moreover, it is a united sonic expressive form of the protest collective, which

responds both rationally and dynamically to the meaning, emotion and affect as expressed in the sonic performance of music. Ranging from operatic singing to the opening verses of popular tunes and the choruses of such tunes, crowd sound at the protests was transformed from the fuzz of chit-chat into cheering, and into the singing and shouting of the chorus.

As we can see, crowd sound was responding to the music arranged by the organizers, appropriately and at the right time. Although it was being transformed and occasional unsynchronized pop-up sounds were out of tone and beat, the crowd sound was expressed in a united manner in general, responding to the meaning, emotion and affect expressed, both rationally and appropriately, in the songs.

Furthermore, according to studies of big events such as sports matches and concerts (Davidson & Keene, 2019; Nevill et al., 2002; Rasmussen et al., 2017), the dynamics of crowd sound reflect collective emotions. Aligned with this, according to my Protest Soundscape Analysis, I argue that crowd sound in feminist protest soundscapes expresses not only collective emotions, but also a shared protest concern, as demonstrated by the unison singing of lyrics and the attached positive emotional and affective expression. The sonic interaction and union between crowd sound – participant's collective sonic expression – and the music prepared and created by organizers – broadcast music and choral singing – formed the sonic performance of music in the protest soundscapes. Therefore, I argue that sonic performance – demonstrative actions of claim-making via sound – creates, and is in itself, the Sound of the Collective. As discussed in Chapter 2, the concept of a collective is key to social movement studies because it explains the mobilization, formation and sustaining of assembly among strangers who share the same concern for protest and leverage (Melucci, 1994; Snow & Benford, 2003). In other words, the notion of togetherness is indicated. Relating to this, as revealed by analysis of my data, not only the sounds created by organizers were key in creating the sonic performance of music, but also the response of the protest collective – the sonic contribution of everyone in the assembly, including organizers and participants. It was the fuzz of talk, the spontaneous interaction between the protest crowd and the music arranged by organizers, and their sonic unison, that co-created the sonic performance.

The sonic quality of the collective voice, which is demonstrated via a synchronized expression of meaning, affect and emotion, is an expression of a feminist rationality that protest organizers intended to produce (see chapter 4). Relating to the conceptual framework as well as an integrative approach to social movement studies, as mentioned in chapter 2, in collective singing, a collective voice that expresses the same meaning of protesting gender inequality, reflexive emotions and collective affect is demonstrated. These entities resonate correspondingly, which reflects and relates to the protest concern. This reveals that sound entities are not random, but expressed accordingly and grounded in the protest rationale. Based on this and relating to the concept of the crowd (LeBon, 1908), I argue that crowd sound reflects feminist protest frames and expresses emotions of excitement and encouragement

that are meaningful, emotional and affective in a collective sense, but not irrational. Together with music arranged by organizers, this participates in co-creating the sonic performance of music, countering the soundscapes of normality, which are repetitive, lacking in meaning and apathetic (Attali, 1985; James, 2014).

Furthermore, based on the connectedness between these entities, I argue that a sonic, descriptive approach to explore protests document what sounds as reasonable in particular protests. As shown in collective singing, it reveals that the protest soundscapes of WML, WSA, and ATP reflects not only their claim on gender inequality, but also laughter, encouraging words, uplifting rhythms, interactive dialogues and spontaneous singing episodes. In other words, the studied feminist protest soundscapes document claims on gender inequality, women mutual support, the importance of sisterhood and collectivity. This resonates with a feminist approach to rationality, that feminist scholars and activists sees relationships, solidarity and the allowance of different vocal expressions as important elements in everyday life and the deliberation process in society (Cudd, 2001; Driscoll & Krook, 2009; England, 1989).

Besides music, speeches are another focus in the soundscapes of feminist protests and are discussed in the next section.

Speeches – A Distinctive Voice

As mentioned in Chapter 4, speeches were another sonic performance strategically arranged by feminist protest organizers. In WML, speeches came after singing and marching, as a finale. Having a different priority, WSA's organizers regarded speeches as the main part of the demonstration, which began with the opening music and continued with marching. At ATP, which was a different scale of protest, speeches were heard at the opening, at the first assembly point, and at the end point of the march. Although they could be placed in a different order, speeches were another sonic performance transforming and dominating all the feminist protest soundscapes. According to my fieldnote (#10, 2019),

Transiting from music broadcasting to speech, talking occupied the space from all dimensions – relatively distinctive talking close by, and a mixture of indistinct talking, which were rolling over your location and flowing in the air ... A huge, sharp and uncomfortable audio feedback broke into the space. Then, the voice of a woman, which was loud – amplified via the sound system, mature and firm, was travelling from the front above the talking mixture, and flowing in an airy and indefinite space. With the entrance and dominance of the speakers' voices, the indistinct talking was softened... from time to time, the sound of traffic occasionally jumped out from afar ...

(Fieldnote #10, 2019)

As revealed by my fieldnotes on WSA (#10, 2019) and confirmed by the sonic ethnography of WML (2019) and by the sonic diaries of participants in WSA, WML and ATP (Participant B, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019), before the start of speeches, the protest soundscapes were filled with crowd sound in an open space, reflecting a human assembly in a public venue for protest, as discussed in the first section of this Chapter (Schafer, 1993; Rosenburg, 2018). Later, the speaker's voice entered, ruling over and softening the sonic layer. In terms of volume, the amplified speaker's voice stood out from the crowd sound. And, exploring a form of dispersion, the speaker's voice stemmed from the person's throat and was projected via the sound system, which made it condensed, sharp and centralized. Contrasting to that, crowd sound was generated by the assembled participants, and was loose and dispersing into the environment. Dominant in volume and sonic form, the speaker's voice softened the talking mixture and covered the environmental noise, becoming the focus of the protest soundscape (Fieldnotes, 2019).

It is interesting to note that the quality of sonic dominance of a speaker's voice varies, depending on the recording location. Referring to similar moments of the starting of speeches in soundscapes, participant's sonic diaries (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019) reflected a different sonic picture:

Some words and laughs were popping up in a mixture of indistinct talking... the sound of it [indistinct talking] was thick and close, enveloping the surroundings... Occasionally, traffic noise jumped in, but was covered by the talking mixture most of the time... from a distance, a raised voice in a higher register was bouncing towards us and heard... though it was relatively remote, but the voice was sounding continuously for an extended period so that one could not ignore...

(Sonic diary #4, Participant B, 2019)

As participant B's (2019) sonic diary reveals, which is also reflected in other participant's sonic diaries (Participant A, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019) and in my fieldnotes (2019), crowd sound is louder and thicker when one is located farther from the stage and closer to the heart of the crowd. However, since the speaker's voice was consistently raised, sounding higher and travelling above the mixture of talk, it 'continuously throws out a sonic alarm to us [the crowd]' (Fieldnotes, 2019) and sheds light on the converging mixture of voices.

As we can see, despite differences in location, during speeches the speaker's voice dominated the background protest soundscape of crowd sound and occasional noises. Through this medium, not only did the speaker's voice spread, but also her words and emotions, as illustrated in the next sub-section.

Words and Tonal Accent

Relating to Chapters 2 and 4, the voice is a medium of human expression that carries words and releases emotions (Dollar, 2006), which are heard via the speaker's voice. As my sonic ethnography (#4, 2019) reveals:

... A loud, confident, and assertive woman's voice was easily singled out, which was occupying the soundscape, assertively and passionately, continuously pushing the message into the air. Sometimes, the over-loudness of the speaker's voice was feeding back to my ear membranes, which could be a bit uncomfortable...

***ARE WE READY FOR CHANGE?!**

A-R-E - W-E - R-E-A-D-Y?!

No more **MISOGYNY!**

No more **FASCISM!**

No more **GENDER PAYGAP!**

No more **DIVISION!**

*Tonal emphasis is capitalized and bolded.

(Sonic ethnography #4, 2019)

As revealed in my sonic ethnography (#4, 2019) and echoed in participants' sonic diaries (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019), during speeches at the WML, WSA and ATP events not only was an amplified voice dominating the soundscapes, but also 'what they [the speakers] said' (Participant C, 2019) was distinguished from a crowd sound in which semiotics were not identifiable.

Relating to framing strategies for speeches, as discussed in Chapter 4 (Gamson, 1997; 2013; Snow & Benford, 2003) and to the concept of a soundscape (Schafer, 1993), also present was an injustice frame denouncing ideas that contribute to gender inequality, including 'misogyny [and] fascism' (Participant B, 2019; Sonic ethnography of WML, 2019), the privilege of white women [and] rich women (Fieldnotes on WSA, 2019; Participant E, 2019) and sexism and homophobia (Fieldnotes on ATP, 2019). These semiotic highlights of injustice frames were contained within a collective frame, with the speaker loudly and distinctively addressing participants as a 'we' community for change. In other words, during the sonic performance of a speech, via spoken words, injustice and collective frames were

spreading, which stood out from indistinct talking, and injected meaning that represented the feminist protest rationale into the soundscape.

Also, as my sonic ethnography (#5, 9, 14, 2019) and fieldnotes (5, 6, 7, 2019) and participant's sonic diaries and interviews (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant F, 2019) confirm, when they followed counter-propositions such as 'No more - -' or 'We will not - -', the wording of passionate feminist claims was tonally accented. The same tonal emphasis was also heard in the expression of affirmative propositions, including 'WE ARE -', 'WE WILL BE -', 'WE WANT -' and 'WOMEN ARE -' (Fieldnotes, 2019; Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant F, 2019). As discussed in Chapters 2 and 4 (Dollar, 2006; Rosenburg, 2018), the human voice is unique in its ability to carry and express emotion. Complemented by vocal studies (Dollar, 2006; Schafer, 1993), loudness creates an over-powering dominance through volume, while tonal emphasis demonstrates a sense of the certainty and determination of the expression. Relating to the conceptual framework, through the medium of voice, words denouncing injustice and collective claims are expressed and emphasized, loudly and firmly. The volume, quality, affect and emotion of the tonal emphasis echo and reinforce the meaning of feminist protest claims, as carried and expressed in the speaker's voice. Therefore, during speeches, the speaker's voice dominates the soundscape not only in terms of volume. Meanwhile, the meaning of injustice and collective frames, the affect that creates vibrations on the skin, and emotions such as passion, encouragement and determination all penetrate the protest soundscape. As we can see, meaning, emotion and affect are one in the medium of sound, rewriting the meaningless and apathic sonic structure of normality (Schafer, 1993).

In addition to the speaker's voice, the dominance of speeches in these protests was expanding with participants response, as explored in the next sub-section.

'EVERYBODY!'

According to my fieldnotes (2019) and sonic ethnography (2019), and to participants' sonic diaries (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019), in the middle and towards the end of a speech, the speaker's voice was no longer the sole dominant element. Below is an excerpt from sonic ethnography of WML (2019):

On top of a soft background of indistinct talking, the speaker proclaimed:

(Excitingly) We are so excited to be here today!

(Assertively and passionately)

WOMEN ARE TAKING OVER! (Crowd cheering)

WOMEN ARE STANDING UP! (Crowd cheering)

WOMEN ARE SPEAKING UP! (Crowd cheering)

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH! (Crowd cheering and some were shouting “**ENOUGH!**”)

WE ARE HERE TO SPEAK FOR OURSELVES! (Crowd cheering)

WE WILL BE HEARD! (Crowd cheering)

WE WILL NOT BE AFRAID! (Crowd cheering)

THE TRUTH - WILL - BE - HEARD! (Crowd cheering)

(Sonic ethnography #5, 2019)

Based on my analysis of data, the end of a speaker’s declarative line was strictly followed by the crowd’s cheering, which was ‘high in pitch’ (Fieldnote #5, 2019), ‘happy’ (Participant B, 2019), ‘exciting’ (Participant I, 2019) and uniting (Participant F, 2019). Complemented by sound studies of cheering at public events including election campaign rallies and football matches (Franzoni et al., 2020; Marra & Trotta, 2019; Stewart et al., 2018), cheering, which is an intended expression of agreement, support, encouragement and excitement, is at a higher pitch than spoken words, as are other positive emotional expressions such as laughter. In the protest soundscapes, this ‘happy sound’ (Participant B, 2019) was ‘heard from every corner’ (Participant F, 2019), ‘covering’ (Participant A, 2019) and ‘filling’ the space (Fieldnote #6, 2019) and dominating the soundscape, in geographical dispersion and with positive emotions.

Moreover, the dispersing sound of cheering was following a dominant speaker’s voice, and vice versa. In other words, the vertically transmitting voice of the speaker, which was delivered from the loudspeaker at the front to the massed participants, was relating to an environmentally dispersing sound. Combining the sonic qualities of the speaker’s voice and crowd cheering, the dominance of speeches was expanding in volume, scale, emotion and meaning. It is important to note that, although semiotics were not carried in the cheering, it was an expression of agreement and support, affirming the meaning of the protest frames expressed by the speaker (Franzoni et al. 2020; Marra & Trotta, 2019; Stewart et al. 2018). There were moments of expression in the speeches where both participants and speaker were one in meaning, emotion and sound. As my sonic ethnography reveals:

The speaker sounded like a commander of a women’s army:

(Indistinct chatting as background)

Okay! **NOW**, I wanted us to make some **NOI-ISE!**

(Proudly, passionately, and assertively, while indistinct chatting was growing)

SOLI-DA--RI-TY-, IN U—NI-TY—!

(The crowd started joining in)

SOLI-DA--RI-TY-, IN U—NI-TY--

(The sound of chanting is expanding)

SOLI-DA--RI-TY-, IN U—NI-TY--

(Almost all was joining in. The sound was thick, strong, and united)

SOLI-DA--RI-TY-, IN U—NI-TY--

SOLI-DA--RI-TY-, IN U—NI-TY--

(The sound started fading gradually)

In the process, some were whistling in time with the rhythm of the chant. The sound of the united chanting was flooding into my ears and covering the whole environment...

(Sonic ethnography #10, 2019)

As my sonic ethnography (#8, 10, 12, 2019) and fieldnotes (#5, 9, 12, 24, 2019) reveal, echoed by participant's sonic diaries and descriptions (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant K, 2019), at WML, WSA and ATP, mass chanting was initiated by the speakers at the end of their speeches.

In the beginning, as for most of the time during a speech, the speaker's voice and call for chanting was singled out from indistinct talking. However, during the chant, the soundscape was transformed from a vocal dominance of the speaker's amplified voice to a 'harmonic composition' consisting of a lead melody – the speaker's voice – and a base accompaniment – the part of the mass (Fieldnote, 2019). Later, with the majority joining in, the soundscape was dominated by one big collective voice, in which the speaker's voice was merged with the mass. According to the analysis of my data, the mass chanting was loud, thick and united, environmentally enveloping the soundscape (Fieldnotes #7, 10, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019).

In this transformative process, the soundscape was dominated by voices – the speaker's voice merged with the voices of participants. In relation to the sonic quality of the human voice, as mentioned (Dollar, 2006), and to the analysis of data, the sound of 'chanting in one collective voice' (Participant B, 2019;

Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019) amplified the tonal emphasis and emotional expression, not through the sound system but through an extreme multiplication of voices, dominating the soundscape with a strong sense of the human.

Also, via a dominant collective voice, a sense of the human was embodied in the wording and meaning of the chants. Besides the 'solidarity' chant quoted above, other closing chants, including: 'WE ARE CHANGE!', 'I STAND BY YOU, MY SISTER!', 'WE ARE READY!' and 'WOMEN ARE RISING!', were initiated by speakers at the WML and WSA protests (Fieldnotes #7, 9, 2019; Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Sonic ethnography, 2019). In relation to the aforementioned framing (Gamson, 1997, 2013; Snow & Benford, 2003), the meaning of collective frames, as highlighted by the collective 'SISTER', 'WOMEN' and 'WE', occupied the soundscape.

Like the Sonic Performance of Collective Singing, as discussed in the previous section, although rationality has been less frequently mentioned here, it was demonstrated in the rational collective response of the crowd sound. Responding to the vocal dominance of speakers, to the tonal emphasis and calls for chanting, the crowd sound was being transformed from relatively quiet to cheering and interactive chanting, and then to collective chanting. The response and expression of crowd sound was rational, responding to the Sonic Performance of speeches, in terms of timing, meaning, affect and emotion. Therefore, in relation to Sonic Resonance, these entities resonate and create a collective voice of protest.

Summary

According to the analysis of data, speeches are another sonic performance in feminist protest soundscapes. Relating to the conceptual framework, sound, for example voice as explored in this section, is a medium that contains meaning and emotion, and creates affective experience (Dollar, 2006; Leys, 2013; Schafer, 1993). It expresses emotions including passion, excitement and determination, which reflect, resonate with and reproduce the meaning of spoken words that narrate protest frames of collectivity and gender inequality. Together with the dominant acoustics of speech in protest soundscapes, affective experience, including vibrations on skin and a sense of unease on ear membranes, were present. Such affective experience in the sonic performance of speech contributes to generating collective emotions and reinforcing the meaning of the collective frame. Therefore, meaning, emotion and affect in sound are not separate, but mutually dialectically reinforcing and at one, all constitute to the formation of the protest soundscape.

Also, relating to an integrative approach to movement studies as discussed in chapter 2 (Collins, 2003; Davis, 2002; Goodwin et al., 2004; Gould, 2010), from a sonic, descriptive perspective, protest

soundscapes captured the sonic expression of protest rituals, interactions between different actors, as well as moral emotions intrinsically related to the protest rationale. This further reveals what is sounded as rational, from a feminist protest perspective, which is beyond instrumentality. As we can see from speeches and interactive chanting, different voices echo with one another according to the historical, cultural practices of feminist protests (for instance call and response and the use of specific slogans.) Meanwhile, these voices were dynamically interacting in a spontaneous manner (based on interactive chanting and crowd sound), expressing and co-creating emotions and affective experience of excitement, mutual support as well as shared anger and injustice. It sonically reveals what is regarded as rational from a feminist protest perspective – stresses on and treasures solidarity, relationships, the expression of emotion as well as the inclusion of voices. Based on this, I further argue that the exploration of protest soundscapes captures the expressive, conversational and processual aspects of feminist rationality, which goes beyond an instrumental understanding of rationality (Weber, 1960).

Furthermore, in relation to crowd sound as discussed in terms of the sonic performance of music and of speech, this was transformed collectively in response to the speaker's voice. It changed from a mixture of chat to cheering and to chanting in unison – a collective, rational expression that synchronized in terms of meaning, emotion and affective experience. These entities resonate in the medium of sound, corresponding to a general protest concern and demonstrating the existence of rationality. As we can see, responding to the concept of crowd (LeBon, 1908), the expression of protest by a crowd is not irrational, but responsive and appropriately expressed. It co-creates the sonic performance of a speech together with the speaker's voice, countering the soundscapes of normality in a meaningful, emotional and affective way.

As mentioned, the speeches were followed, at these protests, by the end of the assembly or by marching, as illustrated in the next section.

The Sound of Feminist Marching Polyphony

Marching – parading to make claims (Tilly, 2008) – was another key demonstration for WML, WSA and ATP, which was created and generated by a variety of sonic elements. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, differently from sonic performances of music and speech, the sonic dominance of any sonic performance or element cannot be identified in the protest soundscapes of marching. However, many sonic performances, including singing, chanting and drumming, alongside emotional expressions including cheering, laughter and clapping, co-existed, interacted and mingled with one another. The miscellaneous sonic performances and expressions, which reflected the same general protest concern with gender inequality and expressed collective emotions of solidarity,

constructed a united voice of the feminist protest collective, which I have conceptualized as a Feminist Marching Polyphony.

In this section, I firstly illustrate the sonic nature of Feminist Marching Polyphony, followed by its interaction with sounds of normality, when streaming on the street. This further strengthens the notion of the collectivity of the Feminist Marching Polyphony, because of its salient sonic boundaries.

A sonic mixture of everything

As discussed in Chapter 4, according to organizers (Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019), in order to motivate participants, music was adopted to kick off the march. However, besides music, there were other sonic elements. As reflected in my fieldnotes on WML (#3, 2019):

“Okay! To send you off, we are going to sing WE ARE FAMILY (Sister Sledge, 1979)!”, the leader announced... After singing all the verses, the remaining tunes and rhythm of the coda were still flowing. Meanwhile, the sound of the crowd was deep and constant. It is like air, being everywhere, surrounding everybody. Within it, the humming of the tune, and cheering, was popping in time with the beat... laughter and small chants like “WE ARE COMING!”, “GOOOO!” and “EQUALITY NOW!” were emerging from it, constituting a harmonic sonic mixture...

