PODCAST

Okanagan Summer Tourism Sounds: A Feminist Sonic Ethnography of Listening, Sound, and the Politics of Space

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The accompanying podcast series is available at https://ojs.library.ubc.ca/index.php/bcstudies/article/view/200416/.

AN EXPERIMENT IN SOUNDED STORYTELLING

This podcast is an audio documentary and a sounded mode of storytelling. It engages with sounds that affected the people whose experiences were at the centre of our research and the sounded worlds of tourism they, along with us anthropologists, temporarily inhabited. It is an experiment influenced by sonic ethnography as a methodology and representational form that shifts from the textual or visual to the audible (Feld and Brenneis 2004; Gershon 2013) and by sounded anthropology attuned to historically, culturally, and politically situated aural environments in which we (humans) inhabit our enculturated worlds (Samuels et al. 2010). Our sounded storytelling is an ethnography of sounds and listening practices within a particular time and place.

Our podcast contributes a sonic layer to scholarship on the Okanagan Valley critical of the processes by which it has become a playground for the wealthy (Aguiar et al. 2005) and a white space and Edenic imaginary for settler neocolonialism (Keyes and Aguiar 2021; Tedesco and Bagelman 2017; Wagner 2008). This ever-expanding body of literature peels back the veneer of the region as an allegedly innocent, leisure-rich, growing metropolis in the Interior of the province of British Columbia to show, instead, the everyday and seasonal politics of space and place through which inequities are created or worsened. Our emphasis

* The research on which this podcast is based took place on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded territory of the Syilx Okanagan Nation.

is on how recording, editing, and listening to taken-for-granted sounds can offer further complexity and another counter-narrative to a dominant imaginary of the "whiteness fantasy" about Okanagan as a tourist destination (Keyes 2021, 6). Weaving together field recordings, montages of music and ambient sounds, and interlocutors' and our own voices into an experiment in sounded storytelling, we raise a set of new questions. Through this line of inquiry, our audio documentary also contributes to critical scholarship on tourism, recreation, and leisure in Canada addressing a wide range of issues, including racism, colonialism, white supremacy, displacement, Indigenous-settler relations, and securitization (Cooke 2017; Grimwood et al. 2019; Pludwinski and Grimwood 2021; Shahzeidi and Norman 2025; Torabian and Mair 2017).

THE SONIC IN TOURISM

Global attention to the noises made by tourism is on the rise (Bui 2016; Godfrey 2018; O'Sullivan 2019). Touristification in European cities has led to increased noise levels.[1] In Barcelona, noisescapes produced by nightlife tourists are resisted by antitourism protests (Rouleau 2016) and other sounds made by tourists contribute to the cultural politics of sound in that city (Gentic 2025). The cultural politics of sound, and the production and consumption of sounds, in tourism contexts have also garnered anthropological interest (Feld 2019; Frohlick and Macevicius 2023; Harewood 2019; Milano 2018; Rommen and Neely 2014; Ryan 2020). For example, animal and human sounds along with music are carefully managed and curated in all-inclusive hotels in the Caribbean (Guilbault and Rommen 2019). In rural tourism, farm equipment noises are controlled to produce a "sanitized countryside silence" in Estonia (Kaaristo 2014, 272). Furthermore, sonic elements of any tourismscape cannot be separated from the "socially and culturally positioned listener" (Samuels et al. 2010, 338) or from particularities of place (Feld 2019). Sound is a "way of knowing and making place, and a means of locating and heightening the social experience of being on vacation" (Guilbault and Rommen 2019, 17). Depending on who hears and who makes the sounds and why, noisiness, quiet, silence, and every other aural register can be a sensorial appeal to a touristic place, an undesirable racket, or any number of auditory perceptions.

[1] *Touristification* refers to processes of appropriation and commodification of assets for tourism capital and is closely associated with the rise of the short-term rental platform and the financialization of real estate (Milano, et al. 2024).

