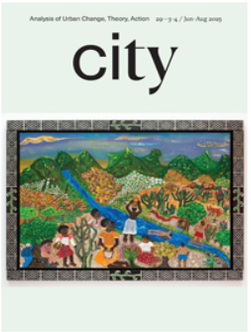

City

Analysis of Urban Change, Theory, Action

ISSN: 1360-4813 (Print) 1470-3629 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/ccit20

# Toward a sensory approach to Tactical Urbanism

Nicola Di Croce & Catherine Guastavino

**To cite this article:** Nicola Di Croce & Catherine Guastavino (10 Oct 2025): Toward a sensory approach to Tactical Urbanism, City, DOI: 10.1080/13604813.2025.2565032

**To link to this article:** https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2025.2565032

© 2025 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

Published online: 10 Oct 2025.

Submit your article to this journal

View related articles

View Crossmark data

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=ccit20

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

# Toward a sensory approach to Tactical Urbanism

Nicola Di Croce [a]* and Catherine Guastavino [b]

[a]Department of Architecture and Arts, Università Iuav di Venezia, Venezia, Italy; [b]School of Information Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada

*In the last decades, Tactical Urbanism has emerged as a bottom-up approach addressing the state of abandonment or underuse of problematic urban areas through ephemeral, temporary interventions aiming to trigger positive and long-term benefits to derelict areas. While Tactical Urbanism interventions usually have a strong visual component, in this article we focus on the possibilities offered by sound-based tactical interventions informed by participatory design processes engaging residents and local actors of neighborhoods undergoing transformation. Highlighting the role of city users' sonic experience in the everyday environment, we illustrate how a sound-based approach to Tactical urbanism can help exploring alternative means of questioning neoliberal urbanism, especially by supporting the livability of residents and city users beyond the primary drive toward visitors' attractiveness. To support our argument, we present and discuss the outcomes of a two-year project in the Montreal's Quartier des Spectacles, a neighborhood undergoing drastic social, spatial, and economic transformations. Here, after a first ethnographic and sonic*

*Email: ndicroce@iuav.it

Keywords **tactical urbanism, sensory urbanism, sonic environment, participatory design, urban livability**

URL https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2025.2565032

© 2025 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

*investigation, we organized two participatory workshops focused on the sonic experience of the neighborhood, which culminated in the realization of a sound installation.*

## Introduction

Cities are becoming increasingly polarized due to the pervasive effects of tourism (Sequera and Nofre 2018) and entertainment (Margier and Ethier 2023), both symptoms of neoliberal urbanism (Brenner 2015, 133; Thrift 2008, 22). Attempts to increase neighborhoods' attractiveness through tourism and entertainment (especially for visitors) often fail to address livability (for residents, workers and other users) and social inclusiveness, particularly with regards to marginalized groups; see Romão et al. (2018), triggering urban transformations and social inequalities (Vallance and Edwards 2021). This is particularly evident when considering livability in touristic areas (Khomsi et al. 2020), or the state of abandonment of public spaces within entertainment districts, where the conflicting cohabitation between diverse city users mirrors a general lack of inclusiveness (Amin and Thrift 2002). As the policy agenda on urban attractiveness is heavily associated with exclusion in cities (Smaniotto Costa and Patrício 2020; Thörn 2011), the role of place-making efforts (e.g. through branding strategies) in privileging the interests of visitors over that of residents or workers (Masuda and Bookman 2018) highlight the difficulties of finding 'balance' between attractiveness, livability and inclusiveness.

In this article we seek to engage with these tensions by exploring ephemeral urban interventions within the framework of Tactical Urbanism (TU) as alternative—yet not exempt from critics—forms of urban space production. In the last decades, TU has been used as an umbrella concept to describe those small-scale, temporary and low cost urban interventions (from guerrilla gardening to community projects reclaiming public space's safety) resulting from collaborative processes among local actors, and eventually aimed at producing larger and long-term impacts (Wohl 2018). Within this framework, we discuss the potential and criticalities of TU aiming to illustrate how this approach can contribute to and stimulate urban livability within entertainment neighborhoods impacted by growing numbers of visitors and affected by neoliberal urbanism. Within such neighborhoods, we investigate how derelict and problematic spots can be shaped through temporary interventions, and how this in turn can affect the experience of those who live, work and use these areas without necessarily fueling neoliberal dynamics.

Investigating entertainment districts where the policy agenda on urban attractiveness often challenges livability (Margier and Ethier 2023), in this article we focus on how TU interventions shape the sensory urban environment and thus influence livability of urban areas. Drawing from the growing interest of urban scholars in sensory urbanism (Borer 2013; Degen and Rose 2012; Low and Kalekin-Fishman 2018), we highlight the role of the sensory experiencing of built environments as pivotal in people engagement with urban life, and we argue that TU interventions can significantly impact, although temporarily,

the way public spaces are experienced and produced. While TU interventions usually have a strong visual component, in this article we focus on the sonic dimension and explore the potential of sound-based TU interventions informed by participatory design processes engaging residents and local actors, highlighting how sonic experience shapes everyday life (Waitt, Buchanan, and Duffy 2020). We seek to evaluate how sound can provide TU with new tools to address urban livability, to critically reflect on issues of social inclusiveness, and more broadly, to question the shortcomings of the policy agenda on urban attractiveness that fall within neoliberal urbanism.

To do so, we present a two-year sound-based TU project in the Montreal's Quartier des Spectacles (QDS), a neighborhood undergoing drastic social, spatial, and economic transformations. After an ethnographic sonic investigation conducted in 2021, we organized in 2022 two participatory workshops on the sonic experience of QDS users, which culminated in the realization of a sound installation in Place de la Paix—a small derelict square located in the core of the neighborhood. Drawing from the outcomes of the workshops and the evaluation of the installation with city users, we discuss the potential of sound-based tactical interventions to: (i) improve the livability—starting from the sensory experience—of underused urban areas, and (ii) offer interesting elements of reflection to address issues of social inclusiveness.

After a brief literature review on Tactical Urbanism and the growing interest on Sensory and Sonic Urbanism within urban research, we contextualize Montreal's QDS; then illustrate the methods and results from our study; and finally discuss our findings.

## The challenges of Tactical Urbanism

Beginning with Lefebvre (1992), the literature on the production of public space has highlighted how urban policy agendas supporting cities and neighborhoods' attractiveness (especially for visitors and newcomers) often fail to address the livability and inclusiveness of the same neighborhoods for residents, workers and other (mostly marginalized) city users (Romão et al. 2018). Examples include entertainment districts (Margier and Ethier 2023) and touristic destinations (Khomsi et al. 2020) where livability is challenged by the urban transformations triggered by growing numbers of tourists on the housing market, local shops, etc. (Salerno 2022). Supporting neighborhoods' attractiveness through a diverse range of branding strategies and programs (Oliviera 2015), cities often exclude the most 'undesirables' users, such as people experiencing homelessness. Their access to public spaces is limited more or less directly through policies advocating urban 'decorum' (Thörn 2011), as well as architectural elements (Smaniotto Costa and Patrício 2020) or through limited access to road links, public transit and other infrastructures (Amin and Thrift 2016). In his seminal *The practice of everyday life*, de Certeau (1984) examines people's everyday practices and their relation to power dynamics, illustrating how such everyday practices mirror not just passive city users 'guided by established rules' (pref. xi) but rather individuals and groups operating beyond such guidance to engage with, and thus produce, public space. *Tactics* are rapid

and unmediated users' operations, which 'change the organization of a space' (39) and by doing so bypass the system of *strategies*, namely the set of rules defining the power relationships outlined by any organization or institution to govern a given place (36).

