

The Sounds of m̐iq̐en: An Embodied Inquiry of Place, Space, and Perception in Beacon Hill Park

by

Caitlyn Dubé

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Abstract

Vision is often considered the most important and necessary sense; but what do we miss when we tune out our other senses? Advertised as the crowning jewel of Victoria's park system, *mīqān* (Beacon Hill Park) is a major attraction for those visiting the capital city of the Canadian province of British Columbia, each of whom form unique senses of place through their personal experiences and become part of the area's entangled Indigenous and colonial histories. Experiences with, and senses of, place cannot be separated from the place's sensorial elements, which each person perceives and understands differently. With a focus on (beyond) the five senses, the anthropology of the senses can provide unique insights into the formation and maintenance of histories, epistemologies, identities, and places while simultaneously exploring sensory configurations that disrupt the colonial prioritization of sight and seeing. Drawing from sensory ethnography, sonic anthropology, and place-based studies, this project focuses on the acts of being, sensing, and audio recording and asks the following questions: *How do sounds and other sensorial stimuli (sight, smell, etc.) interact with one another to create a sense of place? How can engaging in embodied studies of perception disrupt colonial and hegemonic ways of knowing and being?* This project also explores sound mapping as an embodied, decolonial method of representing the temporal transformations place and experience.

In response to these questions, I argue that sound and time play a major role in forming senses of place and contribute to decolonizing places and the discipline of anthropology. I also argue that recording further attunes one to a place and can create new connections with and senses of place(s).

Keywords: sonic anthropology, sound studies, multimodal anthropology, place-based studies

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Territorial Acknowledgement

Before I begin this project, I would like to acknowledge the nations whose territories I have lived, learned, and researched on for the duration of this research. So-called “Victoria” is the ancestral homelands of the Lək̓ʷəŋən, W̱SÁNEĆ, and Wyomilth peoples who to this day maintain relationships with the lands and places that so many people call home. Though my project focuses on place and senses of place, I acknowledge that Indigenous senses of and relationships with place are extremely valuable, complex, and transcend my own understandings of place. The nation of Canada and the fields of academia have a long way to go in order to decolonize and pay reparations to the Indigenous peoples of these lands who have suffered many damages at the hands of those in power. Some of these damages are irreversible. I hope that this

thesis can play a part in the ongoing decolonization of this country and the academic fields of which I am a part of.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my thanks to my Honours supervisor Dr. Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier for her passion, kindness, and unwavering support throughout the course of this project. I can also credit Alex with introducing me to the fields of sonic and multimodal anthropology and encouraging me to pursue them.

I'd also like to thank Dr. Brian Thom, the instructor of my Honours seminar for guiding me and my fellow Honours students through this process as well as helping me create my project's sound map.

A big thank-you to Jindra and everyone else in the Department of Anthropology for all they do for everyone here at UVic.

I'd like to thank my partner who has always supported me, helped me code the map, encouraged me, took pictures of me in the field, and helped me feel safe in the park after dark.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge and thank my wonderful bunch of fellow Honours students for their friendship, patience, feedback, and solidarity. I look forward to seeing what we all do next!

Positionality Statement / Self Location

I would like to preface my work with a personal introduction and self-location. I am a settler with mixed European ancestry, primarily Scottish, Irish, French, and German. My ancestors moved away from their homelands in search of better economic opportunities for their

families and travelled across Canada before settling in the prairies on Treaty 6 and Treaty 7 territory. I have lived in British Columbia my whole life and have called the territories of many Indigenous peoples home. Throughout my childhood, my parents and I relocated several times, before moving onto the shared territory of the Dakeł, Secwépemc, Lheidli T'enneh, As'in'i'wa'chi Niy'yaw Askiy (Rocky Mountain Cree), and Mountain Métis peoples (McBride) in the Northeastern Interior of BC where I spent most of my life. It is the place that I think of as 'home'. Though I learned very little about these nations throughout my time in McBride, I feel extremely fortunate to have grown up in, on, and with these lands that continue to inspire me today.

In addition to being a white settler, I am also queer, non-binary, and chronically ill; I use They/Them pronouns. Due to the nature of my illness, I am still an able-bodied person who is granted a great number of privileges that many disabled and chronically ill folks are not. I try to use my position and experiences to advocate for positive change in my community. My identity as a queer non-binary person is complex, I often find that the categories others place me in do not align with the way I perceive and understand myself. These features of my being represent the social and political processes and lens through which my knowledge of the world is filtered through.

Beacon Hill Park is a very meaningful place to me. Throughout the course of the COVID-19 pandemic, the park played a major role in keeping me healthy and allowed me to maintain connections to the city and myself in a time that was extremely isolating and difficult.

A Note on Multimodality and Structure

This project revolves around multimodal knowledge and personal experience, including but not limited to sounds and audio recordings, images and photographs, sketches, texts, and imaginative experiences. Though I believe writing to play an invaluable role in the pursuit of knowledge and education, it is an imperfect medium. By this I mean that it can be extremely difficult to express multimodal knowledge through the medium of written text, if not impossible. Multimodal research projects, of which this project is included, also typically follow a non-linear research design which cannot be fully expressed by the typical bounds and headings of academic publications ‘introduction, literature review, methodology, results, discussion’, et cetera. By stating this, I by no means intend to invalidate or bring down the knowledge and works which do adhere to these kinds of structures and designs (which can be challenging for any researcher to follow), denying the authority, attentiveness, and value of this plethora of works would be naïve at the very least. My non-linear research design and multimodal approach is evident in this work and I invite you, the reader, to explore the multimodal sound map that was created alongside this written thesis.

Link to Sound Map

The map can be viewed at bit.ly/3ZMJAwx

Introduction / Situating My Project

Every second of our lives represents a series of multisensorial experiences and engagements with the world(s) around us. Being aware and paying special attention to the sensorial textures one is immersed in reveals worlds of information, experience, and inquiry that would otherwise be unknown. Vision is the dominant sense in Western paradigm, and this influences how people experience and make meaning in the world around them and influences what they think is important. The fields of sensory and sonic anthropology seek to deconstruct the visual, exploring and emphasizing the importance of the other senses and how they can provide new meanings and insights into cultural and social life. Engaging in multimodal sound studies disrupts the traditional (Western) vision-centric hegemonies of perception, which can aid in the ongoing decolonization of the discipline of anthropology.

Overview

I begin this paper by establishing a theoretical framework which guided the methodology and analysis of this project. I provide histories of place as well as details and images of specific locations within the park. Grounded in my own experiences with being in the park and engaging in photography and audio recording, I discuss senses of place with a focus on sound. Finally, I end with concluding remarks, recommendations for visitors visiting *mīqān* (which can be used when visiting other places as well) and provide opportunities for future research.

Significance

By putting one's focus into what they're sensing when they visit a place, one can learn about elements and histories of a place that may otherwise remain unknown. Furthermore, the

focus on the sensorial can aid in the decolonization of public spaces and their histories. For sound, this is called attentive listening. In this project, the analysis and map created provide ways to lead us through experiences which challenge (colonial) hegemonies of experience and perception. It also provides suggestions and guidelines on ways that readers can shape their own experiences through focusing on the sensorial, both in the park and elsewhere in their everyday lives.

