# Fire, drums and the making of place during a *Correfoc*

## Karla Berrens

### Place, senses and Correfoc

When we move through a space, we are in constant dialogue with it, making sense of it through our bodies. This tacit conversation between our corporeal experience of space and our memories, emotions, gender, sensory functionality, sensibilities and affects are pillars in the making of place (Ahmed 2008a 2008b; Agnew 2011; Johnson 2011; Low 2014; Burkitt 2014; Jones 2014; Berrens 2017; Berrens 2019). The latter is strongly influenced by the manner we understand the senses. If we work with the typically Western five-fold division of the senses, we may find we are short of perceptions to describe our corporeal relationship to space. For example in events with a strong sense of temperature, such as a fire performance, thermoception is relevant. In this chapter I’m expanding beyond this division to embrace other bodily reactions that condition our ways of relating to our surrounding (Latour 2004; Howes 2009; Paterson 2009; Bates 2010; Rhys-Taylor 2010), notably crossing over to explore feelings/perceptions of pleasure and pain through auditory stimuli.

When we attend to the richness of perception that our bodies offer, we attune ourselves to the gates separating interior from exterior, as if we were tuning an instrument. But what happens to our sensorium when the environment generates short and strong stimuli? In a *Correfoc* (I will explain this in detail in the following sections*)*, where there are almost constant fire, whistling and crackling sounds, accompanied by the Tabalers’ incessant drumming, our sensory perception of the surroundings is strongly impacted. We are electively in an aurally diverse experience of our surroundings (Drever 2019). The soundscape is above the sonic threshold of pain for an aurally typical person (between 115 and 140dB) yet this is one of the most popular events in Catalan popular culture (Drever 2019). Hence this is an aurally overwhelming activity where the continuity between hearing and environment is overridden and at times, broken. This chapter seeks to examine some aspects of this shift in perceptual experience when exposed to an intense sensory stimuli and the temporality of that sense of place (Lopez 2005; Horowitz 2013; Berrens 2019).

**Methodology**

This research was originally thought of as a combination between quantitative and qualitative methodologies, having the qualitative part of the research bear most of the data gathering. However the Covid-19 pandemic has affected the research and, besides a reflective street ethnography from the previous *Correfoc*s, I have only been able to use online methods, so far this chapter presents the first part of what was intended as methodological bricolage (Kusenbach 2003; Murthy 2008; Yardley 2008). Therefore, to date, the research articulates around a survey and five follow up interviews. This survey had a quantitative section with multiple-choice questions and a qualitative one with open questions. The second part of the methodology had to be articulated around ethnography, interviews and focus groups. This second part will be undertaken after the pandemic. Hence, the research is ongoing.

The survey has been distributed remotely to four devils’ groups in Barcelona. From these groups, the survey was passed to all sections, indiscriminately of age or role within the group (even though it was only passed to minors where at least one of the parents was active in another section of the group, hence minors are not comprehensibly represented). To date, there have been 64 replies to the survey, but replies keep coming in. Taking into account the number of people in each group, this is a significant number, representing 70% of the overall active members over 18.

The quantitative questions results are presented as percentages. The survey’s open questions and the five interviews have been analysed using thematic analysis and grounded theory seeking to understand the way space is perceived bodily whilst on a *Correfoc* and the temporality of this perception (Wetherell 1998, Liu 2016).

### Correfoc: history and name

Catalunya has a longstanding tradition of integrating fire into popular culture, from throwing fireworks on the 23rd of June, to the running under umbrellas of fire sparks and being chased by devils’ burning firecrackers. Fire is deeply embedded in our popular culture, being Catalan myself, I have always enjoyed watching *Correfocs,* but it wasn’t until 2017 that I decided to join one of the Colles, “La Vella de Gràcia”. *Correfocs* are the most striking example, literally meaning “fire run”. It refers to running under the fire produced by a group of people dressed as “devils”, called devils or fire devils. This tradition derives from the XIIth century’s Devils’ Dances. Those were performed in religious festivities’ context and were a “spoken dance”, mixing a theatre play and a dance between Lucifer’s devils and Archangel Saint Michael.

