ARTICLES

LISTENING TO THE HEADPHONES, HEARING THE CITY: TOWARDS AN AUDIO-VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE LOCAL MUSICKING

DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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ABSTRACT

This essay discusses the use of audio-visual to represent the characteristics and possibilities of *local musicking*. When observing the process of creating the documentary *Um ouvido no fone e o outro na cidade*, the authors reflect on the uses and functions of music, as well as on the musical engagement and listening relationship of the *riders* – food deliverers by apps. These professionals are Brazilians who live in Dublin and who have music as an essential part of their work routine. In this sense, our question is: how to represent the diversity and contradictions of this local musicking? We argue that, through the collective stages of development and creation of this documentary, the directors express not only the engagement of the *riders* with the music, but also build a sensory representation of the music that runs through the relationships of work, affection and locality.

INTRODUCTION

> - And then you will see that there are more
> "app backpacks" than restaurants.
> - All of them are Brazilian, right?
> People said that 90% are Brazilian.
> - Dude, I think 95%, do you know? (laughs)1.

This essay discusses the process of (re)building a *local musicking* in the documentary *Um ouvido no fone e o outro na cidade* 2. It is a movie made during the Covid-19 pandemic as a product resulting from the 7th Audio-visual Workshop of the Audio-visual Production and Research Center (NUPEPA/USP) in partnership with Universidade Nova de Lisboa. This film features four Brazilians who work as food deliverers in Dublin and addresses the relationship of these characters with the music and sounds in this city. Our argument is that, through the collective stages of development and creation of this documentary – basically production, filming and editing/assembly –, the directors express not only the engagement of these characters with the music, but also a sensory representation of

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1 This epigraph is a transcription of the moments 0'19" to 0'28" of the documentary that will be analyzed below. The term "app backpacks" is an allusion to *bags* – coolers with the shape of backpacks – that are used by food deliverers by app. The percentage quoted here, between 90 and 95%, is an empirical data frequently verbalized by interlocutors, but which lacks scientific proof. When presenting this statistic at the beginning of the text, we seek to justify the choice by the social group addressed. In short, at the time of writing this text, Brazilians represented the vast majority of riders in Dublin city.

2 Cf. Alexsânder Nakaóka Elias, Anna Flávia Guimarães Hartmann, Arthur Silva Barbosa, Brenno Brandalise Demarchi, Luiz Henrique Campos Pereira, Noelle Rodrigues Ventura e Renan Moretti Bertho. 2020. *Um ouvido no fone e o outro na cidade*. Colorful; Duration: 08'16 "; Country and place of production: Ireland and Brazil; Portuguese language. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u8w5tb4R1hc>. Accesses on 10/03/2020.

the musicking3, which permeates the relationships of work, affection and locality.

The film is based on a relatively simple daily observation: most of the *riders* – as the food deliverers call themselves – wear headphones throughout their workday. This fact drew the attention of the directors of the documentary to the following question: what does the food deliverer listen to? Taking this doubt as a starting point, the film seeks to demonstrate that the listening of these Brazilian workers who live in Dublin is marked by a diverse sound content, which mixes musical styles and genres, podcasts, local news and even compositions copyright. The engagement of these actors with the music, in turn, has a multiple, dynamic and functional aspect: "it helps to pedal faster"; "softens the uncomfortable sounds of the city"; and "relieves the homesickness of Brazil". Given this context, it is noted that the presence of music in the daily life of delivery people is essential and, possibly, (in)questionable as we will see below.

If, on the one hand, engagement with music contributes to overcoming the difficulties imposed by the work environment, on the other hand, rider's listening must be attentive to the sounds that come from traffic and calls from the cell phone apps, to which they submit their workforce. In other words, without listening to the music and podcasts, professional activity becomes more tiring and exhausting; without listening to the sounds of the city, the same activity becomes a risk and/or is rendered unfeasible. In this complex relationship between "want to listening" and "need to hearing", there is also a dense soundscape of the city4. This third sound layer is composed of natural elements (such as sounds of wind, birds, people's voices, etc.), as well as mechanical sounds (machines on construction sites, street artists with speakers, home and business alarms, among others). In short, Brazilian riders in Dublin relate to the locality and to the work through a plural listening, which encompasses desired, necessary and inevitable sounds, and sometimes even unwanted sounds.