(Fieldnote #3, 2019)

According to my fieldnotes on WML (#3, 7, 2019), as well as interviews with organizers (Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019) and sonic diaries of and interviews with participants in both WML (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019) and WSA (Participant C, 2019; Participant D, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019), the protest soundscapes of the feminist marches were made up of a variety of sonic performances. When the march was starting, the music of a ‘popular feminist tune’ (Participant M, 2019) was dominant and on a higher register, a singing level (Henrich, 2006; Rutkowski, 2015). Meanwhile, a general layer of talking sound or crowd sound was occupying a lower register, a talking level (Printz et al., 2017). Between these two levels, cheering, singing and identifiable words of chants were emerging from within, and sounding out in time with, the beat of the music. In other words, in terms of acoustics, the cheering, chanting and singing were integrated, forming a mixture, and highlighted by the melody of a feminist tune, all grounded in a thick layer of general talking, with affirmative words and cheering coming from within.

The miscellaneous nature of feminist protest soundscapes is also reflected in analysis of my sonic ethnography and of participants’ sonic diaries (Participant D, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant G, 2019; Participant I, 2019; Sonic ethnography #5, 7, 10, 13, 2019):

I cannot decide which sonic performance these recordings belong to... they were basically a combination of a variety of sonic performances and elements including, human interaction, drumming, cheering, slogan chanting, singing, and screaming... they are existing from time to time, overlapping with one another, which was emerging from the deep sea of general talking...

(Fieldnote #10, 2019)

Relating to the previous sections, music and speeches are both sonic performances in protest soundscapes that are rational, meaningful, emotional and affective, representing, expressing and reinforcing feminist protest claims. These sonic performances were co-created by the sounds made by organizers and participants as a collective. In these sonic performances, the sounds prepared and created by organizers, including broadcast music, opera singing, the speaker's words, and participants' collective sounds of chatting, cheering, chanting and singing, contributed to the protest soundscapes. During the marches, the differentiation between sounds made by organizers, and participants was less noticeable, as a variety of sonic performances were co-existing. Although co-existing and overlapping with one another, these sonic performances in marches were rational, meaningful, affective and emotional in demonstrating and expressing feminist protest claims, as they were when sounding respectively as the dominant sonic performance of protest soundscapes, as discussed in previous sections.

According to my data analysis, in the soundscapes of feminist marches a variety of semiotics were distinguishably presented, including, 'GOOOO' (Fieldnote #6, 2019), 'EQUALITY NOW!' (Participant B, 2019) and 'WE ARE COMING!' (Participant A, 2019). These semiotics highlighted the meaning of an injustice frame and an action frame for marching. Also, expressed via a catchy shouting voice, which was higher in pitch and released a sense of excitement and motivation, the meaning of such frames was intensified by the tonal emphasis and colour of vocal expression. Meanwhile, within the same time frame of the protest soundscape, the meaning, emotion and acoustics of chanting, singing and the broadcasting of 'popular feminist tunes', were co-existing, meaningfully representing feminist protest claims and expressing emotions of excitement, as discussed in the section on music. Also, highlighted by the beats and rhythm of the broadcast music and drumming, the emotion of excitement was resonating with the collective frame of protest. (Although the drumming was strategically planned by the organizers, according to data analysis, when performed during the marches it was mixing with other sonic performances and expressions, rather than standing alone as a sonic performance. Therefore, it is not singled out for discussion in this chapter). The co-existence and overlapping of a variety of sonic performances created the protest soundscapes of the feminist marches. The sounds of protest claims, human expression including laughter and screaming, drumming and music were surrounding the bodies and occupying the space, which created an intensity affectively felt as vibrating touches and beats. Based on the co-existence of a variety of sonic performances, which reflected feminist protest frames and

expressed related emotions, I have conceptualized the protest soundscapes of feminist marches as a feminist marching polyphony.

Originating from musicology, the term polyphony refers to a variety of melodic lines that are reciprocal and harmonical with one another, within the same piece of music (Abbate, 1996; De Bruyn, 2016; Stumpf & Trippett, 2012). Traced back to the Baroque period, the co-existence of four melodic lines of the same melodic structure in the same piece was known as the polyphonic texture. These melodic lines contribute to reinforcing the general musical style and emotion of a piece of music. Later, the concept of polyphony was adopted in opera to ensure the synchronization between a variety of melodic voices in relation to the meaning and structure of the plot. In short, the essence of polyphony lies in the co-existence and development of different themes that are co-created and reinforce the general musical style of the piece.

Relating to the protest soundscapes of the feminist marches, although different in their quality of sonic expression, the co-existence of a variety of sonic performances represented a collective protest claim of gender inequality via the semiotics of songs and chants, and expressing emotions of excitement, encouragement and collectivity through tones, singing, laughter and shouting.

Some may argue that the order and quality of sonic performances in the protest soundscapes of feminist marches are not totally intentionally planned, but spontaneously emerge as a result of participants' response to other sonic performances; therefore, the notion of synthesis is lacking. However, as I have illustrated throughout this chapter, although differing in quality and expression, the sonic elements of sonic performances represent and express feminist protest claims in rational, meaningful, emotional and affective ways. Not only were these carried in the semiotics of chants and songs, but emotional and affective expressions including collective cheering, singing, laughter, talking and shouting reinforced the feminist protest claims of collectivity and expressed positive emotions. On the marches, the co-existence of all the sonic performances only strengthened the protest claim and its related emotions, and therefore contributed to reinforcing the general and centralized meaning and emotion shared by the protest collective, via the synthesis of different sonic performances.

Furthermore, the sonic synchronicity of a marching polyphony can be demonstrated via the co-operation of different groups of voices in the marching flock, and in their collective response to sounds of normality.

The Streaming of Feminist Marching Polyphony

During the marches, the sound of feminist marching polyphony was streaming through the streets of London. According to my fieldnotes on WSA (#9, 2019),

... The sound of the march was surrounding me and bouncing in the space... sometimes the indistinct chatting layer was fuzzy and becoming softer, intertwining with the blowing wind and pitter-patter rainy sound in the air... Transportation noise at low volume, and the mechanical rhythm of traffic lights were popping up from the sides... Travelling from the back, women's voices in unison chanting "Hey Hey! Ho Ho! Patriarchy's got to go!" were distant yet distinguishable... then the same chant was heard from nearby, loud, passionate and clear. Dropping down from the sky, the message and brand name of the broadcast advertisement was intrusive, repetitive and corporately articulated... However, the sound of chanting close by and general cheering was adjusting and growing, attempting to protest the sound of the advertisement...

(Fieldnote #9, 2019)

Based on my fieldnotes (2019), and concurring with participants' sonic diaries and interviews (Participant C, 2019; Participant D, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant I, 2019; Participant K, 2019), during marches the sound of the feminist marching polyphony was encountering 'transportation noise', the rhythms of 'traffic lights', the advertisement (Fieldnotes #7, 9, 10, 2019), the siren (Participant F, 2019; Participant K, 2019) and helicopter noise (Fieldnotes, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant K, 2019) – all the sounds of normality and of authority. Compared with the sonic performances of music and speech, these sounds were relatively salient during the marches as the density of feminist marching polyphony spread across the shape of the flock. However, while encountering the sounds of normality and authority, the feminist marching polyphony was collectively growing louder:

We were waiting to cross the traffic... Siren of the police car was alarming at huge volume, horizontally penetrating our bodies and entering our ears... However, we were "fighting back", even louder. I was cheering and booing with others, yet I could not hear my own voice. It was immersed into other people's voices. An assertive voice from behind reached my ears, denouncing the police by saying "NOOOOO!" and "WE HATE YOU!" ... Meanwhile, the banging of pots and pans was getting even more intense – very noisy, disturbing and a bit uncomfortable. It sounded to me, although the siren was loud, we were also very, very loud...

(Fieldnote #11, 2019)

As data analysis reveals, although different in quality, the sonic performances and expression of the feminist marching polyphony shared a collective purpose – to protest, which is even more salient when encountering noise. Instead of celebrating a feminist collectivity, when encountering sounds of opponents and of authority, the content of sonic performances was mainly negative, denouncing the authorities, which carried reflexive emotions of anger, condemnation and instigation. Meanwhile, in

acoustic terms, to react and compete with the other noises, the volume of the sonic performances and expressions was adjusting collectively to an even louder volume.

Relating to collectivity (Melucci, 1995) and to soundscapes (Schafer, 1993), a contrasting sonic boundary between the Feminist Marching Polyphony and the sounds of normality, authority and opponents was created. When responding to the sounds of normality, which were intrusive, the meaning and emotional expression of sonic performances and expression were collectively adjusting, responding to an identifiable 'them', which further strengthened the notion of collectivity in the Feminist Marching Polyphony. Moreover, besides adjusting volume and content at the same time, the Feminist Marching Polyphony also collaborated, by sharing and developing a sonic performance, within the marching flock. According to the analysis of data, expressions of sonic performances including, singing and chanting, which were meaningfully and emotionally expressive, were traveling across the marching flock, co-created by different groups of participants in the flock. As participant B (2019) stated:

... Everybody was talking... but you can hear someone was chanting something at the front... you didn't know what they were chanting then, but it gets closer and louder, and reaching our section... so you pick it up and chant with people [around you] ...

(Participant B, 2019)

Participant B's (2019) experience at WML was resonant with those of participants at WSA and ATP (Participant C, 2019; Participant D, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant K, 2019), as documented in my fieldnotes (2019):

Medium-loud, I think, yet distinctive women's voices in unison were sounding behind...

WE ARE FEMINISTS! LOVELY, LOVELY FEMINISTS!...

If you can't hear us... Shout it louder!...

Amid crowd sound and transportation noise, cheering close by was rising... Then, a loud and assertive tune was rising just next to me,

WHO ARE WE? ...

WHERE DO WE COME FROM?

WE ARE FEMINISTS!

LOVELY, LOVELY FEMINISTS!

The same was heard from the front, like a reverb rolling over the marching flock...

(Fieldnote #6, 2019)

As the analysis of data reveals, the expressions of sonic performances were spreading across the flock, creating a reverb, which was acoustically dynamic and lively. It is interesting to note that besides being a collective in their respective sonically expressive way, the feminist marching polyphony also created the same sonic performance, at the same time, through different groups of voices in the marching flock. The scenario can be compared to different voices in a choir, singing in a different time for different parts of the song, in the same choral performance.

Summary

As we can see, the protest soundscapes of the feminist marches were formed by the co-existence of a variety of sonic performances, which I have conceptualized as feminist marching polyphony. Relating to the previous sections, and given that these sonic performances are a meaningful, emotional and affective expression of feminist protest claims, their co-existence and interaction co-created a sonic polyphony of the feminist protest collective.

Although expressed via a variety of sonic performances and voices, the feminist marching polyphony was a rational, collective expression and response. As my data analysis reveals, when encountering the sounds of normality while streaming through the streets of London, the feminist marching polyphony was rationally and collectively adjusting in volume and content, competing for sonic dominance. Moreover, during the marches, the same sonic performance was co-produced by different groups of voices within the marching flocks, in the rhythm and tone of the sonic performance. The co-existence and co-operation of different voices collectively expressing feminist protest claims and emotion formed and embodied the feminist marching polyphony. Relating to the discussion of rationality in chapter 2, I argue that in feminist protest soundscapes, it reveals what is sounded as rational from a feminist protest perspective. As revealed in feminist marching polyphony, it captures the interaction and connectedness of different voices, not only within the feminist protest community – the in-group, but also anti-protesters – the out-group. It provides a processual, sonic approach to document dialogues in the communicative process, which contains not only semiotics, but also emotional and affective expressions, and relationships and interaction between actors, which is aligned with a feminist critique to a normative understanding of rationality (Cudd, 2001; Driscoll & Krook, 2009; England, 1989).

Conclusion

In conclusion, responding to the second research question – *How do feminist protest soundscapes sound?* – I identified five sonic episodes, including Pre-protest Noises, Crowd Sound, Sonic Performance of Music, Sonic Performance of Speech and Feminist Marching Polyphony. Albeit dominating the pre-protest venue and therefore not included as part of the protest soundscapes, in relation to Chapter 2, the Pre-protest Noises revealed sonic structures of normality that were repetitive, lacking in meaning and apathetic. These sonic patterns reflect, reproduce and normalize power structures that feminist protest organizers aimed to disrupt, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Furthermore, in relation to the conceptual framework and contrasting with Pre-protest Noises, Sonic Performances of Music and Speech are rational, meaningful, affective and emotional, revealing that these entities are embodied as one in the medium of sound – Sonic Resonance. According to data analysis, music and speech demonstrated injustice and the collective frames of feminist protests, which were semiotically represented in lyrics, speech, chants and the cultural meaning of selected protest songs. Meanwhile, via sonic qualities including tonal accents, expression, melody, harmony and rhythm, together with emotional expressions of laughter, cheering and screaming, emotions of excitement, happiness, instigation and a sense of hope were embodied in sonic expression, resonating with and reinforcing the meaningful expression of protest claims via semiotics. Also, in relating to soundscapes (Schaffer, 1973, 1994), Sonic Performances were co-created by the sounds prepared and created by organizers, as well as by participants' collective response and expression. The sonic co-creation of both parties generated sonic dominance, which was affectively experienced as vibrations on the body and an intense atmosphere penetrating the environment. The collective affective experience created by sonic performances connotes a meaning that represents the protest collective, intensifying collective emotions and the shared nature of the general protest frame. Affect, meaning and emotion are all aspects of sound that are connected, mutually reflective and dialectically reinforcing. These entities corresponded to the sonic performances and related to the protest objective by creating a collective voice that revealed the existence of rationality. They all resonated, creating a sonic dominance that overwrote the sonic structures of normality.

It is important to note that rationality was present here, as demonstrated by the response and expression of crowd sound in collective singing, speeches and feminist marching polyphony. The crowd, as discussed in Chapter 2 (LeBon, 1908), and its sonic reflection in crowd sound (Rosenburg, 2018) are not irrational, meaningless or compulsive. As argued by LeBon (1908), a protest crowd is dangerous because one may lose individual rationality when subject to an emotional crowd. As revealed by data analysis, and aligned with the concept of crowd sound (Clement, 2016; Porath, 2020; Rosenburg, 2018), although collective in its emotional expression, crowd sound is a meaningful reflection of a human

assembly. Also, as revealed in relation to Sonic Performances of Music and Speech, the collective response of the protest crowd is reasonably and rationally responsive to sounds made by protest organizers. From general talking to cheering and united chanting and singing, crowd sound was created at the events studied by the protest collective responding to and interacting with the speaker's call and/or the lyrics and emotions of the music. Also, relating to the conceptual framework, as discussed in Chapter 4, entities of emotion, affect and meaning in Sonic Performances all resonated. They reinforced each other all at once, expressing the general protest concerns. Therefore, the existence and synchronization of these entities were not random and out of control, but reflected and expressed protest concerns, demonstrating rationality in these expressions, in the context of protest.

Additionally, as revealed in Feminist Marching Polyphony, during these marches, the protest crowd was generating a variety of sonic performances, yet collectively demonstrating feminist protest claims and expressing reflexive and collective emotions relating to such claims, including anger, instigation, assertion, empowerment, solidarity, excitement, happiness and a sense of community. The level of synchronicity and collectivity could also be heard in the collective, rational adjustment of their volume when encountering the sounds of normality, and in the co-operation among a variety of voices to create a sonic performance.

As we can see, the connection and correspondence between collective emotion, affect and meaning in sonic performances reveals that rationality is beyond instrumentality. It could be expressed in a sonic, descriptive form, which contains and captures the affective moment of collectivity, women's voices as well as relationships and dynamics between different voices. It is the collective voice of the selected feminist protest communities, which reflects their reasonable grounding to protest and their collective identity. Therefore, protest soundscape offers an integrative lens, to explore the interconnectedness of these entities.

Moreover, it should be noted that sounds of normality and opponents exist within feminist protest soundscapes, including Sonic Performances of Music and Speech and Feminist Marching Polyphony. However, because of my methodological design, the sonic ethnography and sonic diaries documented by myself and participants respectively are sonically dominated by protest sounds. It is because our recording locations were usually within the protest assembly. That said, albeit their secondary representation, non-protest sounds were documented in sonic recordings. Especially in feminist marching polyphony, sounds of opponents were relatively salient comparing to those as in Sonic Performances of Music and Speech. Sonic boundaries between 'us' and 'them' instigate and promote participants' collective response. For instance, reacting to sounds of opponents while marching, participants collectively adjusted the meaning of their chants from affirming gender equality to objecting gender discrimination. Collective emotions of anger and affective expressions via instant noise

making were also demonstrated. Of equal importance, these entities resonate as one when responding to sounds of opponents, which constitutes the collective voice of feminist protest and the protest soundscapes.

Because of the dominance of protest sounds in sonic recordings, the conceptualization of sonic resonance in this chapter focuses on the resonating process between meaning, affect, rationality, and emotion in protest sounds. However, as I will discuss in chapter 7, sounds of normality and opponents also constitute the protest soundscapes. Therefore, besides showcasing their interaction according to the analytical categories of sounds of protests and sounds of opponents, it would be relevant to further investigate the way aspects of affect, meaning, emotion, and rationality interact and resonate, across sounds of protests and sounds of opponents. For instance, how do sounds of opponents resonate? And how do aspects of sounds of opponents such as anti-protest meaning interact with collective emotions as expressed in protest sounds? When these elements are not resonating in protest soundscapes – sonic dissonance, how would that influence collective identity construction? What is the relationship between sonic dissonance and sonic resonance? Since these questions are beyond the conceptual capacity of this thesis, I suggest future research to explore noise and sonic dissonance relating to sound and collective identity.

All in all, relating to Chapter 4, Sonic Resonance, in all its aspects of rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in sound, was not only strategically considered by protest organizers, but also sonically present in protest soundscapes, from a sonically descriptive perspective. Also, relating to Protest Soundscape Analysis, as discussed in Chapter 3, this analytical framework not only categorizes sonic elements according to their rational and acoustic, meaningful, emotional and affect qualities. Responding to the essence of the soundscape (Schafer, 1993), my analysis also explores the composition, relationship and interaction between these sonic attributes. As I have shown in this chapter, in the Sonic Performances of singing and speech, the meaning, emotion and affect expressed by the leaders were responded to rationally and collectively by crowd sound. In acoustic terms, the sonic contributions of leader and crowd sound were connected. Moreover, in terms of meaning, affect and emotion, their expression was united in one collective voice. Therefore, complementing Sonic Resonance, my Protest Soundscape Analysis provides a sonic analytical tool for exploring the interaction between sonic attributes and the sonic constitution of a protest collective. It reveals that the feminist protest soundscapes were sonic performances co-created collectively by their organizers and participants, in which rationality, meaning, emotion and affect, in relation to feminist protest claims, all resonated. In the next chapter, I explore from a participating perspective the role of rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in creating a collective identity in the sonic performances within protest soundscapes. This contributes to further developing, from an experiential account, the concept of Sonic Resonance.

Chapter 6 – Collective Attunement: A Collective Attuning Process to Collective Identity based on Experience of Sonic Resonance

Introduction

In this chapter, responding to the third research question - *In sonic performances in protest soundscapes, what is the role of, sound, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in creating collective identity in feminist protests in London, from a participating perspective?* – I conceptualize participants' experience of attuning their own voices to those of other participants, and of aligning themselves with other participants as a collective sharing the same identity, as a collective attunement. When participating in Sonic Performances, meaning, affect, emotion and rationality resonate in the experience of sound, which creates the collective experience of the protest community. Therefore, the notion of Collective Attunement has contributed, from an experiential aspect, to the conceptualization of Sonic Resonance.