This project also makes meaningful contributions to the growing body of (sensorial) anthropological literature, specifically adding to the ways in which anthropologists and others understand audio recording and other technologies. My work challenges the notion that engaging in audio recording and/or photography removes or separates actors from places and experiencing places by building on existing literature and incorporating my own personal narratives and experiences.

Topic

Sitting at the intersection of sensory anthropology, multimodal anthropology, and place-based studies, this project takes a sensorial approach to studying place and space, with focus on being, sensing, and sound recording all in relation to sense of place. Through the content of this thesis as well as the interactive sound map I created for this project, I hope to aid in ongoing decolonization efforts as well as inspire critical self-reflection and provide advice for those who engage with my work to (re)consider their senses and senses of place on and with Indigenous territories.

Situating in theory

This section situates my project at the intersection of sensory multimodal anthropology, sonic anthropology, and studies of place. Beginning with a history of the senses and sensorial studies in the social sciences, I then describe place, space, and the act of mapping before giving details on the entangled histories of Beacon Hill Park.

The Senses

Like the rest of anthropology, sensorial and perceptual studies are colonial in origin and in the past have been used to justify white supremacy, racism, and imperialism (Howes 2003). In her 2020 book *Sensory Experiments: Psychophysics, Race, and the Aesthetics of Feeling*, Erica Fretwell traces scholarly studies of perception and their long-standing ties to racial categorizations and hierarchies. The categorical notion of the five

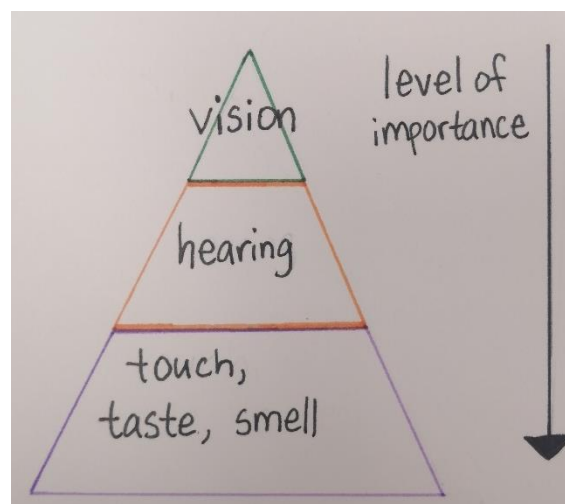


Figure 1. Sketch of the sensory hierarchy. Courtesy of the author, 2023.

senses was put forth by Aristotle some 2300 years ago where he ordered them from most to least “civilized” and “human-like” as follows: sight, sound, smell, touch, and taste (Fretwell 2020).

Today this is known as *the hierarchy of the five senses* or the *sensory hierarchy* and is commonly represented visually (see Figure 1). Aristotle’s division of the senses became a social hierarchy which was later used by 18th century scholars in the creation and ranking of discriminatory racial taxonomies, supporting notions of linear evolution and innate human difference (Fretwell 2020).

It was not until the early 20th century that anthropologists began to consider social and cultural

structures as having influence on the sensory epistemologies and configurations of the groups anthropologists were studying (Howes 2003). The model of the five senses still has merit today, although, as I will discuss below, it is being challenged by researchers across the social sciences, including anthropologists.

The so-called “sensory turn” in social sciences, where the focus of many scholars shifted to study peoples’ senses and experiences, occurred in the 1990s, marking the beginnings of the field now called sensory anthropology, or, more broadly, sensorial studies (Howes 2003). It was also at this time that the study of perception, the senses, and embodiment were rethought in relation to social and cultural contexts, which changed and added new opportunities to the discipline (Howes 2003; Pink 2015). Sensory anthropology sought, and still seeks to, explore the reciprocal relationship between sensory experiences, culture, and social structures: how the senses are shaped by social and cultural contexts and how they in turn shape and contribute to the formation of cultural and social practices and identities.

Sensing and perceiving are two very similar, but technically distinct concepts, differentiated by the use of culturally-informed interpretations. However, the distinction between the two reinforces the absolutist notion that there are only five senses and states that they are easily defined by their corresponding bodily processes. Where “sensing” refers to the bodily processes, “perception” refers to the involuntary processing of sensory information by the brain, making it a culturally informed phenomenon (Fretwell 2020). This is a categorical, linear understanding of these terms and processes. I do not find that the distinction between these two terms particularly meaningful or important to this project, both perceiving and sensing are embodied practices whose definitions could be re-examined further through anthropological lenses. The division of the five senses is a colonial construct, used to justify processes such as

slavery and white supremacy. Other knowledge systems have understandings of sensing and perception that differ from the five sense model, often intertwined with knowledge about identity as well as the body, mind, and spirit (Feld 2012 [1982]; Atleo 2004). Therefore, culture and the body play essential roles in sensing, perception, and making meaning.

Sound and Sound Studies

Sound is often understood simply in terms of variations in pressure (waves) traveling through a medium (air, water, etc.) where it is received, converted into information, and interpreted by the brain. This is the typical definition of sound used in fields of study such as linguistics and physics. Studying sound and perception through an anthropological lens challenges and expands on this traditional definition that persists outside of the social sciences.

The field of sound studies in anthropology has evolved since the first sound projects and publications of the 1970s and 1980s.¹ Murray R. Schafer (1977) studied and recorded environmental sounds, but places judgement on the sounds he didn't like while romanticizing the ones he did. His work was also devoid of meaningful engagements with concepts of reflexivity, agency, or perception and placed additional importance on sound. Later ethnographic work in the rainforest of Papua New Guinea by Steven Feld (2012, originally published in 1982), studied local configurations of perception, both human and other-than-human, while engaging in ethnography and critical reflexivity. Feld later revisited his findings and theorized sound and listening as ways of knowing and existing in the world rather than simply forms of data and collection, emphasizing the situational and reflexive elements of (studying) sound and

¹ See Boudreault-Fournier (2021) for an excellent summary of past and current areas of sound studies in anthropology.

perception, which he has termed *acoustemology* (2015). Acoustemology along with sonic ethnography (defined below) are important conceptual frameworks for this project.

Place and Space

The notions of place and space are essential in studies of perception and senses, particularly sound, which is inherently spatial and positional (Boudreault-Fournier 2021). Space and place are intertwined, yet distinct concepts. Drawing on the works of Sarah Pink (2015), Edward Casey (1996), and Tim Cresswell (2014) I define place for this project place as a dynamic event composed of a collection of ever-changing (sensorial) experiences, memories, practices, social and physical contexts, (in)tangible materialities, ascribed meanings, and (other-than-) human actors in addition to being a physical location. Place is both physical and meta-physical, its significance and meaning will vary from person to person. The senses are essential to knowing, being in, and experiencing place – we are never without our sensory emplaced experiences (Casey 1996). Taking a sensory ethnographic approach to studying place allows one to understand sensing as more than a set of passive actions, but rather as a reciprocal affective relationship between oneself and the place, which Sarah Pink calls *emplaced ethnography* (2015).