In the last two decades, researchers and practitioners have relied on *tactics* to describe the rise of bottom-up collaborative, temporary, low cost and small-scale interventions aiming to trigger positive and long-term effects within underused or problematic urban areas. Examples range from the re-use of parking lots as pocket parks to the temporary pedestrianization of underused areas by means of food trucks and informal events (Dittmar 2020). This approach has emerged partly due to the lack of economic resources supporting structural interventions (Brenner 2015), partly because of the shared need among residents and grassroots organizations to contribute firsthand to urban change through collaborative small-scale projects. While quickly spreading worldwide, there is no consensus on the effectiveness of TU among urban scholars, especially regarding its assumed 'long term' benefits and potential complicity with neoliberal urbanism. While some emphasize encouraging results, eg. contributions to placemaking and urban livability (Lydon and Garcia 2015; Silva 2016), others criticize TU's tendency to fall within neoliberal urban dynamics (Mould 2014; Spataro 2015; Tedesco 2024) and thus underestimate urban struggle (Webb 2017). In this regard, the debate revolves around two main (and naturally intertwined) topics: (i) the economic impacts of TU interventions (as tools for enhancing attractiveness) vs their effects on urban livability; and (ii) the lack of inclusiveness of TU interventions vs their potential support of counterpublics.

On the first point, TU has been presented as a valid approach to facilitate urban livability through the emergence of urban design solutions from successful tests boosted by a relational approach (Wohl 2018), as well as an insurgent and participatory spirit (Hou 2010; Iveson 2013). However other authors, highlighting a tendency toward the institutionalization of TU practices (Cariello, Ferorelli, and Rotondo 2021; Tedesco 2024), have warned about the risk of TU being exploited by policy making and by the neoliberal market (Webb 2017), underlining TU intrinsic distance from institutions yet its need of public support for triggering structural changes (Brenner 2015). In this regard, the literature shows that TU risks to be coopted by the 'neoliberal agenda' (Mould 2014), which tends to exploit bottom-up initiatives for economic targets (Holtzman, Hughes, and Van Meter 2007; Peck, Theodore, and Brenner 2013). According to this view, TU is operating within an apparent contradiction as part of—yet also in reaction to—neoliberal developing trends (see Boltanski and Chiapello 2005, 425). Similarly, other authors have considered TU temporary use of urban areas as a neoliberal tool for the commodification of public space (Spataro 2015), whereas attention is put on the economic development of (potentially profitable) sites with little regards given to placemaking and urban livability as a goal to be achieved through community building (Webb 2017). Here, Brenner (2015) asks if and how TU can open up alternative pathways beyond the neoliberal paradigm. He claims, and we concur, that what TU should really challenge is the neoliberal 'syndrome' affecting urbanism; this is how urban policies tend to be more and more market-oriented—e.g. integrating

place branding as a strategic planning tool (Oliviera 2015)—which contributes to increasing urban polarization and depleting social inclusion.

The second point deals with TU's challenge to address urban inclusiveness, especially for less privileged social groups. On this point, Spataro (2015) warns that TU's mainstream approach risks to be biased in validating those informal initiatives that are eventually 'sanctioned' by local institutions, while devaluating radical tactics, which remain 'unsanctioned' as they challenge the status quo remain, and thus risk being interrupted. As Spataro argues, 'some tactics designed to improve life in cities and to foster propinquity amongst diverse publics are likely to be demonized or even criminalized by entrepreneurial alliances such as public/private partnerships and business improvement districts' (13) when they 'outwardly signal "disorder"' (13). Within this picture, can TU be a tool for supporting counter-hegemony practices, and thus contrast with neoliberal urbanism? We agree with Webb (2017) that the mainstream literature on TU (Lydon and Garcia 2015) is 'insufficiently appreciative of urban struggles' (Webb 2017, 3) and we support Brenner's (2015) opinion that such literature has a very static vision of the publics inhabiting and animating urban spaces. We thus want to emphasize that TU initiatives should support counter-hegemony practices—encourage citizenship—through new means of democracy (see Amin and Thrift 2002, 131), and challenge the way public space is threatened by private development (Hou 2010; Sorkin 1992) through a new culture of participation triggering public and political debate, and finally influencing urban policy design.

## The sensory dimension of public space

Also relevant to sound-based TU is the growing interest of urban scholars in sensory urbanism (Low and Kalekin-Fishman 2018). Sensory urbanism has started studying city life at the experiential and sensory levels (Amin and Thrift 2002; Zardini 2005), highlighting the role of the senses in the production of space (Simmel (1903) 2012) and the processes of social and spatial exclusion.

Sensory urbanism has thus given attention to 'the relationship between social identities, the senses and emotions' (Cook, Wiper, and Smith 2023, 110), illustrating the 'positive' and 'negative' encounters within the built environment—for e.g. sounds from passersby triggering anxiety in an underpass (see Brisman et al. 2021).

Scholars also explored relationships between sensory experiences and emotions, as well as walking and the memories associated with places. In this regard, Degen and Rose (2012) argue that '[u]rban environments are more and more often designed in order to be distinctive, vibrant and beautiful, thus creating [...] memorable sensory experiences for the people who pass through them' (3282–3283). This 'beautification' trend is often associated with issues of visibility and invisibility underpinning 'the policing of public space' (Cooper, Cook, and Bilby 2018, 4), where marginalized groups such as people experiencing homelessness 'are often discouraged from using, or are heavily policed in, certain areas of the city' (4) in an attempt to attract investments in the same areas (see also Cook and Whowell 2011).

The aesthetization of public space and its effects on social inclusiveness have been recently connected to Tactical Urbanism, specifically to municipal projects supported in deprived urban areas with 'the promises of "vibrancy" and community engagement associated with temporary reuse' (Ferreri 2021, 4). But to our knowledge, a sensory (and more specifically sonic) approach to TU is still lacking among urban scholars. Our study explores how TU can temporarily transform the sonic experience of urban sites to foster livability and shed light on issues of social inclusiveness within the same areas, thus challenging the current neoliberal urbanism trend.

Sound has recently garnered attention in the urban studies literature (Adams et al. 2006; Bild et al. 2016; Waitt, Buchanan, and Duffy 2020). Beyond examining the impact of 'noise' or 'unwanted' sounds (MacFarlane 2020), urban scholars have started investigating the ecology of sound (Atkinson 2007). Soundscape researchers have developed an array of tools for urban research and planning, emphasizing the integration of both quantitative and qualitative methods to measure and manage sonic environments (Brenner 2016). In this view urban sound is considered not merely as a nuisance but as a valuable resource for urban planning and design.

While soundscape researchers have studied the effects of permanent sonic features (such as fountains) or natural elements (such as trees and birds) on user's appreciation or restorativeness of urban areas (Payne 2013), fewer studies focus on temporary sound interventions (Guastavino et al. 2022; Steele et al. 2021; Trudeau, Steele, and Guastavino 2020), especially taking a critical perspective toward the effects of these interventions on urban livability or social inclusiveness, and more broadly on their capacity to challenge neoliberal urbanism (see Lacey 2022). Also, while workshops on sound have been lately explored to engage urban professionals (Steele, Kerrigan, and Guastavino 2020; Stevenson and Holloway 2016; Tarlao et al. 2023), there is a need for more participatory approaches in the co-design of sound-based TU interventions (see also Augoyard 2001; Ultra-red 2014).