From these static representations, an event with fireworks emerged, still keeping the idea of Lucifer’s devils. It would take place at the end of the spoken dance. Contemporary devils are equipped with fireproof clothing, evoking Hell in different ways by having representations of fire, dragons, skulls and/or charcoal. They carry a long wooden or metal stick at the end of which there is a small metallic spike where a firework is attached, this is called a “*maça”.* Some devils’ groups have a *maça* with space for more than one spike to fit several firecrackers simultaneously. When lit, the firework turns on itself around the spike, thus producing an umbrella of sparks. This can be accompanied by a whistling sound or vary in colours, depending on the kind of firework. At the end, the firework explodes with a loud “boom”, the *thunder*. The devil removes its remains from the spike and attaches another one, restarting the process. Most groups (*colles)* have “figures”, one, two or sometimes even three main characters. The most usual are Lucifer, normally having a distinctive costume, and a bigger *maça* called *ceptrot* with lots of spikes*.* Then there is a “*Diablessa”* meaning female devil. Having a distinctive costume, *Diablessa* carries a specific *maça*, sometimes called *ceptrot* too. Finally, there sometimes is the figure of Archangel Saint Michael, but this is more usual with the *colles* still practicing the spoken dance. In the latter’s contemporary version, devils compose *“versots”*, ironical verses as a cheeky dialogue between Lucifer and his devils. Saint Michael comes to slay them all.

The groups of devils started incorporating Beasts, fiery representations of animals with special attachments to fix fireworks onto them. One or several people are used to make the animal dance. With time, there was a separation in the *colles* in sections, minors’ section (under 18 years old), beast’s section (beast operators) and devils. Each section could be accompanied by a group of *tabalers* or not.

Fast forward to 1979 in Barcelona, for la Mercè, the city’s main festivity (24/09). As per tradition, several *colles* were performing their static fire events in the middle of the city; we say “devils were burning”. To everybody’s surprise, including the police force, several participants started engaging with the devils while they were burning. Instead of watching from afar, they got close and started dancing under the umbrella of sparks. This led the devils to engage in a cheeky game, chasing spectators around the streets. From this moment on, where fire was literally running after participants, the events were renamed *Correfocs*. Normally, *Correfocs* take place in two ways. The first one is called a *cercavila*, Devils and *Tabalers* go around the streets of the city or the village burning and drumming all along. There are departure and arrival points set beforehand doing a *tabalada*, a drumming route. (In fact, organising a *cercavila* requires a lot of permissions from the council and health and safety controls). The other format is called a *carretillada*. Even being a static performance, there is a lot more firepower used at once. *Carretillades* consist of a *Colla* taking over one square. They may hang fireworks through the square so there is a roof of fire, then they will adopt a circular shape, and dance in circles, sometimes having special figures or special *maces* inside (held by a devil). The aim is to generate an aesthetic and sonic fire composition that can last from a few to around twenty minutes. During a *cercavila* there can be moments where all devils cease dancing alone, get together in a circular shape and ignite their fireworks simultaneously, generating a circle of fire.

### Fire, Devils and Clothing

For this chapter it is relevant to note the health and safety regulations that have an effect on the sensuous body. It is standard for devils to wear fireproof jackets, *cassaques*, having a hood, often with horns. Jackets and hood are made from heavy cotton fabric, then fireproofed using a spray-on product, making them stiff. Devils also wear trousers made of the same fabric. Traditionally the shoes meant to be worn are not fireproof nor offer full feet coverage. They are called *espardenyes* and are a traditional Catalan shoe used in popular culture. For the lack of full foot coverage, there is an increasing number of *colles* that have swapped them for boots. Those offer full foot coverage and are not flammable.