While place is the focus of this project, it is essential to also understand space as well as the relationality between the two. In his 1996 chapter *How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena*, Edward Casey describes the roles of phenomenology and embodiment when distinguishing between place and space. In short, the concept of space applies to the ways areas or locales are socially bounded and constructed (Cresswell 2014; Casey 1996). This focus on social aspects of culture makes the concept of

spaces, the various forms they take (digital, physical, imaginary, etc.), and the social actors that use them of particular interest to social scientists. Space can be understood sonically, for example, the playground in Beacon Hill Park is a rich social space used by people of all ages. The sounds of this space and those using and corresponding with it, such as the squeaking of the swing set, and the happy shouts of children running through the water park, can be heard across *míqən*. In addition to this written thesis, the sound map (bit.ly/3ZMJAwx) provides a multimodal and phenomenologically-centred representation and resource for this project.

Maps and Mapping

The act of mapping a place is inherently subjective and political, having implications on the way places are perceived, understood, and experienced. There is a long history of mapping sounds, as outlined by Ouzounian (2021), a practice that has often been used for noise management, providing a visual representation of the distribution of sounds people wish to minimize or erase from their lives. Although many sound maps are created to control and dictate the use of the environment, there are sound mapping projects which engage local communities and challenge people to rethink their sensory worlds and the ways they engage with them (Ouzounian 2021). Creating maps not only provides interactive visual resources, but also contributes to the ways in which people engage with places and their histories.

Background on place

In Victoria, British Columbia's historic section sits Beacon Hill Park, a major tourist destination which attracts hundreds of thousands of visitors each year (City of Victoria 2021a). Visitors are quick to admire the manicured beauty of the park but must search to learn about the colonial and Indigenous histories of this place. The stunning Western tradition landscaped

gardens and manicured grounds of the park are filled with colour, sparking joy amongst visitors. Sensorially, the park privileges our sense of vision, with every bit of the park being carefully planned to appear visually beautiful and intriguing. However, there is more to Beacon Hill Park than meets the eye. It is a place of immense significance, complex intertwined histories, and layered meaning. Below, I chose to separate the lesser-known Indigenous histories of this place from the colonial histories. Though these histories are interwoven with one another in intricate ways, I believe that summarizing each in its own space allows readers to engage in respectful consideration of these histories and draw their own connections between these histories and themselves.

Indigenous History

The Coast Salish peoples have lived on and cared for the lands that are now Beacon Hill Park for thousands of years. The Ləkʷəŋən place name for Beacon Hill is mícən which has come to refer to the whole park area and means ‘warmed by the sun’ according to elder Jimmy Fraser (Duff 1969). Place names such as this one carry the knowledge of unique worldviews and represent the embeddedness of culture in language, providing insights into histories, stories, and land occupation and use.

The fields of mícən have long been managed and maintained in order to cultivate *kwetlal* (camas), a plant intertwined with Ləkʷəŋən economic and social life. The root bulbs of this blue flower have been used as culturally important subsistence food as well as for trade with other nations (Beckwith 2004). The process of digging camas bulbs, roasting camas, and maintaining the soil and fields for future crops is a skilled, labour-intensive process that was primarily done by Ləkʷəŋən women (Beckwith 2004). The cultivation of camas at mícən represents one of the

diverse gendered relationships with land and place that continue to this day, albeit under very different and difficult circumstances.

Due to the disruption of camas farming following European contact and the ongoing foot traffic in the fields of the park, which in that past have been used as grazing pastures for cattle, the once rich camas beds have largely been destroyed. These ecosystems that have been cared for and traditionally managed through weeding, seeding, controlled burning, and harvesting by Songhees women are now endangered. However, in late spring the blue blossoms of camas can be seen scattered across *míqən*, indicating the resiliency of the plant and *Ləkʷəŋən* culture (Beckwith 2004; Penn 2006).

Ecological restoration projects in the park are ongoing with a few small sections of the park's fields being fenced off as designated protected areas for camas. Restoring camas is intertwined with conversations about Indigenous land stewardship, ecological conservation, decolonization, and Indigenous community health. Songhees nation member Cheryl Bryce has participated in community pit roasts of harvested camas since 2000 where camas bulbs are cooked to bring out nutritional value, events which bring the community together, exercising their inherent rights on the land (Penn 2006).

A 1995 archaeological impact assessment of Finlayson Point (DcRu 23) by Grant Keddie reveals that beneath the manicured grass and walking paths atop Finlayson Point trod on by the public sits an ancient filled-in defensive trench and an archaeological shell midden dated with use between 300-1000 years ago. The material used to fill in the trench consists of cultural material, including fragmented shell remains, fire-altered rock, and other faunal material, as well as non-cultural material (Keddie 1995). Between 1878 and 1892, the trench was heavily

disturbed by the installment, use, and eventual removal of artillery batteries by settlers (Keddie 1995).



Figure 2. Overlooking the coast from beside the location of the trench embankment feature at Finlayson Point. Courtesy of the author, 2023.

Across Dallas Road, on the South-facing slope of Beacon Hill overlooking the Pacific Ocean sits a collection of stone burial cairns made by local Indigenous peoples with boulders left from glacial periods (Keddie 1984). According to an 1871 account by amateur archaeologist James Deans, more than 20 burial cairns once covered the slopes of Beacon Hill (Ringuette 2004). Found in multiple places around so-called “Victoria” these rock formations have continuously been disturbed, removed, and destroyed. In 1986, the rocks from the remaining cairns were moved into a giant pile by parks workers during lawn maintenance efforts were made to re-create the cairns as best as possible, but their original state has forever been lost (Times Colonist 1986). Today, only four reconstructed cairns are visible on the hill where they sit as a powerful reminder of the ongoing connections the Ləkʷəŋən people have with these lands despite the damages done by the settler-colonial state.

Learning about the Indigenous histories and uses of Beacon Hill Park and the ways in which they have been suppressed, damaged, and even destroyed has a major effect on the ways in which one experiences this place. Layers of the past are visible in this place, just like the burial cairns, and are intertwined with the present. Visiting Beacon Hill Park for me is a reminder of the (ongoing) harm done by the settler-colonial state, but also of the beauty, power, and resiliency of the place and the Indigenous nations who continue to call it home. I invite you to reflect on the histories of Beacon Hill Park and the ways in which they are present in the landscape. If you've visited mícw̓an before, reflect on how your experiences change with this historical knowledge, and if you're a newcomer, reflect on how this knowledge can add to your experiences and senses of place.

Indigenous senses of place

As discussed by Thom (2005), Coast Salish senses of place are complex and multifaceted, intertwined with social, communal, ancestral, cultural, and spiritual knowledge and experience. Senses of place bring attention to, and are a manifestation of, holism, the interconnectedness and relationality of everything past, present, and future (Thom 2005). This notion of connectedness is a powerful Indigenous teaching which is inseparable from Indigenous worldviews and guides individual and collective aspects of Indigenous life and ways of being (Atleo 2004). Many parts of Indigenous culture that have been studied by anthropologists and targeted by assimilationist colonial government policies are reciprocally tied to senses of place including legends, myths, language, identity, songs, and ceremony (Thom 2005).