Before further explaining the roles of Collective Attunement and Sonic Resonance in constructing collective identity, it is important to reiterate here that *Sonic Performances* and *Protest Soundscapes* are not interchangeable, but related. As discussed in Chapter 2, and as I show in the following sections, *Sonic Performances* were arranged by protest organizers, and contributed to and initiated by participants. The existence of some, or sometimes of all, *Sonic Performance(s)* constituted the Protest Soundscapes studied, depending on happenings at the specific time and in the space of protests. And, as inductively informed, participants identified specific Sonic Performances within Feminist Protest Soundscapes, as reflected in interviews and in their sonic diaries, when referring to collectivity. Therefore, as mentioned in Chapters 2 and 4, the Sonic Performances referred to by organizers and participants were not exactly the same, but depended on their understanding of what counts as use of sound for claim-making purposes. However, albeit different in description, the Sonic Performances identified by organizers and participants are relatively in line in terms of performances of Collective Singing, Speeches and Drumming/ Feminist Marching Polyphony.

According to participants, it was when rationality, meaning, affect and emotion resonated in their experience of Sonic Performances that they would choose to attune, or found themselves attuning, to the collective in terms of sonic participation and collective identity. In collective singing, speeches and Feminist Marching Polyphony, participants understood, and therefore related to, the meaning of songs, chants and speeches because the general protest frame of gender inequality was wide enough to position their own protest claims, such as unequal work rights and household violence. However, a meaningful understanding was not enough for participants to attune to the collective. According to them, the collective emotions released in the music and in the voices of the speakers and of other participants were

also key to creating a collective experience. Furthermore, shared affect, including contagious cheering, chanting and screaming, bodily movements and sensations of sound and touch, affectively bound them together as a collective. It is important to note that rational reflection was taking place during participation in these Sonic Performances. When any of these entities was missing, participants chose not to participate in Sonic Performances, and not to self-identity with the protest collective. It was when an experience of rationality, meaning, affect and emotion relating to collectivity was available that participants could attune to the collective in sonic participation and in building collective identity. It reveals that according to participants, a feminist protest collective identity is not only based on understanding and the ultimate goal, but also one's affective experience of collective and reflective emotions, including injustice, anger, disappointment, as well as mutual support, solidarity, and a sense of hope.

Relating to Chapters 4 and 5, Sonic Resonance explains not only strategies for Sonic Performance and the constitution of Protest Soundscapes, but also participants' experience of collective identity within the Sonic Performances of Protest Soundscapes.

In the following sections, based on interviews with participants, their sonic diaries and my sonic ethnography and fieldnotes, and triangulated with the analysis of data in Chapters 4 and 5, I illustrate participants' experience of collective identity – identifying themselves within the collective and in the sonic performances within the feminist protest soundscapes, in rational, meaningful, emotional and affective ways, dependent on the order of importance of these. The sonic performances were recorded as sonic diaries that included singing, speeches and the sonic mixture and drumming - the feminist polyphony that I conceptualize in Chapter 5.

Here I firstly introduce singing, regarding this as the most important sonic performance by participants, which led them to an experience of collectivity.

Singing

According to most participants interviewed (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019), among the sonic performances in feminist protests in London, the singing was relatively appealing, as reflected in the order of importance in their sonic diaries. This is in line with the centrality of protest songs in sound studies of protests, as discussed in the literature review (Denisoff, 1969; Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). However, according to participants, songs in protests are about not only the cultural product, but also the action of singing. As they revealed, in the process of singing together they experienced collectivity and realized their shared identity, based on a common knowledge of protest songs and lyrics.

In this section, I first discuss participants' affective and emotional experience of collective singing, followed by their understanding of the frames in song lyrics. Based on this, I then introduce my conceptualization of participants' experience of Sonic Resonance, in relation to collective identity - Collective Attunement, which is discussed throughout the chapter.

Singing Together

As most participants revealed (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant D, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant G, 2019; Participant I, 2019), 'singing out loud' with other participants made them 'feel like being together' (Participant B, 2019). In her interview, participant A (2019) was playing back sonic diary entries documenting her singing of *We are Family*' (Edwards & Rodgers, 1974, and *Bread and Roses* (Kohlsaas, 1917) with other participants in WML. She said,

I just feel like, we're sisters... that we are family... it happens also... when you go to concerts, when the audiences start singing altogether, that's the same kind of feeling you know you're part of the community...

(Participant A, 2019)

For participant A (2019), 'singing all together' in WML created a sense of community. It is interesting to note that she related her experience to concert singing. Responding to choral studies and to affect studies of cultural events, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Davidson & Keene, 2019; Nevill et al., 2002), when singing together, all at the same time and in the same space, individuals' voices relate to, and harmonically resonate and blend with, one another. Albeit in a different context, this was echoed by participant B (2019): when singing together with other participants in WML, she felt that she was 'a member of the group' that was 'expressing a united voice' (Participant B, 2019).

Participants' descriptions of the collective singing voice were reflected in their sonic diaries (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019) and in my sonic ethnographic fieldnotes (#6, 9, 2019), as documented and discussed in Chapter 5. Moreover, here we can see, from a participatory perspective, how participants shed light on the affective role of collective singing on their bodies.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, differently from WML, WSA adopted music for broadcasting during the march, rather than for assembled singing. However, participants were singing along with the broadcast, which also created the experience of collective singing. As explained further by participants in WSA, when singing together, their concerted action was not only limited to singing, but collectively affected by the sound of the collective singing:

... we were like, moving our hands up and down, I love how we are together... It is kind of like a feeling of a community.

(Participant C, 2019)

According to my data analysis and aligned with sonic affect, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Anderson, 2008; Gallagher & Prior, 2014), in the protest soundscapes of collective singing, the melody, beats and rhythms, sonic density and mood of the music had everyone ‘dancing and singing’ (Participant F, 2019), ‘cheering and screaming’ (Participant D, 2019) and ‘moving their hands up and down’ (Participant C, 2019). In other words, in relation to affect and collectivity (Quinn, 2018), the vibrations of collective singing homogeneously touched the subjects in the protest soundscapes, affecting participants’ bodies collectively. The similar affective embodied experience, at the same time and in the same space, and collective emotions (Jasper, 2018) including a sense of togetherness, joy and community spirit were all felt by participants.

Relating to the conceptual framework, in social movement literature, emotions are often viewed as reflections of meaning. For instance, negative emotions are often regarded as outcomes articulated by injustice frames, while collective emotions are seen as expressions of collective frames. However, according to some studies (Jasper, 2018), from a participatory aspect, collective participation also generates collective emotions, the process of which remains unclear. As data analysis revealed, the medium of sound – in this case collective singing – pinpointed the role of affect in creating affective experience, which gave rise to collective emotions and to an understanding of collectivity in relation to this experience. Aligned with Leys (2013) and Rosenberg (2018), emotion and affect are not by-products of meaning; rather, they are one in creating collective experience.

However, it is important to note that, according to participants, collective experience of singing was not created by any random singing group, but by those who ‘know the same song’ (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant D, 2019), which reflects in a meaningful way participants’ understanding of collective identity. In the next subsection, I discuss the importance of meaningful knowledge of songs in the process of collective identity construction.

Knowing the Same Song

Referring to her singing of Beyoncé’s (2000) *Independent Women* with other participants in WSA, participant C (2019) said,

I was like, I know that song! ... and everybody knows it too! ... like everybody was singing, doing disco dancing ... So, it was really joyful, like, you know, friends in the house...

(Participant C, 2019)

According to participant C (2019), and echoed by other participants (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019), when singing in unison, they could relate to those who were singing together as 'friends in the house' – in-group members. This was because they could hear that 'everyone knows the same song' (Participant D, 2019) and therefore 'everyone is singing out your values' (Participant E, 2019). So, what are these 'your values' that are shared by 'everyone'?

We were singing lots of Beyoncé's and Ariana's [songs] ... these songs have a real meaning ... I mean, like, you are either drunk or alone ... If you're a girl, you're going to feel scared of what may happen on the street, because we are more vulnerable ... and these songs are about girls' power ...

(Participant E, 2019)

Relating to framing (Gamson, 1995; Snow & Benford, 2003) and to studies of feminist protest songs (McGee, 2019; Weidhase, 2015), Beyoncé's and Ariana's songs represent a collective frame of girl's power. Within this, a subtle general injustice frame of gender inequality that sarcastically blames actors who look down on women was also present. As a female who does not feel safe in public spaces, collective frames in these song guided participant E (2019) to see herself as a powerful woman fighting together with other feminist protesters for safety and gender equality. According to data analysis, and echoed by participant E (2019), other participants also viewed their own protest claims, such as women migrants' work inequality (Participant C, 2019), sexual violence (Participant D, 2019) and Trump's sexist comments (Participant G, 2019), via the frames in songs. As they put it, it was 'the government that has allowed it' (Participant B, 2019), but 'we are all powerful women' (Participant C, 2019) and 'yes, we are crazy [lyrics from Beyoncé's (2014) *Crazy in Love*] but we're together' (Participant F, 2019).

As we can see, in relation to fragmented feminist identities (Taylor & Whittier, 1995; Sheehy & Nayak, 2020), a general collective frame of 'girls' power' allowed participants to position their personal concerns within it. The personal was connected to the collective by a meaningful understanding of, and self-identification with, the collective body of 'girls' power'.

Moreover, according to participants, their collective identification was not only based on understanding. Resonating with the previous subsection, it was because 'everyone' was singing together, which made individual participants feel and know that their protest claims were collectively shared:

... songs are expression of thought and value ... Everyone is singing it, you hear your voice in everybody's voices ... I kind of [can] feel the power, like we are together. We all have gone through these things that we are doing this together ... complaining and protesting ...

(Participant E, 2019)

According to participant E (2019), and echoed by other participants (Participant C, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019), singing together is about not only a 'feeling of being together', but collectively declaring shared beliefs, as represented in songs. As 'everyone' was singing, personal protest concerns were related to, and transformed into, a collective concern shared among all those who were singing together. This was because 'songs are [an] expression of thought and values'; so, when singing together, 'everyone is singing out your belief'. As we can see, in collective singing, collective and action frames (Snow & Benford, 2003) relate individuals to the collective, not only in terms of cognitive understanding (Melucci, 1995) and the collective experience of being affected (Quinn, 2018), but actualized in collectively taken action.

Reflecting on affect and collectivity in protests (Quinn, 2018), participants are viewed as bodies collectively affected by the protest environment. However, as discussed, the notion of affect (Massumi, 2002) connotes both being affected and affecting. In collective singing, participants were not only being affected by the protest soundscape, but also actively participating. By doing so, they were affecting other participants and co-creating the protest soundscape, via collective participation. Aligned with notions of community of practice (Wenger, 2011), we can say that through doing the same thing together at the same time, in the same space and for the same purpose, a community is generated.

Interestingly, although the experience of collective singing was enjoyable, participants reinforced the importance of 'knowing', as they 'didn't sing all the songs' (Participant C, 2019):

... They also played other songs, like Cardi B's. I can tell but don't know the song well, I know she was a stripper ... at the end we are supporting sex workers, but I guess it's not the most important issue for me.

(Participant C, 2019)

According to data analysis, and relating to framing (Gamson, 1995) and fragmented feminist identities (Taylor & Whittier, 1995; Sheehy & Nayak, 2020), whether a song of protest is meaningful depends on one's knowledge of and personal identification with it. Although self-identified as a feminist protest participant, sex-workers' rights were not participant C's (2019) major concern. Therefore, she was not able to identify with the collective singing. Echoing the importance of 'knowing', based on her

experience in WML, participant A (2019), on the other hand, reinforced the importance of ‘singing together’.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, at WML an Italian operatic piece, *Va, pensiero* - the *Chorus of the Hebrew Slaves* (Verdi, 1842) and other popular WML tunes including *We are Family* (Sister Sledge, 1979) were sung. As an Italian who knew, could sing and personally relate to *Va, pensiero* (Verdi, 1842), participant A (2019) did not find that moment of singing it meaningful:

I know this song [*Va, pensiero*] because I'm Italian, it is special to me ... we sing it on many occasions ... but it's more difficult to sing, not everybody can sing opera, I mean, everybody can sing *We are Family* ... I have been singing this song [*We are Family*] for some years now, in previous protests ... it was a nice moment, it is more powerful ... You believe in the same message; you say it out loud to the world ...

(Participant A, 2019)

According to my fieldnotes on WML (#1, 3, 4, 2019), and echoed by participant A's (2019) description, the singing of *Va, pensiero* (Verdi, 1842) was thin compared with *We are Family* (Sister Sledge, 1979), as if it was performed just by a few opera singers. Having recorded her own singing of *We are Family* (Sister Sledge, 1979), but not of *Va, pensiero* (Verdi, 1842), as a sonic diary entry, participant A (2019) explained further,

I'm an activist ... I have a blog in Italy writing about marches ... you can imagine it can be quite lonely sometimes, to fight for something ... but *We are Family*, it was nice because many people recognized it, and started to sing, which is very nice, and people start dancing as well, so that was a nice moment ... it creates [a] sense of togetherness, it brings joy...

(Participant A, 2019)

Relating to the conceptual framework, in line with a cultural studies approach (Bolin, 2017; O'Reilly, 2010), the process of identity formation is an experiential one in which, meaning, affect and emotion work together, rather than in separation (Leys, 2013). As reflected in participant A's (2019) interview, and echoed by other participants (Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019), being able to recognize and relate individually to the frames embedded in songs was not enough. It was the experience of singing together that demonstrated that all participants ‘know the song’ (Participant C, 2019) and ‘believe in the same message’ (Participant A, 2019; Participant E, 2019). Also, in this process, they were ‘singing out together to the world’ (Participant A, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019). Collective emotions including satisfaction, joy, a sense of togetherness and a community of spirit were felt. Also,

affective experience, which is comparable to concert participation, further bound participants into a collective.

As we can see, in the Sonic Performance of singing, it was when participants related to the general protest frame of gender inequality and experienced collective emotion and affect that they attuned to the collective in terms of sonic participation and collective identity. In this process, rational reflection was taking place, as participants did not attune to the collective when not aligned with the meaning of songs, and/or when other participants were not collectively participating, in which case a sense of community was missing.

Summary

In summary, as revealed in relation to collective singing, a meaningful understanding of songs, together with affective embodiment and emotions stemming from the sonic performance – as an experience of sonic resonance – allowed participants to experience collective identity. According to participants, an affect that was collectively experienced, such as homogeneous bodily movements in time with musical beats, reflected, intensified and generated a meaning representing participants as a collective.

Meanwhile, this also produces and reinforces collective emotions of a sense of community, excitement and satisfaction. It is important to stress that meaning, affect and emotion are of equal importance in sonic performance, without priority or order of generation. As participants revealed, the lyrics of songs that represented a general protest frame of gender inequality were also central, which related them with the protest collective and enabled their involvement in sonic performance and an experience of collective emotion and affect. Therefore, in sonic performance, meaning, affect and emotion are interconnected, mutually reflective and dialectically reinforcing. They are aspects of sound, which jointly make the experience of sonic resonance possible. Because of their experience of Sonic Resonance, participants attuned their own voices to those of other participants, collectively contributing to and constructing ‘one loud voice’, through the process that I have conceptualized as Collective Attunement. Inspired by literature in musicology and sound studies (Garcia, 2020; Oosterbaan, 2008; Volgsten, 2019), attunement refers to the process of one single tune integrating with other sonic elements, harmonically forming a sonic output. For instance, the tuning of a violin with other instruments in an orchestra, or of a singing voice with other harmonic parts in a choir, are some examples of this. For clarity, and relating to Feminist Protest Polyphony, the notion of attunement is different from that of polyphony. The essence of the former lies in an alignment process of one single tune with the collective. Meanwhile, the latter connotes the co-existence of all tunes or melodic lines in the collective. Relating to an integrative approach to social movement studies as well as to bridge impasses between respective conceptual focus,

as discussed in chapter 2 (Collins, 2003; Polletta, 2003; Zhou & Wang, 2018), it was the experience of all entities in sonic performances – cultural understanding, collective emotion and affective, that makes the experience of collective identity relevant and relatable to participants.

Besides attuning to the collective in a sonic way, in the sonic performance of singing, participants are also attuned to their collective identity, based on the experience of Sonic Resonance. According to the analysis of the data, and relating to the conceptual framework, affective experience – embodied expression affected by songs when singing, emotions – a sense of togetherness, and meaning – an understanding of songs in relation to the general protest claim, all resonated and created an experience of collectivity. In a collective experience enabled by sonic resonance, the participants attuned to one another as a collective and with the collective identity shared among them.

It is important to note that without experience of Sonic Resonance, Collective Attunement is less likely to be possible, which reveals a close relationship between rationality, meaning, affect and emotion, responding to the relevancy of sound in understanding the relationship between these entities in mobilization. As shown in collective singing, these entities resonated with one another, influencing participants' experience of collectivity and their level of participation. For instance, the collective frames of song lyrics were convincing because they were being sung collectively, which created collective, affective experience and emotions. Meanwhile, although they were singing together, individual participants did not always attune to the collective identity because the meaning of songs was not responding to their own protest concerns. As we can see, the absence of any of these entities could influence participants' experience of Sonic Resonance and therefore make them unable to attune to the sonic performance and collective identity.

Therefore, exploring the role of Sonic Performances in creating collective identity from a participating perspective, Sonic Resonance and Collective Attunement shed light on understanding collective identity construction, from an experiential aspect. Collective identity has been explored as a process in social movement literature (Melucci, 1995; Jasper, 2018), which indicates a relationship and process between an individual and the collective. However, based on the concept of Sonic Resonance, the attuning process between individuals and the collective becomes salient, which is based on the experience of meaning, affect, emotion and rationality.

The concepts of Sonic Resonance and Collective Attunement in relation to collective identity are illustrated further in the following sections. Besides singing, speeches were another sonic performance that participants found important, as discussed in the next section.

Speeches: Meaning, Voice, Listening and Chanting

In this section, I discuss the role of sound in creating collective identity, based on the sonic performance of speeches. According to interviews with participants, and to their sonic diaries, in speeches they were first and foremost attracted by the content. Therefore, firstly, I discuss here the role in speeches of meaningful framing, which connected personal protest concerns with shared perceptions of injustice and collective frames. However, as discussed in Chapters 2, 4 and 5, speeches are not only semiotics, but expressed through human voices. So, following framing, I also discuss the emotions contained in speakers' voices, which contributed to creating collective emotions, and affect, binding participants together as a collective. It is important to note that the sonic performance of speeches was not only created by the speakers, but also by participants. Participants were listening, cheering and chanting, rationally and appropriately, which reflected their ongoing rational reflection. Because of their experience of rationality, their meaningful understanding of the general protest frame, and the collective emotion and affect, individual participants attuned, through their sonic participation, to the protest collective and to collective identity.

In the following subsections, I firstly discuss the role of framing in speeches, which was highlighted by participants as a salient and important element.

'It echoed with my thoughts!'

According to most participants, and reflected in their sonic diaries (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019; Participant K, 2019), in the sonic performance of speeches, among all the elements, including the speaker's voice and the atmosphere of the space, it was the meaning of messages that 'struck' them first and foremost (Participant C, 2019), as this 'directly echoes [with their] thought[s]' (Participant E, 2019):

The speaker was saying [that] women often do the lowest, lowest paid jobs. And I've got migrant women friends who often have to do the shittiest job ...

(Participant C, 2019)

An excerpt from a speech was recorded by participant C (2019), posted on WSA's Twitter account (2019) and documented in my sonic ethnography (Fieldnotes #6, 7, 2019):

... I strike! because it's not a coincidence that migrant women and women of colour do the most shittiest and the most undervalued work in the world ...

(Sonic Diary entry #1, Participant C, 2019)

Relating to the injustice frame (Gamson, 1998; Snow & Benford, 2003) in the speech referred to by participant C (2019), migrant women's occupational inequality was specifically highlighted and emphasized by negative adjectives including 'shittiest' and 'undervalued'. This articulated angle on framing injustices affecting migrant women was the experience of friends of participant C (2019). Therefore, this injustice frame responded to her unspoken personal protest concerns. According to her (Participant C, 2019), 'I was, like, oh my God! That's right! ... So, it is resonating with my thoughts!'

As echoed by participant C (2019) and according to my analysis of data, other participants (Participant A, 2019; Participant D, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019) also found that particular injustice frames in the speeches at WML, WSA and ATP responded specifically to their personal concerns. In these speeches, injustices faced by migrant women, sex workers and women victims of everyday violence were highlighted. The meaning of these injustice frames resembled their own 'thoughts in mind' (Participant D, 2019), strengthened their personal protest rationales, and reaffirmed their personal identities as woman migrant, sex workers' rights defender and woman victim respectively. Relating to framing and to collective identity construction (Melucci, 1998, 2013; Snow & Benford, 2003; Melucci, 1997), in the process of listening to speeches, participants cognitively related to the meaning framed in the speeches. This process enabled them to connect with the speaker and with the protest body represented.