Two protective elements are common to most devils, protective gloves and protective glasses. The gloves are fireproof and thick or leather; they prevent burns when changing the firework from the spike or sparks. The glasses are normally standard protective eye gear used by construction workers. They add protection behind the hood, which is sometimes not large enough to shield the eyes from the sparks. Protective glasses are a controversial topic. On one hand, they offer a layer of protection both from the fire, sparks and any part of the firework that may head towards the eye area when exploding. However, the hood and the heat from being under the fire make protective glasses prone to becoming steamed, thus hindering the devils’ capacity to see what is in front of them. We will see more about the effect this has later on.

The following two items of protective gear are not compulsory though recommended. Those are a buff or foulard to cover the nose and mouth area, and another one to cover the hair. Both need to be made out of cotton or fireproofed material, as otherwise they are very dangerous. Not all devils use hair foulards but there is an increasing number of devils that use one to cover the mouth and nose area. The reasons for this are two-fold, firstly in order to protect against the fire sparks and bits of the firecrackers that are projected when the latter explodes at the end. Secondly, in order to reduce the amount of smoke inhaled at *Correfocs*. Let’s imagine the smoke there can be at a *Correfoc*. Imagine a narrow street with high buildings on each side. This architecture creates the sensation of being in a long and high corridor, like a tunnel. Then add a group of 25 devils burning, dancing/jumping organised in two parallel lines, a devil every 12 metres, generating a constant umbrella of fire with two axes. Now imagine the smoke each firework is making whilst lid and the smoke when it explodes, one every 10 seconds on average. In the long narrow streets of Barcelona, the smoke becomes trapped between the buildings and does not disperse fast. This smoke is gunpowder related, it is very common for devils to finish a *Correfoc* with their faces smeared in a dark powder that smells like sulphur when you wash it out. With this scene in mind, covering the mouth and nose area, albeit not fully effective to completely eliminate the smoke residue from the devils’ faces, does help.

Last but not least there is a protective gear element gaining popularity within devils and also *tabalers*. Those are earplugs. Go back to the scene described above. The street layout and building configuration makes the sound reverberate along the street and the buildings. The *Correfoc* soundscape is constructed from the addition of exploding fireworks - either a few at a time or many simultaneously if there is a joint burn - and incessant drumming. From this we can gather that a *Correfoc* is indeed a very loud performance, normally above the 130dB, reaching 175dB at some points.

From here we can go on to explore the survey’s results and examine in which ways the protective gear is felt to diminish the sensory experience produced by the *Correfoc.*

### The senses and protective gear

In the section above we have explained the protective gear used by Fire Devils and *Tabalers*. Here we are going to examine in which ways they influence the sensuous relationships during the *Correfoc*. A 96.9% of participants affirm they wear protective gear, from which 82.5% wear fireproof clothing (may that be the full suit or just the trousers - *tabalers* only wear the lower part of the suit with a thick cotton t-shirt and a thick cotton jumper). An 87.4% use further protection, from those 78.5% use glasses, 66.7% use a foulard for hair, 60.8% foulard for nose and mouth and 58.9% use gloves. It is striking to see that only 35% use earplugs.

From the protective gear, 34.6% use it in order to reduce the senses, while for 65.4% this reduction is a collateral effect, using it primarily for safety. From this reduction, participants estimate that hearing and touch are the two most affected senses, followed by sight. The latter is the sense that is reduced willingly in spite of the issues this may produce (less accurate vision) because safety is deemed more important. Taste is the sense deemed less reduced, followed by smell.

98.3% of participants agree that *Correfoc* entails the interplay of various senses. I asked them which senses they thought are working harder during the *Correfoc*. For this question I did not use the Western five-fold division of the senses but rather moved towards a more contemporary conception of the sensuous body, bodily sensations. I divided the latter in 10. Table 1 presents the findings for this ten-fold division: hearing, smell, sight, tact, orientation, adrenaline, euphoria/stress, proprioception, thermoception and nociception. This division was done taking into account preliminary conversations and the auto-ethnographical part of the previous research (Berrens 2019).