Colonial History

The lives and lands of Indigenous peoples were forever changed after European contact, with the nations whose traditional territories include Vancouver Island being no exception. Beacon Hill Park as it's known today, is a direct result of colonization and colonial values.

The Vancouver Island Treaties, commonly referred to as the Douglas Treaties, are a set of land claim agreements between the colonial government, represented by James Douglas, and Coast Salish peoples of Southern Vancouver Island, recognized today as the Lək̓ʷəŋən (Songhees and Esquimalt), Ts-ou'ke, Scia'new, Snuneymuxw, and W̱SÁNEĆ (Tseycum, Tsartlip, Tsawout, and Pauquachin) nations, that were created from 1850 to 1854. From the point of view of the British, the dominant colonial power, these treaties were made for the purpose of establishing land ownership as recognized under their colonial law. This meant transferring Indigenous ownership of and claim to the land, which was viewed as an obstacle or inconvenience, to the colonial government via written contract and financial compensation (Duff 1969).

One of the treaty signings occurred at Beacon Hill and it transferred ownership of the land to the settler population for the rest of time, allotting small sections to Indigenous nations, and the treaties promised that nations had guaranteed rights to hunt in unoccupied lands and fish as they did before the arrival of settlers² (Duff 1969). The Indigenous peoples received meager payments in the form of goods and money, likely the smallest amount that the settlers could get away with (Duff 1969). In theory, the signing of a treaty implies an agreement between two equal parties, but those familiar with the historic treaty processes in Canada know this to be a

² See *XEMFOLTW* Nicholas Claxton's 2015 dissertation titled *To Fish as Formerly: A Resurgent Journey back to the Saanich Reef Net Fishery* for more information on ongoing efforts to reconnect W̱SÁNEĆ people to the S̱XOLE (reef net fishery).

fallacy. Many agree that nations were not fully made aware of the conditions and may have considered the treaty to be a peace or land rental agreement; those who actually signed the treaty, by marking an “X” on a page, did so before its contents were fully written (Ringuette 2004). Needless to say, the Douglas Treaties remain a problematic and controversial set of documents to this day which have been essential to the establishment of the City of Victoria and Beacon Hill Park.

After the implementation of the Douglas Treaties, the land that later became Beacon Hill Park was set aside as a park reserve by James Douglas on behalf of the British Government who planned to implement the colonization theories of Edward Gibbon Wakefield (Ringuette 2004). Following his “Wakefield System” land prices were set extremely high so only wealthy white British men could legally own land on Vancouver Island, everyone else was confined to set areas or banned from the Island altogether, in an attempt to recreate the “ideal” British society of the time (Ringuette 2004). While elsewhere in North America, farmer families were provided land allotments and encouraged to settle and work the land, lands around Victoria were reserved for the so-called “wealthy gentlemen” that the British Government deemed as worthy landowners.

Although white men did end up purchasing the lands around Victoria, they were mostly middle-class Hudson’s Bay Company employees, not the rich folk the British Government had envisioned (Ringuette 2004). However, the Wakefield System ensured that land ownership was directly correlated to power and the ability to vote and run for office. As a result, the male landowners became members of the newly founded colonial government system and these “founding fathers” aided in the formation of Victoria as we know it today, still pervaded with notions of classism and patriarchal white supremacy that are seemingly paved into the streets of the city.

After setting a portion of the park reserve lands aside for his personal use, James Douglas oversaw the use of the area until his death in 1877 (Ringuette 2004). In 1882, the lands of Beacon Hill Park were given to the City of Victoria who still owns and maintains the park today (Ringuette 2004). The borders of Beacon Hill Park are, of course, constructed, arbitrary, and are not indicative of Indigenous land use, experiences with, or senses of place. Signs in the park credit James Douglas and the colonial government system for preserving the lands Beacon Hill Park, but gloss over the violent displacement and mass deaths due to European-introduced diseases that local Indigenous peoples faced during contact and throughout the formation of the colonies on Vancouver Island.

míq̓ən as Public Space

As stated by Cristina Moretti (2016), the meaning(s) of public spaces are not fixed, but rather are dynamic and continuously imagined. Beacon Hill Park amasses a plethora of social engagements and interactions, multiple social spaces come together to create the space of the park as a whole. A major advertising feature of the park is its accessibility, since it is a so-called “public space” it claims to be open to everyone, free of charge. However, “acceptable” use of the park is regulated by legal, extra-legal, and social forces of control and authority. The park sits in an old, highly colonial and historically wealthy part of Victoria that today consists mostly of multi-million-dollar heritage homes and low-rise apartment buildings. They are never far from the embodied and phenomenological experiences at míq̓ən, their nearby looming presence shapes how the place is felt, heard, and experienced. Though it is not the focus of this thesis, we can view míq̓ən as a site of social and political control, governed by actors who claim some sort of authority control over the space, which may be ascribed politically, socially, or personally.

Understanding *míqən* as a site of contention and clashing authority brings new insights to the notion of public space in the city of Victoria. Archaeological features at Finlayson point indicate possible conflicts between Indigenous nations in the past, the lands of southern Vancouver Island have been contested and their ownership “settled” by treaties (Keddie 1995; Duff 1969). More recently members of Victoria’s unhoused population have been forcibly removed from the park, their belongings and living shelters thrown away or destroyed (CBC News 2020).

In 2020, local Victoria residents petitioned city council to ban sheltering in Beacon Hill Park, saying that the ‘tenters’ sheltering in the space made the park ugly and unsafe for the families it was designed for (CBC News 2020). As a result, the ‘Parks Regulation Bylaw’ was modified by the city in 2021, stating that although temporary sheltering is allowed in certain designated public areas, this does not include most major public parks, including Beacon Hill Park (City of Victoria 2021b). The modification of this bylaw represents an overlap of social and political authority in Victoria, long-term, likely (upper-) middle-class residents were able to directly influence government policy and displace some of their city’s most vulnerable residents. The bylaw is enforced by city officials, or through the use of a smartphone app, reported by residents and park visitors, furthering entanglements of power and social control. This series of events also demonstrates the dominant use of and reliance on vision. People are deemed unwelcome in the park by the social authority based on visual cues such as their physical appearances and use of space. Those who supported the forced removal of shelters and vulnerable populations from the park have prioritized their desire for a conceptual, vision-oriented ideal park over the livelihoods and basic rights of their fellow citizens. This is also a

powerful reminder of the claims to (public) space many settlers feel which are rooted in classism, racism, white-supremacy, and colonialism.

Research Approach and Methodology

This project is interdisciplinary, drawing from multiple sub-disciplines within anthropology which guide the multimodal nature of this project. Understandings of place and space, defined above, both guide and are guided by my analytical approach. This kind of reciprocal relationality is reoccurring in this work, it guides my theoretical and methodological field approaches as well as my analysis.

I start this section on research approach by establishing Sarah Pink's 2015 concept of *sensory ethnography* as a baseline for research methodology and theoretical approach for sensory studies, of which this project is a part of. I then move on to a brief discussion of reflexivity and autoethnography, drawing from Pink (2015) and Davies (1999), as well as Stefan Helmreich's closely related concept of transduction (2008). Following this discussion, I further focus on sonic studies, introducing concepts that are central to my argument and analysis. Lastly, I establish my methodology for this project, giving details on how I applied theoretical concepts to guide me in the field and during the sound editing and map making process.