The number of visitors to the Okanagan – 787,000 over June, July, and August in 2022 – is a fraction of those flocking to Barcelona in the summer.[2] Yet smaller urban areas do reverberate with a seasonal intensification of tourism-generated sounds. In the city of Kelowna, the issue of noise pollution caused by power boats and personal watercraft on Okanagan Lake is debated on social media. Most summer visitors arrive by vehicle or rent a car when they arrive (InterVISTAS Consulting 2024, 19), reflecting the wider car culture within leisure and recreation in British Columbian history (Bradley 2017). During the summer, traffic congestion on Highway 97 that runs through Kelowna is audible. Not only powerboats on the lake but motorcycles on the city streets have led resident groups to voice concern and call for sound regulation (Michaels 2011; Squire 2013). It is within this emerging interest in the sonic in tourism anthropology, and the growing public attention on noise pollution, that we turn our attention to tourism sounds within British Columbia's Southern Interior and, specifically, the Okanagan as a summer tourism destination.

TOURISM AND TOURISTS FROM A RELATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

In this project, we understand "tourism" in social, cultural, political, relational, and more-than-human terms, which is quite different from common understandings of tourism as primarily an economic industry or positive or negative force upon a local community (Everingham et al. 2024; Gibson 2021a, 2021b; Leite and Graburn 2009; Nogués-Pedregal 2019; Ren 2021). Carina Ren theorizes tourism "not as 'an economic thing,' nor as a merely sociocultural undertaking, but as an ongoing, strenuous, and always situated more-than-human enactment" (2021, 135). This framing challenges notions of tourism as a demarcated stable reality that is somehow "outside of us" (138). Rather than something that happens while we are away or as something that other people do, tourism happens through everyday entanglements and enactments, in fluid, complex encounters (Jóhannesson et al. 2016; Pernecky 2024). Tourism defined through relations of coexistence, as worlds, spaces, places, territories that are coinhabited and yet, often, frictious (Ren 2021),

[2] One news article states a figure of 12 million annual visitors to Barcelona in 2022. Xavier Mas de Xaxàs, "My Barcelona Is Being Destroyed by Mass Tourism – But Kicking Visitors Out Isn't the Answer," *Guardian*, 19 August 2024, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/article/2024/aug/19/barcelona-mass-tourism-visitors-city-industry. For the Okanagan visitor statistics, see "2022 Tourism Industry Facts and Figures," Tourism Kelowna, Tourism Research, November 2023, https://www.tourismkelowna.com/industry/tourism-research.

places attention on questions of "how we come to be with each other" through diversity and pluriversality (Pernecky 2024, 3624).

The concept of tourist we use follows from a relationality analytical perspective that is central to this audio documentary. Analytically and materially, relationality situates a tourist always in or becoming in relation. To be a tourist is to be in a particular relationship with a place (Frohlick, forthcoming), a mode of existence-in-relation (McNaughton 2006). Tourists can be motivated by consumer or other pleasure-seeking pursuits such as leisure and recreation, as well as by any number of forces that pull and push people into touristic practices, encounters, aspirations, and mobilities. Tourist mobilities can be of short or long duration and close or far from place of residence. Not a simple category, tourist refers to diverse subjectivities, coconstituted through intersections of race, gender, sexuality, class, nationality, and so forth, that people move in and out of, always in relation to others coexisting in touristic spaces (Roberts and Andrews 2013, 28). Just as spatiality is an aspect of being a tourist (Roberts and Andrew 2013), so, too, is temporality. Tourist is an episodic, not continuous, category of relationship. The relational episodic category of tourist carries negative connotations and histories, yet at the same time is more complex than often assumed. Marking a relational intersectional positionality, a tourist might also be a settler, immigrant, or racialized citizen. Scott McCabe urges, "Tourists do exist, although not as we know them" (2005, 103). McCabe sees tourists not as "problematic others" but as subjects in their "cultural and interactional contexts" (103). *Tourist* thus references a subjectivity and embodied sensorial experience of temporality and relationality, forged through various enactments and mobilities (Frohlick, forthcoming) that include hearing ambient sounds in and of place through a "tourist ear."[3]

LAKE ORIENTATIONS

Throughout June, July, and early August in 2023, we spent approximately fifty hours near lakes in Central and South Okanagan (Figure 1). The source locations of the field recordings heard in the podcast are these places where we spent time and where we wanted to hear the lakeside

[3] Tourist as a hearing subject is ableist with respect to ignoring deaf experience and, also, to normalizing nonimpairment (Thompson and Hagood 2021). Jonathan Sterne (2022) points out that hearing impairment is a condition that touches many people and can be a desired capacity. An interrogation of both tourism and sounded anthropologies through critical disability and impairment studies is a future priority in the analysis of this research.