(Insert table 1 here)

We can see that sight (89%), hearing (86%) and smell (72%) are the three senses deemed to work the hardest by participants. Followed by euphoria/stress and adrenaline. Nociception (23%) is the third to last sense, which raises the question of how participants react to the extreme sonic levels that impact and permeate the body in a *Correfoc*. We will see in the discussions how it can influence the relationship we establish with a given activity and space.

We can see in Table 2 below that 78,1% of participants agreed there was a shift in the sensorium but mostly during the *Correfoc*. Hearing and smell were the two senses where there were a 45% of participants affirming they remained affected after the duration of the *Correfoc*.

(Insert Table 2 here)

We will explore in the discussion the relationship of the sensory stimulation with our perception of space, and the role of the sensory dynamics in the making of place.

### Fire, drums, feelings and space

#### Emotions in fire and drums

This chapter dwells on the feelings that arise during a *Correfoc* and then examines their interplay with the multisensory dimension of the perception of space (Helmreich 2010, Ingold 2011). In this part of the project, the questions about the feelings during a *Correfoc* were divided in three groups. Either one replied as a devil (including Beast carriers), or as a *tabaler*.

Getting into a *Colla* in Barcelona is not a straightforward process. There are many but normally already at full capacity. Being part of a *Colla* in Catalunya is embracing a core aspect of Catalan popular culture, Fire festivities. The *Colla* does more than just *Correfocs*, it has social activity beyond fire, fostering a sense of belonging to the *Colla* itself and also to a wider Catalan popular culture network. There is a sense of duty when being a member of a *Colla*, making sure Catalan popular culture does not disappear.

When asked how they felt during *a Correfoc* there was a positive response from both devils and *tabalers*. Devils talked about a feeling of euphoria, energy, powerfulness and adrenaline (together with accelerated pulse) as bodily feelings. Then they also remarked the positive feelings that arouse from a sense of belonging. There was a common sense of pride in belonging to the group and to Catalan popular culture, which was also manifested by *tabalers* and I will dwell on it later. There was also a positive feeling associated with friendship, company and pride of the *Colla*’s performance.

The negative aspects were feelings of vulnerability, stress, and feeling lost in space. Then, associated with an extreme use of the senses, was feeling overwhelmed, too hot and very alert. There is a disconnection happening between the aurality of space and the environment that I will elaborate on later.

*Tabalers* valued as positive their happiness about the *mise-en-scène*, feeling the soul of the party, being the ones marking the rhythm. They felt bubbly and being the centre of attention. There were also positive feelings like feeling young, happy and full of adrenaline. The negative feelings were because of the ears’ suffering or feeling scared if they are too close to fire or felt too observed.

We can see that one of the main positive aspects is feeling part of something bigger than just a *Colla per se*. For the devils there is a direct reference to Catalan popular culture. For *tabalers* it is on the change of dynamics their passage on the streets generates. When a *Correfoc* traverses the neighbourhood, the streets are closed to the traffic so the participants can use both the pedestrian and the road to move around. Therefore the normality of the city layout is temporally challenged in a new configuration.

#### Burning, drumming and relating to space

When asked about their relationship to space, 84.4% of participants knew the spaces they were going to transit before the *Correfoc*. For many of them, these are the spaces of everyday life; it is their neighbourhood or parts of the city that are heavily transited. There are several *Colles* in Barcelona and they tend to do all their local *Correfocs*. Barcelona is divided in districts, so each *Colla* will normally do their district’s *Correfocs*, the one for the City’s patron and then can be invited to other districts or villages around Catalunya to do *Correfocs*. In this chapter, because of covid’s limitations, I worked with *Gracia’s Colles* (one of the districts).

For devils, the positive aspects were finding a balance in the relationship with space; feeling respected and having a sense of spatial domination as they made the streets theirs through the howling of the firecrackers, they felt everything was smaller. Knowing the space previously was important in order to have spatial references, once you start burning, unless you have them, every street feels the same.