An essential source for studies of the sensorial is Sarah Pink's textbook *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (2015), in which she outlines sensory ethnography as both a methodology and theoretical approach with interdisciplinary applications. According to Pink (2015), sensory ethnography provides a set of guidelines and tools to conduct research while simultaneously challenging and being critical of the senses, the research process, and any categories that are

encountered throughout. This detailed framework is relevant to any kind of perceptual or multimodal research in the social sciences and beyond, it incorporates concepts from across the field and links them together to form a holistic research strategy. Sensory ethnography has served as a guide for this project, directing my attention to overlapping areas of study and being critical of them, it has also served as a bridge between various subject areas, such as sound, phenomenology, and ethnography more broadly.

Incorporating sensory ethnography into one's approach allows the researcher to go beyond sensory categories and instead take a more holistic and relational approach. Understanding the act(s) of sensing not as separate, individual actions but as layers of existing in the world (Pink 2015). Having said this, the studies of specific senses (particularly sight and hearing) are well-rounded fields in anthropology, as are the overlapping areas of the senses. The anthropology of sound, which is the focus of my project, is the study of all things sonic including music, noise, and silence (Boudreault-Fournier 2021). The anthropology of sound also considers the interaction of sound with other senses and epistemologies; these overlaps are being interrogated and investigated more as the field continues to emerge.

Reflexivity is essential in any anthropological study, but especially in ethnography and sensory studies. Being reflexive allows the researcher to examine and embrace their biases, positionality, and presence in their work, without seeking so-called "objectivity". Years of critical studies in anthropology have revealed that "objective" ethnography is simply not possible (Pink 2015; Davies 1999). Perception and sensing are not objective acts, nor are the ways in which these acts are experienced. Sarah Pink (2015) argues that sensory experiences are shaped by cultural and social norms, values, and structures; while Davies (1999) argues that structures of power and the ways in which peoples' identities intersect with these structures also profoundly

shape their experiences. In sensory studies, engaging in a critical reflection of one's own sensory subjectivity allows them to challenge any internalized categories and seek out alternative ways of experiencing (Pink 2015). Incorporating reflexivity and my own personal experiences is a major aspect of this project, especially the map which is composed entirely of my experiences.

Further attuned to sound studies is Helmreich's anthropological applications of the concept of *transduction* (2008). This concept refers to the transformation of information from one medium to another, it originally referred to technologies such as the telephone or radio but is useful, according to Helmreich (2008), for anthropologists, especially those working with sound, where the information and observations they gather are analyzed and converted to the medium of meaning throughout the course of research. Anthropologists engage in transduction in three main ways: through their research and research process/design, as transducers themselves, and through the use of technology such as a camera or microphone. In my case, I myself am a transducer, performing the act of transduction by using my sensorial experiences to create a meaningful argument and challenge colonial and hegemonic notions in alongside the use of my microphone (a transduction machine), which captures the waves of sounds from air (or water) and converts them into the digital realm to be played back into our ears.

Conceptualizing the role of the researcher this way requires a certain level of critical self-reflection and reflexivity in order to engage in research. Adding the concept of transduction to discussions of reflexivity strengthens the concepts and the ways it can be applied to research. Doing so also opens new avenues for reflection and additional ways to engage with research themes. While particularly relevant to sound studies, I believe that all researchers can use *transduction* to positively influence their research and sense of self.

In addition to the concepts introduced by anthropologists rooted in the western framework of academia, I have also incorporated Indigenous teachings and knowledge into my research. The works published Indigenous scholars and knowledge holders including Robin Wall Kimmerer (2013) and *Umek* E. Richard Atleo (2004; 2011) have been especially influential in my work, particularly their teachings on interconnectivity, kindness and respect, and cyclical, nonlinear time, which permeate my project throughout.

Research Design

In addition to guiding my theoretical and analytical approaches for this project, the key concepts and methodologies I have followed also have guided my non-linear research design. The Indigenous teaching of holism and interconnectivity is the overarching theme which has guided my research design, theoretical approach, and approach in the field. Continuously reflecting on and utilizing this teaching has been a way for me to incorporate a decolonial approach to my work.

Methodology

Throughout February and March of 2023, field work was conducted multiple times per week at different times of day. Fieldwork consisted of walking through the park, often stopping at multiple sites, writing reflexive field notes, and performing audio recordings. Audio recordings were taken with a Zoom H5 Microphone, set to record stereo audio with the format WAV44 (.WAV file type, 44.1kHz sample rate, and 32-bit bitrate). For underwater recordings, an Aquarian H2A-XLR Hydrophone was used with the same audio settings which attaches to the microphone using standard XLR input. Sensitivity was manually adjusted on the H5 microphone for each recording based on the H5's decibel measurements and how the audio sounded through

over-ear-headphones plugged into the microphone. Field notes consisted of observations on the weather, time of day, temperature, events happening during recording, other sensory observations, and reflexive notes on personal experience. Photographs were also taken using a Ricoh Theta SC Panoramic camera and cell phone camera.

All photographs and audio recordings were uploaded to a password-protected personal computer and backed up to Google Drive. Files were named according to date of collection and organized by location of recording. A corresponding text file with a matching name was created for each audio file that contained metadata with details of the recording including date and time of recording, duration, precise location of recording, details from fieldnotes, and timestamps of notable sounds in the recording.

Soundscapes were created using Audacity, a free audio editing software. Recordings were edited together to create new montages of sound with intentional details and overarching narratives that corresponded with reflexive observations about each place and emphasized overarching research themes. A variety of techniques were used in the editing process including layering clips atop one another, adjusting the volume and L-R balance of clips to draw attention to certain sounds, cutting and looping audio clips, and using a “fade in/out” effect between or at the end of clips. Each soundscape had clips from approximately 3-4 recordings, some had more clips than others included depending on the type of narrative I wished to create. Each soundscape was about 30 seconds long and was exported as an MP3 file and saved/backed up in its corresponding location. The process of sound editing is a subjective one, similar to writing. The editor/author must choose what is of importance and to be included, while also shaping a

narrative and emphasizing certain parts of their work. Sound editing is an intensive, time-consuming process that requires care, intention, and patience.