However, there were moments in speeches where participants found that the meaning of those speeches did not resonate with their own concerns (Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019) and therefore sometimes they were 'distracted' (Participant F, 2019):

It was a bit detached ... from feminism, but more about the Gaza protests ... of course I understand social justice is connected to feminism, but it's different ... it [the speech] was less about women ...

(Participant F, 2019)

As echoed by participant F (2019), participant C (2019) made a comment on a speech about Turkey at WSA:

I couldn't understand what she was talking about, it's very political, ... and she was speaking a lot of Turkish ... so then I just drifted ...

(Participant C, 2019)

According to the analysis of data, participants (Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019) expressed how they could not 'understand' or 'relate to' particular injustice frames in speeches perceived as side-tracked from concerns 'about women' (Participant F, 2019), so from the general

protest frame. This reflects the diversity and fragmentation of feminist protest concerns and identities (Taylor & Whittier, 1995).

As discussed in Chapter 2, because of cultural developments in much of the 20th and in the 21st centuries, compared with the 1910s, feminist identities have been becoming more fragmented (Charles & Wadia, 2018; Taylor & Whittier, 1995). Whether a person self-identifies as a feminist and/or with a feminist protest depends on their social and cultural identity, the values of the specific protest, and the context within which the individual is situated. Especially relating to the context of feminist protests in London, as discussed in Chapter 3, there is a high level of internationality in this cosmopolitan city. Therefore, responding to collective identity construction through cognitive understanding (Melucci, 1995), and resonating with protest organizers' strategies, as explored in Chapter 4, we can see that a variety of injustice frames were articulated in speeches, aiming to relate to feminists' specific identities within a general protest frame of gender inequality.

Therefore, since they were able to relate to the general protest frame, most participants still found the speeches to be 'resonating' (Participant A, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019). Referring to her experience in WML, participant A (2019) said,

It's like a message of the whole situation ... it was the Women's March, but it was not just against gender-based violence ... it was also about austerity measure which affect women, it was about Brexit, so it was a combination of many things – inequality ...

(Participant A, 2019)

Echoed by participant A (2019), other participants in WML (Participant B, 2019) and in WSA (Participant C, 2019; Participant D, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019) found speeches in general to have covered a variety of issues 'about women's circumstances' (Participant C, 2019) and that 'there was some consensus' on gender inequality (Participant A, 2019). This consensus was broad enough that 'everybody can adapt it to their [own] situation' (Participant B, 2019) and found it resonating with their own concerns (Participant C, 2019).

As we can see, based on the analysis of data and relating to injustice frames and collective frames (Melucci, 1998, 2013; Snow & Benford, 2003), via framing in speeches, participants aligned their personal protest claims and identities with particular injustice frames and/or with the general protest frame of gender inequality. Relating to cognitive understanding and collective identity construction (Melucci, 1995), because of this linkage participants understood and saw the speakers and the protest body as representing a collective sharing similar concerns. Therefore, a collective identity was generated.

However, besides understanding, participants indicated that they ‘can feel something’ alongside meaningful alignment, through the emotions expressed in the speakers’ voices (Participant I, 2019). In the next subsection, I discuss the role of emotion in speeches in participants attuning themselves to the collective.

‘I am not alone!’

As participants revealed (Participant A, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant D, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019), when hearing the speaker address their own ‘concern in mind’ (Participant B, 2019), they felt they were being understood, that ‘someone out there’ cared. However, how could they tell, and/or feel, if someone cared? As participants revealed,

... you can feel that when she speaks ...

(Participant F, 2019)

... her voice was very sincere ... you can feel her passion, emotions ... she really cares about it

(Participant B, 2019)

Responding to voice and speech studies (Beebe & Beebe, 2009; Broth, 2011; Dollar, 2006), and according to my data analysis, emotional adjectives including ‘passionate’, ‘encouraging’, ‘certain’, ‘assertive’, ‘firm’, and ‘powerful’ were adopted by participants to describe a speaker’s voice (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant D, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019; Participant K, 2019). This is aligned with studies of emotion in the voice (Dollar, 2006), which stress that speech is not only about semiotics, but contained in the sonic medium of voice, which carries and expresses emotions (Beebe & Beebe, 2009), as discussed in Chapters 2, 4 and 5. So, what would the emotions expressed in speakers’ voices do? How could they function to relate to participants?

According to participants, emotions in speakers’ voices made them feel that they were ‘human beings’ (Participant C, 2019) who ‘really care about what they are saying (Participant K, 2019). As Participant F (2019) put it, ‘When she [the speaker] spoke about women violence... she was angry, loud and firm ... you can feel that she really means it’. Echoing this, participant A (2019) explained further by describing her own sonic diary:

... She [the speaker] was asking “What do we need to do?” ... she was passionate ... [and] powerful when asking this ... and she said firmly that “We need to BE THE CHANGE!” ... she was loud [and] certain, you can tell ... she really means it.

(Participant A, 2019)

Relating to the conceptual framework, and according to data analysis, in speeches, meaning and emotion reinforced each other. As we can see, injustice frames such as household violence and unequal pay were reinforced by emotions of anger, assertion and strength, as expressed by voices. And, action and collective frames including the semiotics of, 'we', 'change' and 'unity' (Fieldnotes #6, 9, 10, 2019) were expressed with emotions of encouragement and excitement, and with a sense of warmth and togetherness.

In sonic performances of speech, semiotic frames (Gamson, 1995; Snow & Benford) and emotions (Jasper, 1998; 2018) resonate. From a participating perspective, this strengthened the presentation and expression of protest claims, relating participants with the speaker and the protest claims spoken about.

Moreover, according to participants, in speeches they related not only to the speaker but to 'everybody' in the soundscape as they were listening together.

Listening

Referring to his experience in ATP, participant K (2019) found 'listening to speeches very powerful':

... I notice that I'm in that situation that a lot of people are listening, paying attention towards, few people, which are the speakers ... I quite enjoyed it...

(Participant K, 2019)

The scenario described by participant K (2019), which pinpointed the sonic dominance of the speaker's voice and a collective quietness in the protest crowd, was documented and discussed in Chapter 5. However, here it is explored from a participating perspective and it is found that, for participants, the protest soundscapes were affecting their experience not only as individuals but also collectively.

According to data analysis, and relating to affect (Anderson, 2008; Massumi, 2002; Quinn, 2018), individual participants said that their attention was 'caught' (Participant F, 2019) by the speaker's voice. This guided their visual focus, and occupied their aural reception, as the speaker's voice was 'pumping into' their ear membranes (Participant I, 2019). Meanwhile, together with a general quietness in the crowd, an 'attentive' atmosphere centring on the speaker (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019) and 'a sense of mutual respect' were in the air (Participant K, 2019).

Relating to the affect (Auer, 2012; Quinn, 2018), atmosphere (Anderson, 2018) and collectivity (Quinn, 2018) covered by and immersed in the sonic elements and atmosphere of the same protest soundscape, individual participants realized that 'everybody' was 'doing the same thing' (Participant D, 2019).

According to them, ‘everyone’ (Participant E, 2019) was standing still, keeping quiet and listening to the speaker, regardless of their personal opinions (Participant D, 2019; Participant I, 2019; Participant K, 2019). They noticed that their aural reception and focus, vocality and bodily movements were affected not only by the voice of the speaker, but also by the overall protest soundscape, which held them together experientially. Therefore, as participant K (2019) put it, ‘a collective was definitely forming’.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that, besides being affected collectively, participants revealed that when listening to speeches they were ‘respecting’ and ‘relating to’ one another (Participant B, 2019; Participant K, 2019). As they explained, ‘human beings [tend to] talk when they gather (Participant F, 2019). However, despite having a different stance regarding the meaning of speeches, ‘the person next to you... was quiet’ (Participant B, 2019) and ‘you were respecting each other’ (Participant B, 2019), and therefore ‘you were listening too’ (Participant B, 2019). Responding to reciprocal emotions (Jasper, 2018) and transverse affect (Massumi, 2002), although not conversing, a sense of respect and thoughtfulness was reciprocally generated and shared in the manner of mutual silence, addressing other participants.

As we can see, relating to the conceptual framework, affect (Massumi, 2002), in terms of bodily reactions and expression in the process of generating emotions, is not merely affective and emotional, but also contextually reflexive. The affects collectively experienced by participants, including visual focus, aural reception and bodily stillness, were physical responses to and expressions of the sonic performance of speeches, which was protest-specific, strategically arranged by organizers and made possible by participants’ assembly. Meanwhile, at such a moment in the protest soundscape, emotions of mutual respect, collectivity, togetherness and enjoyment were also present. Thus we see that, in protest soundscapes, affect, emotion and meaning resonate, attuning individuals to the collective.

Besides listening together, participants also experienced a sense of collectivity in cheering and chanting, as illustrated in the following subsections.

Cheering

Besides listening, participants found cheering in response to the speaker to be ‘happy’ (Participant K, 2019), ‘exciting’ (Participant A, 2019) and ‘enjoyable’ (Participant C, 2019). They explained,

It's happy, it's positive, just like clapping, we were agreeing with the speaker together ...
instead of booing ...

(Participant F, 2019)

I'm very excited to cheer together ... it is a space of the people saying yes to the speeches, it is the feeling of a collective of humans ...

(Participant B, 2019)

It is not just a [single] voice, but a mixture, you knew you are together...

(Participant K, 2019)

According to participants (Participant B, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant K, 2019), cheering was a positive expression in response to the speaker's message, and made collectively by the 'we' (Participant F, 2019). It was a 'mixture' (Participant K, 2019) constituted by 'one's own [single] voice' (Participant K, 2019) and that of every human in the space (Participant B, 2019). Resonating with these words, participants' sonic diaries and my sonic ethnography (2019) recorded the cheering within a collective voice, as discussed in Chapter 5. The discussion here is based on a participatory perspective. In relation to collective emotions (Jasper, 2018), when contributing to and immersed in crowd cheering, participants felt that they were part of a collective, and therefore felt 'excited' (Participant B, 2019), 'happy' (Participant F, 2019; Participant K, 2019), 'satisfied' (Participant A, 2019) and 'enthusiastic' (Participant F, 2019). According to them,

I love being in that space ... because you can feel the enthusiasm, the passion, like the happy mood of other people ...

(Participant F, 2019)

It's fascinating ... not necessarily just a voice, but a human presence in that space... the laugh, the energy...

(Participant K, 2019)

Relating to the transversive affect (Quinn, 2018), when cheering, participants revealed that they could feel positive emotions stemming not only from their relationship with the collective and the positive sonic nature of cheering, but also from the positive emotions of other participants, incarnated in the sound of crowd cheering. Carried in the sonic layer, participants could hear, and were 'touched by' (Participant F, 2019) the 'laughter' (Participant B, 2019), 'energy' (Participant K, 2019) and 'happy mood' (Participant F, 2019) of other participants. According to sound studies literature (Davidson & Keene, 2019; Nevill et al., 2002; Rasmussen et al., 2017), crowd cheering at events such as football matches and concerts is high in pitch and volume, spatially dispersed and formed by emotional expression that carries and expresses a sense of encouragement cheerfulness and excitement.

Although they ‘enjoyed’ dwelling in the collective emotions of cheering (Participant B, 2019), participants also realized what they were cheering for – the fight for women’s rights. Therefore, they would stop cheering as a response of disagreement with the speaker’s message:

... sometimes I was cheering with people, you just go on ..., but then I realized I don’t understand the language [of the speech], so I have stopped ...

(Participant C, 2019)

Relating to the conceptual framework, although crowd cheering is an enjoyable collective experience affectively and emotionally, meaning is equally important. Participants choose not to attune to the collective through cheering if, upon reflection, the meaning of a speech is not representing their own concerns and identities. This also responds to the crowd approach (Le bon, 1910), as discussed, that protests are not irrational behaviour, as seen in crowd cheering. In the process of the protests, people chose to attune to, or opt out of, participating in various sonic performances, if they were not aligned with the identity shared by the collective. Therefore, ongoing rational reflection was taking place.

As we can see, the experience of the Sonic Resonance between rationality, meaning, affect and emotion contributed to participants attunement to the collective. This was also revealed by chanting during speeches.

Chanting

Besides cheering, during and after speeches, participants might also respond to, pass on or actively initiate chanting, as discussed in Chapter 5. Exploring here from a participating perspective, participants (Participant A, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant F, 2019) expressed how they felt excited, passionate and energized when chanting:

Oh, I love chanting ... when I hear it, I’ll join in with other people ... like someone shouted “WOMEN! WOMEN! WOMEN!”, and then I responded with others “STRIKE! STRIKE! STIRKE!” ... it was strong, powerful, firm. I go along with it naturally. You could get caught by the passion ... sometimes you couldn’t hear the leader, and you don’t know who the leader was, so I just decided that I will be the leader ...

(Participant C, 2019)

Relating to reciprocal emotions (Jasper, 2018) and transversive affect (Massumi, 2002), when hearing a chant, participants (Participant C, 2019; Participant D, 2019) could hear, feel and be affected by the emotions expressed by other participants. Their minds could ‘get caught’ by the emotions expressed through the chanting voices (Participant C, 2019; Participant F, 2019). Therefore, emotionally, they

would ‘connect [with other chanters] in enthusiasm’ (Participant F, 2019) and passion (Participant A, 2019). Affectively, affected by these emotions and by the sound of chanting, they would ‘open their mouths and pour out their voices’ (Fieldnotes #7, 8, 2019). As participant C (2019) stated, she would just ‘go along with it naturally’.

As we can see, when reacting to the sound of chanting, participants’ emotions, actions and expression were affected, which further made them relate to one another by sharing reciprocal emotions of passion and enthusiasm and collectively participating in the chanting. Meanwhile, in turn, via collective chanting, collective emotions including a sense of solidarity, support and agreement were created in the process.

Interestingly, according to participants, this sense of collectivity was ‘so enjoyable’ that they could chant along even without knowing the language:

This one [chant] had a very lively Latino presence, I guess because there are so many Latino immigrants working here, in the care sector, at the moment, and they were quite ignored. But I think that was quite special – though it was in a different language, everyone seems to join in, I was joining in ...

(Participant F, 2019)

Although not understanding the content of the chant, relating to cognitive understanding in collective identity construction (Melucci, 1995), participant F (2019) said that she herself and other participants could ‘understand the sentiment’, which meant ‘[they] were here together, being part of the feminist movement’.

As mentioned in the first section, in studies of emotion in social movement literature (Jasper, 1998, 2018), emotions are regarded as reflections of protest claims and frames. Collective emotions are reflections of collective frames, while injustice frames create negative emotions. However, according to participant F (2019), in chanting, the collective emotion of a sense of togetherness made her relate to this and affirmed a collective frame of ‘protesting together’ as a feminist collective. In other words, even without semiotic knowledge, a meaningful notion of ‘being together’ could be derived by connecting to and experiencing collective emotions. Also, as we can see, joining in a chant without knowing the language does not imply irrationality. This is because participants assumed that they knew the meaning and emotion of the chant – a comment that revealed an ongoing, existing rational reflection in the process of participation.

As we can see, relating to the conceptual framework, rationality, emotion, affect and meaning are of equal importance in relating oneself with a collective. Because of their experience of Sonic Resonance, individual protest participants attuned to the collective in sonic participation and collective identity.

Summary

In this section, exploring the sonic performance of speech, I have discussed the importance of meaning, of an understanding of a general protest frame, and of the collective experience of affect and emotion in attuning individuals with the protest collective. In the first two subsections, by investigating injustice and collective frames, and the emotionality of speakers' voices, I show that meaning and emotions are not separate, but mutually and dialectically reinforcing, constituting the speeches. Moreover, to relate individual participants to the collective, not only to the general protest claim and the speaker, collective affective experiences of speeches, stemming from the experience of listening, cheering and chanting, were central. These collective emotions and affects bound participants into a collective, providing experiential evidence supporting their understanding of being a member of the protest collective. In other words, in sonic performance, collective affect and emotion interact with and intensify a meaningful understanding of collectivity, and vice versa. From an experiential perspective, entities of affect, meaning and emotion resonate in the sonic performance – this is Sonic Resonance, which allowed individual participants to attune to the protest collective in sonic participation and collective identity.

It is important to note that besides meaning, affect and emotion, rationality was continuously present, facilitating Sonic Resonance. According to participants, they stopped chanting, paying attention to speeches and identifying with the protest collective when the meaning of speeches and chants did not align with their personal protest concerns. Meanwhile, they realized that collective emotions, as expressed in voices and in the affective experience of 'emotional forces' and 'energy' were also central to identifying with other participants as a feminist protest collective. In other words, albeit not verbally specified in times of participation, rational reflection was continuously taking place and guiding participants' experience and level of participation. Therefore, relating to the discussion on rationality in chapter 2 (Cudd, 2001; Driscoll & Krook, 2009; England, 1989), according to participants, what is regarded as a proper experience of collective identity in the studied protest soundscapes is filled with encouragement, mutual respect, the fun of interaction, and the expression of collective anger. It is conversational, interactive and sonically and emotionally relational, which implies collective bonding and connectedness. To participants, the sonic experience allows them to experience what they see as sensible and important in society and in everyday life – the inclusivity of different voices, relationship between different actors, and emotional and affective expressions in social and public scenario. It is the process and experience that matters in the process of social protest, not only about the practicality and instrumentality.

Therefore, as revealed in relation to Sonic Performance of Speech, participants attuned to the protest collective, in sonic participation and collective identity, mostly when they experienced Sonic Resonance. These two concepts contribute to understanding collective identity from an experiential aspect. Aligned with studies of collective identity (Melucci, 1995; Jasper, 2018), which see this as processual and relational, Collective Attunement sheds lights on and illustrates this process, via a sonic attuning process between the individual participant and the protest collective. Furthermore, as Collective Attunement is made possible based on Sonic Resonance, it explains collective identity construction, in terms of not only the process, but also the experience of rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in Sonic Performances. This is further illustrated in the next section on Feminist Marching Polyphony.

Besides partaking of specific sonic performances, according to participants, being in the ‘sonic mixture’ (Participant I, 2019) also creates a collectivity. This ‘sonic mixture’ has been conceptualized here as *Feminist Marching Polyphony*, as discussed in Chapter 5. However, in this chapter, in order to capture an authentic description from participants, the term *sonic mixture* is also adopted, referring to the same phenomenon.

A Mixture of Everything - Feminist Marching Polyphony

As discussed in Chapter 5, during the feminist marches, a variety of sonic performances representing general protest frames and expressing collective emotions were co-existing, interacting and blending with one another. This is a sonic phenomenon that I have conceptualized as *Feminist Marching Polyphony*. As mentioned, referring to the same phenomenon, participants used the word ‘mixture’ to describe the mingling of sonic performances during marches.

According to them, and reflected in their sonic diaries (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019; Participant J, 2019; Participant K, 2019), being part of a Feminist Marching Polyphony was, first and foremost, ‘enjoyable’ (Participant I, 2019), as they could feel that ‘everybody is there together’ (Participant B, 2019). Because of its importance, in the subsections below, I firstly illustrate the role of this sonic mixture in creating collective emotions and affective experiences, which leads towards a positive atmosphere and collectivity. Then, relating to cognitive understanding and collective identity (Melucci, 1995), I illustrate the process whereby individual participants attuned their own individual protest frames to the general frame interpreted, based on Feminist Marching Polyphony. Although different interpretations of protest frames exist, participants revealed that, above all, there was a unifying agent that tied them together - the beats and sound of Samba drumming. In general, viewing the Feminist Marching Polyphony as a collective voice, participants delineated a boundary between themselves, as an in-group,

and the sounds of normality and of opponents, as the out-group, thereby strengthening a sense of collectivity.

'It's everybody's voices!'

According to participants (Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019), the marches were noisy. However, differently from a classic conception of noise – unwanted sounds (Schafer, 1993) – participants explained that the marches were noisy only in terms of volume, but not of desirability.

Referring to his experience at ATP, participant I (2019) said,

... you're constantly hearing noises, the moving rumble, occasional chanting, occasional Samba drumming, the low humming of people ... I thought [it] is quite enjoyable, it's powerful, I would even say that was a positive feeling ...