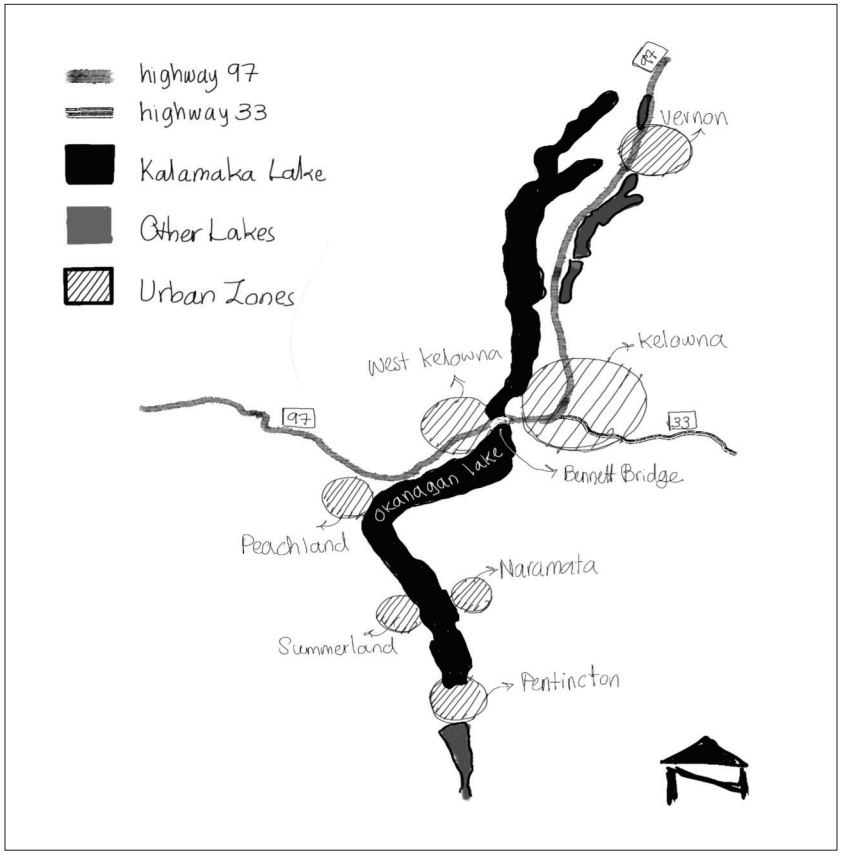

Figure 1. Sketch map of the ethnographic research sites along Okanagan Lake, Okanagan. Drawing by Nassim Zand Dizari.

beaches, shorelines, and across the lake's waters as sonic worlds of leisure and touristic interaction with the lake.

As a sonic ethnography, the project necessarily involved making decisions about concrete locations and activities that influenced the sounds to which we paid attention. Innumerable activities fall within the seasonal summer tourism in the Okanagan region: winery tours, farmer's markets, farm-to-table culinary tourism, golfing, spa tourism, and hiking and biking in the abundant provincial and regional parks, to name a few. While recognizing that the activities in this list overlap with one another and, also, hold multiple meanings, the lake-oriented touristic activities became the focus of the sonic ethnography for two main reasons.

One reason stems from Sue's positionality. Growing up in white working-class culture in the 1960s and '70s in southern British Columbia in a settler family, Sue has been around lakes as sites of leisure and recreation for most of her life. The aesthetic of a peaceful lake constituted through a quietude defined by nature (bird songs, gentle lapping of waves on the shoreline, rustling of leaves from shoreline trees) was familiar to her, and one that she wanted to interrogate after returning to the province after living away for many years.[4] The second reason is disciplinary, also tied to Sue's biography. In articulating the ways in which lakes as bodies of water have long had a "robust presence" in the anthropology of water, Andrea Ballestero states that "water is always more than itself," and suggests that the materiality – and, we add, the aurality – of lakes and people's relationships with lakes demonstrate ways of knowing and being as well as what it means to live (2019, 405). Sue's life has been water-oriented, as a former ocean sailor in the Salish Sea and the Caribbean, and as an avid paddle boarder and lake swimmer. Sue's interest in ethnographically inquiring into people's encounters with sonic atmospheres of the lake while being tourists in the summer months is therefore a means to better understand people's complicated relationships with one another formed around, and with, these lacustrine hydrospheres, relations both pleasurable and fraught with inequities. Stephanie Loveless and colleagues' reflexive question is apt here, reflecting Sue's query: "Can we listen, newly, to the troubled histories of the things we love the most?" (2025, 283).