The negative emotions and feelings brought forward by the devils were a sense of danger, reduced visibility, and thus a feeling of isolation sometimes. Also, they did not enjoy the loss of references and felt claustrophobic at some points. For a few individuals however, having reduced visibility encouraged a different hearing. Albeit brutally high and intense, the buzzing of the firecrackers, in addition to being a colonizing sound, becomes a guide to orientating in space (Berrens 2019).

The *tabalers* liked the sense of magic, feeling they were respected while drumming, the sensation of the space opening up while they were invading it with their drumming sound, they felt were making the space theirs and noted an increase in their vitality. They did not enjoy feelings of being overwhelmed by either a space too packed with people or the fact they felt in the loudest possible place between their drumming and the constant fireworks’ explosions and whistling.

Knowing the space proved to be an asset among the participants since it meant there was less of a possibility of feeling isolated (Hall 2009). Nevertheless, as noted in the introduction, a *Correfoc* is a space where aurality becomes diverse. People partaking in *Correfocs* may they be as assistants or performers, entering a temporary space of an uncommon sensory relationship to the environment. Even if one knows the street layout beforehand, the *Correfoc* changes the perception of it, disassociating our sensory memory of the space from the perception at the time of the *Correfoc.* It is worth noting that both fire devils and *tabalers* felt the space was theirs while they were performing. Therefore we can argue that the colonisation of space *Correfocs* impose makes place in a temporary manner for devils and *tabalers*. During that timespan the space where the spectacle takes place, is theirs, subverting the mainstream uses of streets, annihilating the imbalance between pedestrian and car space there is in most of Barcelona. The space is not only fully pedestrian it is fully festive.

### Discussion

As seen above, only a 35.6% of the participants use earplugs. Considering the decibels in a *Correfoc*, this is an extremely low percentage. In addition, we have seen nociception is the third to last sense in action while in a *Correfoc*. When asked in subsequent interviews, devils and *tabalers* argued that although the volume was very loud, the *Correfoc*’s sounds were pleasant for them. They could feel their eardrums pulsate, and there was a clear perception of pain but the sense of belonging to the group and to the spectacle coupled with the adrenaline of being under the sparks made this a pleasant perception.

In addition, devils and *tabalers* require to feel oriented in space, blocking this aural sense has an impact on their making of place through a sense of isolation and not knowing where the rest of the group is. For many of them using earplugs generates a sense of alienation as they already don’t see clearly between the heat, the steamed glasses and the smoke. Thus, as mentioned earlier aurality becomes a main source to understand space and what is going on. At a *Correfoc* the devils need to hear the instructions of the head of Fire, the *tabalers* those of the head of Music, earplugs can become a nuisance. The devils are in constant movement, *tabalers* are dancing, the street is full of smoke and sparks, aurality is key in making sense of the place one is alongside the rest of the performers and spectators.

The decibels at which *Correfocs* happen are deafening, and can be very painful to undefended ears, we see that 18% of participants affirm their hearing remains altered for up to two hours and a further 5% until the day after the *Correfoc*. Sound’s pain threshold is normally around 140dB, I argue aurality, even if painful, is key in feeling connected with the space around and with the *Colla* (Berrens 2019, Imrie 1996, Schartwz 2003 & 2011).

Adrenaline and euphoria/stress were also highlighted (by 67% and 70% of participants respectively) as main corporeal perceptions, the question then is to what extend does this induced state change the way we feel in space during that timespan. Hence why asking whether there was a shift in spatial perception during the *Correfoc*, which was largely acknowledged (78%). Therefore, during the *Correfoc* there is a heightened expression of our corporeal relationship to space, heavily influenced by euphoria/stress and adrenaline and by losing vision as a sense-anchor, a sense around which we are often reliant on our relationship to space (Berrens 2015, Latour 2004). These are temporal sensations that influence the way we make place.