(Participant I, 2019)

According to my analysis of data, other participants at WML, WSA and ATP also found the 'mixture of everything' (Participant B, 2019), which included general talking and occasional singing, chanting and drumming, to be 'lovely' (Participant B, 2019), 'enjoyable' (Participant I, 2019; Participant J, 2019), 'powerful' (Participant A, 2019; Participant I, 2019; Participant J, 2019), 'amazing' (Participant C, 2019) and 'full of energy' (Participant J, 2019). But why was this? As participant B (2019) explained:

... because... that was made by everybody, not just by one person, but together as a group ... everybody was contributing to one communal voice.

(Participant B, 2019)

Relating to the acoustics of crowd sound (Nevill et al., 2002; Ostwald, 2019), participants stated that they were 'being immersed in' (Participant D, 2019) and surrounded by a thick and environmental 'sonic mixture' made possible only by 'everybody' in the protest soundscape. This is because, at most public events, when humans assemble, sound is generated by their presence and activities such as breathing, coughing and interaction. Therefore, a sonic layer of buzzing is created, which reflects and represents an ongoing human presence and envelops the soundscape. However, relating to the miscellany of Feminist Marching Polyphony, as discussed in Chapter 5, the sonic mixture that participants referred to was not random crowd sound, but continuously filled and mixed with feminist tunes and chants, drumming, laughter and cheering. Therefore, they realized that this was a sonic mixture of feminist protest sounds, made by feminist protest participants together, at the same time and in the same space.

As data analysis reveals, and relating to affect and collectivity (Auer, 2012; Massumi, 2002; Quinn, 2018), participants' experience was collectively affected by the Feminist Marching Polyphony.

Surrounded by this environmental sonic mixture (Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant K, 2019), which was ‘omnipresent’ (Participant B, 2019) and ‘covering the space’ (Participant K, 2019), participants felt that they ‘were with other people... [who were also] marching together’. Also, affected by laughter and cheering, a ‘happy and positive vibe’ in the sonic mixture (Participant B, 2019), participants felt ‘hopeful and happy’ (Participant C, 2019), excited (Participant K, 2019) and energetic (Participant I, 2019). In short, the *Feminist Marching Polyphony* enveloped these subjects in the protest soundscapes, which acted like an invisible sonic mould that related them with other feminist protest participants and guided them towards the same collective emotions embedded in the atmosphere.

Moreover, as discussed in previous sections, as active protesters, these participants were not only being affected, but also affecting others, co-creating protest soundscapes and therefore contributing to building a collective, as illustrated in the next subsection.

‘We are [all going] in the same direction.’

As mentioned, participants found the Feminist Marching Polyphony ‘enjoyable’ because it was created by ‘everybody together’ (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant I, 2019). And, as they explained, the notion of ‘everybody’ included not only other feminist protest participants, but themselves. In the interviews, after expressing their contentment at being in the sonic mixture, participants brought up their own part in the protest soundscape. A sonic diary entry of participant A (2019) records not only the sonic mixture, but also something distinguishable from that mixture:

It was a sonic mixture of, chatting, chuckling and occasional chanting – a general rumbling all over the place, in which specific semiotics and voice cannot be identified; then, a personal conversation between Participant A (2019) and her friends came in, which is from time to time covered by the distinguishable sound of the speaker and shouting and chanting close by ...

(Sonic Diary #3, Participant A, 2019)

Participant A (2019) said that a combination of other existing sounds and her conversations with friends were important:

I recorded this because you can hear also my friends, we were just deciding how to march... it was [a] private conversation among friends ... I know we might have different concerns... but I feel like we were in this situation together, also other people. So I think that was important for me to record it.

(Participant A, 2019)

As participant A (2019) revealed, her conversations with friends about the march were part of the sonic mixture. She regarded ‘other people’ as also ‘in this situation’ in general terms – marching for women’s rights. Echoing her (Participant A, 2019), some participants (Participant B, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant K, 2019) also recorded a similar sonic mixture, yet without distinguishable sonic elements; however, they referred to their ‘own part’ (Participant E, 2019) when explaining to me why the sonic mixture was meaningful:

... some people were chanting, singing ... we also started singing ... the Samba group was close to us, then they started playing the drums according to our song, it was amazing! ... we all contributed ...

(Participant F, 2019)

As participant F (2019) illustrated, at the WSA event, she and her friends were singing ‘some feminist songs, like Beyoncé’s’ to protest, which was a response to other participants who were also protesting by singing and chanting; echoing them, the Samba group joined in by playing with a rhythm to match their singing. Because of this response and collaboration among different groups that were centring on the content of ‘women’s power’, participant F (2019) said that she knew ‘everyone is for [the] women’s rights’, as ‘we all contributed’.

Relating to fragmented feminist identities (Taylor & Whittier, 1995; Sheehy & Nayak, 2020), participants realized that everyone might have ‘different concerns’ and ‘their own way’ of protesting (Participant F, 2019). However, connecting to affect and collectivity, as mentioned, participants (Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant I, 2019; Participant J, 2019; Participant K, 2019) related their own sonic contributions, which were meaningfully associated with their protest concerns, to the sonic mixture co-created by all participants. They extended their own protest concerns to be shared by ‘everyone’ contributing to the protest soundscape because they were in the sound that ‘everyone’ was creating. Albeit without semiotic highlights in the sonic mixture, participants related their protest concerns to the general protest frame. Therefore, according to them, ‘we are [all going] in the same direction’ – fighting for female equality (Participant B, 2019).

As we can see, relating to the conceptual framework, in the Feminist Marching Polyphony individual participants were affected by the environmental nature of sound, which bound them as a collective and created collective emotions of happiness, solidarity and satisfaction. However, meanwhile, they were also actively affecting other participants and contributing to the polyphony through their own sonic performances. These sonic performances, including talking, singing and chanting, were meaningful to them personally. With a background and coverage of collective sound, the individual connects their concern and identity with the collective. Therefore, from a participating perspective, meaning, affect and

emotion resonated with one another in the Feminist Protest Polyphony. By contributing their own sonic performances in the process, they attuned to the sonic mixture, in terms not only of sonic practice, but also of identification as feminist protest participants.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, although there was a collective sound at WSA and ATP, participants realized some opposing sounds within the Feminist Marching Polyphony. According to participant I (2019), participant J (2019) and participant K (2019), in the soundscape of ATP, not only was there the sound of many people' (Participant K, 2019), but also those of 'the helicopter', 'the police' and the 'anti-protesters' –the authorities and/or opponents. Nevertheless, they still found the soundscape 'powerful':

... it doesn't affect you as much as the overall. I think that may spill down, but it just comes under [a] much bigger general sound ...

(Participant I, 2019)

According to participant I (2019), and echoed by other participants in ATP, the sounds of opponents constituted 'a part' (Participant K, 2019) within a 'bigger general sound' (Participant I, 2019), which reflected the existence of opponents, the nature of protests and the strength of a collective voice. In other words, a 'them' was identified from time to time within the protest soundscape, which was also the experience of participants in WSA (Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019). Referring to her experience on the march, participant E (2019) revealed,

... some buses were honking at us when we were singing, chanting, so many by the way, and everybody was cheering, it was so exciting... but some were, like, beeping, like, urging us to go away ... so there are others who don't want to join us...

(Participant E, 2019)

According to participant E (2019) and echoed by other participants in WSA (Participant C, 2019; Participant F, 2019), non-protesters, including drivers and passengers in vehicles, and pedestrians, also contributed to the soundscape. There were sounds of honking by drivers, and cheering from passengers, and pedestrians affirmatively responding to the singing, and chanting – all this part of the sounds of protest. Meanwhile, beeping and booing represented those 'who don't want to join us', the 'us' and 'them' were co-existing, interacting and contributing to the soundscape.

Relating to the soundscapes of normality (Attali, 1985; James, 2014) and the streaming of the Feminist Marching Polyphony, as discussed in Chapter 5, and contrasting with the sounds of protest, sounds of normality and of opponents also existed. Located in the heart of the marching flock, participants

regarded the sounds of normality and of their opponents as part of the protest soundscapes. Sonic attempts were made to interact and to compete with these sounds. However, according to participants, those instances were short-lived, compared with the co-existing and interactive sonic performances within the Feminist Marching Polyphony. Also, from participants' perspective, the volume of the Feminist Marching Polyphony was dominating their senses to a greater extent, along with the meaning, affect and emotion expressed within it. Therefore, upon rational reflection, they explained that they included the sounds of normality, and of opponents of the protests, as part of the Feminist Protest Soundscapes. That said, a boundary between 'us' and 'them' was created and was salient in the protest soundscapes. In a context of collective identity (Melucci, 1995), collective emotion and identification with an in-group are strengthened when an out-group exists.

Since my data regarding the sounds of normality and of protest opponents does not adequately represent a participating perspective, future research could consider exploring further in this respect, relating to collective identity construction. However, up to now, as shown in relation to Feminist Marching Polyphony, an understanding of personal protest frames in relation to a general protest frame, as expressed in the co-existence of Sonic Performances, is key to relating individuals to the collective. Meanwhile, collective emotions of excitement, happiness and passion, and the affective experience of relating to one another through aural aspects of the protests, bound participants together as a collective. Also, it is also important to note that, although without verbal specification, rational reflection clearly did take place, as revealed in reasonable and collective expressions of united protest concerns, even with different themes of sonic performances, which were expressing and reinforcing the general protest frame of gender inequality in meaningful, emotional and affective ways. Based on the experience of Sonic Resonance between affect, meaning, emotion and rationality, individual participants became attuned to the collective through sonic participation and collective identity.

Furthermore, according to participants, there was a unifying agent that further collectivized the sound of protest – the rhythm of drumming.

A unifying rhythm

As participants revealed (Participant B, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019; Participant J, 2019), in the Feminist Marching Polyphony, which contained a variety of sounds, drumming 'keeps everyone moving together' (Participant R, 2019) and following the same rhythm (Participant F, 2019). According to participant J (2019), there was 'singing, chanting, talking' in the soundscape of ATP, but drumming stood out and impacted the pace of his movements:

... I was walking a little bit faster than them [the Samba rhythm], [but] I was kind of hanging back. You have to follow the rhythm, you can't ignore them, you have to tune in. I guess the truth is, the rhythm is in your brain and in your body ...

(Participant J, 2019)

As participant J (2019) revealed, and as echoed by other participants (Participant B, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019), the rhythm of drumming 'was beating in your heart' (Participant R, 2019), which 'structures [their] movements' (Participant F, 2019). Complemented by rhythm studies in neuropsychology (Glass & Mackey, 1988), rhythm perceived neurologically, stimulates an oscillatory process in the brain and creates an internal rhythm, which human tends to synchronize externally. And, relating to affect and vibration as discussed in Chapter 4 (Gallagher et al., 2017; Simmel; 2006; Simpson, 2017), the intense vibration of drumming touches the skin and creates a trembling sensation affecting the organs of the body.

Moreover, participants realized that not only were they themselves moving with the Samba rhythm in the soundscape, but so was 'everyone there' (Participant B, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant R, 2020):

... protest is noisy ... but the drum is quite instigating ... it keeps people moving forward together, keeps people as a collective as well...

(Participant R, 2020)

I think the drum is very important in the soundscape ... it has got everyone dancing. I feel like I'm having the connection ... It's a collective, you can't work without that...

(Participant F, 2019)

Relating to the travelling distance of the Samba rhythm, as explained by the leader of the Samba Sisters Collective (see Chapter 4) (Participant S, 2019), the sound of Samba is low in frequency, which creates and transposes vibrations over longer distances, as experienced by participants in protest soundscapes. According to the analysis of data, the Samba rhythm touched and 'was felt' by participant's bodies (Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant R, 2020) homogeneously within the protest soundscapes, which kept 'people moving together' and 'got everyone dancing', thus affecting participants collectively.

Relating to affect and collectivity (Auer, 2012), according to my analysis of data, participants were being affected by the Samba rhythm homogeneously within the protest soundscapes. According to

participants, they (Participant B, 2019; Participant C, 2019; Participant E, 2019; Participant I, 2019) felt that they were 'connecting to each other' (Participant B, 2019) in terms of relative synchronicity not only in movement, but also in emotion. Relating to drumming as a strategy, as discussed in Chapter 4, organizers aimed to use Samba polyrhythmicity to interject excitement and construct a lively and energetic atmosphere in order to 'get people together' and sustain participation (Participant M, 2019; Participant N, 2019; Participant R, 2020; Participant S, 2020). Responding to this, participants felt that not only they but 'everyone was excited' (Participant B, 2019) and 'happy' (Participant A, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019) when in 'such a positive atmosphere (Participant J, 2019) which was 'full of energy/' (Participant B, 2019). Therefore, they were feeling the same and becoming connected in that same atmosphere. Collective and reciprocal emotions, including a sense of collectivity, happiness, satisfaction, excitement and encouragement were being generated in the process.

It is important to note that the positive atmosphere created by Samba drumming was not only emotional for participants, but also meaningful (Participant A, 2019; Participant B, 2019; Participant F, 2019; Participant I, 2019):

We can always associate drums with fighting, it's for motivating people, like an army fighting together for what we want ...

(Participant F, 2019)

I guess we're [going] in the same direction, everybody was focused on the same thing - for women's rights.

(Participant B, 2019)

As we can see, in the protest soundscapes highlighted by Samba drumming, participants were being affected and bonding as a collective. Meanwhile, when 'enjoying themselves a bit' as a collective (Participant I, 2019), participants also noticed that this collective excitement was meaningful for the fight for the women's rights.

In short, because of the experience of Sonic Resonance between the affective experience of a collective beat, positive emotion and the meaning attached to drumming, participants realized and experienced a collectivity. Relating to the previous sub-section, they attuned their own sonic contribution with other sonic performances, which included responding to the unifying beat of drumming and co-creating the soundscape of protest. In this resonating experience, they also attuned themselves to the collective, sharing the same identity as other feminist protest participants.

Summary

According to my analysis of data, participants attuned their sonic contributions, including talking, chanting, singing and cheering, and/or responding to the drumming, to the *Feminist Marching Polyphony*, based on their experience of Sonic Resonance. By aligning with the general protest claim of gender inequality as represented in the Feminist Marching Polyphony, and experiencing collective emotions and affects, participants became attuned to the protest collective in sonic participation and collective identity, co-creating one united voice of protest.

Also, as participants revealed, the sounds of normality and of their opponents were regarded as part of the protest soundscape. These sounds generated a boundary between ‘us’ and ‘them’ within protest soundscapes, reinforcing understanding and a sense of collectivity.

It demonstrates that according to participants, the experience of feminist collective identity in the studied protest soundscapes is complex. It involves interaction, conflicts and the mutual existence of a variety of voices, not only within the feminist protest community – the in-group, but also the anti-protesters – the outgroup. Relating to the discussion on feminist rationality in chapter 2, 4 and 5, according to my analysis of data, sonic interaction between participants and of those between participants and anti-protesters, reveals power relations between different actors and their views on gender inequality. Meanwhile, this process allows them to experience mutual support between participants, collective anger towards the out-group, interaction between different voices, and the existence and certain level of acceptance of conflicts, as in the communication process of protesting. This resonates with a feminist approach to rationality as well as a feminist protest resistant culture (Berg, 1978; Cohen, 1985; Ryan, 1992; Taylor & Whittier, 1995), that what is regarded as reasonable and important to feminists is not only about the instrumentality – a normative understanding of rationality. Rather, according to them, a feminist collective identity is experiential and processual. It is a process that emotional ups and downs exist, which allows the existence, interaction and conflicts of different voices regarding the topic of gender inequality.

Conclusion

In conclusion, in this chapter, responding to the third research question – *In sonic performances in protest soundscapes, what is the role of sound, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in creating collective identity in feminist protests in London, from a participating perspective?* – I have conceptualized participants’ experience of attuning their sonic contributions to a united voice and an identity with the collective – a collective attunement based on a continuous development of the concept of Sonic Resonance, as first put forward in Chapter 4.

From a sonic perspective, as revealed by participants' experience of partaking in singing, speeches, chanting and creating the sonic mixture that included their response to drumming, they attuned their sonic contributions to other participants' sonic outcomes, forming one collective voice representing feminist protest soundscapes. It is important to note that this attuning process was made possible by an experience of Sonic Resonance.

As I discuss throughout this chapter, in collective singing, speeches and the Feminist Marching Polyphony, meaning, affect and emotion all resonated, with ongoing rational reflection taking place from time to time. When these entities resonated in the experience of Sonic Performances, forming a Sonic Resonance, participants attuned to the collective in terms of sonic participation and collective identity. When one of these entities was missing, most participants opted out of sonic performances and did not self-identify with the protest collective. For instance, in collective singing, when not everybody was singing, a sense of collectivity and affective experience were absent. Participants revealed that they were not attuned to the protest collective at that moment. Meanwhile, in speeches and in chanting during speeches, when the meaning represented in speeches and chants did not meaningfully represent participants' own protest concerns, they would be distracted. And thus they would stop participating in sonic performances and not be attuned to the collective identity shared among participants. As we can see, choices of attunement and detunement were made from time to time, reflecting the presence of rational consideration. Since the experience of sonic resonance which enables collective attunement was emphasized by participants, when referring to their experience of collective identity in the protest soundscapes, collective attunement is majorly discussed in this chapter. However, it should be noted that sonic dissonance and detunement also constitutes experience of protest soundscapes. Therefore, I suggest future research explores these concepts, when investigating collective identity construction relating to protest soundscapes. I will further discuss this in chapter 7.

As we can also see, relating to Chapters 4 and 5, Sonic Resonance explains not only strategies for Sonic Performances and for the constitution of protest soundscapes, but also the experience of the process of collective attunement. Because of its capacity for encapsulating rationality, meaning, emotion and affect, Sonic Resonance is a concept that contributes to understanding the relationship between these entities in social movement literature, as discussed in Chapter 2. Also, these entities are interconnected, mutually reflective and dialectically reinforcing. As I have revealed throughout this chapter, participants' understanding of their own identity in relation to the feminist protest collective was produced and reinforced by the collective affect and emotion enabled in sonic performances. Meanwhile, a general framing, related to the feminist protest frame, was also central to allowing individuals to align their personal protest concerns. This allowed them to relate to the protest collective cognitively, which in turn promoted their participation in sonic performance, and therefore their experience of collective

emotion and affect. Affect, meaning and emotion are aspects of sound, that all resonate at once to create sonic performances that enable the experience of collective identity. Although rationality is less salient in expressive forms, it exists throughout the experience of sonic resonance. Referring to a reflexive, evaluative process, rationality functions backstage, guiding participants' action in sonic performance, based on a synchronicity between affect, meaningful understanding and emotion. Therefore, relating to a general emphasis on affect and emotion in studies of collective identity as experience (Neville & Reicher, 2011; Omori, 2016), rationality is also central to enabling the experience of this. A dialectical relationship between the rational and the affective is revealed. Based on its dialectical relationship, sonic resonance demonstrates that rationality is not only about the calculation of effectiveness towards a specific goal. It is also an affective and emotional experience, which is regarded as culturally relevant to participants of the selected feminist protests. Relating to the discussion of rationality in chapter 2, feminists stress on relationship, emotional expression, as well as solidarity in the process of political communication (Cudd, 2001; Driscoll & Krook, 2009; England, 1989). To participants, being in feminist protest soundscapes allows them to express their own voice, and to relate to one another through sonic interaction and affective, atmospheric experience. Meanwhile, they were also exposed to conflicting voices from outsiders, which further provoked interaction between the in-group and the out-group.. In the process, the experience of collective anger as well as mutual support and a sense of hope consolidate participant's shared collective identity as feminist protesters, albeit different concerns under the umbrella of gender inequality. In other words, to participants, feminist protest identity is not only about what one believes or the immediate effect of protest, but the experience of collective affect and emotion, which all intrinsically reflects what they care about – gender equality, relationship, and the existence of different voices.

On this note, from a participatory perspective, I argue that Sonic Resonance sheds light on understanding collective identity construction, from an experiential aspect. Relating to my literature review, collective identity is not only created by a shared understanding negotiated through meaning (Melucci, 1998; 2013; Snow & Benford, 2003), collective consciousness or emotion (Fontana, 2011; Jasper, 1997), or a homogenous affective embodied intensity (Gould, 2010), but a resonance of all these entities, as revealed in the sonic performances experienced by participants.