FEMINIST SONIC METHODOLOGIES

In the summer of 2023, as lead researcher on the project, Sue set out to ethnographically explore the sounds of summer tourism in the Okanagan utilizing sonic feminist ethnographic methodology. Sonic ethnographic methodology combines the strategy of "attentive listening" with situating oneself within the spaces of the anthropological inquiry to explore "how sounds are entangled in the lives and practices of listeners" (Boudreault-Fournier 2021, 36). This concept of entanglement reflects a relational ontological framework known as acoustemology. Coined by Steven Feld (2015), *acoustemology* conjoins *acoustics* and *epistemology* to theorize listening and sound as embodied ways of knowing and being in the world.

[4] Thanks to the reviewer for pointing out to me the importance of the analytics of "nature" in these Western recreational-sonic landscapes that naturalize nature sounds as quietude, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, "noise pollution" is associated with the things naturalized as not-nature, such as boat engines and motorcycles.

Knowing through sound is embodied (ears as well as whole body) and, also, situated and relational (Boudreault-Fournier 2021; Peterson and Brennan 2020; Robinson 2020). Situatedness is a feminist intervention (Haraway 1988) that acknowledges the unequal power dynamics and difference in which sensory experiences are situated in time and location (LaBelle 2018; Goh 2017). Sonic knowledge production is always occurring in "relation to other humans, species, things, and environments" (Rodgers 2016, 231). Feminist acoustemology insists that relationalities are political and are enmeshed in and resisted through subjectivities and intersectional identities.

It was important for us to attune to tourism sounds through attention on diversity of perspectives and listening positionalities, aware of settler listening practices as the dominant perception experiences in the Okanagan and, also, of potential critical listening positionalities as defined by xwélmexw (Stó:lō/Skwah) scholar Dylan Robinson (2020). Robinson underscores how settler positionality dictates listening practices underpinned by a "civilizing" drive to listen through a singular sense, "listening as a process of the ear rather than the body" (41). On the other hand, these normative practices can shift, through critical awareness and self-reflexivity, to a "critical listening positionality," critical of colonizing and Western means of aural perception (60, 62). In the research, critical listening and situated listening were linked methodological approaches we adopted to develop a nuanced awareness of inequities underpinning tourism as an industry that is often assumed to be "a greater good for all" (Cooke 2017, 42) and that profits from the reproduction of colonial knowledges about places and colonial structural relationships in those places (Grimwood et al. 2019; Tucker 2019; Walter 2023).

The research was carried out in 2022 and 2023, using a combination of ethnographic interviews, field recordings, and participant observation to explore the broad research question of what sounds are heard, by whom, and how they matter in summer tourism in the Okanagan. Sue was joined by Nassim, a PhD student (and now PhD candidate) at the University of British Columbia, Okanagan, who was hired initially as a research assistant and then later became the coproducer of this audio documentary. The recruitment strategies, and the relationships we had with the people who became interlocutors in the research context, shaped both the ethnographic interviews that are characterized as "specialized conversations" (Culhane 2016, 12) and the emergent content of the sonic ethnography we produced from those interviews. Recruitment posters were placed in various spots visited by tourists in the Kelowna area to

attract, we hoped, a wide range of participants for interviews. While the posters elicited some response, most of the people who participated were university students and their relatives or friends recruited through word of mouth among personal networks of the research team, Sue, Nassim, and two other graduate student research assistants. These specific responses to our attempts to get people to talk with us about their tourist experiences is not surprising given that, as anthropologists have pointed out, tourists are inherently transient and, as well, oriented to their vacationing, making them elusive research participants (Frohlick and Harrison 2008; Witte et al. 2022). Ultimately, for us snowball sampling worked best.