## The hidden potential of sound installations in public space

Despite the lack of discussion on sensory (and specifically sonic) TU interventions, a handful of sound studies and urban scholars (Anderson 2008; Maag and Gisladottir 2025) have recently investigated the effects of outdoor sound installations, paying special attention to the politics and poetics of such interventions within urban areas, and considering issues of urban inclusiveness and livability. For example, using Action Research to redesign the sonic environment of a Melbourne park situated near a motorway, Sumartojo and Pink (2019) illustrate the promising role of sound installations in reshaping the perceived sonic experience of urban areas deeply affected by traffic noise. Specifically, they highlight how a site-specific sound installation can transform intrusive traffic noise into melodic sounds to preserve the site's character while enhancing user experience. Similar studies have emphasized how sound installations—as a kind of urban sound design—could be considered forms of critical spatial practice able to effectively transform the politics of everyday life

(Ouzounian 2015, 74), e.g. by giving a voice to marginalized social groups often excluded from public and political debate (Labelle 2018). Attention has been also given to landscape design, (Lacey, Brown, and Anderson 2024) where sound installations have proven to reshape the perceived sonic experience of gathering spaces through the use of biophilic sounds.

Lacey (2016; 2022)—while not explicitly inscribing his work within the TU framework—offers a key contribution to reflect on the potential of sound-based interventions within urban planning. Lacey highlights how introducing sounds into everyday public spaces can contribute to challenging the utilitarian exploitation of neoliberal urbanism. Sound installations open up new possibilities for public space engagement, encouraging individuals to experience the city in unexpected and reflective ways. Rather than serving a purely beautifying function, these interventions operate as critical and disruptive 'sonic ruptures', weaving in and out of existing soundscape, enriching the sonic texture and breaking the monotony and functionalist logic of everyday urban experiences. In doing so, they create openings for social connection, artistic exploration, and moments of surprise. Positioned as inherently political, such interventions function as ethical acts—confronting the constraints of functionalist design and expanding the sensory and social possibilities of urban life.

Building on Lacey's perspective, we explore, through our Montreal case study, how sound interventions in public space can be serve as a forum of sensory TU. We highlight how they can contribute to fostering urban livability and supporting inclusiveness, while challenging the 'beautification' and aesthetization of public space trends often associated with neoliberal urbanism.

## Contextualizing Montreal's entertainment district

The Quartier des Spectacles Partnership (QDSP) was established in 2002 as a part of a comprehensive urban redevelopment initiative in downtown Montreal led by the City of Montreal in collaboration with private developers, stakeholders, and cultural organizations. The objective was to concentrate entertainment and cultural activities within a compact and centrally located district, thus enhancing Montreal's appeal as a hub for entertainment. New festivals and musical events were promoted, complementing pre-existing ones, to create a yearlong festival season. Renewed public spaces were designed to host outdoor events in the 'new' district, which encompasses and overlaps with well-known neighborhoods like the Quartier Latin, a popular destination for students, the historic Red-Light district known for its nightlife, and the Jeanne-Mance complex, a unique example of a social housing complex within a North American downtown area (see Figure 1).

This city branding strategy gave rise to issues of cohabitation between very diverse communities including residents, festivalgoers, visitors, and marginalized groups (Margier and Ethier 2023)—especially people experiencing homelessness and addiction. Conflicts associated with the presence of marginalized groups in underused spaces were addressed by QDSP through the organization of small-scale events, discourage marginalize groups to use

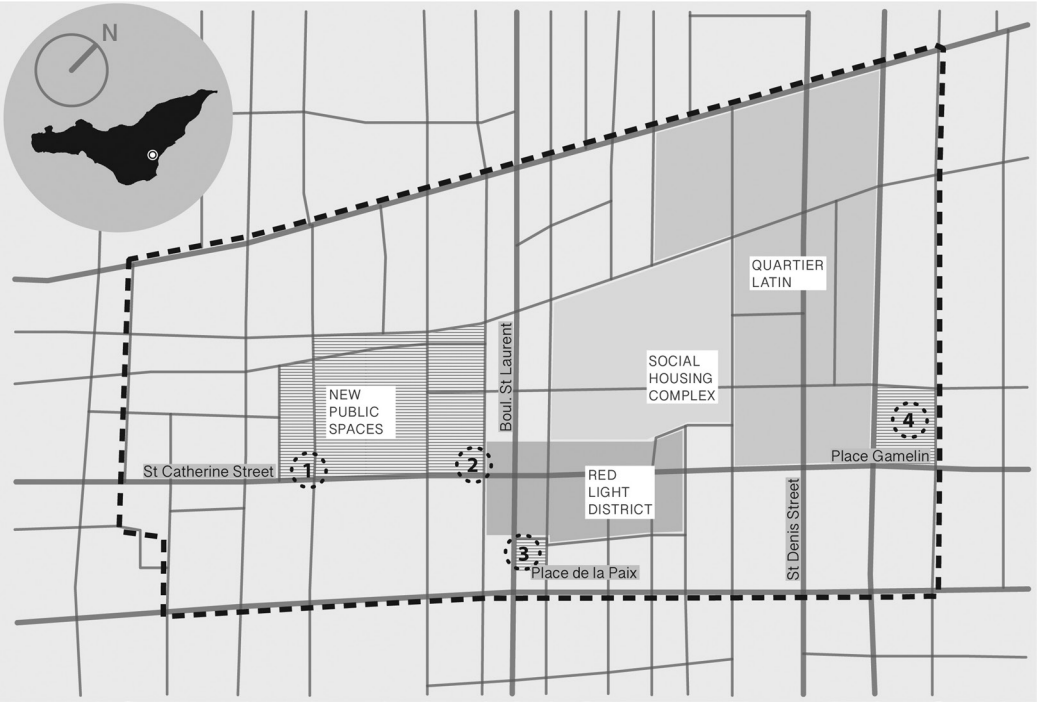


**Figure 1:** Schematic view of the Quartier des Spectacles with specifications of the main streets, areas of interest, and the four locations under observation.

these spaces, particularly during the festival season, and encourage instead attractiveness for tourists and festivalgoers. Bild, Steele, and Guastavino (2022) recently highlighted the need to address inclusiveness and livability within QDS beyond the push toward attractiveness, and suggested fostering the involvement of residents and other users in the debate on the future of QDS and other entertainment neighborhoods. Building on these insights, we present a participatory and creative approach involving residents and other city users to envision together a more livable and inclusive future for QDS.

Our study focused on 4 locations of the neighborhood (see Figure 1), namely: (i) Rue St. Catherine / Rue Jeanne Mance; (ii) Rue St. Catherine / Rue Clark; (iii) Boul. St. Laurent / Place de la Paix; and (iv) Place Émilie-Gamelin. The first two locations consists of pedestrianized sections of St Catherine, one of the most famous commercial streets in town where the majority of outdoor events takes place. The third location, Place de la Paix, is a square located at the boundary of QDS, being a crossing point for visitors and hosting small scale events, but is also a controversial spot as it is a popular hangout for skaters and marginalized groups. The last location, Place Émilie-Gamelin, is a vibrant park and public transit hub, close to UQAM University. While being used by diverse social groups, it has been stigmatized for drug sale and homelessness.

Drawing from the growing interest in sensory methodologies, and particularly multi-sensoriality of urban experience (Pink 2015), we propose a sound-based and participatory approach to investigate QDS everyday sonic environment building upon preliminary fieldwork (Low 2015, 309). Specifically, a preliminary research phase consisted of audio recordings in the 4 locations

at different moments of the day and week, during and right after the 2021 festival season (September to November). After this initial phase, we engaged with residents, city users and local actors from QDS through two workshops, to identify problematic sound-related urban issues and develop guideline to address them through a sound-based TU intervention. The workshop informed the design of a sound installation which was deployed and evaluated in Place de la Paix in October 2022.