Furthermore, responding to the discussion of collective identity as a process, Sonic Resonance further explicates the entities that enable this process, based on experience of sound. As discussed, the processual nature of collective identity has been explored in social movement literature (Melucci, 1995; Jasper, 2018). Referring to an activating process between an individual and the collective, collective identity is often viewed as relational, involving two parties. Furthermore, it implies a start and an end, which set the boundary containing the process. Aligned with a processual view of collective identity, as I

have shown, the concept of collective attunement informs the process of collective construction, based on sonic participation and collective identification. It is a horizontal process through which individual participants attune to the collective in sonic performances and collective identity.

However, it is also important to note that, differently from the traditional notion of a process, which indicates a start and an end, collective attunement relies on Sonic Resonance, which is flexible, depending on experience of meaning, affect, and emotion, and with the presence of rationality. As discussed, individuals attuned to the collective because they could attune to the protest collective in terms of understanding, feeling and affective experience. Nevertheless, they could choose to opt out of attuning to the collective when any entity of meaning, affect or emotion was missing. In other words, the process of Collective Attunement could happen at any time when individual participants experienced a Sonic Resonance based on a shared understanding of the general protest frame, collective emotions and affective experience. In the sonic performances of protest soundscapes, collective identity is an attunement process that creates, and/or is generated by, the experience of Sonic Resonance. So, complementing the study of collective identity, through the study of sound in protests, collective identity is seen to be a process that attunes the individual to the collective, based on an experience of resonance between rationality, meaning, affect and emotion, as in the Sonic Performances of Protest Soundscapes.

Relating to Chapter 4 and the concept of affect (Auer, 2012; Quinn, 2018), participants' sonic participation was a response to the sonic strategies rationally considered by the protest organizers. However, it is important to note that participants were also actively participating, affecting and co-creating sonic performances and protest soundscapes. Because of the sonic dominance of sonic performances in protest soundscapes, as discussed in Chapter 5, participants' experience was affected collectively. Meanwhile, each being one of the collective, they were also affecting one another and contributing to constructing protest soundscapes and the protest collective.

In this chapter, relating to the conceptual framework, I argue that, based on the experience of Sonic Resonance in Sonic Performances, participants attuned to the protest collective in terms of sonic participation and collective identity. In the next chapter, concluding this dissertation, I triangulate my analysis with the arguments in Chapters 4 and 5, responding to the conceptual framework and the general conceptual question.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

Introduction

In Chapters 4 to 6, I have responded to the three sets of empirical questions relating to protest sounds and collective identity construction. First, from an organizing perspective, considering the rational and acoustic, meaningful, emotional and affective aspects of sound, the protest organizers aimed to create experiences of *Sonic Resonance* that would tie participants to the collective identity of the movement. Second, Sonic Resonance was also demonstrated in Feminist Protest Soundscapes, from a sonic, descriptive perspective. In the feminist protest soundscapes, the meaning of injustice and collective frames, collective emotions and affect were mutually reflective and dialectically reinforcing of one another, which reveals the presence not only of affect, meaning and emotion, but also their intertwinement in constructing of what feminist organizers see as rationality. These attributes of sound resonated, co-creating a collective voice of feminist protest. Third, from a participating perspective, participants attuned to the protest collective in terms of sonic participation and collective identity only when an experience of Sonic Resonance was available. In other words, it was when individual participants' understanding of the general protest frame, as represented in the Sonic Performances, echoed the collective experience of affect and emotion that this allowed them to attune to the protest collective and the collective identity. This is conceptualized as Collective Attunement.

Based on the empirical findings above, in this chapter, I discuss my conceptual contribution, illustrate my methodological originality and provide recommendations for future research. But before that, I briefly reiterate my research rationale, which provides a theoretical grounding for the discussion on conceptual contribution that follows.

The general conceptual question of this thesis investigates the relationships of sound, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in creating collective identity. This inquiry was based on theoretical foundations and limitations as identified in sound studies and social movement studies. As discussed in Chapter 2, albeit not intentional, tensions between affect, rationality, emotion and meaning exist in the studies of protest sounds. Protest music (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998; Frith, 1996; Hurner, 2006), speeches (Johnston, 2009; Musliu & Burljuk, 2019), crowd sound (Klunreuther, 2014; Tausig, 2019; Rosenberg, 2018) and drumming (Bogad, 2010; Bowers, 2015; Drott, 2018) have been explored as separate sonic genres with different conceptual foci. That said, the following common objectives of protest sounds have been identified: 1) to make claims, and 2) to unite participants as a collective. These functions of sounds involve a meaningful (claim-making) and an emotional (creating a sense of collectivity) dimension in explaining collective mobilization, which echoes the concept of collective

identity as articulated by Melucci (1994), i.e., as processual and dynamic. Therefore, this concept was deemed relevant in exploring the functions of sounds in protests.

Different concepts including emotion and affect (Jasper, 2018; Massumi, 2002), as well as rationality (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) and meaning (Gamson, 1995; Snow & Benford, 2003) were adopted to explore collective identity. Because of respective research foci, framing and meaning-making are regarded as major cultural resources (Gamson, 1995; Snow & Benford, 2003) that are more related to rationality – the strategic mobilization of resources (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Meanwhile, affect is viewed as a bodily experience of generating emotion, which makes the two concepts closely correspond, but also makes them distant from rationality and meaning (Jasper, 2018; Massumi, 2002). Albeit an integrative approach to social movement studies is developing (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 2018; Polletta, 2003), more attention should be paid to explore the relationship between these entities, because of their interconnected nature.

Based on my studies of Feminist Protest Soundscapes in London, and based on an integrative approach to social movement studies, *Sonic Resonance* is put forward here to explain the relationship between these entities, in two specific ways. First, Sonic Resonance captures the resonating qualities of the entities of affect, meaning, rationality and emotion as expressed through Sonic Performances, which contributes to understand the relationship between these entities. Of equal importance, these entities resonate in sound as one, rather than being singled out and/or paired up and categorized as either the rational or the affective. Second, regarding relationships, these attributes are seen not only to co-exist with equally important weighting, but also to be mutually reflective and reverberating, and dialectically reinforcing. I discuss my conceptual contribution further in the next section, starting with an explication of the concept of resonance.

Conceptual Discussion – Sonic Resonance

Albeit different in usage across disciplines, the essence of resonance lies in a certain degree of synchronous correspondence between two or more parties, which together constitute one entity (Blin-Rolland, 2019; Erlmann, 2010; James, 2012). In this section, I explicate the conceptual application of resonance in disciplines within the social sciences, including social movement studies (Snow & Benford, 1988), cultural studies (Kubal, 1998; Rowling et al., 2011) and psychology (Coburn, 2001; Robnett, 2004; Schrock et al., 2004). The different conceptual applications of resonance by these disciplines reveal the synchronous correspondence that is an essence of the concept, when referring to the alignment between two or more parties in a variety of social settings. However, it is important to note that resonance is not only about alignment and synchronicity. Stemming from a sonic, musical tradition (Blin-Rolland, 2019; Erlmann, 2010; James, 2012), resonance connotes a mutually reflective,

reverberating relationship between different sonic elements, which constitutes the sonic outcome. Based on concepts from these disciplines, and echoed by my own empirical findings, I argue that Sonic Resonance contributes to explaining the mutually reflective and dialectically reinforcing relationships between meaning, affect, rationality and emotion, as in the Sonic Performance of Feminist Protest Soundscapes.

Relating to social movement literature, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the concept of resonance was adopted by Snow and Benford (1988) to explain the alignment between participants and organization resulting from the process of framing, which is known as framing resonance. According to Snow and Benford (1998), the articulated meaning of protest issues – their framing – allows participants to align with organization. Thus, participants can correspond to an organization in terms of understanding (sharing the same protest concern) and therefore in action (participating in the protest based on the same meaningful grounding). In other words, framing acts as the mediating process that enables two parties – here participants and the protest organization – to resonate into the single body of the protest collective.

Building on this (Snow & Benford, 1998), scholars continue to explore the role of framing in social movements. However, their focus has mainly been on meanings of the frame, while the concept of resonance has been less developed (Benford & Snow, 2000; Cooper, 2002; Johnston & Noakes, 2005; Smith, 2002). That said, the verb derived from resonance – to resonate – had still been loosely used when referring to the agreement expressed by participants towards the organization and the protest in general. Also, exploring the role of meaning in bridging different entities, the concept of cultural resonance was initiated by cultural studies scholars to explain how the meanings of past and present make sense to an individual in a social setting. For instance, immigrants find certain cultural symbols of their place of origin meaningful, not only because of past experience in their home countries, but also as a result of their current experience in the country of emigration. In short, cultural resonance conceptualizes a relationship of correspondence between entities of personal experience in the past and social experience in the present, which in turn co-creates cultural understanding and identities (Kubal, 1998; Rowling et al., 2011).

As we can see, social movement studies (Gamson, 1995; Snow & Benford, 1998) and cultural studies (Kubal, 1998; Rowling et al., 2011) have adopted resonance to explain the role of meaning in bridging two or more parties. This is like the notion of mediation, which explains a meaningful negotiation process between different entities, such as meaning, actors, cultural norms and technologies, as in the communication process (Silverstone, 2002; James, 2012). However, in line with McDonnell (2017) and Vorderer et al. (2019), resonance is not only about mediation, i.e., a communicative process that allows different meanings to interact (Silverstone, 2002), but also about immediate experience. The emphasis

on an immediate, direct and affective experience between individuals is conceptualized as resonance, from an affective, and psychological perspective (Coburn, 2001; Robnett, 2004; Schrock et al., 2004).

In developmental and clinical psychology (Coburn, 2001; Robnett, 2004; Schrock et al., 2004), resonance refers to sympathetic and emotional echoes between at least two parties. The concept is used to explore conflict resolution in a variety of social settings (Etkin et al., 2006; Pan, 2020) and social interaction in individual and group psychological therapies (Lazaroff, 2000; Thygesen, 2008). Moreover, in affect studies, resonance is used to explain the relationship between bodily experience and outside affecting entities (Erlmann, 2010; Rieger, 2012). For instance, hearing, the perception of sound, is explained as a resonance between vibration in the air and the ear membranes.

Despite their differing foci on meaning, emotion and affect, the quality of co-responsiveness between parties has been captured in the concept of resonance, as demonstrated in the studies mentioned above. However, originating in musicology and sound studies, the essence of resonance is more than this.

According to music and sound studies (Blin-Rolland, 2019; Erlmann, 2010; James, 2012), resonance refers to the vibrations of sonic elements that are on the same level of vibrating frequency, sounding together and at once, which creates a harmonic sonic outcome. In the sounding process, these sonic elements are not vibrating differently, but connecting to and reverberating with one another on the same frequency level. Sounding together in time, and against one another in terms of different sonic qualities, these elements are mutually reflective, reinforcing and intensifying one another's sound. In particular, in tonal studies within musicology (Cogan, 1975; Ford, 1999; James, 2012), resonance conceptualizes the harmonic composition of musical notes. Although dissimilar, different notes of the same chordal position and register contribute their own specific tone colours and reverberate with other notes on a similar frequency level and of a similar chordal nature. For instance, the first chordal position of C major is composed of the musical notes C, E and G. Albeit different in sonic quality, these notes are on a similar frequency level and so resonate well with one another, co-creating a peaceful and pleasant chord.

As we can see, music and sound studies stress the compatibility of sonic elements and their equally important weighting, as in the process of resonance. Also, this offers a relational and interactive approach to explaining the process of sonic elements reverberating that creates the sonic, consonant outcome. Furthermore, it is important to note that, from a musical and sonic perspective (Cogan, 1975; Ford, 1999; James, 2012), a synchronized temporal dimension of resonance is specified here – the sonic elements studied were sounding together and at once, but not separated across different time sessions.

Grounded in sonic conceptual relevancy, and embracing conceptual contributions from different approaches, I argue that resonance is not only about reverberation of the same frequency, nor is it either

meaningfully mediated or affectively immediately experiential. It is a process whereby different aspects of the same entity interact and mutually reinforce one another in an equally important manner, creating a harmonic and desirable outcome. The process of resonance is reflected in the Sonic Performances of Protest Soundscapes, according to my empirical findings. In the Sonic Performances of the Protest Soundscapes studied, attributes including affect, meaning, rationality and emotion co-existed and were mutually and dialectically reinforcing, and I have conceptualized this as Sonic Resonance.

In the following subsections, I further illustrate the concept of Sonic Resonance in response to the general conceptual question and in relation to my empirical findings.

Sonic Resonance: The Co-existence and Mutual Reinforcement of Affect, Meaning, Rationality and Emotion

Sonic Resonance explains the co-existence and mutual reinforcement of affect, meaning, rationality and emotion in the medium of sound. It bridges the impasses between these entities as identified in sound studies of protest. As mentioned, in the literature, protest sounds are explored as separate genres with different conceptual foci. However, as I have shown throughout this thesis, different Sonic Performances resonate differently between entities of rationality, meaning, affect and emotion. In relation to the concept of resonance (Blin-Rolland, 2019; Erlmann, 2010), first, these aspects are of equal importance in constituting sound. Second, they relate to and interact with one another in a reverberating, mutually reinforcing and dialectical way. The equal importance of these aspects, and their mutually reinforcing and dialectical relationship, is revealed and documented through my analysis of Feminist Protest Soundscapes.

As discussed in Chapter 5, on a sonic, descriptive level, in Feminist Protest Soundscapes the meaning of collective and injustice frames, collective and reflective emotions, and sonic affect are mutually reflective and reinforcing, co-creating the collective voice of protest. For instance, in Feminist Protest Soundscapes dominated by the Sonic Performance of singing, the meaning of the feminist collective frame '*We are Family*' (Sister Sledge, 1979) was expressed via singing voices. It was passionate, encouraging and exciting. These collective emotions not only reflected but also reinforced and corresponded to the meaning of the collective frame. Meanwhile, sonic affects such as crowd cheering, shouting and clapping in time with the rhythm of singing and drumming were expressed, which intensified not only collective emotions, but also the meaning of '*We are Family*' as a feminist protest collectivity (Edwards & Rodgers, 1978). Thus, there was a coherency and correspondence between the meaning of the general protest frame, the sonic affect and the collective emotions that reflected the existence of rationality in the sonic form.

It is important to note that these entities, which are aspects of Sonic Performances, resonate not only in different sonic performances, but also across them. This is because Sonic Performances are related and interactive, and therefore are the attributes embedded in and expressed through them. Especially in the Feminist Marching Polyphony, for instance, the meaning of the chants that highlighted the demand for gender equality was supported by a sense of determination, not only via the emotionality expressed in chanting voices, but via also the sound of drumming and crowd cheering. As these Sonic Performances were sounding out for the same purposes, the attributes of meaning, affect and emotion resonating within different Sonic Performances were also corresponding across Sonic Performances, making up the protest soundscapes – the collective voice of protest.

Thus, relating to the impasses between rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in sound studies of protests (Hurner, 2006; Johnston, 2009; Musliu & Burlyuk, 2019; Rodnitzky, 1999), we see that these entities are not separate, but mutually and dialectically reinforcing in constituting sound. Here, what I mean by dialectical pays tribute to a Hegelian tradition of stressing the co-existence of different aspects of the same things in constituting an entity, focusing on their interaction rather than on their oppositions and conflicts. According to my analysis of the data, attributes of meaning, affect, rationality and emotion are different aspects of sound, as documented in the recordings of the Feminist Protest Soundscapes. Albeit different in expression, these mostly served the same purpose and were heading in the same direction – to construct collective identity. These entities were mutually reflective in their functions and reverberating in the medium of sound. Therefore, they were not contrary to one another, although discernible in different aspects of the soundscape (Edinburgh, 2016; Mathur, 1967; Woodbridge, 1930).

It is important to note that there were moments when these aspects of sound were not attuned to the Feminist Protest Soundscapes. However, because of my methodological design, the sonic ethnography and sonic diaries documented by myself and participants respectively are acoustically dominated by protest sounds inclining to the affirmative side of a feminist collective identity. As a sonic ethnographic researcher aiming to record the protest soundscapes, my geographical location for recording was usually within the protest assembly. So was that of participants recording their sonic diaries, since they were situated at the heart of the protests. Therefore, it was protest sounds, including slogan-shouting, songs, speeches and drumming, that were predominantly captured. Nevertheless, as discussed in Chapter 5, the sounds of normality – noise and sounds of opponents – all these anti-protest sounds were also part of the protest soundscapes. In terms of meaning, these sonic elements did not reflect the meaning of the feminist protest claim of gender inequality. Moreover, in terms of emotion and affect, they were as likely to be promoting individuality (noises) or aiming to intrude upon collective emotions

and affect (anti-protest sounds) as to be created by the protest collective. That said, within the category of non-protest sounds, aspects of meaning, affect and emotion were still mutually reflective and reinforcing, co-creating noise and anti-protest sound within the feminist protest soundscapes. These non-protest sounds were therefore documented and regarded by participants as part of the Feminist Protest Soundscapes representing the protest collective. In other words, relating to the concept of collective identity (Melucci, 1995), a 'we' community was forming, which acknowledged the existence of 'them' and contained the 'them' as an acceptable part of 'us'.

As I discuss further in the second last section of this chapter on future research recommendations, although noise and the sounds of opponents are both beyond the capacity of conceptualization of this thesis, they would beneficially form part of a study of protest soundscapes and collective identity construction, since collective identity is about not only the notion of 'us', but also the interaction between and negotiation with 'them'. Therefore, it would be significant to further explore the way these aspects of noise and sounds of normality interacted with protest sounds, while exploring protest soundscapes and collective identity construction. For instance, in protest soundscapes, how does the meaning of anti-protest messages interact with the collective emotions and the affect of protest sounds? To put it another way, when the meaning of sound (anti-protest message) was not resonating with the collective emotions and affects of protest sounds – Sonic Dissonance – how might it influence the construction and sustaining of collective identity? How do Sonic Dissonance and Sonic Resonance interact? What is the role of rationality in this process? And how would this process influence the construction and sustaining of collective identity?

Furthermore, as mentioned in chapter 4, 5, 6, through experienced of sonic resonance, affective experience, meaning, emotion and rationality all resonate as one. Based on this, I argue that from a sonic, descriptive perspective, what is regarded as reasonable by feminist protest participants and organizers is beyond rational instrumentality (Weber, 1940). Aligned with a feminist critique, rationality is not only about the relationship between the means and the end, nor is it merely reinforcing the male-dominating communicative practice and structure (Cudd, 2001; Driscoll & Krook, 2009; England, 1989; Fraser, 1990, 2014; Mumby & Putnam, 1992; Pateman & Grosz, 2013; Pajnik, 2006; Stone, 2012). As revealed from feminist protest soundscape analysis, what sounded as reasonable to both organizers and participants are full of emotional shades, relational dynamics as well as united and conflicting voices.

A variety of emotions, including solidarity, a sense of hope, collectivity, anger, disappointment and anticipation, were documented through the analysis of feminist protest soundscapes. Meanwhile, sisterhood dialogues about gender equality, conversation between friends, speaker's calls for action,

mass chit-chatting, conflicting voices between protesters and anti-protesters and the alarming sound of the siren, were also present. It is diverse, dynamic and interactive, reflecting what is regarded as reasonable to participants and organizers goes beyond reasoning.

Also, as discussed in chapter 2, some feminist scholars argue that countering a male-dominating culture, a feminist rationality implies the importance of relationship, solidarity as well as everyday life conversation (England, 1989; Fraser, 1990, 2014; Mumby & Putnam, 1992; Pateman & Grosz, 2013; Pajnik, 2006; Stone, 2012). Based on sonic resonance and as demonstrated in feminist protest soundscapes, it is revealed that the aspects of vocal expression, conflicting voices as well as the existence of crowd sound and polyphony were also regarded as appropriate by feminist protest organizers and participants. The capacity to embrace a variety of vocal expressions and conflicting voices, which I see as the sound and the culture of allowance, may be yet another aspect of feminist rationality that could be further explored. Since the focus of this thesis is on the role of sound in collective identity formation and feminist protests are selected as case study, I suggest that future research considers exploring a variety of different protest soundscapes. That said, as we can see, sonic resonance captures the sonic, affective, emotional and cultural aspect of protests, which sounds reasonable to a particular culture/protesting group.

Besides discussing the role and interactive process of affect, meaning, emotion and rationality in sound, I would like to stress the equal importance of these entities in constituting Sonic Performances that enable collective identity construction.

