Kent Academic Repository

Lyon, Dawn, ed. (2021) *Rhythmanalysis: Place, Mobility, Disruption and Performance.* Research in Urban Sociology, 17 . Emerald, Bingley, UK, 304 pp. ISBN 978-1-83909-973-1.

Lyon, D (ed) (2022) *Rhythmanalysis: Rhythmanalysis: Place, Mobility, Disruption and Performance,* Research in Urban Sociology, Volume 17, Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing.

Introduction: Rhythm, rhythmanalysis and urban life
Dawn Lyon

Starting points: getting into rhythm

I'm sitting on a train heading into London, lucky to get a window seat. It's a High-Speed line and the green of the south east England countryside is a blur. This makes it hard to see the criss-crossing of tracks and roads, this infrastructure of commuting and economic development, that converge towards the city. I feel slightly nauseous if I look at something close to the line. Best to focus on the distance. The rhythms of train travel familiar to me from a childhood spent in the 1970s are my reference point, that 'chuggity-chug' motion of wheels on the track. Speed is relative, of course. Still, the singularity of the high-speed whoosh makes me want to hold my breath as the train tears into a tunnel under the River Thames then bursts out into the capital. This is the part I like, as the rhythms of the city reveal themselves in turn. I notice the building sites of north east London, the flows or 'circuits' of capital and power that underpin the latest surge of construction. At Stratford International, the smooth turning of the escalators carries passengers from platforms carved deep into the ground up into the station and the nearby shopping centre - the rhythms of consumption are never far in the city. As the train pulls away again, I catch a glimpse of people grouped at bus stops or crossings, the rhythms of vehicles, diverse bodies and the fabric of the street intersecting with one another. After another stretch underground, we approach St Pancras and everything slows down. There's always a short wait ahead of the end of the line, a welcome pause. People meander along the canal path occasionally looking up at the new apartment blocks built within nineteenth century cast-iron gasholders, while longboats await repair and a small nature reserve is a hive of unseen activity against a backdrop of controversial regeneration. Suddenly we are in the station, this grand site of modernity. The train doors open and the crowd moves briefly en masse. Then the 'invisible ties' of the journey are gone (Felder, 2020) as people shift into different rhythms and relations. I register the scattering of passengers and think how rhythm is always felt in the body and is out of sight, and I go on my way too. (I could stay in the station at this point, listening for the rhythms of the space, following George Revill (2013), or attending to atmosphere with Paul Simpson (2014) but perhaps I should move on.)

Urban life is inherently rhythmic. It is composed of movements in time and space, human and non-human comings and goings, synchronised calendars and chance encounters,

objects and materials in place or in motion. It is shaped by the repetition of day and night and the changing light of the seasons and the mood of the weather, the algorithmic sequencing of information and communication technologies and the material infrastructures and flows of electricity, gas and water. Across its sights, sounds, colours and smells, the city is a sensory jumble. This book explores the rhythms of the city on the one hand and what it means to research urban life through the lens of rhythm on the other. The vignette of my train journey presents a particular itinerary into the city, its ecology and culture, connected to specific histories, urban policies, finance and current global positioning (as well as my own biography), but also shows that lived rhythms of all kinds animate the everyday life of the city. Some rhythms obscure others or they come in and out of view. They repeat and they deviate from one another. Whatever the configuration and complexity of a city, and the mix of social, political, cultural and economic structures that run through it, this book seeks to demonstrate that the analysis of rhythm – or rhythmanalysis – offers a rich conceptual and methodological direction for urban sociology and the study of urban life more generally.

The point of departure of this edited collection is the contribution of the philosopher, literary critic, sociologist and urban studies scholar, Henri Lefebvre and his collaborator (and wife) Catherine Régulier to 'rhythm thinking' (Crespi and Manghani 2020). Together they developed the concept of rhythmanalysis as both a tool and object of analysis (Elden 2004). *Éléments de rythmanalyse: introduction à la connaissance des rythmes* was published in French in 1992 in the year following Lefebvre's death, under his name despite including two essays that were co-authored with Régulier (2004a, 2004b) (more on that later). This work built on an earlier notion of rhythmanalysis which distinguished between material, biological and psychological rhythms. It was proposed by the Portuguese philosopher, Lúcio Alberto Pinheiro dos Santos (1889-1950) in his 1931 book, *Ritmanálise* which has since been lost. Lefebvre and Régulier took inspiration from French philosopher Gaston Bachelard's (1884-1962) (2000) discussion of the concept until, in their own work, the rhythmanalytical project 'emerges bit by bit from the shadows' (Lefebvre 2004, 9).

In *Rhythmanalysis*, Lefebvre and Régulier argue that the monotonous, quantified 'linear' time of capitalism is eclipsing the 'cyclical' time of nature, the seasons and the body. Capitalism's colonisation of different spheres of life, notably through consumption, meant that it had come to dominate what Lefebvre called 'la vie quotidienne' or everyday life (2014). Lefebvre used the term everyday life to talk about the extent to which capitalism had 'invaded' even 'crush' routine practices in all spheres of cultural and social life, especially in the city as leisure and rest - as well as work - became subject to the same spatio-temporal logics of capitalist accumulation. If Lefebvre overstates the elision of linear time with capitalism (Simpson

2008), there is no need to think of them in oppositional or dualistic terms. Indeed, cyclical and linear rhythms are nevertheless always in tension, interfering or interacting with one another, resulting in 'compromises' or 'disturbances' (Lefebvre 2004, 8). For rhythm to arise, there needs to be 'difference' as well as repetition. On its own, repetition is an unchanging sameness as in 'the fall of a drop of water, the blows of a hammer, the noise of an engine, and so on' (Lefebvre and Régulier 2004a: 76). Difference is what makes rhythm possible as 'something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive' (Lefebvre 2004, 6). And in these 'cracks' there is also the potential for social transformation. Perhaps part of the appeal of rhythmanalysis for understanding urban life lies in its dual recognition of both the ordering impulses of capitalism and the liveliness of the city and the possibility of tuning into this polyrhythmic composition to use it as a 'generative and creative force' (Smith and Hetherington 2013, 6).

The publication of *Rhythmanalysis* is often thought of as completing Lefebvre's hitherto three-volume *Critique of Everyday Life*, explicitly bringing temporality into his scholarship concerned with space and politics. However, although rhythm is often treated as a temporal concept, for Lefebvre and Régulier it captures how space and time fold together. The impact of the book in the Anglophone academy was only really felt following its translation as *Rhythmanalysis, Space, Time and Everyday Life* into English in 2004, which has reinvigorated interest in Lefebvre, giving him something of an 'afterlife' (Elden 2006). The story now appears to have come full circle in the republication of the original book in French in 2019, retitled as *Éléments de rythmanalyse et autres essais sur les temporalités* (along with renewed attention to Lefebvre's work in France more generally (Le Roulley 2021)).

In the meantime, the field has been growing. Rhythm is making a 'return' following its popularity in the early twentieth century (Henriques et al 2014, 3). The recent publication of Crespi and Manghani's edited collection *Rhythm and Critique* and Vincent Barletta's *Rhythm: Form & Dispossession*, both in 2020, demonstrate the 'capacity' of rhythm as subject of study, a tool of critique, an object of analysis, and a site of imaginative thinking across different disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. Both books include fascinating and instructive genealogies of the idea of rhythm which explore the long-standing tensions between rhythm as flow and as measure. For Barletta, rhythm is 'a powerful force that holds us in place and shapes the foundations upon which we and our world ultimately rest. Rhythm speaks, one might say, (to) the very conditions of our being in the world' (Barletta 2020, xviii). In *Rhythm and Critique*, Pascal Michon (2020) explores rhythm as a new kind of paradigm, an alternative to structure or system in the humanities and social sciences. His *Elements of Rhythmology* (2017-19) and his *Rhuthmos* website

(www.rhuthmos.eu) (where all his work is available) are a huge contribution to the 'emerging field' of 'rhythm studies' (Crespi and Manghani 2020, 4).