University students who knew someone on the research team and were interested in the topic or had something that they wished to express about their experiences as tourists in the Okanagan participated in the interviews. Some of them also knew friends or family members who were curious and able to devote a couple of hours to the ethnographic interview. These relationships in turn led to interviews that were, as described by Dara Culhane in her articulation of ethnography, "imaginative practices," conversational cocreations rather than "an interrogative model" of interviewing (2016, 12). Related to this, our decision to refer to the interviewees as "interlocutors" is intentional, although an imperfect solution to the broader issue in feminist research of how to refer to participants (Davis and Craven 2016, 78). Because of the prior relationships that we had with most of the eighteen people who participated (characterized broadly as acquaintances within a small local university community), and also because of the delineated role they had in the research, terms such as *respondent* or *collaborator* do not accurately capture their position in the project or how we understand the nature of our relationship with them (Davis and Craven 2016). *Respondent* suggests a detached relationship between researcher and research participant. *Collaborator* would be appropriate in a community-based project where community was involved in the objectives or design of the research from the onset, which was not the methodology we used in this project.

In the end, we were fortunate that such a rich diversity of perspectives and listening positionalities, including some settler listening positionalities (Robinson 2020), are included in the project. Social locations of the interlocutors varied, including age, gender, race, nationality, and geographical location as resident-tourist or visitor-tourist. Among the total of eighteen, two were men and the rest were women or gender-diverse folks. Ages ranged from early twenties to late fifties. Two

interlocutors identified as queer. Nine were full-time residents, six were temporary residents, and three were tourists from outside the province. One interlocutor was a Syilx (Okanagan) First Nations member. About half of the cohort would fall under the category of settler, a relational term rather than a racial category, as defined by Métis scholar Chelsea Vowel (2016, 6), while the rest were international students and recent immigrants to Canada, from Latin American, African, and West Asian countries. Most interlocutors were Black and other persons of colour, followed in number by white interlocutors, and one self-identified Indigenous person. This heterogeneous group of research participants allowed us to better understand with complexity what sounds are heard, by whom, and how they mattered in the context of summer tourism in the Okanagan as a seasonal intensity of sonic atmosphere.

While our thinking on this research question has been informed by all eighteen interlocutors and their sound histories and our many conversations with them and other people we met while field recording at tourist spots in the Okanagan, we decided to feature two of them in this audio documentary: Sonali and Estella. Sonali and Estella are pseudonyms for two racialized women in their twenties, one a visiting international student living in Kelowna and one a Canadian long-time Kelowna resident. Our choice to feature them was influenced by two main aspects of the feminist ethnographic storytelling that emerges through the research process of cocreation (Culhane 2016). First, the experiences they had described in the interviews were critical to how the analysis became focused on the politics of space and sound, primarily through gender, race, and class dynamics. Related to this, because of how whiteness and white bodies tends to dominate tourism studies (Benjamin and Laughter 2022; McDonald 2009), and because of the historical and ongoing racism that takes place broadly within North American tourismscapes (Benjamin and Dillette 2021), highlighting the voices and embodied presences of racialized women as agentive subjects in tourism and leisure spaces is a critical intersectional feminist intervention (Dillette et al. 2024; Watson 2018). Second, we want to listen closely to the sound histories of our interlocutors to show how sound matters a great deal in tourism and that, despite its sonic naturalism or the naturalization of sound with place (Goh 2017), sound matters differently, depending on how people listen, shaped by positionality. By listening closely to, and with, two interlocutors we show how this is an approach to sound – one that is multilayered, social, and alive, so to speak – as well as an approach to racialized geographies of Okanagan summer tourism.

Other anthropologists also underscore that podcasts are aural stories where hearing interlocutors speak reflects to the listening audience what anthropologists do – we speak with people (Hak Hepburn and Fischer 2023). Furthermore, by anthropologists including the recordings of our conversations with interlocutors in our podcasts, these recordings "allow listeners to hear the sonic quality of interlocutor's utterances," which, in turn, "can lead to new ways to listen to those with whom we work" (Cook 2025, 32, 36).