Meaning, Affect, Rationality and Emotion are Equally Important

Relating to the concept of resonance from a musical, sonic tradition, different aspects are of equal importance in constituting sound (Blin-Rolland, 2019; Erlmann, 2010; James, 2012). In other words, meaning is not more important than affect or emotion, and vice versa. Meanwhile, rationality is not insignificant. As mentioned, like notes in the same key, these attributes are aspects of sound that resonate all at once, creating Protest Soundscapes.

The equal importance of these attributes is even more salient in the Sonic Performance of drumming. Though without semiotics, the meaning of 'Saying NO!' (Participant S, 2020) was apparent because of the emotions of provocation and excitement, and of affects such as rising heartbeats that echoed with the noisy drum sound. These emotions and affects were sentimental and physical expressions of the intention to protest and fight. To put it another way, they meaningfully reflected and reinforced the notion of protest. In such a case, affect and emotion are meaningful. These aspects of drumming sound out harmonically, corresponding to one another. The coherency between affect, emotion and meaning

co-created the Sonic Performance for the purpose of protesting, which reveals the existence of rationality. Therefore, despite their different presentationally dominant elements, such as the meaning in lyrics or the physical sensations created by drumming, entities of rationality, meaning, affect and emotion co-existed, harmonically resonating and mutually reinforcing one another in the sonic performance, and contributing to collective identity construction.

As we can see, in sound, these entities resonate in a mutually reflective and dialectically reinforcing way. However, relating to dissonance as mentioned, although not an analytical focus, we realize that there are also moments when these entities are not harmonically in tune. Still, the equal importance of these aspects in co-creating the feminist protest soundscapes is revealed. Also, these relationships between attributes of sound are demonstrated not only from a sonic, descriptive perspective, but also from a strategic point of view. This is because sound is an expressive form that is created by humans. Therefore, it carries and reflects human understanding, emotions, bodily responses and rational considerations. From a strategic point of view, Sonic Resonance shows that not only rationality and cultural resources matter in the mobilization and strategic construction of collective identity, but also affect and emotion.

Rationality and Cultural Resources: More Important for Organization?

Relating to Chapter 2, from an organizational perspective within the social movement literature, the role of rationality and cultural resources is emphasized (Jenkins, 1983; McCarthy & Zald, 1977), while emotion and affect have been downplayed (Gould, 2010; Jasper, 2018). This was a response and critique to crowd theory (Le bon, 1908), which explains protests as irrational crowd behaviour. However, as discussed in Chapter 4, by exploring the sonic strategies considered by feminist protest organizers, it was revealed that the rational, meaningful, emotional and affective were all interrelated and could not be neatly separated. These aspects resonate in a corresponding and dialectical way, as revealed in the strategic planning of Sonic Performances for collective identity construction.

Echoing a rationality and resource mobilization approach (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), according to the data analysis, cultural and material resources such as songs and sound systems were rationally considered with a view to the protest objective of creating sonic performances that would enable the experience of collective identity. However, countering dualities between the rational and the meaningful (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), the affective and the emotional (Gould, 2009; Jasper, 2018), it was revealed that the organizers' rational consideration involved not only material and cultural resources, as stressed by scholars of the resource mobilization approach (Jenkins, 1983; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Rather, the affective and emotional attributes of sounds were also significantly considered, alongside cultural and material concerns.

Aiming to create a feminist collective identity, organizers sought to produce Sonic Performances such as Collective Singing. To do so, not only lyrics of women's suffering and songs that represent women's collectivity were considered. More than that, the emotionality and potential affect of melody and rhythms were regarded as important resources because these attributes of sound would allow participants to become involved affectively, and feel they were part of the protest collective. Therefore, according to organizers, the emotion, meaning and affect of sound functioned in conjunction, in a mutually reinforcing way, by simultaneously enabling the meaningful and the experiential.

For the same reason, drumming and interactive chanting were also rationally considered, aiming to create a collective atmosphere that would emotionally and affectively bond participants as a collective. These sounds were adopted also because of their meaning. According to organizers, drumming represents a protest agenda through noise-making. Meanwhile, meaningful protest claims concerning women's oppression were articulated as slogans for chanting. These sounds, which were affective and emotional, were also meaningfully reflecting and reverberating with the general protest frame of gender inequality. Thus, not only cultural resources but also emotional and affective resources in sounds were rationally considered by organizers seeking to create an experience of collective identity in Sonic Performances. All these entities are aspects of sound that resonate at once and cannot be teased out separately.

Besides this, as discussed, from an organizing perspective, rationality was not only about the kind of resources to be mobilized, but also involved the notion and process of assessment of such resources in relation to the intended protest objective. Therefore, exploring organizers' strategic consideration of Sonic Performances from a processual point of view, in relation to the sonic experience that they aimed to create, further reveals a dialectical relationship between the rational and the affective in relation to the organization of Sonic Performances. I discuss below the dialectical relationship between the affective and the rational.

Dialectical Relationship Between the Affective and the Rational

In the process of producing Sonic Performances, rationality was apparent from the start. This was because organizers needed to evaluate and make decisions based on available resources and potential risks, relating to their objective of collective identity construction. However, it is important to note that this process of consideration was connected to an intended objective that was experiential – to create an experience of collective identity through Sonic Performance. As this expected outcome was experiential, it was made possible only by comprehensively considering the meaningful, affective and emotional aspects of sound. Therefore, although rationality was apparent and emphasized, the process of rational

consideration was in fact guided by and heading towards the meaningful, affective and emotional aspects of Sonic Performances, in order to build an experience of collective identity.

Thus, it was the emotional, affective and meaningful aspects of the intended sonic performances in relation to the experience of collective identity that defined what resources and strategies were appropriate and rational – for instance, whether the specific songs, chants, speakers, and the acoustics of such sounds, were appropriate, depending on their meaning, emotionality and affectivity in creating the experience of collectivity. Thus, in the process of strategic consideration, the practice and existence of rationality are valid only if meaning, affect and emotion are considered for the same intended sonic outcome and for collective identity construction.

As we can see, the concept of Sonic Resonance informs a mutually re-enforcing and dialectical relationship between these entities. It counters a separation between the rational and the cultural, and between the emotional and the affective, when explaining resource mobilization in protests (Jenkins, 1983; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). These attributes work together in both mediating and immediate ways, which together guide the process of strategic consideration for Sonic Performances. Sonic Resonance conceptualizes the organization of Sonic Performances and the strategic construction of collective identity as a process, rather than merely the separate resources to be mobilized.

On that note, it is significant to highlight that the notion of rationality is beyond practicality. As discussed in chapter 2, traditional sociological approaches view rationality as merely instrumental – as means to an end (Weber, 1940), which was critiqued by feminist scholars (Cudd, 2001; Driscoll & Krook, 2009; England, 1989; Fraser, 1990, 2014; Mumby & Putnam, 1992; Pateman & Grosz, 2013; Pajnik, 2006; Stone, 2012). As argued throughout in this thesis, what is regarded as reasonable in sonic performances by organizers is not merely about cost and benefits – calculation. It is also about the collective experience of collectivity, hope, encouragement, as well as the pleasure of being together in an affective atmosphere and ambiance. This reflects the cultural concern of feminist protest organizers and a collective identity that they share with participants.

Besides production, a dialectical relationship between these entities in Sonic Resonance was also revealed from a participative, experiential aspect. This counters the view that affect and emotion are more significant in the experience of collective identity, as discussed in the next subsection.

Affect and Emotion: More Significant in the Experience of Collective Identity?

Relating to Chapter 2, the role of emotion and affect are emphasized in studies of collective identity as well as of experience (Neville & Reicher, 2011; Omori, 2016; Steidl, 2020). Echoing this to some extent, my findings show how affect and emotion are central to creating an experience of collective identity

through sonic performances. That said, and in line with a dialectical perspective, the role of meaning and rationality are of equal importance. It was only when these entities resonated with the experience of Sonic Performances that protest participants could attune to the collective in terms of sonic participation, and therefore of collective identity.

As discussed in Chapter 6, in Sonic Performances, for instance speech and interactive chanting, affects including contagious cheering and collective bodily movement in time with the chanting rhythm made participants feel they were one with the collective. A sense of togetherness and satisfaction was generated, which bonded them together as a collective. However, according to participants, the experience of collective emotion and affect was not sufficient for them to attune to (align with) the collective identity. Even when they were enjoying being inside the affective experience and the sense of togetherness, participants would stop participating in the Sonic Performance when they realized that the meaning of the sonic content did not represent their own protest concerns or identities. As participants revealed, no matter whether this concerned singing, chanting, speeches and/or the Feminist Marching Polyphony, the general framing of the sonic performance needed to be broad and open enough to enable them to position personal protest claims, such as sexual violence or migrant women's suffering, within the general claim of gender inequality. If not, they would choose to opt out of participating in the sonic performance, and therefore not identify with the feminist collective identity as expressed by the movement. In other instances, such as collective singing, although the meaning of the general protest claim presented in the selected songs was relevant to individual participants, some still did not experience collective identity, precisely because the feeling and affective experience of collectiveness was missing.

As we can see, from a participatory perspective, although the emotional and affective aspects of Sonic Performances were central to creating a collective experience, they were not enough to create collective identity. This was because the meaning of protest claims that resonated with collective emotions and affect was absent. On the other hand, if only the meaning of Sonic Performances related individual participants to the collective, participants would still not be able to attune to the sonic performance and the collective identity if the collective experience of emotion and affect were lacking. It is when these entities correspond to and resonate with one another through experiences of Sonic Performances, that a collective identity can be experienced and constructed in the process (Melucci, 1995). This shows that the experience of emotion and affect, as well as rational reflection and understanding, coexist during participation in Sonic Performances. Therefore, the resonance of these entities is revealed, not only on a descriptive and organizational level, but also on a participatory level. This is because these attributes are not only aspects of sound, but also of human experience, which shows a mutually reflective and

dialectically reinforcing relationship between these entities from a subjective perspective, as revealed through participation in Sonic Performances.

Affective and Emotional Experience, Rational Reflection and Meaningful Understanding as Human Experiential Entities

As mentioned in Chapter 2, people's sensual, physical and affective, as well as neurological and analytical, abilities function together and in a continuous manner (Russell & Mischel, 2003; Schachter et al., 1962). Although some attributes, for instance the emotional, may be relatively apparent and expressive in cheering, this does not entail a lack of meaning and/or rationality behind such an expression.

In other words, in Sonic Performances, underneath emotional and affective expression and experience lies rationality – the process of assessment relating to the meaning of protest frames operates on an ongoing basis. It acts like a guardian angel backstage, or a continuous operating software program on a computer that evaluates the relevancy of meaning as expressed through Sonic Performances and the synchronicity between meaning, affect and emotion, relating here to protest concerns. Rational reflection touches and guides the level of affective and emotional expression, based on the relevancy of the collective protest claim presented and in relation to individual concerns. Meanwhile, the relevancy and meaningful significance of the protest frame is also informed by the affective and emotional aspects of the experience.

In short, when experiencing Sonic Resonance, affect, emotion, rationality and meaning are corresponding and mutually reinforcing each other, which enables Collective Attunement – the construction and experience of collective identity through Sonic Performances. Like the musical notes of the same chord, although different in their tonal colours (specific sonic functions), these entities reverberate together and at the same time, harmonically sounding from the same chordal position. This is not only mutually reinforcing, but these entities are also mutually guiding one another. If any of the attributes are not in coherence with the rest, like an unresolved and diminished note in a chord, the experience of collective identity in Sonic Performances may be disrupted.

Thus, the concept of Sonic Resonance tries to contribute the explain the relationships between the rational, the meaningful, and the affective and emotional, by showing that these entities are co-existing, dialectic and mutually reflexive, from an experiential account. Through Sonic Performances, experience of and participation in affective experience is guided by a continuous rational assessment process based on an understanding of protest frames, and relating to one's own protest concerns. Individual protest participants' understanding of collective identity was reflected in their affective and emotional experience of collectivity when participating in Sonic Performances.

However, we come to realize that there are moments of detunement, when participants did not align themselves with the protest collective in terms of sonic participation and collective identity. As discussed in Chapter 6, individual participants did not identify themselves as part of the feminist protest collective when the meaning represented in sonic performances did not echo their own protest concerns. This also happened when collective emotions and affect were not experienced. In such cases, although within a Feminist Protest Soundscape, participants actively detuned their voices and sonic participation from the Sonic Performances.

Furthermore, not only on an individual level, detunement may also happen on a collective level - collective detunement in protests. For instance, at the Anti-Brexit Protest in 2019, different cultural and interest groups joined the protest. The meaning, affect and emotion of Sonic Performances might resonate with a particular group of protesters, but not with another, which could lead to collective detunement. Although detunement is beyond the conceptual capacity of this thesis, I suggest that researchers further explore the interplay between attunement and detunement in the process and experience of sonic resonance and dissonance.

It should be noted that the sonic quality of the Protest Soundscapes also influences the experience of participation, potentially leading to an experience of Sonic Dissonance and Detunement. In this thesis, from a sonically descriptive angle, Feminist Protest Soundscapes are described as being dominated by the sounds of protests. Nevertheless, in other protests the soundscapes have been dominated by sounds of authority and of protest opponents. Especially in protests with a heavier police presence, the sounds of sirens, helicopters, police charging, gunfire, fighting and conflicts between participants and the authorities may disrupt the Sonic Performances of activists, competing for dominance in the overall Protest Soundscapes. In such cases, the sonic attributes of sounds of authority may not resonate with the sounds of protest, but contradict each other. When a Protest Soundscape is dominated by Sonic Dissonance, how might this influence participants' experience of a collective identity? How might the experience of Sonic Dissonance facilitate both Attunement and Detunement?

Also, it would be relevant to also explore Sonic Dissonance from an organizational perspective. How would organizers strategically manage or make use of the rise of sounds of authority and opponents within the Protest Soundscape? What is the role of Sonic Dissonance in collective identity construction from the viewpoint of organizers? Since the data acquired here is not sufficient to respond to these questions, which are also beyond the conceptual capacity of this thesis, I recommend that future research explore the Sonic Dissonance and Detunement that are highlighted in the penultimate section of this chapter.

In sum, in this thesis, Sonic Resonance is put forward in order to conceptualize the experience of collective identity in the Sonic Performances of Feminist Protest Soundscapes. This contributes to an understanding of the resonance of, and a mutually reinforcing relationship between, emotion, meaning, affect and rationality. These are not separate or isolated entities. They are one in experience, which deepens the understanding of collective identity from a processual and experiential perspective.

Collective Identity as Process and Experience of Sonic Resonance

As discussed in the literature review, collective identity can be viewed as a process, from a subjective, relational point of view (Jasper, 2018; Mead, 1984; Melucci, 1995). It involves two parties – an individual participant and the protest collective, and indicates a start and an end, which contain the process. Although the processual nature of collective identity has been explored in social movement literature (Jasper, 2018; Melucci, 1995), the understanding of collective identity as processual and relational is relatively linear, focusing on different concepts in relating the individual to the protest collective.

Based on findings of this thesis, and on the above discussion of its conceptual contribution, I argue that Collective Attunement and Sonic Resonance contribute to an understanding of collective identity construction as a flexible process that is experiential. As mentioned, in the context of Collective Attunement, individual participants are able to relate to the collective, in terms of sonic participation, and to a collective identity, depending on the degree of their experience of Sonic Resonance. It is mostly when these entities resonate in the experience of Sonic Performances that the process of attuning oneself with the collective can happen. Therefore, to allow the process of relating oneself with the protest collective to happen, Collective Attunement, the experience of Sonic Resonance, was significant.

As we can see, the processual and experiential natures of collective identity are not mutually exclusive. The process of relating oneself to the collective is essentially experienced from a participating perspective. In my case study, it was an experience of understanding and sharing a general protest concern with other participants, of collective emotions such as anger, satisfaction and happiness relating to protest participation, and of affective experience in the same Protest Soundscape. It was the experience of Sonic Resonance in the Sonic Performances of Protest Soundscapes that allowed individual participants to attune to the Sonic Performance and the collective identity.

Also, through the lens of Collective Attunement, the process and experience of collective identity is flexible. An attuning process with the collective can happen at any time, when entities of rationality, meaning, emotion, and affect are resonating in Sonic Performances. It is important to note that Sonic Resonance can also refer to a process, when entities of, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion resonate. However, from a participating perspective, humans are subjects that experience such a process.

Therefore, when referring to collective identity, from a participating perspective, experience is a more relevant and reflexive term to adopt.

In short, individual participants attuned to the protest collective in terms of sonic participation and collective identity, based on their experience of Sonic Resonance. Through this lens, it might seem that Collective Attunement is the outcome of Sonic Resonance. Although this may be the case in some instances, it is important to note that there is no specific order. As I show in Chapter 6, and as already mentioned in this subsection, Sonic Resonance can happen at any time, when rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in Sonic Performances resonate.

Interactive Relationships between Actors in Sonic Resonance

As discussed in Chapter 2, in the context of fragmented personal identity (Friedman & McAdam, 1992; Gamson, 1997), the notion of self-expression is regarded as more important for mobilization, while organizational commitment becomes weaker (Chen, 2013; Daskalaki, 2010; Rohlinger & Bunnage, 2018). Therefore, the concept of the collective and of collective identity may become less useful. However, according to my findings, this is far from the truth.

Certainly, in this case, individual protest concerns and personal identity were central to mobilization. Participants saw their own concerns, such as women's night-life security and household violence, as major drives to participation, based on their own experience. However, as demonstrated in the exploration of Sonic Performances from a participating aspect, the role of the general protest frame of gender inequality, of collective emotions including collective spirit, of a sense of feminist community, and of collective affects such as mass cheering were all necessary to encourage and sustain participation and to create a sense of belonging, of community. To put it another way, the meaning of the general protest frame, and the experience of collectiveness, were still something that participants care for when participating in feminist protests in London. The importance of the collective was also revealed from a sonic, descriptive perspective, which echoed organizers' strategic approach to mobilization and sonic production.

Also, as discussed, considering weaker organizational commitment in the context of a fragmented Feminist identity, it is even more important to explore the relationship between actors and the dynamics between strong and weak ties, and thick and thin collective identity (Chen, 2013; Flesher Fominaya, 2007, 2010; Rohlinger & Bunnage, 2018). The form of collective identity may be changing and becoming less salient resulting from dynamics of social context, but this does not necessarily mean that it is no longer relevant or useful. Based on this, I argue that Sonic Resonance offers a comprehensive approach to exploring collective identity, relationships between actors, and the dynamics between different levels of collective identity. For instance, here it reveals interactions between the

movement level (organizational concern), the individual level in the context of fragmented identity, and a sonic, descriptive level, in relation to the sonic representation and experience of collective identity. Offering an encapsulating capacity, Sonic Resonance explains the co-existence and interrelation of rationality, affect, meaning and emotion, which are all integral aspects of human experience. By exploring the relationships between these entities via the concept of Sonic Resonance, the interactions and dynamics between actors, and participants' attuning as well as de-attuning experience in relation to an experience of collective identity could be revealed.

The sonic outcome of the Feminist Protest Soundscapes, as documented through my analysis, was co-produced by both participants and organizers. The meaning of demanding equality, as put forward by organizers and in speeches, for instance, was related to and interacting with the collective emotions of a sense of hope and collectivity, as expressed and experienced by participants. Meanwhile, the emotion of excitement stemming from interactive chanting, as initiated by participants, was echoed by the energetic and encouraging beats of drumming. Thus, Sonic Resonance here provides a conceptual lens through which to explore the relationship and interaction between rationality, meaning, and affect and emotion, which involve different actors, in forging collective identity.

Summary

In sum, in this thesis, exploring the role of Sonic Performances in Protest Soundscapes, rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in creating collective identity, the concept of Sonic Resonance is put forward in order to conceptualize and explain the resonating qualities and the mutually reinforcing, dialectical relationship of these entities, through the medium of sound. It sheds light on understanding sonic strategies for protests, the constitution of protest soundscapes and the collective identity construction process, through a processual and experiential account.