## A participatory sound-based approach

**'Sounds central!' Workshop 1**

The first workshop focused specifically on the perspective of QDS residents, and involved 16 people[1] living in or around the neighborhood, recruited through the local committee, social media of the PQDS and door to door flayers distributed by our research team. The participants represented a wide range of ages, gender, migratory and cultural backgrounds, with a majority of workers (employees and freelancers). They were invited to discuss their experience with everyday sounds in the district, identify sound-related concerns, and nourish creative solution to address these concerns and envision the post-pandemic future of the neighborhood. To encourage an in-depth understanding of the sonic environment beyond noise complaints, participants were encouraged to consider everyday sounds not just as a nuisance but also as an opportunity to improve the livability of the district—their everyday sensory experience.

The workshop took place in April 2022 at (anonymized for review) and was divided in three parts; (i) a listening session where field recordings taken during the preliminary phase were played back and commented in a participatory discussion; (ii) small focus group discussions addressing themes emerging in the listening session; and (iii) a final presentation followed by a large group discussion. During the listening session, we played 4 contrasting one-minute recordings for each of the 4 locations, and then asked participants to describe what they heard and the feelings and emotions triggered by the recordings. Socializing the listening experience (Augoyard 2001; Ultra-red 2014), we thus aimed at creating a common ground for a participatory discussion on residents' sonic experience, seeking to gather relevant information on issue of livability in QDS.

After the listening session, participants were divided in 4 focus groups for in-depth discussions: one in French, one in English and two bilingual; each table was facilitated by a member of our research team. Each group included 4 resident and one facilitator from the team. Each group focused on one of 4 themes emerging from the listening session, namely: (i) the experience of living in QDS; (ii) the impact of construction noise; (iii) the role of public events in everyday life; and (iv) the effects of pedestrianization and music broadcasted in the streets. Facilitators left the discussion open to allow participants to address other related themes as well as cross-cutting themes. The discussions were audio-recorded and transcribed for analysis purposes. The transcript were analyzed using the constant comparison method to identify emerging themes.

*The role of everyday sonic experience on urban livability: first workshop results*

The first workshop revealed the importance of sound-related themes when discussing QDS livability. Participants highlighted the centrality of the neighborhood, its proximity to the liveliest areas of the city, as well as its accessibility and efficient public transit system. However, they reported their concern with three specific sources of nuisance affecting QDS livability: traffic, maintenance (e.g. garbage trucks or road maintenance), and construction noise, and suggested strategies to address them.

Traffic noise was considered as very problematic. Participants commented on pedestrianization as a crucial strategy to both reduced traffic noise annoyance ('Less traffic is relaxing', P06) and animate public spaces, or even creating new public spaces to compensate for the lack of green spaces within QDS. About Place de la Paix, participants commented on traffic noise from St Laurent boulevard limiting spontaneous use of the square by residents and other users.

As for noise from maintenance works (on buildings' facades, on the sewerage, etc.), participants were mostly concerned about the lack of communication. A participant claims that: 'One of the things that makes it annoying is that you don't know what's going to happen and when' (P12). This resonates with issues of neighborhood livability, which according to participants could be strengthened by better informing QDS residents and involving them in the neighborhood's public life. This may include fostering participatory decision making processes not exclusively focused on maintenance works, but more broadly on construction works as well as the programming of events and cultural activities within QDS.

Construction noise was also considered as an important source of annoyance. Besides the noise itself, participants expressed concerns on the rapid social transformation and gentrification of the neighborhood, likely to attract higher-income social groups and 'commodify' the sonic environment of the neighborhood. They further commented on differing 'sonic expectations' of the newcomers—likely to normalize and potentially jeopardize the peculiar soundscape associated with festivals and public events organized in the district.

Interestingly, festival and events were not a major concern for participants. On the contrary they appreciated them and claimed choosing to live in the neighborhood whose identify includes music and cultural events ('If you've chosen to live there you'd already know what you're going to deal with … so it doesn't make a lot of sense to complain about it', P02). Furthermore, events and festivals actively contribute to masking other sources of nuisance ('sounds make you forget other noises that are not so appreciated like traffic and constructions', P09), in line with the aesthetization and beautification trend QDS is undergoing. While participants acknowledge the importance of events and festivals, they also argued that smaller-scale events should be organized to help enliven underused areas within the neighborhood, which many of them define as 'problematic' due to the presence of marginalized groups. Indeed, participants expressed the need to foster cohabitation between different groups of users within QDS (especially people experiencing homelessness and addiction), and to implement strategies to address public space inclusiveness. For example, a group of participants suggested audio-visual art installations to engage with residents and other city users and reinforce the livability of underused public spaces particularly

in-between larger festivals ('[QDS] could have more audiovisual and animated things around to happen, for example in between the festivals … we have the festival so we have a huge thing, but the next week we have like nothing, that could maybe be a space for people who are from here, like to expose their art in there', P01). Participants further identified Place de la Paix (location 3) as an underused space with potential.

**'Sounds central!' Workshop 2**

The second workshop focused on Place de la Paix (PdP), identified by QDS residents as a central yet underused square affected by traffic and cohabitation between city users, tourists and marginalized groups. The workshop took place in June 2022 in a café facing the square, and gathered a group of diverse participants, including residents from different ages, gender, migratory and cultural backgrounds, as well as representatives of local cultural institutions and local sound artists, in an attempt to bring different perspectives and expertise together (the research team was unable to involve people experiencing homelessness and addiction). Sixteen participants were recruited, residents through e-mail invitation and flyers distributed around the residential units around Place de la Paix; representatives of cultural institutions and sound artists were instead invited by email. Participants were invited to discuss how to envision a more enjoyable, inclusive and livable sonic environment and inform the design of a sound-based intervention. The workshop was divided into two parts: (i) focus groups addressing the main themes emerged in the first workshop; and (ii) a final plenary presentation of the results of each group discussion.

After a short introduction, participants were divided in 3 small groups (of 5 or 6 people) for in-depth conversations: one in French, one in English and one bilingual. Each table hosted one sound artist, one representative of a cultural institution, and a few residents, and was facilitated by a member of the research team. In each group, the discussion revolved around four main themes emerged in the first workshop: (i) traffic noise in and around Place de la Paix; (ii) spontaneous uses of the square (taking into account those performed by skaters, marginalized groups, workers, residents, etc.); (iii) accessibility and location of the square within the geography of QDS festivals and events; and (iv) potential uses of the space, also fostered by neighbor cultural institutions. At the end of the focus group, each group was asked to present the outcomes of the discussion to all participants.

*Sound and urban inclusiveness: second workshop results*

Three main themes emerged from the group discussions: (i) traffic noise in the square, (ii) the perception and stigmatization of the square within and around QDS, and (iii) the need to find further participatory strategies to involve residents and other users of the square to improve inclusiveness.

First, participants considered traffic noise as very problematic and proposed solutions to address it, including: improving the road conditions, regulating parking around the square, and promoting small-scale events to enliven the atmosphere. Traffic was considered not only a source of annoyance, but also as a physical threat ('many people in our group complained about the fact that

there is no crosswalk here, which really blocks the access to this park', group 3). In a similar vein, participants expressed the need for a better integration of PdP within QDS to make it more accessible ('Participants feel that the area here is a bit disconnected from the other areas around here', group 2).

Second, participants commented on the negative image of the square, which is used by local workers, visitors and passersby, but is also home to skaters and marginalized groups that are unpopular among residents. Participants envisioned a square supporting more spontaneous uses of the space ('we have a square that is appreciated but not fully put to good use', P07): not a private or commercial-only space, rather a more intimate urban area where small-scale and informal events can take place all year round (e.g. an ice ring in the winter, ballet concerts, meditation sessions, etc.). Emphasizing the need to foster inclusiveness (for marginalized people) beyond strategies to enhance attractiveness for tourists and festivalgoers, participants highlighted that every space user should feel welcomed to join simple yet effective initiatives. For example, a participant argued that through small-scale cultural events with food trucks: 'you get the residents to come and buy food, but also come and talk with the people that actually use the park [people experiencing homelessness] ... That's how you create links between residents and the people who are actually using the park' (P15).