By using feminist sonic ethnographic methodologies, sounds that the interlocutors refer to that they heard while moving within touristic spaces in the Okanagan and that were otherwise muted became audible to us as researchers and colisteners. Rather than comprehending the sounds as discrete vibrations or individual, audible perceptions, we try to understand the listened-to sounds as entangled in the interlocutors' sociospatial relations and filtered through their listening histories, made evident in the interviews. As we learned, Sonali and Estella saw themselves, and heard themselves, as racialized gendered tourists/Kelowna residents/immigrants, to be situated within, outside of, and in the many messy edges or border zone spaces of summer tourism in the Okanagan. Ultimately, it was through the situated listening of these two interlocutors, and their auditory perceptions, that the complex, multilayered atmospheric registers of summer tourism became legible as a politics of space and sound and a racial geography.

EDITING: FIELD RECORDINGS, INTERVIEWS, AND MONTAGES

In making this audio documentary, our process involved editing a selected set of field recordings as well as a selected set of interview recordings in a particular mix that would support the argument we wanted to make about the sonic worlds we came to know (Boudreault-Fournier 2021; Littlejohn 2021, 56). A few notes here about the process serve to underscore how, as Andrew Littlejohn explains, sonic ethnographies are neither "naturalistic ontologies of sound" nor "transparent windows into another world" (2021, 36). Rather, they are "non-fiction fictions" about "how people listen to and make sounded worlds," which are constructed using editing and recording as "rhetorical" strategies (57). This podcast, too, like written or visual forms of ethnography, involved decision-making about the data that would be selected to construct a particular and contingent sonic story about Okanagan summer tourism. In this way, the editing decisions were guided by an emergent, iterative feminist sonic storytelling where

highlighting racialized women's listening histories and presences in the Okanagan as legitimate tourist subjects was central.

First, the technical aspects of editing the interview recordings demanded careful consideration, concerning the linked ethical issues of representation and privacy. The interlocutors whose names in the podcast are Sonali and Estella each gave us permission to use the excerpts that we had selected from the audio recordings of their interviews. They were given the written transcript as well as the recording of their own interview. Sonali was comfortable with her own voice being made public in the podcast and therefore gave us permission to use the unaltered interview recording. Estella, too, gave us permission to use the excerpts that we had selected, but requested that we alter her voice. The common issue of protecting interlocutors' privacy while featuring their own words in written accounts is similar to a related challenge in a sonic ethnography, where featuring interlocutors' spoken voices is desirable. We discussed the technological solutions offered by sound producer Pietro Sammarco, such as reading Estella's excerpt ourselves, hiring an actor to read it, or digitally altering her voice through ring modulation and pitch changes. Ultimately, we decided that in order to retain some sense of the utterances and tone of her way of speaking, especially as a racialized tourist whom we wanted to highlight in a critical intervention in the whiteness of tourism and leisure spaces, digital alteration was an appropriate strategy. Additionally, as Walter Gershon warns, there is no correct hearing of a voice because of the resonances and reverberations that occur in auditory perception such that voices are never heard precisely the same way (2024). Drawing from feminist sound studies, he also argues that insisting on a correct or normal voice is a form of regulating femininity through vocalizations and speech (2024, 81). We also consider that all audio recordings are technologically mediated by the transducing of one medium to another (Helmreich 2010), and the editing, too, is another form of transduction. Estella, too, found our digital alteration of her recorded voice an acceptable solution, which was our main concern. We feel that through this dilemma of how to include Estella's recorded words we have opened space for asking new questions about the audibility of interlocutors in podcasts and other sonic modalities of ethnography, which we aim to continue to think and write about. We trust that listeners will turn to the written transcript if they cannot hear Estella's words clearly enough because of the digital alteration.