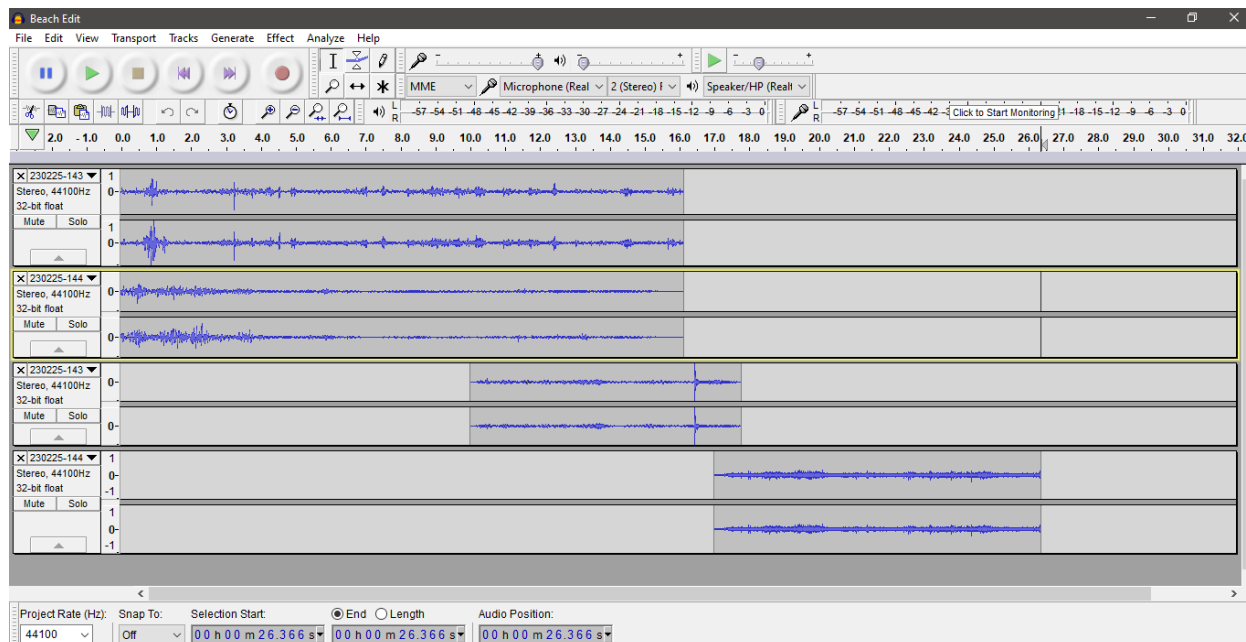


Figure 3. Screenshot of computer screen depicting the editing process for one of the project's soundscapes. Courtesy of the author, 2023.

A sound map was also created using Google Earth Web and coded with HTML. Code was edited on the computer using Notepad++, a free code editing software, and then uploaded to Google Earth Web. Using a mixture of code borrowed from multiple sources, a placemark for each site was created that included a title, aerial view of the site, brief description of the site, original photographs and captions, soundscapes, and descriptions. Each site had at least two soundscapes: one corresponding to winter/February and one to spring/March. Some sites had a third soundscape that consisted of audio recorded after dark. The exact start and end point of each soundscape has no positive influence the experience of listening, so soundscapes were looped multiple times in Audacity before being uploaded to the map to give a continuous repetitive effect. This allows for the viewer/listener to interact with the map and exercise agency

by deciding when to stop and start each soundscape, further personalizing and customizing their experience.

The play/pause button for each soundscape was labeled with the corresponding details (“Winter”, “Spring”, or “Night Time”) and was colour-coded to match the corresponding textual description. Each unique description gives some context for the soundscape and may invite the listener to pay attention to a certain sound or reflect on the experience of listening. Though visiting the map displays the sites in a specific order (beginning with a welcome and instructions page), the map can be explored in any order.

The map that I have created for this project is a work that parallels this written thesis. It serves as a tool to advance my argument, creates multimodal representations and depictions of my experiences, and serves as a critical self-reflection opportunity for both myself and those who interact with it.

The Five Sites

Beacon Hill Park is vast and is really a place composed of a collection of places. Rather than attempting to map the entirety of the park, I chose five places, or sites, that served as anchor points for audio recording and sensory observation. The selection of these particular sites was subjective and further reinforces my presence and agency in this project. These locations were selected due to their range across the area of the park, their accessibility (on or immediately adjacent to existing paths or roads), and because of my existing connections and experiences with them.

Though these places are depicted on the map as single, static locations they are not. When I visited one of the places I wouldn't just stand in a single spot, turn on my recorder and

not move until I decided to end the recording. Rather, my movement through and exploration of each place is as important as the place itself. Altering and experimenting with my literal position on the landscape allowed me to experience and record different sounds and sensory correspondences, which can vary dramatically based on the observer's location in space and time. Creating an idyllic depiction of these places is also not my intention. My experiences, observations, and interpretations are subjective and do not represent anything remotely close to an objective truth.

Revisiting these places in different orders, over the course of two months, has allowed me to experience and observe multiple temporal shifts including the changes from winter to spring, the repeating, yet evolving changes of the day, and the steady flow of seconds, minutes, and hours.

Below, I provide some details and context on each of the five sites, in no particular order. While they do represent sites of data collection, they are more than that, just like the recordings I have collected are more than just data to be analyzed. Just like the concepts discussed in this work, these sites are connected. Together they create a larger context and contribute to the formation of place and sense of place. These places can be experienced and represented in a multitude of ways whose meanings and significances will vary according to the values and experiences of the individual who visits them. The multimodal representations of these sites in this paper and in the map reflect my own experiences. I encourage others to create their own representations of both this place and others.

The Stone Bridge



Figure 4. The Sone Bridge site. Courtesy of the author, 2023.

Constructed in 1889, the stone bridge goes over Goodacre lake, the largest of the park's seven lakes. Both the lake and bridge were constructed as part of a winning entry by architect John Blair in a park improvement contest hosted by the city (Ringuette 2004). Other improvements under Blair's plan included paving roads and removing trees, which was met by protest from the general public for multiple reasons including concerns about spending, ecological preservation, and that the original winner's design was sneakily replaced by Blair's design (Ringuette 2004). The park's oldest building, a bandstand built in 1888 and moved to its current location in 1900, sits nearby and houses a few signs that inform readers of the history of the place.

Before the lake was constructed, local author and artist Emily Carr described the sonic environment of the marshy area in her 1942 work *The Book of Small*, writing "In the woody swamps of the Park millions and millions of frogs croaked all through the Spring nights. They sounded as if all the world was made of stiff paper and was crackling up" (117). This quotation provides the historic sensory experience of one individual who frequented this place. Its

significance is enhanced by the fact that frogs can no longer be heard in the park. They have disappeared due to habitat loss and increased predation.

Today, Goodacre lake is home to many animals including various species of ducks, Canada Geese, seagulls, and turtles. Nearby are the nesting grounds of great blue herons atop the tall *ch'sey'* (Douglas fir trees) who first appeared in the park in 1982, their sounds can be heard across the park and their return is a powerful indicator of spring (Ringuette 2004). Various birds fly through nearby trees, squirrels run across the bridge, and at night raccoons prowl around looking for snacks in nearby garbage bins. The sonic environment of the bridge consists of ducks quacking, traffic driving on nearby Douglas Street, the chatter of visitors, the constant flow of fountains in the lake, and the squawking of herons in the spring.

In his 2013 publication on bridges, Andrew Irving states that bridges are complex sites of sensation, perception, and experience. They bring the those who travel over them into a unique position, one of being away from the ground, in the air, and above the water (Irving 2013). The bridge represents a particular set of sensory correspondences and spatial configurations.

The Forest



Figure 5. Recording the sounds of the forest. Courtesy of the author, 2023.