Because of its ability to encompass rationality, meaning, affect and emotion, I argue that Sonic Resonance is a concept that bridges the gap between sound studies and politics. As discussed in Chapter 2, like other cultural forms, sounds take part in generating and reinforcing power relations. Meanwhile, sound is also a medium for protest. The concept of Sonic Resonance provides a conceptual tool for exploring the strategy, the sonic quality and constitution, and the experience of sound in social and political contexts. Therefore, I argue that it could be applied in an interdisciplinary way in the social sciences, including media and communications, sociology and cultural studies.

My empirical findings and conceptual contribution were made possible by the adoption of ethno-methods and sonic methods. This combinative approach is another contribution made here from a methodological point of view.

Methodological Discussion

As discussed in Chapter 3, exploring Sonic Performances in Protest Soundscapes in relation to collective identity construction, from their organizing, descriptive and participating aspects, required a variety of research methods. In order to investigate sonic strategies, interviews with organizers, participant observation in organizing meetings and thematic analysis were used. And, to explore the sonic nature of Protest Soundscapes, sonic ethnography of textual and phonological approaches, Protest Soundscape Analysis and thematic analysis were adopted. Moreover, focusing on a participatory perspective, sonic diaries, interviews with participants, thematic analysis and Protest Soundscape Analysis were used. Although I reiterate my selected methods here in terms of my research concerns, for reasons of clarity, it is important to note that the data collected were triangulated across research questions, aiming to generate a comprehensive corpus for data analysis.

As we can see, ethnographic methods and sonic methods were selected, and I have argued that this combination of ethno-methods and sonic methods with thematic and soundscape analysis contributes to offering a comprehensive and systematic methodological approach to exploring sounds in protests.

A Combination of Ethno-methods and Sonic methods for Sonic Data Collection

Firstly, as discussed, sound carries rationality, meaning, affect and emotion. It is a medium that involves humanity, reception, understanding and reflection, as well as experience, text, aural forms and acoustic measures. When collecting data about sound, single methods were not comprehensive enough to document these entities. For instance, to investigate rationality and meaning, data including text in sounds, and human explanations of rational, reflexive experience were relevant. Therefore, methods including interviews and the analysis of lyrics were useful in this instance. However, sound is also emotional and affective. To explore an experiential aspect of sound, human experiences and people's explanations of experiencing affect and emotion, and emotionality, in sonic form were relevant data. So, methods including interviews, participant observation, sonic ethnography and sonic diaries were useful.

Some may argue that either ethnographic methods or sonic methods would be adequate to explore sound, focusing on human explanations of their sonic experience, sonic recordings or participant observation. It may be true to some extent that any of these methods would provide additional insight into sound. However, based on various qualities of sounds, and on my reflections, an encompassing approach combining both was deemed necessary for the exploration of sound in relation to collective identity construction as well as to capturing the resonance or dialectic between rationality and emotions/affects. For instance, sonic methods recorded moments in protest soundscapes. However,

what emotions and affects were experienced in relation to collective identity? Semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation were useful for explanation. And, although interviews and participant observation provided data relating to reflexivity and experience, these methods collected not sonic data but data consisting of human descriptions of their sonic experience, which did not capture the sonic picture containing the emotion, affect and meaning of the protest soundscapes. Thus, the ethno-methods and sonic methods adopted complemented each other, providing both sonic and qualitative data for exploring rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in sound. On a related note, besides its contribution to data collection for the study of sound, a combination of ethno-methods and sonic methods also inspires the data collection process for the exploration of human experience including affect and rationality.

Data Collection for the Study of Affect and Rationality

As discussed in Chapter 2, not all human experience is directly expressive via semiotics. Affect, referred to as the process of generating emotions, is regarded as a non-linguistic, affective experience (Massumi, 2002). Therefore, data collection for affect studies has been deemed challenging (Gould, 2010; Massumi, 2002). Aligned with Wetherell (2013) and Leys (2011), I agree that, although not reflected immediately, ethnographic methods including interviews and participant observation are useful data collection methods for affect studies. This is because affective experiences can be described and explained by participants. However, it is also true that a follow-up illustration is different from a direct affective experience. Thus, ethnographic methods including interviews and participant observation alone may not do justice to exploring affect.

For this thesis, I collected data to explore affect not only via the ethnographic methods of interviews and participant observation, but also through sonic methods including sonic ethnographies and sonic diaries. As mentioned, affect can be expressed through and experienced in sound. In other words, through the making of sonic recordings, the affective moment and experience could be documented. When playing back sonic recordings to participants during the interviews, as well as to myself when analysing the affective aspect of participation, affective moments could be revisited and re-experienced. This helped to enrich the experiential and affective aspect of the ethnographic data when exploring affect.

Besides affect, as mentioned in Chapter 2, rationality is another central concept inherent to human experience which is not always semiotically expressive (Illouz & Finkelstein, 2009; Freudenburg, 1993). Although rationality can be demonstrated through an explanation of the chain of thoughts, its essence lies in sensibility, which implies an evaluative account based on a standard and/or related context. To put this another way, rationality is a process of strategic consideration which is experiential. In

collecting data to explore rationality, ethnographic data may not be adequately reflective for an evaluative account, i.e., merely relying on human explanation. However, together with phonological data that provide insights into human experience, an understanding of rationality can be deepened by exploring the coherence between interviewees' explanations in words and in experience documented as phonological data. For instance, as discussed in Chapter 6, participants' rationality was revealed not only through their explanations of sonic participation, but also when their explanations made sense of their experience in terms of Sonic Performances and of their protest objective.

How to Improve Data Collection for Sound Studies Relating to Human Experience?

As we can see, a combinative approach including ethnographic and sonic methods inspired the data collection for my study of sound and human experience. However, limitations exist and unresolved questions remain. As discussed in Chapter 3, the methods of interviews, participant observation, sonic ethnography and sonic diaries all have their own limitations. Since one of the purposes of this Conclusion chapter is to reflect on the methodological design overall, rather than on specific methods, here I am not reiterating their respective limitations. That said, from a research design point of view, there is room for improvement in collecting data for the exploration of sound, experience and collective identity.

First, to collect sonic data for analysis, the recording device is central as the instrument for documenting the acoustic, meaningful, affective and emotional aspects of sound. However, because of my limited budget, I was not able to use, or to provide my participants with, high-quality recording devices. Therefore, the sonic layers demonstrated in the recordings were less reflective than they might have been of the actual sonic experience.

Second, we came to realize that sonic data recorded by myself and by participants for the sonic ethnographies and sonic diaries were different from the live experience of Sonic Performance in the Protest Soundscapes. This discrepancy is revealed in the interviews with participants. For instance, although playing back the sonic diaries facilitated discussion of their sonic experience, participants realized that the sonic diaries they had recorded were 'in the past' (Participant B, 2019) and that the sonic moments recorded could sometimes be a bit different from their own recollections and descriptions of their affective experience. Although the combination of sonic methods and ethnographic methods was a remedy for this, the question of the extent to which sonic recording data can inform sonic experience should be further reflected upon. In addition, because of the research design, the participants recruited were themselves protesters active within Feminist protests, therefore they might

have already held an affirmative view of the protests that influenced their intentions and ways of making their sonic diaries.

Third, in order to explore the sound relating to protest participation, I reflected on the potential usefulness of video recording. Although visuality was not a focus in the exploration of sound, a visual documentation of protest participation might have informed participants' affective response to and their active participation in the Sonic Performances. That said, other considerations such as consent for video recording and the balance of visual or audio dominance would have needed to be taken into account.

Besides data collection, this thesis also shed light on an analytical level, by incorporating a textual with a sonic approach.

Thematic Analysis and Protest Soundscape Analysis

Data analysis required a combination and triangulation of analytical methods. In this thesis, for data analysis, I have used both Thematic Analysis and the Protest Soundscape Analysis that I developed. Because of the rational, acoustic, meaningful, emotional and affective qualities of sound, additional analytical categories that were reflexive of these entities were necessary. Therefore, based on Schafer's (1995) soundscape analysis, and aiming to contribute to understanding relationship between emotion, affect, rationality, and meaning in social movement literature, I developed Protest Soundscape Analysis. Based on sonic analytical categories including acoustics, meaning, emotion, affect and rationality, this analytical framework explored these entities in identified sonic elements, and the constitution, relationship, and interaction between sonic elements, in relation to the overall protest soundscapes and the context of protest. This sheds light on an understanding of the sonic fabric of protest soundscapes via a three-dimensional lens, and further strengthens the concept of Sonic Resonance, since these sonic attributes of sonic elements are shown to be reinforcing of one another in the medium of sound.

Furthermore, using both thematic analysis and Protest Soundscape Analysis, this thesis contributes to showing that text and sound are not mutually exclusive. Via Protest Soundscape Analysis, sonic data can be documented and analysed in textual form, which is beneficial to written presentation. Meanwhile, through thematic analysis, textual data from interviews and participant observation complement the results generated from Protest Soundscape Analysis.

Moreover, by exploring the relationships and constitutions between attributes sonic elements, I argue that Protest Soundscape Analysis provides a critical approach to sound studies from an analytical point of view.

An Analytical Approach to Critical Sound Studies

Building on Schafer's (1985) soundscape analysis, Protest Soundscape Analysis aims to not only reveal the sonic content that constitutes a space, but also to reveal both the relationship and the subtle acoustic differences between sonic elements within protest soundscapes. This analytical framework allows researchers to trace the sonic source and its impact on other sonic elements, which exposes the power relations between participants, organizers, opponents and the authorities from a sonic perspective. Also, by exploring acoustic differences, including in volume, frequency, affect and meaning, between the sounds of protest and of normality and protest opponents, the dominant and submissive sounds and their dynamic relationships become salient from a sonic aspect.

However, as mentioned in the conceptual discussion, it should be noted that in order to explore Sonic Performances in Protest Soundscapes and their role in collective identity construction, the analytical categories of noise, sonic boundaries and the sounds of opponents are also important to consider. Thus, the analytical framework of Protest Soundscape Analysis can be extended, which further reveals the power relations in the soundscapes studied by revealing contrasting sonic relationships. I discuss this further in the next section on future research recommendations.

In sum, then, this thesis offers a combinative approach of ethnographic methods and sonic methods, together with thematic and soundscape analysis, for the exploration of sound in protests. That said, upon reflection, limitations exist. Although remedies were adopted in the research process, including data triangulation and the recruitment of participants including those holding a non-affirmative attitude towards the use of sound in protests, we came to realize that both the contribution and the limitation of the methodological design had influenced the quality of the data and the research result. Based on this, I have a set of recommendations for future researchers who are interested in exploring protest sounds and collective identity. These are discussed in the next section.

Future Research Recommendations

Despite the conceptual and methodological contributions of this study, there is room for further improvements which I would recommend for future research.

Sonic Boundary, Noise and Collective Identity

Firstly, as collective identity has been a research focus here, the notion of 'them', not only of 'we', should be given more attention. As discussed, the conceptual framework was derived from and based on studies of rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in social movement literature relating to collective identity construction. However, I realize that, in the literature review and conceptual framework, these entities

are discussed on the basis of their affirmative qualities and influence on collective identity construction, in forming a 'we' community. So, what about the notion of 'them', which is also essential in creating an understanding, feeling and experience of collective identity? Therefore, the role of sound, rationality, meaning, emotion and affect in differentiating outsiders from insiders could be further explored.

This is also reflected in my empirical findings, especially in Chapters 5 and 6. In the on-street streaming of the Feminist Marching Polyphony, the sounds of normality and of protest opponents were salient. From a descriptive perspective, the contrasting sounds of protests and their opponents created a sonic boundary. Also, from a participating perspective, when encountering the sounds of opponents, participants stressed a sense of 'we-ness', contrasting to 'them'.

Although the sounds of opponents are mentioned here, upon reflection, in relation to the conceptual framework and methodological design, the sounds of opponents have a real contribution to make to exploring the role of protest soundscapes, especially in collective identity construction. Therefore, for future research, I propose that concepts of sonic boundaries, noise and sounds of opponents could be included in the conceptual framework. Also, as for Protest Soundscape Analysis, concepts including sonic boundaries, the sounds of opponents, sounds of normality, and their interactive relationship, could be further explored. It could also be useful to interview pedestrians and opponents about their views of Protest Soundscapes.

Sonic Dissonance, Collective Detunement and Rationality

Secondly, on a related note regarding noise, I realize that limitations exist in the conceptualization of Sonic Resonance and Collective Attunement. As I have argued, in sonic performances, meaning, affect, rationality and emotion are mutually reflective and reverberating, co-creating a harmonic sonic outcome that in this case reinforced the protest objective. And, from an experiential perspective, Sonic Resonance enables the experience of collective identity, which is conceptualized here as Collective Attunement. However, as mentioned, besides the noise created by the out-group, deviant voices also existed within the protest community. How do noise, sounds of authority and opponents, and deviant voices within the protest collective contribute to protest soundscapes, and therefore influence the experience of collective identity, the Collective Attunement? What is the role of a dissonating, repressive protest soundscape in creating experience of collective identity? What is the relationship between sonic resonance and sonic dissonance, in connection with collective attunement, individual detunement and collective detunement? How do protest soundscapes sound when they are dominated by sonic dissonance? And, how would organizers manage such sonic dissonance and collective detunement?

Furthermore, if these entities of sound are not corresponding, does this imply that rationality no longer exists? This led to my next inquiry – how useful is the concept of rationality in exploring collective

identity and mobilization? As Jasper (2018) pinpoints, a social madness that seems out of context may contribute to social progress. Meanwhile, a protest that is successful in the eyes of organizers may not necessarily benefit social change. Though not suggesting a linear process between protest and social change, the notion of rationality and its conceptual development needs further investigation.

Especially, as I have argued here, from a participative, experiential point of view, although emotion, meaning and affect are relatively expressive and salient in sonic forms, rationality – an evaluative process relating to the protest objective – also continuously exists. In a case of sonic dissonance where the entities described in the experience of sonic performance are not corresponding, but people still choose to participate, does this imply that the process of rational reflection is interrupted?

Also, it is realized that in terms of presentation and writing, in some chapters of this thesis, rationality often comes prior to culture, emotion and affect. Upon reflection, it is a limitation grounded in the researcher's academic training, which resonates with the general epistemological development, that science, logic and rationality were receiving more attention at the start of the enlightenment period. As discussed throughout in this thesis, the entities of emotion, culture, rationality and meaning are interconnected, therefore, their order of presentation as well as their dynamics could be presented in a more creative way.

On that note, as rationality is emotional, cultural as well as affective, I suggest that future research expands on the dialectical relationship within cultures, between rationality and reason on the one hand and emotions and affects on the other. Aligned with a feminist critique, the notion of rationality needs to be pushed beyond mere instrumentality. Furthermore, what is regarded as reasonable should not be limited to a male-dominating objectivity (Cudd, 2001; Driscoll & Krook, 2009; England, 1989; Fraser, 1990, 2014; Mumby & Putnam, 1992; Pateman & Grosz, 2013; Pajnik, 2006; Stone, 2012). As revealed through the analysis, what is regarded as sensible, from a feminist protest, sonic perspective, contains collective emotions of solidarity and anger, the voice of women of different race, culture and age, as well as the intertexture of those voices. By exploring the feminist protest soundscapes, what are the notions of rationality that could be teased out? Would conflicting voices, dissonance, sister whispers, pleasure, and disruption be some of these aspects? In other words, besides collective emotions, relationships, and a processual and experiential approach to communication, are there any other aspects as revealed in protest soundscapes that could be explored as feminist rationality?

As these questions are beyond the boundaries of this thesis, some of them having emerged during and after the research process, I recommend that future researchers explore them with regard to the role of sound and the interaction between meaning, rationality, emotion and affect in collective identity construction.

Further Exploration of Other Protest Soundscapes

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Feminist Protests in London were selected for this study because of their sonic significance, which guided and conditioned the type of protest soundscapes explored and therefore influenced the research result. Thus, the research results regarding Feminist Protest Soundscapes in London reported in this thesis may be to some extent, but are not necessarily, generalizable to other protest soundscapes. For instance, the resonating interaction between sonic elements of the Feminist Protest Soundscapes in London may not be replicated in other protest soundscapes. Depending on cultural and temporal specificities, other protest soundscapes may be less resonating and harmonic, or more violent.

Therefore, in order to explore the role of soundscapes in collective identity construction, future research could consider analysing other protest soundscapes, based on the conceptual grounding of sonic resonance, sonic dissonance, collective attunement and detunement, and the analytical attributes of Protest Soundscape Analysis.

Interview Time Gap

As discussed, the method of interviews was adopted to explore participants' sonic experience in selected protests. However, because of scheduling issues, some interviews were conducted more than a month after the protest concerned. As one of the objectives of this thesis was to explore participants' understanding, emotion and affective experience in Protest Soundscapes, having them talk about their experiences and reflections closer in time to the protest would have been preferable. This is because one's understanding and interpretation of experiences change dynamically, responding to different instances in everyday life. Therefore, the explanations given by participants in interviews will have been less reflexive of their participating experience in real time, which was important for this study as Protest Soundscapes are experiential only contemporaneously.

Although the playing back of sonic diaries was introduced as a remedy for this and to trigger participants' memory and experience of Protest Soundscapes, for future research, I suggest shortening the time gap between the end of the protest and the interviews, if human resources, time and other arrangements make this possible.

Sonic Presentation of Data Analysis

In the study of protest, the role of sound is significant. Although the acoustic, affective, meaningful, rational and emotional aspects of this can be explained and documented in textual form, sound is an audio form by nature, and perceived by listening (Dollar, 2006). Although in academia the discussion of

data analysis is dominated by a written tradition, sound studies scholars have discussed the possibility of a sonic documentation of research results (DeLaurenti, 2020; Gershon, 2017, 2020). I agree with these authors that sonic documentation contributes to capturing the experiential aspect of sound. However, text is also central to illustrating the analysis of sonic materials, and to describing and specifying the relationships between sonic elements. To make the best use of both sonic and textual presentation, scholars may experiment by combining sonic documentation with vocal illustration – this is an approach adopted by sound artists, who adopt sound as the major medium of their artistic expression. Also, scholars may consider a textual documentation together with sonic recordings for their presentation of sonic analysis. However, here it should be noted that what I propose is an account balanced between sound and text, rather than using audio as a supplementary support for the presentation of an argument. Since these questions are raised and remain unresolved in my research process, I suggest that future research consider them.

Concluding Remarks

All in all, throughout this thesis, intended to explore the relationship between rationality, meaning, affect and emotion in relation to collective identity and protest sounds, the concept of Sonic Resonance is put forward to explain sonic strategies, protest soundscapes and the collective identity construction process. Not only are rationality, meaning, affect and emotion not separate, but these entities are dialectic and mutually reinforcing in the resonating process, which reflects the experiential nature of both sound and collective identity.

According to Joe Hill, a musician and labour organizer, ‘a pamphlet, no matter how good, is never read more than once, but a song is learned by heart and repeated over and over’ (Roscigno et al., 2002, p. 144). Echoing this, the power of music can be affecting. Yet, more than that, sound, as the medium that contains the form of music can be even more powerful in protests.

In Sonic Performances, emotion, meaning, rationality and affect resonate, embracing participants experientially. All these echo participants’ thoughts, touch their hearts, guide their actions and interact with their expression. Co-created by organizers and participants, the experience of collective identity enabled by Sonic Resonance is reflected and documented here as the Protest Soundscape – a collective voice of protest not only sounding in the mind, but also affectively resonating in the heart.

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Appendix

Potential interview topic guide for protest participants based on their sonic diaries

- 1) Why did you record this/these sonic episode(s)?
- 2) What were you experiencing and/or doing, when being in that sonic moment?
- 3) How were you feeling at that moment? What has made you feel that way?
- 4) How were your feeling and emotions expressed during that moment?
- 5) Were you the only one experiencing those emotions and experience? How could you tell?
- 6) How would you describe your relationship with other participants/ the organizers/ the protest group at large?
- 7) Why do you think this sonic episode is meaningful to you? And, in what ways were they meaningful to you?
- 8) Were there other sound(s) that you could remember?

Potential interview topic guide for protest organizers

- 9) How do you use sound(s) in protests?
- 10) In what ways sound(s) are useful?
- 11) What sonic performance(s) would you produce for those purposes?
- 12) What are your concerns, when using sound(s) for protest? What materials and technologies are needed?
- 13) How is the use of sound relating to participants?
- 14) What cultural materials (such as songs and slogans) will you adopt for the use of sound in protests? Why so?
- 15) Comparing to other strategies, how would you position the importance of sonic strategies in protests? And why so?