Participants converged on the potential of participatory strategies to involve residents, local workers and other users toward a more collaborative governance of the square. This implies strengthening the collaboration between residents also through the help of community organizations as to take decisions collaboratively about bottom up—tactical—initiatives to be potentially organized within the square (e.g. garage sales, food markets with food banks for people in need, etc.). Here, participants highlighted the need for their voices to be heard, and for their ideas and proposals to inspire a fully participatory governance model for QDS. A participant stated that only though a participatory approach—such as the one used in the workshop—is it possible to have 'The feeling that what we [participants] are saying means and can actually change something' (P08). Building on the discussion emerging during the workshop, participants finally reflected on the potential of a sound intervention in the square as to address issues of livability and inclusiveness in PdP.

**'Containing multitudes': a sound installation for Place de la Paix**

The last phase of the research consisted in the composition, implementation and evaluation of a sound-based TU intervention to raise awareness on creative ways to address issues of livability and inclusiveness within QDS. Specifically, the results of the workshop informed the design of a sound installation in the summer 2022, which was deployed and evaluated in Place de la Paix in October.

The first step was the formulation of design specifications derived from the workshops: the installation should 'mask' the traffic noise, integrate the sounds of traffic, introduce natural sounds, draw attention to the different users of the space (thus inviting people to spend their time and enjoy the square); and finally create a calm and relaxing environment. An 8-channel sound installation was conceived by the first author, supported by our research team and Audiotopie, an artist collective specialized in outdoor sound intervention. The content was

composed building upon combinations of field recordings taken in PdP at different points in time during the initial phase of the research. It was deployed for a week in late October 2022. A bilingual flyer was distributed to nearby residents to communicate the nature of the installation.

*Evaluating the effects of the installation*

To evaluate the effects of the sound installation, we administered questionnaires to passersby and space users before, during and after the installation was deployed. The questionnaire was designed to collect both qualitative and quantitative feedback from users to study the effects of the sound installation on their sonic experience. It was divided into three main sections: (1) free format description of the sound environment, (2) soundscape descriptors (pleasant, appropriate, monotonous, chaotic, calm, eventful, perceived sound level) on 5-point Likert scales, (3) free format questions on specific sound sources, namely: (i) traffic noise, (ii) events taking place in the square, (iii) informal activities and other sounds drawing participants' attention. A final question asked whether and how the sound installation impacted on the overall soundscape of the square. The open-ended questions were coded deductively using the main categories covered in the questions, such as overall soundscape, traffic, events, informal activities, effects of the installation.

We collected 249 questionnaires including 51.4% when the installation was on, the remaining 48.6% when it was off. The respondents ranged in age from 18 to 71 years (mean 33, st. dev. 12.5), and gender (56% men, 42% women, 4% others). Quantitative data from Section 2 of the questionnaire (soundscape descriptors) were analyzed using inferential statistics.[2] Specifically, we ran a MANOVA (Multivariate Analysis of Variance) to test whether the presence of the sound installation had an effect on the experience of the soundscape (measured with the soundscape descriptors ratings). We observed significant effects of the sound installation on most descriptors: in the presence of the sound installation, the soundscape was rated as calmer and more pleasant, as well as less chaotic and less loud (even though sounds were added).[3]

The qualitative analysis of the free-format responses illustrates two very different experiences when the installation was off or on. On the one hand, in the absence of sound installation, the majority of respondents describe the soundscape as loud, disturbing, stressful, and discomforting—especially due to traffic sounds, which hinders the potential for restorative benefits, as one respondent states: 'it's quite disturbing if you're looking for a peaceful place for relaxing, reading a book or listening to some music' (I38). While other sound sources are considered problematic—particularly construction and maintenance works—most respondents believe traffic noise and other urban sounds are inevitable, defining them as 'a necessary evil'[4] (I18). Besides traffic, skateboarding is the most characteristic sound in the square, bringing a range of sonorities that are rarely considered too loud or annoying by respondents, but rather as contributing to the identity of the place, described as 'Noisy because of the skateboarders. Which I like because it brings life and youth to the park' (I34). But the square is not used only by skaters. It is also used by passersby sitting temporarily on the benches and chatting or sometimes playing music with their portable speakers. In particular, conversations in the background are generally

considered as a positive and pleasant feature of the square (e.g. '[It's] good to hear people' (I22).) However, most respondents agree the space lacks vivacity ('It's ok, but it could be more lively', I228). This is not only due to traffic but also to the presence of marginalized groups (especially people experiencing homelessness and addictions) often sitting in a corner of the square and sometimes yelling at passersby. Respondents describe their sonic presence as loud and at times violent (e.g. 'Nervous hearing people yell', I227), which highlights the difficult cohabitation between different social groups.

On the other hand, in the presence of the sound installation, the sonic experience of the square was transformed. For most respondents, the installation drew attention away from traffic noise and other nuisance such as construction and maintenance works. In other words, it didn't cover or mask unwanted sounds but rather transformed the experience of problematic sounds (the installation: 'makes you notice the impact of sound, helps experiencing the city differently', I106[5]). Due to the subtle nature of the installation (which integrates modified field recordings from the square), a few respondents didn't notice it (e.g. 'to be honest, I didn't really notice it at first, it is pleasantly ambient' (I177)). Other respondents felt it failed to divert attention away from or mask major noise sources, particularly traffic (the installation is: 'not loud enough to make a difference because the traffic noise is too high', I166).

With the exception of a few critical respondents (10) describing it as 'overwhelming' (I99) or 'artificial' (I103), the installation was described overall as having a calming, meditative, and relaxing effect on the users of the square, allowing them to rest or better focus on other activities ('it makes it more peaceful and relaxing, makes it a nicer space to be in', I119). Interestingly, the perception of calmness is higher in the presence of the installation with 'people talking, feeling like there is contact, sharing, it is pleasant' (I111).[6] Here, almost two third of respondents emphasized how the installation sounds fit very well within the location, 'holding together'—as a respondent puts it—the space and all its users: 'I hear cars and the normal noise of the street. But I also feel a sense of holding together coming from the speaker … I would describe them as 'holding sound', that hold the space' (I181).

Holding together the different sonic elements of the square, the installation is however not compromising other spontaneous uses of the square. For example some respondents focus on skateboarding and consider it as an entertaining and pleasant activity that matches with the sounds of the installation (e.g. 'skateboarding goes well with the sound installation', I163[7]). Some further argue that the installation fills a gap in this underused space lacking animation ('I think if the space was quiet with nothing happening it would feel eerie', I80). In this sense, manifesting a sonic presence the installation contrasts with the lack of cultural and entertainment events in the square, despite its centrality within QDS.

This lack of events and activities is also linked to the strong presence of marginalized groups, (surprisingly) only rarely mentioned by respondents. While their sonic presence is often defined as problematic ('usually it's homeless people being loud', I131), other respondents don't mention their presence. The presence of the installation did not affect their uses of the square, nor did displace them (unlike large scale events, as noted during the field recording phase). On

the contrary, the installation gave us the opportunity to start a conversation (sometimes conflicting yet always meaningful) with a few people experiencing homelessness especially with regards to their everyday uses of the square and their struggles for cohabitation with other users of the space.

Finally, a report of the results from the questionnaire and the overall participatory process wa submitted to the City of Montreal to provide policy makers with insights on the effects of our sound based TU approach hoping this could be further 'translated' into policy recommendations.

## A sonic approach to Tactical Urbanism

We discuss our sensory approach and the results of our QDS study in terms of potential of sound-based TU interventions to: (i) foster urban livability, and (ii) address issues of social inclusiveness, beyond the urban policy agenda on attractiveness. While these two aspects are necessarily intertwined, we discuss them in two separate sections for the sake of clarity.