There are multiple forested sections of Beacon Hill Park, but the forest chosen for this project sits in the park's Southeast corner and is its largest forested area. The forest is green year-round, the sky peeks through the branches of tall trees, moss covers the ground, fallen logs, and climbs the trunks of trees in wetter areas, English ivy replaces the moss in the forest's drier sections. Birds are everywhere, darting through branches, bathing in puddles, and aren't shy to come up and investigate visitors. It is easy to lose oneself in this place, a few steps into the dense vegetation and one can no longer see the manicured fields of the park nor see the cars that drive by. Sonically though, the forest has a mixture of natural sounds, such as the calls of avian dwellers and the rustling of wind through the dry leaves and tree branches, as well as the sounds of human activity like planes flying overhead and vehicles making their way up and down Cook Street which parallels the woods.

A collection of paved and dirt trails create a maze through the forest. Some trails are the width of a road and mark paths travelled by many throughout time while others are narrow and winding, seemingly directionless and often conclude with a dead end, forcing the walker to turn around or make their own way.

In his 1982 ethnography, Steven Feld writes of birds as significant ancestral figures, knowledge keepers, and storytellers to the Kaluli people of Papua New Guinea and incorporates local perspectives into his analytical framework. The interconnectivity between people, land, animals, and plants are important parts of Coast Salish life and worldview (Penn 2006; Thom 2005; Atleo 2004, 2011). Listening to birds is a way to correspond and connect with place but also with the other-than-human actors share the place.

The Children's Farm



Figure 6. The duck pond in the Children's Farm. Courtesy of the author, 2023.

The Beacon Hill Children's Farm sits beside a major parking lot off Circle Drive, the main road which bisects the park. Run by donation, the children's farm opens its gates to the public every spring and summer, and is home to many farm animals including ducks, fancy chickens, sheep, alpacas, pigs, and the popular miniature goats who love to be petted and scratched by guests. The park's iconic peafowl also shelter in this area, the male peacocks can be spotted lounging in the sun and preening their bright feather displays. The combination of the peacocks' visually striking plumage and distinctive calls make them a distinctive feature of míqən.

In the past, the park's zoo contained a plethora of rarely-seen animals, much to the delight (and dismay) of guests. Previous occupants included monkeys, seals, bison, a wolf, mountain goats, moose, and a white spirit bear. While the zoo once represented and emphasized humankind's ability to control and tame nature and its creatures, today the children's farm is a place for learning and community engagement.

With all the animals in the farm and the visitors they attract, the area is rarely quiet in the daytime hours. The constant flow of traffic and chatter of visitors creates a lively atmosphere. The cries of animals and excited children add to the busy sensory environment. At night however, the farm is closed and the animals are asleep, creating a much quieter place.

The Field



Figure 7. The field at Beacon Hill. Courtesy of the author, 2023.

Located in the Southwest corner of the park, the field sits on the North-facing side of Beacon Hill, the park's namesake and highest point, which at one time housed beacons to guide sailors. Dotted with bushes and trees, the grassy field is bisected by walking paths and is frequented by dog walkers and runners. Common sounds in this place include the cries and wingbeats of birds overhead; the crunching of dry grass underfoot; moving cars that drive the road up Beacon Hill, their occupants seeking the view from the hill's peak; as well as distant flow traffic from nearby busy roads. Winds from the nearby Pacific Ocean carry the faint smell of the sea water and cause the Canadian flag to rustle and flap on top of the hill.

The Beach at Finlayson Point



Figure 8. Seagulls resting at the rocky Finlayson Point beach. Courtesy of the author, 2023

Named after Roderick Finlayson, a former Hudson's Bay Company employee, landowner, and mayor of Victoria, Finlayson Point is the site of multiple archaeological features³. The beach itself represents the end of Vancouver Island, where the land gives way to the sea. To get down to the beach, visitors must find a narrow trail through the forest and hear the hollow sounds of their footsteps on a long wooden staircase, or take a risk and descend a steep, slippery pathway down the dirt cliffs above the water, passing over layers of sediment and crushed shells that hint towards

the area's ancient occupation. Some sections of the beach are covered in pebbles which yield loud footsteps as people make their way along the coastline, while other areas are covered in solid rock dotted with tide pools at low tide.

Air and water traffic is busy here. The Pacific coastal naval base of Canada is nearby and contributes to the near constant flow of boats, airplanes, and helicopters which all yield multisensorial outputs. Cargo ships from all over the world also pass by, some nearing the end of

³ See pages 9-10 of this thesis.

their journeys while others are just beginning. Many different animals and plants can be found on the lands, waters, and skies around the beach. Bull kelp can be seen swaying in the water or washed on shore; black oystercatcher birds look for food using their long orange beaks; multi-coloured sea anemones dance in the shallow waters, holding tight to the sides of rocks and tide pools, or shrivel up when the water recedes, seagulls cry out to one another while battling the strong winds, and the occasional sea otter hunts for fish, enjoying their catch on an isolated rock.

Discussion

Major Themes

Correspondence

Correspondence is a term coined by Tim Ingold in his 2013 book *Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture* that builds on and surpasses interaction, which according to Ingold implies an inherent separation between actors or objects. Instead, correspondence goes beyond description and representation and instead *answer* to the world and emphasize reciprocal relationality (Ingold 2013). There are many forms of correspondence that I have observed or been a part of in my research, including my correspondence with the land and soundscapes of the places I visit(ed) and my correspondence with other actors including animals and plants which make meaningful contributions to my senses of places.

To illustrate the concept of correspondence, I invite you, the reader, to imagine for yourself an experience that I had in the forest of *míqən*. It's a clear, sunny day in March and the sky is a beautiful shade of blue. You can feel the warmth of the sun on your skin and feel a

breeze on your face that carries the faint smell of the ocean. As you step into the forest, you switch on your audio recorder and pay special attention to the sounds that surround you. Closing your eyes, you focus on the calls and songs of the birds as they sit balanced on tree branches, carefully step along the forest floor, and fly through a leafy, wooden labyrinth. However, the birds aren't the only actors that are present here: other people talk in the distance as they experience the forest for themselves, a plane flies overhead moving across your perceptual field, and you yourself are present, you can hear leaves crunching underfoot as you walk and perhaps you can hear the faint sound of your own breath.

In this situation, the many simultaneous forms of correspondence demonstrate reciprocal relationships with place and the actors and forces that are in the place with us. These relationships and sensory correspondences are integral to forming, maintaining, and shaping senses of place.

Temporality

Time and the temporal nature of sound is extremely important in studies of place and sonic environments. While scholars in anthropology have discussed out the literal temporal aspects of sound such as duration and rhythm (Ingold 2013; Feld 1996) I argue that the correspondences between sound and time go beyond these properties, and that sound can be used to further understandings of the decolonial notion of non-linear time.

Sound, listening, and recording are ways that the flow time in a place can be perceived and understood. Temporality is an important aspect of place and place-making. Depending on the nature of one's visit to a place, time may seem less relevant. A quick stop somewhere may provide a narrower, more bounded experience and sense of place. But if a person spends more

time in a place, their relationship with the place shifts and they become embedded in the flow of time and the history of the place over the course of a single visit. When a person decides to revisit a place, they have more opportunities to form and modify senses of place as well as observe and participate in the temporal flow of the place.