Rhythmanalysis has had greatest impact in urban sociology, urban studies, geography and the field of mobilities studies. But it has been taken up beyond these areas, including in dance and performance studies – a field already profoundly concerned with rhythm - (Morris 2017), education (Alhadeff-Jones 2017), theology (Eikelboom 2019), work and organisation (Cahit Agar and Manolchev 2020; Snyder 2016), consumption (Southerton 2020) and algorithmic technologies (Coletta and Kitchin 2017). Whilst the concept of rhythmanalysis was developed with reference to cities in the global North in the twentieth century, it also resonates beyond these contexts in time and space to grasp the dynamism and diversity of 'small' (Ocejo et al 2020) and 'ordinary' (Robinson 2006) cities, and further research in these contexts might lead to the reformulation of rhythmanalysis (see Cook 2015; Kern 2015; Meij et al 2021; Stasik 2015). The insights of AbdouMaliq Simone's (2018) work on practices of *living-with* the urban in the global south have already brought into view the 'rhythms of endurance' and resourcefulness that exist in African and Asian cities.

Working with rhythm to 'grasp' urban life
If rhythm is making waves, the opening statement by Thierry Paquot (2019, 151) in the Postface of the new French edition nevertheless claims that rhythmanalysis still does not have the intellectual recognition it deserves. In their introduction to a special issue of *The Sociological Review* on 'Urban Rhythms' published in 2013, Rob Smith and Kevin Hetherington argue that 'a critical consideration of rhythm allows for an understanding of the contemporary urban era that distinguishes it from those of the past' (2013, 5). Yet they comment that the 'mobilities turn' rather than rhythm per se has had the greatest impact in urban studies (2013, 11). Perhaps this is now changing.

The impact of the global coronavirus pandemic since 2020 has generated renewed recognition of the significance of rhythm in everyday life at different scales, from concerns about the future of city centres (e.g. Nathan and Overman 2020) to the impact of disruption to sleep during lockdown living (e.g. Mandelkorn et al 2021; see also Rinkart 2020). Cities across the globe have witnessed huge changes to the pulse of urban life. At times, the rhythms of commuting have slowed or disappeared entirely and urban spaces dominated by office blocks have been emptied out as large numbers of people worked from home. At the same time, hospitals, always important nodes in cross-cutting urban rhythms, have been sites of the intensification of the rhythms of work and care, evident in queues of ambulances on adjoining streets and the marks left by personal protective equipment on the faces and

flesh of medical staff. In some places, images of roaming wildlife in city centres under curfew have captured people's attention as both as being 'out of place' and for signalling changes in the mixing of human and non-human across day and night. Elsewhere, geographies of everyday life have shrunk as people in densely populated slum areas have been obliged to stay inside (Eril 2020). All the while, new rhythms and routines have taken shape via digital connections.

This 'surfacing' of rhythm in everyday life is powerful; it makes apparent what is sometimes, difficult to grasp, the 'haunting' and thereby elusive quality of rhythm (Crespi and Manghani 2020, 16). Rhythm feels relevant as people articulate connections between the taken-for-granted rhythms of life before COVID and the dissembled patterns of work, care and social contact during the pandemic. Perhaps rhythmanalysis is an effective tool for making sense of the present pandemic moment, and urban life more generally, in part because it can be used as a middle-range concept (Stewart 2014, 551), an attunement that connects the intimate to the global. Thinking with rhythm illuminates the ordinary details of everyday life *and* the distant forces that shape them (Amin and Thrift 2002 & 2017). It stimulates working across these scales, bringing the macro and the micro into a conversation of sorts, body and economy alongside one another.

Lefebvre's influence on contemporary understanding of the city is extensive – although the concept of the city and its symbolic or material boundaries are by no means settled - and his attention to process rather than form in urban life remains hugely significant (Leary-Ohwin and McCarthy 2019). His conceptualisation of space as a triad has inspired numerous studies which contrast official 'representational spaces' with the lived 'spaces of representation'. They further explore how space is produced through the conceived and the lived in interaction with routines of 'spatial practice'. Geographer and urban theorist, Ed Soja, brought attention to Lefebvre's spatial triad in his development of 'third space' (1996) as one which includes both real and imagined spaces. Lefebvre's highly influential formulation of the 'right to the city' emphasises collective power to change the process of urbanisation, to remake the city and the self in the process. These ideas which were originally published in 1968 as *Le Droit à la Ville* (published in English in *Writings on Cities* in 1995) chime with geographer David Harvey's thinking in *Social Justice and the City* (1973) on the importance of a specifically urban revolution and Harvey was also key in disseminating Lefebvre's ideas in the Anglo-American academy (Merrifield 2006: 102). More recently, Lefebvre's work has stimulated debates about 'planetary urbanisation' (Brenner and Schmid 2015) which recognises the relevance of urbanisation across a global scale and the presence of the urban in spaces often assumed to be separate and distanced from the city.

However, the contribution of Lefebvre is widely associated with questions of urban political economy rather than the lived experience of the urban. Indeed, Farrington (2020) argues that there has been an overemphasis on the political-economic dimensions of Lefebvre's work that deal with capital and state power – notably in how it has been popularised by the geographer, David Harvey (although see Leary-Ohwin and McCarthy 2019 for more in-depth discussion) – at the expense of a more embodied and intimate knowledge of rhythm, space and the everyday. Interesting, in their 2019 publication of *The Routledge Handbook of Henri Lefebvre, The City and Urban Society*, Leary-Ohwin and McCarthy situate sensory approaches to understanding urban life and rhythmanalysis within their conceptualisation of a 'third wave' of Lefebvrian scholarship which includes empirical studies of cities, largely inspired by *The Production of Space*, rather than as a separate strand of work. (Leary-Ohwin and McCarthy's first and second waves are theoretical and biographical respectively, the fourth combining theory and empirical research.) There is already a considerable literature that uses rhythmanalysis to offer 'situational knowledge about the complexities and potentialities of space as it is experienced in real time' (Farrington 2020, 2). Monica Degen's *Sensing Cities* (2008) is a key reference here in which she explores urban regeneration in Barcelona and Manchester as a social, economic and political process and a profoundly sensory experience.

The collections by Edensor (2010) and Smith and Hetherington (2013) show the insight and interest of working with rhythm and rhythmanalysis as a lens and practice for comprehending contemporary urban life. A rhythmanalysis of the city involves 'an attention to the everyday entanglements of motion of bodies and objects, space and time which both shape and emerge from the urban quotidian' (Smith and Hetherington 2013, 11). While doing rhythmanalysis includes identifying rhythms that might be hidden from view, it offers much more than this. It involves thinking with rhythm as a critical concept and practice to trace how rhythm produces urban experience - and may be used to achieve social change at different scales. As such, rhythm can contribute to and complicate broader debates and challenges to the framing of the social, cultural and economic life of cities. It was already present in classical urban sociology. For Georg Simmel (1858-1918), in his famous essay on the 'Metropolis and Mental Life' written at the beginning of the twentieth century, the incessant change of the city creates an unbearable and unsettling intensity to the rhythm and atmosphere of urban space despite the attractions of its freedoms (Simmel 2002). It is one that it is possible to learn and adapt to – a process Lefebvre would later call 'dressage', a kind of bodily entrainment arising from the necessity 'to bend oneself (to be bent) to its [the city's] ways' from which habit takes hold as 'dressage fills the place of the unforeseen'

(Lefebvre 2004, 39-40). For Simmel, a 'blasé' attitude of indifference is necessary to cope; a calculative stance against the rationality of capitalism and the coldness of clock time – Lefebvre's 'linear time'. In what feels like a prescient reflection in the light of the coronavirus pandemic and its loosening of a collective temporal infrastructure, Simmel wonders what might happen: 'If all the watches in Berlin suddenly went wrong in different ways even only as much as an hour…' (2002, 13).

Today, the urban (and the social more generally) is often cast in terms of speed and acceleration (Rosa 2013). Against this tendency, Sarah Sharma has argued that lived time or temporality rather than speed offers greater 'insight into the politics of time and space ushered in by global capitalism' and can 'make visible the entangled and uneven politics of temporality' (2014, 4-6). If the 'complexity of lived time is absent' from analyses that focus on the general acceleration of everyday life, Sharma's own work shows how time and bodies are 'differentially valued and made productive for capital' in the everyday life of the city (2014, 14; see also Wajcman and Dodd, 2017). For instance, she discusses how taxi drivers 'recalibrate' their bodies to maintain the time of others (ibid, 20) – and feel the effects of their work as 'cab lag' (akin to jet lag). Furthermore, their 'temporal labour' means they are working 'within a temporal infrastructure whilst being cast outside of it' (ibid, 57). Interestingly, neither Sharma's book *In the Meantime* (2014) nor Judy Wajcman and Nigel Dodd's *The Sociology of Speed* (2017), pay direct attention to rhythmanalysis, at least in name – although there is common ground in Sharma's notion of temporality and rhythm as discussed here. Furthermore, rhythm's recognition of the ebb and flow of the everyday adds nuance to narratives of 'suspended time' or an 'extended present' (Nowotny 1996) against their flattening tendencies. The 'vocabulary' of rhythmanalysis elucidates the spatio-temporal intricacies of lived experience and offers a means to explore and critique the social (Lyon 2019). This may be especially important in relation to how we come to make sense of the experience of 'lockdown' during, in Lefebvre's terms, the present 'moment' of the pandemic and the imagined possibilities of different everyday rhythms into the future. Indeed, I hope this collection will be illuminating for students and established scholars trying to make sense of the impact of the pandemic across different fields of research, and who may be drawn to rhythmanalysis to do so.