**Sound based Tactical Urbanism and the issue of livability**

Our study has illustrated how sound-based TU approach can tackle, although temporarily, issues affecting livability (such as traffic and construction noise) within a central yet deprived spot of Montreal's entertainment neighborhood. Results have shown the promising effects of a public space sound installation on the sonic experience of space users, confirming the key role of sound in reshaping urban perception (Aletta, Kang, and Axelsson 2016) and thus in contributing to urban livability by tackling traffic noise (Sumartojo and Pink 2019) and thus supporting restorativeness (Payne 2013; Payne and Guastavino 2018). Interestingly, results have highlighted effects within a short timeframe (only a week), corroborating studies that have revealed promising outcomes from temporary sound interventions in public space in terms of space use and soundscape evaluations (Fraisse, Tarlao, and Guastavino 2024; Steele et al. 2021). Together, these studies converge to demonstrate the strong potential of temporary sound interventions on public space users, especially inviting them to spend more time in such areas (Sumartojo and Pink 2019), while preserving their non-commercial, informal character. In this regard, our results echo Lacey's (2016; 2022) idea that sound can create 'sonic ruptures' within the everyday sonic environment, differentiating people's everyday experiences without embracing neoliberal urbanism strategies implemented to privatize public space and enhance commercial attractiveness. In fact, a calmer and more relaxing environment was considered as a positive feature first of all by residents and commuters using the area on a daily base, which impacted the overall livability of the square.

While urban scholars have attempted to assess the (economic) impacts of TU (Webb 2017), our study addressed a detailed and collaborative (qualitative and quantitative) account of the effects of a temporary sound-based TU interventions on urban livability by investigating residents and city users everyday sonic experience. In this regard, starting from the workshops, outcomes from our project well resonate with Sensory Urbanism understanding of the crucial role

of the senses, social identities and emotions triggered by the encounters with the built environment (Cook, Wiper, and Smith 2023). Rendering 'audible' the importance of sound for the livability of public space, results from the workshops and the installation support Webb's (2017) argument that sound-based TU practices can open up 'alternative methods of political debate' (63), as such initiatives can be instrumental for 'understanding places' and experimenting collaboratively 'their possible futures' (63) beyond their neoliberal development, that is, first of all, engaging with residents and other everyday city users. Our sonic intervention thus illustrates that a sensory approach to TU can contribute to tackling the neoliberal 'syndrome' (Brenner 2015) and inform policy-making by triggering public debate around urban livability, particularly emphasizing the sonic experience of public space from the perspective of everyday users. In this regard, the participatory process was key to the success of the TU intervention. In particular, workshop participants, provided with a forum to focus on their sonic experience of the neighborhood, helped identify relevant experiences and information to inform the design of the sound installation.

Drawing from Brenner's (2015) proposal to challenge the neoliberal paradigm through TU, our QDS study shows how a sound-based intervention can temporarily reinforce urban livability, pointing to the needs of residents, workers and city users beyond the neighborhood's primary drive toward visitors' attractiveness. The installation made it possible to mitigate the impact of traffic, which was considered by everyday users as most problematic. The study also highlighted the importance of using creative methods (e.g. listening sessions during the workshops) to gather a collaborative understanding of the relevance of urban sounds in the everyday experience of the neighborhood and its rapid transformation. For example, construction noise were considered very problematic not just because of its loudness but rather as pointing to the perceived risk of rapid social transformation and gentrification of the area. To sum up, results from the workshops and the installation evaluation complemented each other, and both contributed to raise sonic awareness among residents and city users, providing them with sonic tools to better acknowledge their role of active users of public space rather than simple 'consumers' of an 'aestheticized' and 'beautified' built environment (Degen and Rose 2012). We believe that the proposed sonic methodology can help understand the limitations of urban strategies focusing exclusively on the attractiveness of neighborhoods, thus questioning the 'neoliberal agenda' (Mould 2014). Illustrating the potentials of a sound-based TU intervention to support everyday experiences beyond visitors' quest for a memorable sensory experience, our study highlights the need to critically interrogate Montreal's policy agenda on attractiveness and integrate the perspective of residents and city users in the formation of a livable sonic environment.

In this view, TU can be considered not necessarily as a tool likely to be instrumentalized by neoliberal urbanism, as suggested by Spataro (2015), rather a valuable resource for the formation of an informed public, especially for initiatives supported by participatory processes. Addressing issues of urban livability and raising awareness to empower space users, our study illustrates how a sonic approach to TU can contribute to rethinking the future of underused and problematic urban areas going beyond visitors' attractiveness.

**A sensory approach to address social inclusiveness**

In terms of inclusiveness, our study shows the potential to promote a stronger culture of participation and collaboration with the plurality of urban actors living, working or using the urban areas where TU interventions are foreseen (Sorkin 1992), and in so doing keeping an insurgent spirit (Hou 2010; Iveson 2013). More specifically, our study demonstrates that using participatory methods like workshops prior to the implementation of a TU intervention—sharing perspectives, envisioning and potentially co-designing the action together with the future users of contested areas such as Place de la Paix—can set the stage for more inclusive and effective outcomes. This is particularly true when engaging sound and acknowledging its subtle yet powerful role in reshaping the sensory experience of public space.

The first workshop illustrated, for example, the lack of communication with residents and users about maintenance and construction works. During the second workshop, participants highlighted the potential of audio-visual interventions to engage residents and other city users, and create opportunities for more social integration. Together, the workshops highlighted the need to foster cohabitation of different groups of users within QDS (especially marginalized groups), and accordingly to experiment actions—such as the sound installation—to experiment new ways of cohabitating the space. Here, our sound intervention can be seen as an alternative and much productive form of *sociability* (Amin and Thrift 2002, 149) that contributed to the formation of a diverse sonic environment where multiple users and activities could take place (see Ultra-Red 2014).

The formation of a diverse sonic environment that welcomed different users and uses together resonates with Lacey's (2016; 2022) notion of 'sonic rupture', whereby sound installations create unexpected opportunities for perceptual and social engagement. Places where the most 'problematic' users—according to private developers (that is people experiencing homelessness and addiction)—challenge the neoliberal aesthetization and beautification of public spaces (Labelle 2018), should not be forced to leave. This is particularly relevant for public spaces like PdP co-habited by very diverse user groups. The results of the evaluation of the sound installation on site illustrate issues of cohabitation and the possibility to shape a sonic environment where everyone could feel welcomed. Many respondents emphasized how the installation 'holded together' the square with its users; inciting more residents, workers and passersby to spend more time there without preventing other users (e.g. skaters or people experiencing homelessness). These findings question the 'policing of public space' (Cooper, Cook, and Bilby 2018) as the sonic environment shaped by the installation didn't follow a 'beautification' trend, but instead created a welcoming environment for a wider range of users within a central area subject of massive investments (Cook and Whowell 2011).

These results challenge Spataro's (2015) argument that TU interventions, designed to 'foster propinquity amongst diverse publics' (13), are likely 'demonized' as they constitute a threat to public order. Quite on the contrary, our TU intervention showed a promising (although initial) avenue to reflect on ways to address cohabitation and sociability. Advancing the current debate on the relationship between TU, the aesthetization of public space and

issues of social inclusiveness (Ferreri 2021), our results support Webb's (2017, 6) view that TU can offer alternative means for political debate beyond the verbal and the textual, and can thus 'provide some of the equipment for social participation, helping to lift some causes of intolerance and to build voice' (Amin and Thrift 2002, 152). This is particularly promising when considering the transformation of the everyday sonic experience as a tactic to trigger public and political debates around livability and social inclusiveness—issues that are often conflicting with the main goal of enhancing attractiveness in entertainment neighborhoods.