Thus, in this chapter nociception becomes a pleasant perception, even if its physicality is uncomfortable. The intensity of the sound, the buzzing in the ears coupled with the smell of sulphur, the rush of adrenaline and euphoria bring forward positive memories that shift the perception from pain to pleasure. The emotional attachment to the *Correfoc’s* embodied temporal experience also provokes this shift in aural sensibility. For some people, whether or not aurally typical, the *Correfoc* can become too much and be limiting aurally (Drever 2019; Berrens 2019). In fact, as a result of repeated participation at *Correfocs* without the appropriate hearing protection, some research participants suffer from hearing loss and different forms of tinnitus. This aural diversity is self-inflicted. Interestingly, these participants did not self-identify as aurally diverse but thought it was part of the liturgy of being in a *Colla*. Their hearing has diminished and aspects of their daily life have been affected but somehow it is part of their image of being a devil/*tabaler*. There is a sense of pride in the hearing loss and/or the tinnitus. As if it was a badge of honour. Even when the tinnitus is temporary (lasting less than 24hours after the *Correfoc*) it strengthens the sense of belonging, a long-standing commitment to one of the most important spectacles of Catalan culture, and more specifically a deep commitment and belonging to a *Colla*.

In addition, drawing a relation between the emotions and feelings *tabalers* and devils highlighted, notably belonging and the subversion of space’s dynamics, we see those two aspects were a key influence in their making of a temporal place (Jones 2014). Summing up, I argue the sensuous spectacle created during a *Correfoc* both changes the way the participants relate to space and their own sensorium, generating a “*Correfoc place”*. It may change their hearing, worsening it gradually from the exposure to loud sound. It does not, however, at this stage of the research, change their relationship to those spaces permanently or their sense of place.

To conclude this discussion, I argue the temporality of the spectacle, the sense of belonging and heightened sensorium accounts for the feeling of owning the space and turns nociception into a pleasant feeling. The loudness, the drumming, the collective performance of a dance with fire and beats creates a sensation of collective binding. This is what makes the exposure to such a loud spectacle become pleasant and why nociception was not relevant in the survey and only appeared in the interviews when the participants spoke about a degree of hearing loss and tinnitus. This comes into sharp contrast with my previous research exploring nociception amongst spectators during *Correfocs* where I explored how the loudness could completely block a person’s sensorium, effectively making them shut down (Berrens 2019). Hence, here we have the same decibel’s levels but the opposite result. Thus, the *Colla*’s sense of belonging*,* pride and the rush of adrenaline and euphoria generates positive memories that overwrite the painful aural sensation provoked by the *Correfoc*’s soundscape and reinforce a positive and ephemeral making of place for its duration.

**Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Andrew Hugill and John Drever for their thoughtful edits and comments. I would like to thank la *Colla Vella de Gràcia* for all their time and help. All images are from the *Colla Vella de Gràcia.*

## References

A.a.v.v. (2020) *Foc, Foc, Correfoc.* Rustega: Barcelona

Agnew, J. (2011) 'Space and Place', in *The Sage Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, pp. 316–330. London: Sage.

Ahmed, S. (2008b) *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. Durham: Duke

University Press Books.

Ahmed, S. (2008a) *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Bates, C. (2011) Vital Bodies: A Visual Sociology of Health and Illness in Everyday Life, PhD diss., University of London.

Berrens, k. (2015). Ensounded bodies: making place in London’s East End. PhD diss. Universitat Oberta de Barcelona.

Berrens, k. Calvet-Mir, L. (2016) 'Urban garden's ambiances as a key to understand urban space', in N. Rémy, & N. Tixier (eds) *Ambiances Tomorrow*, 3rd International Congress on Ambiances, Volós: University of Thessaly, pp. 587-592.

Berrens, k. (2016) 'An emotional cartography of resonance', *Emotion, Space and Society*, 20, pp. 75-81.

Berrens, k., Cereceda, M. (2017) 'Listening bodies: tact, pain and urban accessibility', paper presented to *Invisible Places,* Sao Miguel Island, Portugal, 7-9 April.