The possibilities of rhythmanalysis
In the preceding section, I make the case for rhythm as valuable tool for understanding urban life. I briefly situate rhythmanalysis in relation to Lefebvre's urban scholarship more generally and make connections to current research about time, the city and modernity. In this section, I consider rhythmanalysis in more detail. First, I give greater context to its

development. I then discuss the ways it has been interpreted and deployed within and beyond urban research. I identify five 'possibilities' of rhythmanalysis. Following on from this, in the next section, I outline the scope and contributions of this book to further developing rhythmanalysis.

The idea of rhythmanalysis starts to emerge in Lefebvre's writings in 'The Theory of Moments' in the second volume of *Critique of Everyday Life*, originally published in 1961: 'We will look closely at results of interactions between cyclic rhythms and linear (discontinuous or continuous) time scales in the everyday' to propose 'a rhythmology or a sociological 'rhythmanalysis'' (2014, 526). The following decade, in *The Production of Space*, published in French in 1974, he suggests that 'it is possible to envision a sort of 'rhythm analysis' which would address itself to the concrete reality of rhythms', in which the body is central (1991, 205). This is further developed in a short section on 'Space and Time' in Volume Three of *Critique of Everyday Life* originally published in 1981 where he proposes 'a new science', situated 'at the juxtaposition of the physical, the physiological and the social, at the heart of daily life' (2014, 802) – an evident debt to Pinheiro dos Santos (McCormack, 2013, 42).

Living from 1901 to 1991, Henri Lefebvre witnessed the social changes of the twentieth century first-hand. He spent his early years in south west France, steeped in the cyclical rhythms of agrarian life and 'natural' time, and was shocked by the fragmentation and alienation of the industrialized consumerist society he saw taking shape in France, notably in the construction new town of Mourenx near to his familial home of Navarrenx. Being a young philosopher meant being engaged in politics - in theory with Marx, and in practice with the French Communist Party - and all the major avant-garde movements of the time, from Surrealism to Situationism. It was much later in his life at the age of sixty that he took up a formal position in the academy, first at Strasbourg then Nanterre (Merrifield 2006). The role of Catherine Régulier in the development of rhythmanalysis is unclear. She married Lefebvre in 1978 at the age of 21 and the timing of the publication of the two essays on rhythmanalysis which were jointly authored by Régulier and Lefebvre (2004a, 2004b) suggests her contribution was fundamental: 'Le projet rythmanalitique' was first published in 1985 and 'Essai de rythmanalyse des villes méditerranéennes' in 1986. They had previously worked together, in particular on a book that took the form of a dialogue between them: *La révolution n'est pas ce qu'elle était* (1978) (Merrifield 2004). However, in the republication of *Eléments de Rhythmanalyse* in French in 2019, there is an acknowledgement which thanks Catherine Régulier for her cooperation and trust in the republication project but evidently led to no overall change in authorship of the original idea.

If Lefebvre defines rhythmanalysis as 'a method and a theory' (2004, 16) with an ambition 'to found a new science, a new field of knowledge: the analysis of rhythms', in practice, it follows the follows the 'more philosophical method' (ibid, 3-5) albeit one that is intertwined with historical examples and empirical observations, most famously from his Parisian balcony but also in the exploration of Mediterranean cities he undertakes with Régulier. The vocabulary of rhythmanalysis the book offers is powerful. *Eurhythmia* refers to smoothly combined rhythms which can also take the form of *isorhythmia* when they are perfectly in tune such as in the 'remarkable' coordination of an orchestra 'under the direction of the conductor's baton' (ibid, 68). Discordance is captured by *arrhythmia*. Each of these terms refers to relations between rhythms as 'The everyday reveals itself to be a *polyrhythmia* from the first listening' (ibid, 16, emphasis added). However, rhythmanalysis has exceeded the directions Lefebvre and Régulier's set out as researchers have worked with it across different fields and registers.

The history of rhythm is an object of enquiry in its own right. For instance, in Vincent Barletta's book, *Rhythm, Form & Dispossession* (2020), the discussion pivots on three key moments that allow him to explore the history of rhythm 'as an object of critical enquiry' (Barletta 2013, xiii). In much research, there is a tendency to position rhythm as a '***subject of investigation***' or an ***object of analysis*** (Crespi and Manghani 2020, 6-7) to identify and trace particular rhythms. This first strand of work deliberately disentangles specific rhythms from their polyrhythmic constellations to explore what they do, in the city, on the street, or in the household. To take an example, in their analysis of the Berlin marathon, Tim Edensor and Jonas Larsen (2018) attend to the rhythms of the race and the rhythms of the city in preparing and hosting the marathon. This includes detailed attention to the individual rhythms of the body in training and performance on the day, and the collective rhythms of runners and the accompanying crowd, and the preparation of the 'track', disrupting the ordinary rhythms of large areas of the city. Their analysis separates specific rhythms to trace how they take shape and brings them together again for a polyrhythmic appreciation of the race across its corporeal, material and affective dimensions. In so doing, they identify the 'rhythm objects' that are the pertinent units of analysis to explore (Crespi and Manghani 2020) - the body, the running, the race and the track - as well as attending to the relevant space-times of the project in their research design, evident in Larsen's diary which documents his preparation for the marathon over the previous months.

Second, even if the aim of a study is to disentangle different rhythms that traverse urban life, rhythm is also (always) a ***conceptual tool*** (Crespi and Manghani, 2020, 6). In his

introduction to the English publication of *Rhythmanalysis*, Stuart Elden (2004) positions the 'rhythm' of rhythmanalysis as both object and tool of analysis (see also Barletta, 2019). For Crespi and Manghani, it is a '*productive* concept for contemporary critical enquiry' into social, political and cultural life or as 'a critical framing for contemporary culture' (2020, 5-6). Similarly, Smith and Hetherington (2013) describe rhythmanalysis as critique as well as methods (we'll come to methods next) to illuminate the social and spatio-temporal relations of the urban. McCormack (2013) explicitly considers rhythmanalysis as conceptual as well as 'practico-sensory' (more on the senses below). If rhythmanalytical work implicitly or explicitly uses rhythm as a conceptual tool to address specific research questions, some scholars have developed it further to offer a framework, for example, for the intersectional analysis of rhythm, power and difference (Reid-Musson 2018), or to unravel connections between mundane practices and the workings of capital (Borch et al 2015).

Third, when rhythmanalysis first came to the attention of scholars in the Anglo-American academy, it was felt to be tantalising, stopping short of informing readers how to *do* rhythmanalysis. It was described as an 'orientation' (Highmore 2002, 175), an 'investigative disposition' (Hall et al 2008, 1028), a 'suggestive vein' (Edensor 2011, 190), and a 'speculative invitation' (McCormack 2013, 42). Smith and Hetherington (2013) refer to it as concerned with methods as well as critique and more recently Crespi and Manghani (2020, 9) discuss it in terms of approach (which I read as research strategy) as well as concept, echoing Elden's earlier formulation (of tool and object). For my part, I called it a 'sensitising concept' (Willis and Trondman 2002; see also Brighenti and Karrholm 2018), enriching thinking by alerting readers to possible lines of enquiry. I went on to do a close reading of *Rhythmanalysis* to draw out and gather the guidance it contained for doing rhythmanalysis, critically discussing its limitations and potential (Lyon 2019). I argued it was more of a ***research strategy*** that invites critical empirical enquiry than a method per se and one that – akin to ethnography – mobilises a multitude of research practices in the service of a specific project, across participant observation, phenomenological observation (Merrifield 2006), documentary methods (Highmore 2002), quantitative analysis of big data (Skeggs and Yuill 2006) and more.