## Conclusion

Taking Quartier De Spectacles (QDS) as a case study, we have highlighted the potential of sound-based Tactical Urbanism (TU) interventions to improve the experience of an underused public square and improve social inclusiveness.

Discussing the participatory approach to the design, implementation and evaluation of a public space sound installation, we offered critical arguments to advance and connect the current debates on Tactical Urbanism and Sensory Urbanism. We have shown the novelty of using sound as an effective design tool for Tactical Urbanism due to its subtle and powerful capability of shaping the everyday sensory experience of public space. Within this picture, we addressed issues related to the aesthetization of public space, illustrating how a sound-based participatory attitude toward TU can help exploring alternative means of questioning neoliberal urbanism, especially by supporting the livability of residents and city users beyond the primary drive toward visitors' attractiveness. Besides livability, we highlight the potential to improve cohabitation between diverse city users and reflect on the temporary effect of such tactics to reinforce sociability. Acknowledging that temporary interventions can only partially contribute to initiate long-term processes of political and social change, we have nonetheless shown how such actions can be of vital importance in crafting a more livable urban environment. Finally, on methodological ground, we presented a methodology for evaluating (qualitatively and quantitatively) sensory based TU projects. We believe our approach can contribute to the reflection in urban studies and can support policymakers in the formulation of sensory-aware policy recommendations addressing the challenges of the increasingly polarized neoliberal city.

### Notes

1 Due to COVID19 restrictions, the number of participants had to be capped.
2 54% of the respondents chose to respond in English and 47% in French. Missing responses, which made up 3.14% of the data, were replaced with the mean score for each corresponding scale item.
3 The MANOVA revealed significant effects on calmness ($F(1, 248) = 7.83$, $p = 0.006$), chaos ($F(1, 248) = 6.08$, $p = 0.014$), and perceived loudness ($F(1, 248) = 5.22$, $p = 0.023$), and a marginal effect on pleasantness ($F(1, 248) = 3.17$, $p = 0.076$).
4 'Un mal nécessaire' (I18).
5 'fait prendre conscience de l'impact du bruit, fait vivre la ville autrement' (I-106).
6 'les personnes qui discutent, sentir qu'il y a du contact, du partage, c'est agréable' (I-111).
7 'skateboarding se marie bien à l'installation sonore' (I-163).

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

## Funding

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Sklodowska-Curie [grant agreement No 881822].

## ORCID

*Nicola Di Croce* http://orcid.org/0000-0002-2086-6480

*Catherine Guastavino* https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5750-2015

## References

Adams, M., T. Cox, G. Moore, B. Croxford, M. Refaee, and S. Sharples. 2006. Sustainable Soundscapes: Noise Policy and the Urban Experience. *Urban Studies* 43 (13): 23852398. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980600972504.

Aletta, F., J. Kang, and O. Axelsson. 2016. Soundscape Descriptors and a Conceptual Framework for Developing Predictive Soundscape Models. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 149:6574. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2016.02.001.

Amin, A., and N. J. Thrift. 2002. *Cities: Rethinking the Urban*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Amin, A., and N. J. Thrift. 2016. *Seeing Like a City*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Anderson, S. 2008. Microsound in Public Space: Compositional Methods to Enhance Site-Specific Sound. *Organised Sound* 13 (1): 5160. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1355771808000071.

Atkinson, R. 2007. Ecology of Sound: The Sonic Order of Urban Space. *Urban Studies* 44 (10): 19051917. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980701471901.

Augoyard, J. F. 2001. Entretien sur coute ractive. In *Lespace Urbain En Mthodes*, edited by J. P. Thibaud and M. Grosjean, 127152. Marseille: Editions Parenthses.

Bild, E., M. Coler, K. Pfeffer, and L. Bertolini. 2016. Considering Sound in Planning and Designing Public Spaces: A Review of Theory and Applications and a Proposed Framework for Integrating Research and Practice. *Journal of Planning Literature* 31 (4): 419434. https://doi.org/10.1177/0885412216662001.

Bild, E., D. Steele, and C. Guastavino. 2022. Festivals and Events as Everyday Life in Montreals Entertainment District. *Sustainability* 14 (8): 4559. https://doi.org/10.3390/su14084559.

Boltanski, L., and E. Chiapello. 2005. *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Verso.

Borer, M. I. 2013. Being in the City: The Sociology of Urban Experiences. *Sociology Compass* 7 (11): 965983. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12085.

Brenner, N. 2015. Is Tactical Urbanism an Alternative to Neoliberal Urbanism? In *Critique of Urbanization: Selected Essays*, by N. Brenner, 113128. Berlin/Basel: Bauverlag/Birkhuser.

Brisman, A., A. Garca Ruiz, B. McClanahan, and N. South. 2021. Exploring Sound and Noise in the Urban Environment: Tensions between Cultural Expression and Municipal Control, Health and Inequality, Police Power and Resistance. In *Harm and Disorder in the Urban Space: Social Control, Sense and Sensibility*, edited by N. Perak and A. Di Ronco, 1529. London: Routledge.

Cariello, A., R. Ferorelli, and F. Rotondo. 2021. Tactical Urbanism in Italy: From Grassroots to Institutional ToolAssessing Value of Public Space Experiments. *Sustainability* 13 (20): 11482. https://doi.org/10.3390/su132011482.

Cook, I. R., and M. Whowell. 2011. Visibility and the Policing of Public Space. *Geography Compass* 5 (8): 610622. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2011.00437.x.

Cook, I. R., C. Wiper, and M. Smith. 2023. Sensory Criminology, Social Identities and Public Space: Encounters with Pedestrian Underpasses in Newcastle upon Tyne. *Criminological Encounters* 6 (1): 110128.

Cooper, E., I. R. Cook, and C. Bilby. 2018. Sex Work, Sensory Urbanism and Visual Criminology: Exploring the Role of the Senses in Shaping Residential Perceptions of Brothels in Blackpool. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 42 (3): 373389. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12581.

de Certeau, M. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Degen, M. M., and G. Rose. 2012. The Sensory Experiencing of Urban Design: The Role of Walking and Perceptual Memory. *Urban Studies* 49 (15): 32713287. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098012440463.

Dittmar, H. 2020. *DIY City. The Collective Power of Small Actions*. Washington: Island Press.

Ferreri, M. 2021. *The Permanence of Temporary Urbanism. Normalizing Precocity in Austerity London*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Fraisse, V., C. Tarlao, and C. Guastavino. 2024. Shaping City Soundscapes: In-situ Comparison of Four Sound Installations