Berrens, k. (2019) 'Sonic and tactile bodies: sound, haptic space and accessibility', in Doughty, K., Duffy, M., Harada, T., (eds.) *Sounding places: more-than-representational geographies of sound and music* edited by Edward Elgar Publishing: Cheltenham.

Burkitt, I. (2014) *Emotions and Social Relations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Büscher, M. & Urry, J. (2009) 'Mobile methods and the empirical', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 12(1), pp. 99-116.

Drever, J. (2019) ‘Primacy of the Ear’ – But Whose Ear?: The case for auraldiversity in sonic arts practice and discourse. *Organised Sound,* *24*(1), 85-95.

Hall, T. (2009) 'Footwork: Moving and Knowing in Local Space(s)', *Qualitative Research,* 9(5), pp. 571–585.

Helmreich, S. (2010) 'Listening Against Soundscapes', *Anthropology News*, 51(9), p. 10.

Horowitz, S. (2013) *The Universal Sense: How Hearing Shapes the Mind,* Reprint edition, New York: Bloomsbury USA.

Howes, D. (2009) *The Sixth Sense Reader*. London: Bloomsbury.

Ingold, T. (2011) 'Worlds of Sense and Sensing the World: A Response to Sarah Pink and David Howes', *Social Anthropology*, 19 (3), pp. 313–17.

Imrie, R. (1996) *Disability and the city: International Perspectives*. London: Sage

Johnson, J.L. (2011) 'Non-representational theory: Space, Politics, Affect, *Emotion, Space and Society*, 4(3), pp. 195-196.

Jones, H. (2014) *Stories of Cosmopolitan Belonging: Emotion and Location*. London: Routledge.

Latour, B. (2004) 'How to Talk About the Body? The Normative Dimension of Science Studies', *Body & Society*, 10(2-3), pp. 205–229.

Liu F. & Kang, J. (2016) 'A grounded theory approach to the subjective understanding of urban soundscape in Sheffield', *Cities*, 50, pp. 28-39.

López, N. G. (2005) 'Alarmas y sirenas: sonotopías de la conmoción cotidiana', *Quaderns-e de l'Institut Català d'Antropologia*, 5.

Low, S.M. (2014) 'Placemaking and Embodied Space' inSen A. and L. Silverman(eds.) *Making Place, Space and Embodiment in the City*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Kusenbach, M. (2003) 'Street Phenomenology the Go-along as Ethnographic Research Tool',

*Ethnography,* 4(3), pp. 455–485.

# Murthy, D. (2008) 'Digital Ethnography: An Examination of the Use of New Technologies for Social Research', *Sociology* 4(5), pp. 837-855.

Paterson, M. (2009) 'Haptic Geographies: Ethnography, Haptic Knowledges and Sensuous

Dispositions', *Progress in Human Geography,* 33(6), pp. 766–88.

Rhys-Taylor, A. (2010) *Coming to Our Senses: A Multi-Sensory Ethnography of Class and Multiculture in East London*. PhD diss. University of London.

Schwartz, H. (2003) 'The Indefensible Ear: A History', in M. Bull and L. Back (eds.) *The Auditory Culture Reader*. Oxford: Berg.

Schwartz, H. (2011) *Making Noise - From Babel to the Big Bang and Beyond*. Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Wetherell, M. (1998) 'Positioning and Interpretative Repertoires: Conversation Analysis and Post-Structuralism in Dialogue', *Discourse & Society*, 9(3), pp. 387–412.

Yardley, A. (2008) 'Piecing Together—A Methodological Bricolage', *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 9(2), n.p.

## Web References

<https://www.barcelona.cat/culturapopular/es/fiestas-y-tradiciones/personajes-y-elementos-festivos/correfoc>

accessed 12th February 2021

<https://hyperacusisfocus.org/research/feeling-sound/> accessed 12th February 2021

<https://sites.google.com/site/diablescerdanyola/historia/correfoc-historia> accessed 12th February 2021