Fourth, whatever the specific research design and mobilisation of methods, a key feature of much rhythmanalytical research is the 'felt condition of rhythm' (Barletta 2020, 102), making rhythmanalysis an ***embodied and sensory practice***. For Lefebvre and Régulier, 'The rhythmanalyst calls on all his [*sic*] senses. […] He thinks with his body, not in the abstract, but in lived temporality' (Lefebvre 2004, 21), not least since space and time are inseparable in the body (Revol 2019). Although Lefebvre has been criticised for assuming the body to be

a passive receiver, 'acted upon' by rhythm (Simpson 2008, 233), doing rhythmanalysis relies on the body and the senses being alert. For Derek McCormack, the 'practico-sensory' aspect of rhythmanalysis – which goes hand in hand with the conceptual – requires 'the cultivation of a peculiar style of attentiveness' to become susceptible to rhythm (2013, 42). Existing research proposes imaginative uses of the body and the senses for doing rhythmanalysis – and the chapters in this book make a further contribution here. Lefebvre was especially keen on listening for rhythm, perhaps as part of a critique of occularcentrism and a lack of recognition of wider sensory realms (Merrifield 2006, 75), as he writes: 'The discriminatory capacity of the auditory and cerebral apparatus plays the primary role – practical and spontaneous – in the grasping of rhythm' (Lefebvre 2004, 69). Yi Chen (2017) takes this further, considering rhythmanalysis to be a sensorium or 'meta-sense' that draws on and works across all the senses. Finally, researchers in this field have also recognised the limits or insufficiency of the body for 'grasping' rhythm, extending the sensory through a range of audio-visual methods (e.g. Duffy et al 2011; Lyon 2016; Simpson 2012).

In *Rhythmanalysis,* Lefebvre poses the question of the relationship between the rhythmanalyst and the poet; both are concerned with the verbal and the aesthetic and have an impact on what they observe (see Glaser and Culler 2019). The final possibility of rhythmanalysis I discuss here is as **urban poetics**, a term proposed by Claire Revol (2019) to capture rhythmanalysis as a mode of imagining - and practising and recognising - alternative time-spaces. Like others before him, notably Walter Benjamin, Lefebvre was fascinated by small moments of revelation, glimpses of an alternative which quickly disappear. He celebrated the idea of the 'festival' which emerges from an intensification of the everyday and offers the possibility of escape from it (2014, 222) and he advocated rhythmanalysis as a means of undoing and transcending dominant (linear) spatial and temporal patterns. Revol (2019) calls for Lefebvrian-inspired urban poetics that stimulate imagination and utopian thinking. For her, *Rhythmanalysis* is a series of 'fragments' and an 'experimental utopia'. Or as Tariq Jazeel writes with reference to the challenge of decolonizing geographical knowledge, the 'poetic thought safeguards the particular' (2019, 17). It is a 'reverberation between the world and us that constrains and gives form' (Barletta 2020, 161). For Revol, poetics needs to be developed as a 'experimental device rather than on observational methodology' to contribute to making sense of the urban 'as a work of art' beyond social theory for the transformation of everyday life. She writes:

> '…beyond rhythmanalysis' contribution to the critical theory of urban space and time, the imagination becomes an alternative for the creation of time-spaces in the form of experimental utopias and the creation of lifestyles. Rhythmanalysis can then be

understood as a general quest for the appropriation of time and space in the renewal of the possibility of the urban to become a human oeuvre' (Revol 2019, ??).

Taking inspiration from Lefebvre, and in dialogue with the cultural theorist, Rolande Barthes and the linguist, Emile Benveniste, Sunil Manghani (2020) explores an 'ethics' of rhythm, considering what kinds of rhythms we wish to live by (see also Brighenti and Karrholm 2018, 10). Scholars and activists highlighting the climate emergency have been asking similar questions (e.g. Evans, 2010; see also Walker 2021 & this volume). And there are examples of urban planners using rhythmanalysis to identify normative rhythms and promote a shared understanding of city space (see Nevejan and Sefkatli 2020 on the Netherlands City Rhythms project). Questions about the future rhythms of everyday life have been more urgent and present in the public sphere as the coronavirus pandemic has unfolded.

Developing rhythmanalysis: outline of this book

A little more than ten years on from Tim Edensor's landmark collection, *Geographies of Rhythm*, the chapters in this volume work with rhythmanalysis in imaginative and creative ways to make sense of the rhythms of the city. Following Edensor (2010) and Smith and Hetherington (2013), they are not constrained by Lefebvre and Régulier's original formulation but think with it and take it in new directions. They include contributions by both established academics and early career researchers from sociology, urban anthropology, geography, architecture and urban planning, organisational studies, creative writing, drama and performing arts, sound and music. The chapters coalesce around the key rhythmic themes of place, mobility, disruption and performance which highlight significant strands of rhythmanalytical work. The book is organised accordingly into four parts with an *Interlude* to pause midway and an *Afterword* to reflect on its contributions. Many of the chapters could have been included in more than one of these areas and threads of discussion in one part of the book continue in the foreground or background across the other parts. Overall, they make conceptual, substantive and/or methodological contributions which mobilise rhythmanalysis for understanding urban life.

Researching rhythm is not straightforward. If some rhythms 'operate on the surface' and are amenable to observation, others 'spring from hidden depths' and must be tracked 'through indirect effects' (Lefebvre 1991, 205). Crespi and Manghani coin the term 'rhythm thinking' to reflect this double life of rhythm which 'allow[s] for *practice* as a form of critical thought' (2020, 7-8). Indeed, methodological innovation and conceptual development are intertwined in much of the work presented in this volume. In several chapters, conceptual development

is key. For instance, Lopes Coelho revitalises a pre-Platonic notion of rhythm in her practice of *rhuthmanalysis*, and Walker develops the role of energy that is present but underspecified in Lefebvre and Régulier's original project in the light of twenty-first century environmental issues.

In terms of research methodologies, ethnography and autoethnography dominate, as in much rhythmanalytical work (Lyon 2019). But they are inflected here in some novel ways: first, in relation to different types of image used both for their analytical value in the research process and for communicating new understandings of urban life; and second, in the engagement of the body and the senses. Several chapter authors (Lopes Coelho, Glynou-Lefaki, Nash, Sackville, Stein, Tartia) use photographs to record scenes, objects and interactions which help them and us as readers to notice change over time as live urban rhythms sometimes elude us. Drawing is an effective tool for 'active observation' (Harper 1998) as when Lopes Coelho recount her efforts to 'see with the hand' by reproducing images of the *Caminito* in Buenos Aires or to render variation in urban traffic as in Tartia's line sketches from data collected in cities in Finland. Video methods take the viewer beyond our immediate perceptions of rhythm, and are used by several authors as a means to re-view the unfolding of urban life in a space and time outside of its occurrence. In particular, Stansfeld develops a 'slow motion' technique for capturing rhythm which offers fascinating glimpses of urban life, and Macpherson uses time-lapse photograph to generate visual representations of the pulse and flow of the crowd in a festival space. In addition, Borelli draws on existing visual representations of urban life in his analysis of *Rugagiuffa*, a YouTube web series produced by a group of young Venetians which satirises relations of power and property.

Walking features strongly as a multi-sensory research practice (Bates and Rhys-Taylor 2017) and is an already recognised tool of rhythmanalysis (Middleton 2010; Vergnust 2010; Wunderlich 2008). The authors wander to absorb urban life, inspired by Situationists or flâneurs/flâneuses, as they respond to the ripples and jolts of rhythm in the city. At times, they walk with concentrated attention in an effort to take in and tune into the rhythms of the crowd or to notice the materiality of the street; at others they lessen their hold to be swept along by the activity or energy of the moment (Lopes Coelho, Glynou-Lefaki, Nash, Sackville, Tartia). Walking is haptic in that feet repeatedly touch the ground but it also involves broader bodily and sensory connections to the environment which help the rhythmanalyst to grasp rhythm. The body is central to the practice of rhythmanalysis across much of this work as it is in Lefebvre and Régulier's original formulation. The rhythmanalyst 'listens – and first to his [*sic*] body; he learns rhythm from it, in order consequently to

appreciate external rhythms', Lefebvre writes (2004, 19). The authors in this volume certainly 'think with' the body, for instance, in Stein's dancefloor analysis of 'Plug in Beats' in Munich, Germany and Pitts, Jean and Clarke's use of their bodily responses to perform a rhythmic 'electronic symphony'. Indeed, these and other chapter authors go beyond an understanding of the body as simply subject to social as well as natural rhythms and show how the body is affected by and affects rhythms in specific contexts and relations (Edensor 2010).