in an Urban Public Space. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 251:105173. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2024.105173.
Guastavino, C., V. Fraisse, S. D'Ambrosio, E. Legast, and M. Lavoie. 2022. Designing Sound Installations in Public Spaces: A Collaborative Research Creation Approach. In *Designing Interaction for Music and Sound*, edited by M. Filimowicz, 108–133. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
Holtzman, B., C. Hughes, and K. Van Meter. 2007. Do It Yourselfand the Movement beyond Capitalism. In *Constituent Imagination*, edited by E. Biddle, S. Shukaitis, and D. Graeber, 4461. Oakland: AK Press.
Hou, J. 2010. (Not) Your Everyday Public Space. In *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities*, edited by J. Hou, 117. London: Routledge.
Iveson, K. 2013. Cities within the City: Do-It-Yourself Urbanism and the Right to the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37 (3): 941956. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12053.
Khomsi, M. R., L. Fernandez-Aubin, and L. Rabier. 2020. A Prospective Analysis of Overtourism in Montreal. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 37 (8-9): 873886. https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2020.1791782.
Labelle, B. 2018. *Sonic Agency. Sound and Emergent forms of Resistance*. London: Goldsmith Press.
Lacey, J. 2016. *Sonic Rupture. A Practice-led Approach to Urban Soundscape Design*. London: Bloomsbury.
Lacey, J. 2022. *Urban Roar. A Psychophysical Approach to the Design of Affective Environments*. London: Bloomsbury.
Lacey, J., A. L. Brown, and C. Anderson. 2024. Sonic Gathering Place: Implementation of a Biophilic Soundscape Design and Its Evaluation. *Landscape Research* 50 (1): 110128. https://doi.org/10.1080/01426397.2024.2372441.
Lefebvre, H. 1992. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Low, K. E. Y. 2015. The Sensuous City: Sensory Methodologies in Urban Ethnographic Research. *Ethnography* 16 (3): 295312. https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138114552938.
Low, K. E. Y., and D. Kalekin-Fishman, eds. 2018. *Senses in Cities. Experiences of Urban Settings*. London: Routledge.
Lydon, M., and A. Garcia. 2015. *Tactical Urbanism: Short-Term Action for Long-Term Change*. Washington: Island Press.
Maag, T., and A. Gisladottir. 2025. Planning and Design Responses to Urban SoundLearning from and Listening to Cities and Turning Knowledge into Sound-Aware Practice. In *A Sound Approach to Noise and Health*, edited by I. van Kamp and F. Woudenberg, 121148. Singapore: Springer.
MacFarlane, K. 2020. Governing the Noisy Sphere: Geographies of Noise Regulation in the US. *Environment and Planning C* 38 (3): 539556.
Margier, A., and G. Ethier. 2023. Urban Spectacularisation and Social Housing: An Asymmetrical Relation? The Habitations Jeanne-Mance in Montreals Quartier Des Spectacles. *Urban Research & Practice* 16 (1): 124. https://doi.org/10.1080/17535069.2021.1938196.
Masuda, J. R, and S. Bookman. 2018. Neighbourhood branding and the right to the city. *Progress in Human Geography* 42 (2): 165182. 10.1177/0309132516671822.
Mould, O. 2014. Tactical Urbanism: The New Vernacular of the Creative City. *Geography Compass* 8 (8): 529539. https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12146.
Oliviera, E. 2015. Place Branding as a Strategic Spatial Planning Instrument. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 1 (1): 1833. https://doi.org/10.1057/pb.2014.12.
Ouzounian, Gascia. 2015. Sound Installation Art: From Spatial Poetics to Politics, Aesthetics to Ethics. In *Music, Sound, and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience*, edited by Georgina Born, 7389. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Payne, S. R. 2013. The Production of a Perceived Restorativeness Soundscape Scale. *Applied Acoustics* 74 (2): 255263. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apacoust.2011.11.005.
Payne, S. R., and C. Guastavino. 2018. Exploring the Validity of the Perceived Restorativeness Soundscape Scale: A Psycholinguistic Approach. *Frontiers in Psychology* 9: 65. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.02224.
Peck, J., N. Theodore, and N. Brenner. 2013. Neoliberal Urbanism Redux. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37 (3): 10911099. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12066.
Pink, S. 2015. *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. London: Sage Publications.
Romo, J., K. Kourtit, B. Neuts, and P. Nijkamp. 2018. The Smart City as a Common Place for Tourists and Residents: A Structural Analysis of the Determinants of Urban Attractiveness. *Cities* 78:6775. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2017.11.007.
Salerno, G.-M. 2022. Touristification and Displacement. The Long-Standing Production of Venice as a Tourist Attraction. *City* 26 (23): 519541. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2022.2055359.
Sequera, J., and J. Nofre. 2018. Shaken, Not Stirred. New Debates on Touristification

and the Limits of Gentrification. *City* 22 (56): 843855. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2018.1548819.

Silva, P. 2016. Tactical Urbanism: Towards an Evolutionary Cities Approach? *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 43 (6): 10401051. https://doi.org/10.1177/0265813516657340.

Simmel, G. (1903) 2012. The Metropolis and Mental Life. In *The Urban Sociology Reader*, edited by J. Lin and C. Mele, 2331. Abingdon: Routledge.

Smaniotto Costa, C., and C. Patrcio, eds. 2020. C3Places. *Culture & Territory* 4:5569. https://doi.org/10.24140/2020-sct-vol.4-1.3.

Sorkin, M., ed. 1992. *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Spataro, D. 2015. Against a De-politicized DIY Urbanism: Food Not Bombs and the Struggle over Public Space. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability* 9 (2): 185201. https://doi.org/10.1080/17549175.2015.1056208.

Steele, D., V. Fraisse, E. Bild, and C. Guastavino. 2021. Bringing Music to the Park: The Effect of Musikiosk on the Quality of Public Experience. *Applied Acoustics* 177:107910. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apacoust.2021.107910.

Steele, D., C. Kerrigan, and C. Guastavino. 2020. Sounds in the City: Bridging the Gaps from Research to Practice through Soundscape Workshops. *Journal of Urban Design* 25 (5): 646664. https://doi.org/10.1080/13574809.2019.1699399.

Stevenson, A., and J. Holloway. 2016. Getting Participants Voices Heard: Using Mobile, Participant led, Sound-Based Methods to Explore Place-Making. *Area* 49 (1): 8593. https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12296.

Sumartojo, S., and S. Pink. 2019. *Atmospheres and the Experiential World: Theory and Methods*. London: Routledge.

Tarlao, C., D. Steele, G. Blanc, and C. Guastavino. 2023. Interactive Soundscape Simulation as a Co-design Tool for Urban Professionals. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 231:104642. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2022.104642.

Tedesco, C. 2024. Overcoming an Impasse or Innovating Urban Policy? The Role of Social Activism within Conflictual Urban Regeneration Processes in Southern Italy. *Planning Practice & Research* 39 (4): 721739. https://doi.org/10.1080/02697459.2023.2267917.

Thrn, C. 2011. Soft Policies of Exclusion: Entrepreneurial Strategies of Ambience and Control of Public Space in Gothenburg, Sweden. *Urban Geography* 32 (7): 9891008. https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.32.7.989.

Thrift, N. 2008. *Non-representational Theory. Space Politics Affects*. London: Routledge.

Trudeau, C., D. Steele, and C. Guastavino. 2020. A Tale of Three Misters: The Effect of Water Features on Soundscape Assessments in a Montreal Public Space. *Frontiers in Psychology, Section Environmental Psychology. Research Topic: Human Perception of Environmental Sounds* 11:570797.

Ultra-red. 2014. *Ultra-Red: Nine Workbooks 20102014*. Berlin: Koenig.

Vallance, S., and S. Edwards. 2021. Charting New Ground: Between Tactical Urbanism and Strategic Spatial Planning. *Planning Theory & Practice* 22 (5): 707724. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2021.1966081.

Waitt, G., I. Buchanan, and M. Duffy. 2020. Lively Cities Made in Sound: A Study of the Sonic Sensibilities of Listening and Hearing in Wollongong, New South Wales. *Urban Studies* 57 (10): 21312146. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098019871170.

Webb, D. 2017. Tactical Urbanism: Delineating a Critical Praxis. *Planning Theory and Practice* 19 (1): 5873. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2017.1406130.

Wohl, S. 2018. Tactical Urbanism as a Means of Testing Relational Processes in Space: A Complex Systems Perspective. *Planning Theory* 17 (4): 472493. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095217722809.

Wohl, S. 2018. Tactical Urbanism as a means of Testing Relational Processes in Space: A Complex Systems Perspective. *Planning Theory* 17 (4): 472493. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095217722809.

Zardini, M., ed. 2005. *Sense of the City: An Alternative Approach to Urbanism*. Montreal: Canadian Center for Architecture.