Second, by creating montages with our field recordings, we engage with sound scholarship as a means of public anthropology through pod-

casting (Gamwell 2016; Gamwell and Collins 2016), and in a way that theorizes, not objectifies, sound. The montages are not *soundscapes* in the Schaferian acoustic ecology sense that locates sounds as totalizing objects fixed in landscapes separate from the listener (Samuels et al. 2010). As Stefan Helmreich urged more than a decade ago now, "listening beyond soundscapes" is an intervention against the haunting of immersion, which he describes as "the arrival of listeners at a sense of being at once emplaced in space and, at times, porously continuous with it" (2010, 10; also see Wright 2022). Feld, too, critiques soundscape for its predetermination and essentialization of sounds-in-space. He advances, instead, acoustemology that "prioritizes histories of listening and attunement through relational practices of listening and sounding" and is "grounded in the basic assumption that life is shared with others-in-relation" (2015, 15). Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier takes a pragmatic approach while also refusing the sonic naturalism of the soundscape concept. She suggests soundscape can be useful for considering the layering of sounds that make up sonic worlds all around us and for paying attention to how sounds "circulate through networks and infrastructures" (2021, 38). For us, montage was the preferred approach, making field recordings accessible to listeners while asking listeners to question them.

Guided by these theoretical conversations, we wanted to produce several different auditory experiences of fleeting moments of occupying or moving through one of the many sounded worlds that we walked and paddle-boarded through, recorded, and listened to with our interlocutors during our fieldwork. These glimmers of summer tourism sounds are produced through editing because, for one thing, our field recording methods did not involve technically sophisticated means of recording ambient sounds. For another important reason, we did not want to produce representational soundscapes. The desired montages were achieved by arranging clips of numerous field recordings, which were made in disparate locations and times during the fieldwork, next to, and sometimes over, each other (Wright 2022). For example, recordings from Naramata in August 2023 are layered with recordings from City Park, Kelowna, in July 2022. Littlejohn suggests that layering can be deployed strategically, with more layers effectively creating a sonic ethnography that moves away from naturalistic ontologies of sound (i.e., soundscapes) (2021, 56). Our editing entailed a purposeful layered mixing of relatively disparate and transient, short-term recordings all made within the Okanagan, but at different times and locales and with various recording equipment. The sonic layers/montages in this podcast

are meant to become an intersubjective space: the questions we raise alongside the montages, like "What do you hear?" and "How do you hear it?," invite listeners to reflect on their own listening histories and relationships to tourism through fleeting and not necessarily congruent sonic encounters.

SOUND, SEASONALITY, AND THE POLITICS OF SPACE

Ultimately, this experiment offers a sonic story with and about place-based sounds; it is an ethnography specific to the 2022 and 2023 summer months while also a broader story about how people feel that they belong, don't belong, connect with, feel distanced from, are kept away, are part of, feel displaced, and displace others in the temporal material conditions in British Columbia's Okanagan Valley during summer intensified flows of tourists, tourists' things, and the aural atmospheres created in these entanglements. The complex sounded tourism worlds were material spaces in which social relations were experienced by racialized young women resident-tourists and navigated within a politics of sound, race, and space. Given that spaces were altered during the busiest tourism months in Kelowna and around Okanagan Lake – occupied through the processes and powers of consumption, leisure capital, and white privilege (Aguiar et al. 2005; Keyes and Aguiar 2021; Tedesco and Bagelman 2017), as well the inequities of immigration and migrant labour and oppressions of racial discrimination and wealth disparity (Hjalmarson 2022; Tomic and Trumper 2016) – these stories show that summer tourism sounds alter space and its politics. Seasonality was central.[5] Our storytelling emerges from a sonic awareness in fieldwork that allowed us to hear these spaces newly and to begin to acquire critical listening positionalities (Robinson 2020). In particular, the methodologies opened up listening "through the body, rather than the ear alone" (Duffy et al. 2016, 52; Robinson 2020) and thus attuning to sounds in their spatial politics, including borders of gendered, classed, and racialized exclusion and inclusion (Boudreault-Fournier 2021). Sound-space is a critical theme within sonic ethnography, as described by Boudreault-Fournier: "Anthropologists navigate inside layers of sounds, at the same time as they reflect on the social and political questions that emerge from the research. When adopting attentive listening practices, sonic perceptions of a space generate ethnographic reflections about boundaries, identities,

[5] Thanks to a reviewer who pointed out the centrality of the influence of summertime seasonality (as the busy season) to our analysis of sound and the politics of space.

and politics of presence that shape any number of social territories" (2021, 42). Ultimately, we invite listeners to consider their own listening practices within tourism spaces, and to give thought to what it is about seasonal intensity of cohabitation of people that alters or shapes relationships to place, in uneven ways.

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