In addition, the chapter authors take their readers to a range of urban sites and situations where working with the lens of rhythm reveals fresh insights – from the metropolitan contexts of Buenos Aires (Lopes Coelho) and London (Macpherson, Nash, Stansfeld) to the 'intermittent urbanization' of island life in Lesvos, Greece (Karides); from the everyday rhythms of the taxi ride in North America (Anderson) to the unfolding of festival and performance spaces in the UK (Macpherson; Pitts, Jean and Clarke). Research undertaken in different European contexts is prominent – from France (Sackville) to Finland (Tartia) as well as Germany (Stein) and Italy (Borelli, Glynou-Lefaki). Whilst the authors tackle global concerns such as climate change (Gordon), tourism (Borelli, Karides) and migration (Karides, Stansfeld, Stein), there are some absences. The book does not include material from African and Asian cities. I take responsibility for this and recognise how my own situatedness in the Global North and the unevenness of the networks I am embedded in means that the call for chapters did not reach scholars in all parts of the world who might have made valuable contributions to the volume and to the creation of 'worldly rhythms' (Crespi and Manghani 2020, 17).

Place
Places are composed of rhythms as people and non-human animals go about their business, objects circulate, materials settle and energies flow. The interaction of these rhythms 'animates' place at different scales – across the street, neighbourhood and city (Lefebvre 2004, 30) creating different qualities and senses of place. Rhythmanalysis has attracted significant attention from scholars seeking to grasp the process of place-making in the everyday and over time. This section includes chapters which explore the rhythms of place and make sense of place through the lens of rhythm in Buenos Aires and London using an innovative combination of visual and sensory tools as part of the authors' ethnographic practice. The chapters also make conceptual contributions both to the formulation of rhythmanalysis itself (Lopes Coelho) and the relationship of rhythm to other concepts such as performativity (Nash) and superdiversity (Stansfeld).

Salomé Lopes Coelho approaches rhythmanalysis from her background in philosophy and interest in visual arts and the social life of urban spaces. Her chapter resituates rhythmanalysis, methodologically and conceptually. She moves literally from the balcony favoured by Lefebvre (2004) to the *Caminito*, the famous alley-cum-outdoor museum in the La Boca neighbourhood of Buenos Aires, Argentina. She challenges the 'unrecognised privileges' of the balcony and its separation from the street. Instead, she undertakes an exercise in rhythmanalysis through the gesture of crossing space – a *travessia* – which recognises dislocation as a mode of connecting to the vitality of rhythm. She uses visual art – painting, photography and drawing – to explore the street and its representation, as a repository of rhythm and a means to reveal it. Alongside her discussion of the practice of rhythmanalysis, Lopes Coelho also traces the genealogy of rhythmanalysis from Pinheiro dos Santos and Bachelard to the work of Lefebvre and Régulier. I open the first part of the book with this chapter as it offers an insightful account of this trajectory and it invites us to explore rhythmanalysis beyond the implicit Eurocentrism of the concept. Lopes Coelho recasts her exercise as *rhuthmanalysis* associated with a pre-Platonic understanding of rhythm as always in motion or flow. Following Donna Haraway (1988), situating the various knowledges that are generated through rhuthmanalysis allows multiple viewpoints to co-exist, and for contradictions and tensions to unfold.

The sense of rhythmanalysis as a mobile practice on the ground also underpins the chapter by the scholar of organisational studies, **Louise Nash**. The location of Nash's research is the City of London, the long-established 'Square Mile' dominated by international finance, insurance and banking. Nash draws on her own experience of working in the City before moving into academia as she returns to consider it afresh as a space of gendered performativity entangled in the rhythms of place. Indeed, a key contribution of this chapter is its recognition of gender as fundamental to the rhythmic constitution of place – and to the practice of rhythmanalysis itself (Reid-Musson 2018). Nash walks through the City, matching her pace to those around her, remembering her former working life, and feeling her way in the crowd and in relation to the material environment (buildings, traffic and street furniture). She takes stock over coffee, observing the ongoing pulse of rhythms around her, the harmony of eurhythmia and the staccato of arrythmia: 'to get outside them [rhythms], but not completely' (Lefebvre 2004, 17). She uses her own body as an instrument of research throughout (along with notetaking, photography and interviewing) and her own rhythms as a reference – or a 'metronome' in Lefebvre's terms (ibid, 19) - in relation to broader spatio-temporal patterns and interactions. She identifies dominant forms of masculinity as central to the production of the urban space of the City, exemplified by men taking space, using the pavement as 'office corridors', carrying files and laptops and a sense of entitlement. The

other side of the coin of the relentless speed of work and associated focus and purpose she identifies is fear of a break in this rhythm and exclusion through failure to maintain it (see also Lewis et al 2020).

The third chapter in this part of the book also takes a small slice of London life as its focus for experimenting with rhythmanalysis. As a deliberate move to counter the inherent speed and fleeting character of the urban, **Katherine Stansfeld** uses slow motion video to explore the rhythms and atmospheres of the super-diverse neighbourhood of Finsbury Park. Stansfeld, a geographer, brings a concern with multicultural intimacies that are part and parcel of mundane interactions to this chapter. She discusses how slow-motion video allows her to capture affective moments and encounters that might otherwise be missed in the flow of the everyday, literally to *illuminate* the interaction of bodies and materials in place and on the move. She explores the 'presence' of super-diversity 'beyond demographics and identities' and the production of urban space as it is made. Her use of video makes this research a visual as well as text-based ethnography and I encourage readers to view Stansfeld's companion film, *Slow Motion Streets* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hOxWVntY68s). The film employs split-screen to capture stillness and motion in linear and cyclical rhythms and juxtaposes different times of the day and year showing how these moments produce urban space over time – as we glimpse from the images included in the chapter here. Her contribution is an original methodological and analytical development in the practice of rhythmanalysis and an exciting alternative to the use of time-lapse photography and audio-visual montage for revealing rhythm (Simpson 2008, 2012; Lyon 2016).

Mobility
Place and mobility are profoundly interconnected as social space is made through activity and movement. The three chapters in the above section could equally have been included under the subheading of mobility. However, whilst they foreground the constitution of place through mobility and rhythm, the chapters in this section highlight how mobilities arise from rhythms or conversely, produce the rhythms of urban space (Hartmann Petersen, 2020). There is already a strong and fascinating strand of research on rhythm and mobility which considers a wide range of means and type of movement – walking, running, cycling and driving as well as travel by coach, rail, ferry and ship - and the relationships between bodies and atmospheres, speed and slowness, and flesh and the material environment (Lewis et al 2020). The chapters here all have an interest in the rhythm of the car but explore very different concerns: climate change, algorithms and light.

In the first chapter in this section, **Gordon Walker** makes a conceptual and analytical contribution. Lefebvre emphases energy in rhythmanalysis, for instance when he writes: 'everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy there is rhythm' (Lefebvre 2004, 15). However, the conceptualisation and role of energy are not explored either by Lefebvre and Régulier or subsequent rhythmanalysts. Walker is a geographer with a long-standing interest in environmental justice, inequality, community and renewable energy and draws on this background to propose a 'thermodynamic, materialist understanding of the energy in rhythm'. He brings a multidisciplinary perspective on rhythmanalysis to urban life that connects energy, space and time at different scales from the body to the cosmos. More specifically, he considers how attention to energy within rhythmanalysis can be used to think about the climate crisis as a socio-environmental phenomenon and to recognise its rhythmic entanglements and rhythm-energetic qualities. He focuses on what this ongoing destabilisation of polyrhythmic patterns and flows means for urban mobility including the capacities and limits of the natural and social worlds to absorb arrhythmia. Whilst the movement of cars and other vehicles has been widely recognised as rhythmic, Walker draws attention to additional types of rhythm that our reliance on carbon-heavy automobility systems implies: fuel supply, fuelling, vehicle movement and pollution. He discusses how alternatives such as public transport, electric power, walking and cycling imply different sets of rhythmic relations across these types which could contribute to a more sustainable basis for future urban living.