Over the course of February and March, I experienced the start of the annual transition from winter to spring. Sonically, this change was present in many ways, one of the most potent examples was that of birds. Birds are always present in *míqən*, with many species of birds calling this place home year-round. However, the return of spring yields the return of many migratory bird species including the majestic great blue herons. The renewed presence of the herons greatly alters the sonic environment of the park, particularly at places with close proximity to their nesting grounds, like the stone bridge. Sonically experienced by the sounds of squawking, groaning, and clacking calls of the birds, as well as their great wingbeats as they fly overhead, the herons have a reciprocal relationality with the change of the seasons.

Using sound to observe and conceptualize the flow of time can aid in understanding Indigenous notions of cyclic, non-linear time. Rather than thinking about time as something with a past, present, and future that flows in a line on a calendar, sound can aid in understanding time as a non-linear process. As one walk through the ancient places that have been cared for by Coast Salish peoples for thousands of years, they encounter sounds of the contemporary alongside sounds that were heard many generations ago and can still be heard today in a landscape that has been physically altered and appears different than it once did. This is one way that sound can represent non-linear time, where the place in which one is present holds more meaning than the notions of separation between the past, present, and future.

Though time has been a major theme of this research, throughout the course of this work, I have constantly felt that time was an enemy. As many of my fellow students do, I always felt like I was working against the clock to complete this work and keep up with the tasks of daily life with a chronic illness. Thinking about time in a critical way and reflecting on the ways in which I conceptualize time in my life has been refreshing and continues to help me form a more kind and respectful relationship with myself.

Of course, time and deep time can be experienced in other ways. Language and stories can create powerful temporal connections with places, ancestors, and others who lived before us. Other areas of anthropology, especially archaeology, provide ways of perceiving and understanding the past and the flow of time. Overlapping with sound, the area of sonic archaeology is an exciting field which incorporates sound studies into researching cultures of the past.⁴

Recording

The act of recording, a form of correspondence and transduction, is an intentional act which differs from being in a place and listening. Building on the argument shared by Anna Grimshaw and Amanda Ravetz (2015), Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier (2016), and Sarah Pink (2015), I believe that the act of recording a place (using technology such as a microphone or a camera) increases ones' consciousness and awareness of both the place and themselves, which can create new relationships with and senses of place. Furthermore, the microphone is an additional

⁴ See the Chavín de Huántar Archaeological Acoustics Project for an investigation of the acoustics of ancient ceremonial architecture in Peru (<https://ccrma.stanford.edu/groups/chavin/>).

type of correspondence which unlocks new meanings and connections that otherwise may remain unknown.

For example, when visiting the beach at Finlayson point, one can hear the sound of the waves and birds with their naked ear, smell the salt of the ocean, and feel the misty wind on their skin. However, turning on the microphone makes one extra aware of the sounds they could hear before and even brings new sounds to their attention. By adjusting the sensitivity of the microphone and changing one's physical position, sounds can become louder, quieter, clearer, or disappear altogether. The wind, which before the use of the microphone, was primarily felt by the body, is now picked up by the microphone and transduced to violent waves of sound that can be painful to the listener.

With the use of a hydrophone attachment, a new world of sound is unlocked: the aquatic. Sound travels four times faster in the medium of water than the medium of air, this affects the physical and acoustic properties of sound as well as the experience of listening. New sounds can also be heard with a hydrophone, such as the calls of whales, the opening and closing of barnacles, and the movement of tidepool-dwelling creatures. Sounds may also sound different underwater, the ocean waves crashing into the rocks is more dramatic as the hydrophone is tossed around and becomes a part of the movement of the water. Underwater microphones have uses in many other areas of study, including assessing the impacts of human marine activity on aquatic life by measuring the volume of sound that activities such as underwater drilling output into surrounding waters.

This notion is in direct conflict with the opinions of Ingold (2013) who views the use of technology as a hindrance or barrier between the person and the place they are corresponding with. While part of the reason I disagree with Ingold can be attributed to my age and exposure to

technology throughout my youth, my experiences with place and recording are the primary motivations for this section of my argument.

The areas between each place, walking, and mapping

Though the sound map I created focused on specific sites visual and sonic recording, the areas between each selected place are not empty voids. Rather, they are also important places and spaces where meaningful experiences occur. By engaging in the process of walking, I have exercised agency by choosing my paths through the park and choosing the amount of time I spend in these places. I have had experiences in these areas which are important to my project and senses of place. For example, when walking from the stone bridge to the petting zoo, I was chased by a Canada goose along one of the park's roads. As I ran carrying my recording gear, trying not to scream too loud so as not to disturb the nesting herons, a powerful memory was formed, ascribed emotions of fear and distress. Now every time I walk near this place, my pulse quickens and I scan my surroundings for possible avian assailants.

Walking as a research methodology has been employed by anthropologists, but it is also an Indigenous way of being which creates meaningful relations with land and territories (Larsen and Johnson 2017). Walking through ancient places is a powerful experience, one which literally sets you in the footsteps of those who came before you and have had experiences in places that may have changed greatly over time.⁵

The sound map is a multimodal representation of my work and experiences. It uses photography to incorporate the perspective of walking and provide multiple points of view, or

⁵ There is a well-established area of study within anthropology and sound studies which focuses on soundwalking (see the works of Hildegard Westerkamp). However, the foci of works within this area differs from that of this project and are not incorporated into this paper.

visual representations, for each selected site. Each experience I have described in this thesis is also represented on the map, providing additional ways of knowing. The inclusion of soundscapes and photographs gives the viewer an opportunity to form senses of place in Beacon Hill Park, which may complement their own experiences.

Conclusion

Based on my experiences and recordings from the park I have established that the senses create senses of place through correspondence and that, for sound, temporality is integral in the formation of meaning an experience. I have also used my experiences to further support the notion that the act of recording helps further attune one to a place and that sonic studies (including the act of sound mapping) can aid in the decolonization of academia and place-based experiences.

Some Recommendations for Visitors

1. Know whose land you're on.

Research the Indigenous nations who reside on the lands you visit, if you have the means consider making a financial donation to local Indigenous groups and projects.

2. Learn the place's histories.

Research the entangled Indigenous and colonial histories. Reflect on the role your presence plays in these histories. Be respectful.

3. Pay attention to your senses.

Engage in judgement-free attentive listening and sensing. Take notes and reflect on your experiences. Use your phone to take photographs and audio recordings when appropriate to add new layers to your experiences.

4. Take your time.

Don't rush your experience. Revisit places if you can and note how your relationships with the place change.

Further Research

Being in a place transcends the senses. Elements of senses of place such as emotional connections make powerful contributions to connections with place. These elements are connected to sensing and perception but were beyond the scope of this project. Studying these other ways of knowing and being can be a decolonial process which can incorporate Indigenous perspectives and go beyond colonial understandings of the senses.

Building on the approach and recommendations of this work, other projects could create placed-based resources for visitors and tourists. This would also be an excellent opportunity to collaborate with local nations and knowledge holders.

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