Driving as a form of mobility is also central to the chapter by anthropologist, **Donald Anderson** although his focus is at a different scale. His research contrasts the experiences of taxi drivers using the different technologies of radio despatch and app-based demand in North America. The chapter situates the reader in the traditional driver's cab at the outset and we hear the voice of Felipe, a driver-rhythmanalyst sharing his detailed occupational knowledge as he finds his way. Through Anderson's dialogue with drivers and his own autoethnographic experiences of working as a cabdriver, a picture emerges of the rhythms of mobility, stasis, demand, anticipation and calibration, and the driver's role in negotiating time and space (see also Sharma 2014). The chapter explores the micropolitical contexts in which this knowledge is produced and performed as the taxi passes through the city and the city passes through the taxi. This accumulated know-how comes into its own in the eurhythmic thrill of effectively navigating the city on a Saturday night. Overall, Anderson argues that a rhythmanalytical practice – if not in name – is central to what cabdrivers do. This multi-layered stock of knowledge (*connaissance* rather than *savoir* in Lefebvre's terms) deployed to create smooth urban rhythms contrasts with the experience of working a 'soft cab', i.e. one that relies on smartphone-enabled hailing and dispatch, or a 'soft meter'.

17

Anderson – not initially a 'savvy driver' able to mobilise multiple forms of information at speed – finds the role of the driver-rhythmanalyst delegated to the mobile interface and the predictive algorithms that retain control over drivers through isolated dots (on maps), pings and price surges. Exploring such gig work through the lens of rhythm highlights how urban space and mobility are ongoing sites of struggle; and the ways in which 'algorithmanalysis' (Henriques 2020) is employed for commercial ends.

Jani Tartia, whose disciplinary location is architecture, draws the reader's attention to the spatio-temporal production of the street in relation to light and dark, an area of increasing attention in geography and urban studies (see Edensor 2017; Shaw 2018; Strang et al 2018). Tartia is especially interested in 'crepuscular urban mobility rhythms', those periods of transformation as daylight fades and darkness arrives - or vice versa. His research takes us to two cities in Finland to explore rhythms in the making in the 'twilight zone' based on video stills, onsite fieldnotes and line sketches. The study was conducted in the summer where in the north of the northern hemisphere days are long, hours of darkness limited and crepuscular times are extended. This offers an opportunity to trace relationships between natural rhythms and the different social rhythms of mobility that are associated with them, such as motor, bicycle and pedestrian traffic. In Tartia's analysis, these crepuscular periods of transition are connected to specific temporal modes (speeding up and slowing down for instance) and the production of different qualities of urban atmospheres. His analytical focus on these 'in-between' or threshold times of dawn and dusk is effective to unravel what is a complex and multifaceted urban polyrhythmia. In the context of debates about the 24/7 city and the uniformity of urban rhythms, this chapter offers a more nuanced analysis of rhythmic variation and transition.

An interlude on writing
And pause. **Amy Sackville's** contribution offers a change of gear in the form of a 'personal essay' which is a reflection on the material and embodied practice of writing and the necessity of rhythm in writing to capture experience. As Virginia Woolf expresses it (in a letter to composer, Ethel Smythe), writing is 'putting words on the back of rhythm' which shows the primacy of rhythm in prose as 'the condition for writing itself' (1980b, 303, cited in Barletta, 2020, xii, xxvii). Without rhythm, writing fails. For Sackville, the role of the rhythmanalyst and the writer are aligned as both must abandon themselves to rhythm and be displaced from it. She shares a lyrical and reflective account that immerses the reader in the moods, bodily sensations and interactions of a day out in the south of France. It delicately conveys the discomfort of menstruation and the 'swimmy, dreamy' quality of insomnia. There is a narrative thread about perfume where scent and corporeality combine

and connect to other spaces and times. The essay also offers a kind of commentary on the rhythmic impositions of tourism on the body of the visitor and in the urban fabric of the town and points to the possibility of going against the grain. When Sackville eats a violet-flavoured ice-cream delightfully out of sync with the time of day and the weather but in tune with her bodily inclinations, the reader can also take pleasure in this moment. Like the time of writing, it offers 'a time that forgets time' (Lefebvre and Régulier 2004a, 76).

Disruption

Moments of arrythmia are present across the chapters and the authors show how different kinds of rhythm jar or connect with one another as well as make for a variety of polyrhythmic combinations. In the chapters in this section of the book on disruption - or arrhythmia, in Lefebvre's terms - is centre stage. For Lefebvre, rupture of the mundane is full of potentialities: 'It can also produce a lacuna, a hole in time, to be filled in by an invention, a creation' (2004, 44). Disruptions express complexity and open the way for alternatives. For instance, in a study of the recent Minneapolis uprising following the killing of George Floyd by police on 25 May 2020, Alex Farrington demonstrates the 'capacity of rhythmanalysis to aid in the appropriation of space' (2020, 11), as evidenced by the huge wave of Black Lives Matter protests since. This builds on previous work which uses Lefebvre to argue for the 'right to difference' as well as the 'right to the city' in the creation of anti-racist urban public space (McCann 1999).

In **Eirini Glynou-Lefaki's** tale of the long aftermath of the earthquake that destroyed the centre of L'Aquila, a city in central Italy in 2009, the reader comes to understand the multiple rhythms of urban life as it persists amidst shattered buildings and new construction projects. Recovery from such a disaster is a complex and protracted process and L'Aquila exists in a spatio-temporal in-between. The former rhythms of urban life continue to 'haunt' the city (Crespi and Manghani 2020) which as Glynou-Lefaki discusses, has been characterised in various media representations as a 'ghost city' emptied of vitality. However, her research highlights the here-and-now of everyday lives in which the presence of the ruins and the promise of a future restoration of the city centre co-exist. She talks and walks with local people about their everyday practices that quite literally keep the city going in the sense of the making and remaking its urban rhythms. And she witnesses the material life of the city and the improvisation and bodily adjustments (*dressage*) necessary in the face of unannounced street closures, the presence of heavy machinery and the pervasive noise of reconstruction. As in the experience of New Zealanders following the 2011 earthquake in the city of Christchurch (Thorpe 2015), residents used familiar routines to reassert urban rhythms and attachments to place as well as for forming a post-disaster spatial imaginary.

Viewing the aftermath of the earthquake in L'Aquila through the lens of rhythm makes it possible to disentangle the temporal and spatial implications of the disaster.

In the first of two chapters explicitly concerned with tourism, **Guido Borelli** takes a YouTube series which documents the spatio-temporal inequalities in the city of Venice, Italy, as a case study for his rhythmanalytic experiment. He discusses the relentlessness of tourist rhythms, marked by sameness and repetition and the erasure of the everyday life of the city, including the material space for it to take place. However, part way through the preparation of this chapter, the coronavirus pandemic took hold and the area around Venice along with other parts of Northern Italy was especially severely affected – and suddenly emptied of tourism. Whilst it remains to be seen how the everyday life of Venice will be reshaped in a post-pandemic world, Borelli's chapter shares a wry take on the intensity of tourist rhythms and their implications for everyday urban life. He analyses *Rugagiuffa*, a series in which young Venetians satirise and expose rhythms obscured by inequalities in work and property ownership and in so doing claim 'the right to the city'.

A chapter by the geographer and scholar of island studies, **Marina Karides**, analyses the interweaving rhythms of mass tourism, regular (return) visits connected to cultural and religious practices, and migration on the Greek island of Lesvos in the eastern Aegean Sea. The geo-political position of the Aegean and of Lesvos is central to her analysis. She argues its location and encounter with migration and mass tourism facilitates the maintenance of a northern European *eurhythmia*. The chapter makes a highly original contribution in its discussion of the 'intermittent urbanization of island life' and proposes this 'oscillation' as a novel temporal dimension in current debates about planetary urbanisation. Karides considers the rhythms of arrival, departure and return alongside the myth of Persephone to capture the foundational rhythms of the seasons, keenly felt in this part of the Mediterranean. She also draws on Lefebvre and Régulier's (2004b) Mediterranean rhythmanalysis to trace the seasonal rhythms of tourism and migration.

Performance

Several of the chapters encountered so far refer to the performative qualities of rhythm, for instance, Nash's discussion of gendered performativity which gives rise to the particular rhythms of the City of London and Anderson's account of knowledgeable taxi driver-rhythmanalysts whose improvisations on the move perform eurhythmic rides for their customers. This section of the book explores settings in which the performance of rhythm is key, through or in relation to music, sound and movement. Music was important to Lefebvre (Elden 2004) and in the republication in French of *Eléments de Rhythmanalyse* in 2019,

there are additional chapters on music and semiology and music and the city. More generally, 'sonic geographies' have been especially fertile ground for exploring rhythm (Paiva 2018).

A collaboration between critical theorist and political economist, **Harry Pitts**, live artist, **Eleanor Jean** and sound artist and musician, **Yas Clarke** leads to a rhythmanalytical performance of an 'electronic symphony' which is the subject of this chapter. The one-off event for a public audience was based on the sonification of data collected from bodily rhythms as recorded through wearable tech and mobile apps such as FitBits and heart monitors over an entire week. The project reconnects quantitative data with the qualitative experience it is abstracted from as a means of rhythmanalysing working life. And its performance seeks to make an affective connection to the audience transparently showing the devices through which the data were generated. It was partially improvised following choices to focus on a single heart beat or to slow time – against 'concrete abstraction'. The chapter engages with Lefebvre's wider contribution to Marxist thought, notably alienation, abstraction and fetishism. In this discussion, rhythmanalysis is seen as a means to uncover 'coincidence and conflict between different natural and social rhythms'.

Lefebvre was especially interested in the idea of the 'festival' (*fête*) both for its intensification of and escape from the everyday – in the 1871 Paris Commune and the 1968 protests for instance. For him festivals were not separate from everyday life but arose, sometimes with explosive force, from it. Outdoor music festivals, the topic of **James Macpherson's** chapter, are explored as sites of democratic practices, place-making and empowerment. He analyses two music festivals which took place in the UK – in London and Halifax, a city in the north of England - where the number of organised festivals has greatly increased over the past 30 years. Macpherson's background as a street theatre performer and his disciplinary location in performing arts help him tune into the ebb and flow of such events and register rhythm and atmosphere as an embodied presence. He analyses time-lapse photography to capture the movement and pulse of the crowd as an active audience in interaction with the performance in space and time. In particular, he develops Lefebvre's notion of polyrhythmia to make sense of complex patterns and transformations in public space which he renders through drawing on his images.

Jessie Stein takes readers onto the dance floor and into the 'uneven social relations of intercultural space' in the Plug in Beats scene in Munich, Germany. Plug in Beats takes the form of a participatory party where attendees select the music and often lead the way in moving to the beat. It is intended as a space of dialogue, solidarity and improvisation for new

migrants and locals and in Stein's analysis, is shown as having 'potential for converging trajectories to remake place anew'. Dancers are pulled into new rhythms almost despite themselves as bodies move kinaesthetically ahead of conscious awareness, sound operating at a visceral level (Henriques 2014; Waitt et al 2014). They shift flexibly between different rhythms, following the unfamiliar pulse of unknown tunes. Or they stand on the side-lines in embarrassment at the body's arrhythmic failures. Stein herself dances to sense the rhythmic unfolding of this scene and listens with her 'attentive ear' (Lefebvre 2004, 27), cultivated by her own musical training, using what she describes as 'feel' to pay attention to the beat as well as the languages of the scene. Indeed, she situates herself carefully in relation to the histories and inequalities that resonate in her conversations as well as in the music. The writing in this chapter is itself rhythmic, polyrhythmic even as it combines different registers: analytical, descriptive, reflexive as it takes the reader through the cyclical rhythm of the party.

Afterword

Tim's Edensor's Afterword offers a wonderful opportunity to look back at the ways in which rhythm has been taken up and rhythmanalysis practised and developed across the social sciences and humanities in the past decade and make connections to the work in this book. As he reflects on the political measures deployed to structure time and space during the coronavirus pandemic, Edensor discusses the unequal power relations that produce and challenge new rhythmic orders and imagine alternatives. The publication of his edited collection, *Geographies of Rhythm*, in 2010, captured and stimulated growing interest in rhythm, 'investigating how rhythms shape human experience in timespace pervade everyday life and place' (Edensor 2010, 3). The current volume builds on this work, exploring the limits of what we are doing when we are researching (with) rhythm and the possibilities it affords. I hope that it too will spark new interest in thinking through rhythm and doing rhythmanalysis to make sense of the complex entanglements of time and space that are at the heart of everyday urban life.

References

Alhadeff-Jones, M (2017) *Time and the Rhythms of Emancipatory Education*, London and New York: Routledge.

Amin, A and N Thrift (2002) *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*, Cambridge: Polity.

Amin, A and N Thrift (2017) *Seeing Like a City*, Cambridge: Polity.

Bachelard, G (2000[1936]) *The Dialectic of Duration*, Manchester: Clinamen Press.

Barletta, Vincent (2020) *Rhythm: Form & Dispossession*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bates, C and A Rhys-Taylor (eds.) (2017) *Walking Through Social Research*, New York and Abingdon: Routledge.

Borch, C, K Bondo Hansen and A-C Lange (2015) 'Markets, bodies, and rhythms: A rhythmanalysis of financial markets from open-outcry trading to high-frequency trading', *Environment and Planning D*, 33(6): 1080-1097.

Brenner, N and C Schmid (2015) 'Towards a New Epistemology of the Urban?' *City* 19 (2/3): 151-182.

Brighenti, A M and M Kärrholm (2018) 'Beyond rhythmanalysis: Towards a territoriology of rhythms and melodies in everyday spatial activities', *City, Territory and Architecture* 5(4): 1-12.

Cahit Agar, C and C Manolchev (2020) 'Migrant labour as space: rhythmanalysing the agri-food industry', *Organization* 27(2): 251-271.

Chen, Y (2017) *Practising Rhythmanalysis, Theories and Methodologies*, London and New York: Roman and Littlefield.

Christiansen, S L and M Gebauer (eds) (2019) *Rhythms Now: Henri Lefebvre's Rhythmanalysis Revisited*, Aalborg Universitetsforlag. Interdisciplinære kulturstudier: 2709743_Rhythm_165x235_ONLINE.indd (aau.dk)

Coletta and R Kitchin (2017) 'Algorhythmic governance: Regulating the 'heartbeat' of a city using the Internet of Things' *Big Data & Society* 4(2): 1-16.

Cook, I (2015) *Expectant Urbanism: Time, Space And Rhythm In A Smaller South Indian City*, PhD thesis, Central European University, Hungary.

Crespi, P and S Manghani (2020) 'Rhythm, Rhuthmos and Rhythmanalysis' in P Crespi and S Manghani (eds) *Rhythm and Critique. Technics, Modalities, Practices,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Degen, M M (2008) *Sensing Cities, Regenerating public life in Barcelona and Manchester*, London and New York; Routledge.

Duffy, M, G Waitt, A Gorman-Murray and C Gibson (2011) 'Bodily rhythms: Corporeal capacities to engage with festival spaces', *Emotion, Space and Society* 4: 17-24.

Edensor, T (2011) 'Commuter: Mobility, rhythm and commuting' in T Creswell and P Merriman (eds) *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, spaces, subjects*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Edensor, T (2017) *From Light to Dark.* Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

Edensor, T (ed) (2010) *Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, place, mobilities and bodies.* Farnham: Ashgate.

Edensor, T and J Larsen (2018) 'Rhythmanalysing marathon running: "A drama of rhythms"', *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 50(3): 730-746.

Eikelboom, L (2018) *Rhythm: A Theological Category*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Elden, S (2004) 'Rhythmanalysis: An Introduction' in H Lefebvre, H *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, London: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd.

Elden, S (2006) 'Some are born posthumously: The French afterlife of Henri Lefebvre', *Historical Materialism*, 14(4):185-202.

Eril, A (2020) 'Afterword: Memory worlds in times of Corona', *Memory Studies* 13(5): 861–874.

Evans, J (2010) 'Re-thinking catastrophe in the time of climate change' in T Edensor (ed) Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, place, mobilities and bodies. Farnham: Ashgate.

Farrington, A (2020) 'Reorienting The Production of Space: Rhythmanalysis, desire, and "The Siege of the Third Precinct"', *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* Online first.

Felder, M (2020) 'Strong, Weak and Invisible Ties: A Relational Perspective on Urban Coexistence', *Sociology* 54(4): 675-692.

Hall, T, Lashua B, and Coffey A (2008) 'Sound and the everyday in qualitative research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 14(6): 1019-1040.

Haraway, D (1988) 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective', *Feminist Studies*, 14(3): 575-599.

Harper, D (1998) 'An Argument for Visual Sociology' in Jon Prosser (ed.) *Image-Based Research: A Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers*, London: FalmerPress.

Hartmann Petersen, K (2020) 'Providing and working in rhythms' in O B Jensen, C Lassen, V Kaufmann, M Freudendal-Pedersen, I Sofie (eds) Handbook of Urban Mobilities, Abingdon: Routledge.

Harvey, D (1973) *Social Justice and the City*, London: Arnold.

Harvey, D (1991) 'Afterword' in H Lefebvre *The Production of Space*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Henriques, J (2014) 'Rhythmic Bodies: Amplification, Inflection and Transduction in the Dance Performance Techniques of the "Bashment Gal"', *Body and Society* 20(3/4): 79-112.

Henriques, J (2020) 'Rhythm, rhythmanalysis and algorithm-analysis' in P Crespi and S Manghani (eds) *Rhythm and Critique. Technics, Modalities, Practices,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Henriques, J, M Tianen and P Väliaho (2014) 'Rhythm Returns: Movement and Cultural Theory', *Body & Society*, 20(3&4): 3-29

Highmore, B (2002) '*Street Life in London*: Towards a rhythmanalysis of London in the late nineteenth century', *New Formations*, 47: 171-193.

Jazeel, T (2019) 'Singularity. A manifesto for incomparable geographies', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 40 (2019) 5–21.

Kern, L (2015) 'Rhythms of gentrification: eventfulness and slow violence in a happening neighbourhood', *cultural geographies* 23(3): 441-457.

Le Roulley, S (2021) *Introduction à la sociologie d'Henri Lefebvre*, Paris: Le Bord de l'Eau.

Leary-Ohwin, M and J McCarthy (2019) 'Introduction: 'Urban' ideas for two centuries' in M Leary-Ohwin and J McCarthy (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Henri Lefebvre, The City and Urban Society*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Lefebvre, H (1991[1974]) *The Production of Space*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H (1995[1968]) *Writings on Cities*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H (2004[1992]) *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, London: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd.

Lefebvre, H (2014[1947,1961,1981]) *Critique of Everyday Life, The One-Volume Edition*, London and New York: Verso.

Lefebvre, H and C Régulier (2004a[1985]) 'The Rhythmanalytical Project' in H Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis*, London: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd.

Lefebvre, H and C Régulier (2004b[1986]) 'Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities' in H Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis*, London: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd.

Lewis, S, P Saukko and K Lumsden (2020) 'Rhythms, sociabilities and transience of sexual harassment in transport: mobilities perspectives of the London underground', *Gender, Place and Culture*: 277-298.

Lyon, D (2016) 'Doing audio-visual montage to explore time and space: The everyday rhythms of Billingsgate Fish Market' *Sociological Research Online* 21 (3), 12: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/21/3/12.html.

Lyon, D (2019) What is Rhythmanalysis? London; Bloomsbury.

Mandelkorn, U, S Genzer, S Choshen-Hillel et al (2021) 'Escalation of sleep disturbances amid the COVID-19 pandemic: a cross-sectional international study' *Journal of Clinical Sleep Medicine* 17(1): 45–53.

Manghani, S (2020) 'Idiorrhythmy; An (unsustainable) aesthetic of ethics' in P Crespi and S Manghani (eds) *Rhythm and Critique. Technics, Modalities, Practices,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

McCann, E J (1999) 'Race, protest, and public space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the US city', *Antipode* 31(2): 163-184.

McCormack, D (2013) *Refrains for Moving Bodies*, Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Meij, E, T Haartsen, and L Meijering (2021) 'The time and place of social mixing. Everyday rhythms of long-term residents and newcomers in a Dutch neighborhood' *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* (2021): 2399654421997410.

Merrifield, A (2004) 'Henri Lefebvre's Youthfulness of Heart', The Brooklyn Rail: https://brooklynrail.org/2004/11/express/henri-lefebvres-youthfulness-of-heart [accessed 17 April 2021]

Merrifield, A (2006) *Henri Lefebvre, A Critical Introduction*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Michon, P (2020) 'Could rhythm become a new scientific paradigm for the humanities?' in P Crespi and S Manghani (eds) *Rhythm and Critique. Technics, Modalities, Practices,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Middleton, J (2010) 'Sense and the city: exploring the embodied geographies of urban walking', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 11(6): 575-596.

Morris, E (2017) *Rhythm in Acting and Performance, Embodied Approaches and Understandings*, London and New York: Bloomsbury Methuen Performance.

Nathan, M and H Overman (2020) 'Will coronavirus cause a big city exodus?' *Environment and Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science* 47(9): 1537-1542.

Nevejan, C and P Sefkatli (2020) 'City Rhythms: An approach to urban rhythm analysis' in P Crespi and S Manghani (eds) *Rhythm and Critique. Technics, Modalities, Practices,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Nowotny, H (1996) *Time: The Modern and Postmodern Experience*, Oxford: Polity.

Ocejo, R E, E B Kosta, A Mann (2020) 'Centering Small Cities for Urban Sociology in the 21st Century', *City & Community* 19(1): 1-15.

Paiva, D (2018) 'Sonic geographies: Themes, concepts, and deaf spots', *Geography Compass* 12 (7): 10.1111/gec3.12375.

Paquot, T (2019) 'Postface : Un Chantier Promotteur' in H Lefebvre, *Éléments de rythmanalyse et autres essais sur les temporalités*, Paris : Association Culturelle Eterotopia, France.

Reid-Musson, E (2018) 'Intersectional rhythmanalysis: Power, rhythm, and everyday life', *Progress in Human Geography* 42(6): 881-897.

Revill, G (2013) 'Points of departure: Listening to rhythm in the sonorous spaces of the railway station', *The Sociological Review*, 61(1): 51-68.

Revol, C (2019) 'Henri Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis as a form of urban poetics' in M Leary-Ohwin and J McCarthy (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Henri Lefebvre, The City and Urban Society*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Rinkart, Y (2020) 'Everyday rhythms and aircraft noise in New York City', Social & Cultural Geography, Online first: 1-19.

Robinson, J (2006) *Ordinary cities: Between Modernity and Development*, London: Routledge.

Rosa, H (2013[2005]), *Social Acceleration: A New Theory of Modernity*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Sharma, S (2014) *In the Meantime, Temporality and Cultural Politics*, Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Shaw, R (2018) *The Nocturnal City*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Simmel, G (2002[1903]) 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' in G Bridge and S Watson, (eds) *The Blackwell City Reader*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Simone, A M (2018) *Improvised lives: rhythms of endurance in an urban South*, London: John Wiley & Sons

Simpson, P (2008) 'Chronic everyday life: rhythmanalysing street performance', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 9(7): 807-829.

Simpson, P (2012) 'Apprehending everyday rhythms: rhythmanalysis, time-lapse photography, and the space-time of everyday street performance' *cultural geographies* 19(4): 423-445.

Simpson, P (2014) 'Atmospheres of Arrival/Departure and Multi-Angle Video Recording: Reflections from St Pancras and Gare du Nord' in C Bates (ed) *Video Methods*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Skeggs, B and S Yuill (2016) 'The methodology of a multi-model project examining how Facebook infrastructures social relations', *Information, Communication & Society*, 19(10): 1356-1372.

Smith, R J and K Hetherington (2013) 'Urban Rhythms: Mobilities, Space and Interaction in the Contemporary City', *The Sociological Review* 61(1): 4-16.

Snyder, B (2016) *The Disrupted Workplace, time and the moral order of flexible capitalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Soja, E (1996) *Thirdspace, Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places,* Oxford: Blackwell.

Southerton, D (2020) *Time, Consumption and the Coordination of Everyday Life*, London: Palgrave.

Stask, M (2015) 'Rhythm, Resonance and Kinaesthetic Enskilment in a Ghanaian Bus Station', Ethnos: 545-568.

Stewart, K (2014) 'Road registers', *cultural geographies*, 21(4): 549-563.

Strang, V, T Edensor and J Puckering (2018) *From the Lighthouse: interdisciplinary reflections on light.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Thorpe, H (2015) 'Natural disaster arrhythmia and action sports: the case of the Christchurch earthquake', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 50(3): 301-325.

Vergunst, J (2010) 'Rhythms of walking: History and presence in a city street', *Space and Culture* 13(4): 376-388.

Waitt, G, E Ryan and C Farbotko (2014) 'A visceral politics of sound', *Antipode* 46(1): 283-300.

Wajcman, J and N Dodd (eds) (2017) *The Sociology of Speed, Digital, Organizational and Social Temporalities*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Walker, G (2021) *Energy and Rhythm: Rhythmanalysis for a Low Carbon Future*, London: Rowman and Littlefield.

Willis, P and M Trondman (2002) 'Manifesto for Ethnography', *Cultural Studies <-> Critical Methodologies*, 2(3): 394-402.

Wunderlich, F M (2008) 'Walking and Rhythmicity: Sensing Urban Space', Journal of Urban Design, 13(1): 31-44.