Facing this reality, a second question that arises is: would it be possible to translate5 these experiences of listening into audio-visual language? Or

3 "Musicking" is a concept based on Christopher Small's theoretical proposal. Basically, the ending "ing" is incorporated into the noun "music" to emphasize human action and engagement with music. Semantically, it is about reaching the gerund or present participle of the verbal conjugation "to music". The topic *Concepts, theories and conceptions* in this article addresses some perspectives of this proposal.
4 At this point, we dialogue with Murray Schafer when he understood that the concept of *soundscape* defines the acoustic environment of a locality. For the author: "it is essential that we begin to listen more carefully and critically to the new soundscape of the modern world (...) Basically, we may be able to design the soundscape to improve it aesthetically" (SCHAFER, 1991, p. 13-14).
5 We are aware of the problems and tensions surrounding the term/concept "translation", even more when we deal with two or more different forms of expression/languages, as is the case, with orality and (audio)visuals. However, we will not resume this discussion

yet, how to represent the diversity and contradictions of local musicking? The solution found by the filmmakers was to explore the stereo effect of *panning*, a technique used to vary and distribute the sound content between the left and the right channel audio[6]. It is noted that when thinking about these sound possibilities and printing them as representations of the listening of the *riders*, the filmmakers also become participants and interlocutors of the local musicking. Suggestions, choices and decisions thought about the sound material in the film are actions that place the documentary production team in relationship with the subjects and phenomena that they want to represent[7]. In this sense, it would not be too much to say that the film producers were engaged in the musicking portrayed.

Through these questions and in order to deepen these reflections, this essay is structured as follows: the first section presents the main concepts used to support such discussions – basically, this moment builds a theoretical reflection relating definitions of local musicking to the issues of audio-visual. In sequence, we present the context that allowed the production of the documentary *Um ouvido no fone e o outro na cidade*. Afterwards, we comment on the general context of the Covid-19 pandemic in Brazil and in Ireland, as well as presenting the difficulties of making a film in these conditions. Then, we propose to present the *riders*, as well as the audio and video capture process. Subsequently, we analyse the editing process of this material, and, finally, we carry out an analysis on four moments of the documentary, in which the local musicking was represented through the use of *panning*.

CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

In *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Local Musicking*, Suzel Reily and Katherine Brucher (2018) argue that musicking is an interactive technology able to mediate relations between people and localities. In this sense, the notion of musicking (SMALL, 1989) is thought beyond the individual engagement with music, taken into account both the negotiation and the production of the locality. To support this concept, these authors dialogue with Ruth Finnegan (1989) understanding that, in the contemporary world, musical activities encompass styles and practices transcending the limits of the local.

in this essay, since the central purpose is to reflect on the potential of local musicking. For more information on the debates related to "translation", see, for example, Severi and Hanks (2014) and Cesarino (2016).
6 From the split of sounds between the left and right spectra of the stereo field, the audio *panning* creates interest and gives space to the sound sources. More information about this technique can be found on https://www.renegadeproducer.com/audio-panning.html and https://www.residentadvisor.net/features/1838.
7 For this article we do not propose to permeate the debate about representation, even though we are aware of the possibilities and limits of the term/concept and possible alternatives for it, such as, for example, the terms "re(a)presentation", "presentation", among others.

In *The Hidden Musicians*, Ruth Finnegan proposes the concept of musical pathway as a way to understand social practices and collective shared actions. The author presents these pathways as a result of interrelated musical worlds (FINNEGAN, 1989, p. 131) and observes how they are created and shared by people and by their life histories (FINNEGAN, 1989, p. 305). We observe that different people have different musical pathways, as well as particular ways to engage with music through these pathways. Musicians investigated by Finnegan were involved in these pathways by practising music – playing their instrument and participating in musical groups – in riders' case, which will be presented below, we argue that they were involved in these pathways through the act of active and functional hearing.

Tia DeNora, in turn, documents the uses of music as mobilization resource to the production of routines, scenes and occasions in social life. This author argues that music has a natural power (DENORA, 2004, p. X) and seeks to understand the agency of this power in the organization of the subjects and their trajectories. According to DeNora, music is much more than meaningful and communicative, it can influence dimensions of the social agency: "Music may influence how people compose their bodies, how they conduct themselves, how they experience the passage of time, how they feel – in terms of energy and emotion – about themselves, about others, and about situations". It is worth observing that, if music influences the behaviour of the individuals in the society, the control of this music is a source of social power constituting "an opportunity to structure the parameters of action" (p. 8-17).

To this theoretical body, we add the idea of locality as structure of feelings, elaborated by Arjun Appadurai (1996). In *Modernity at Large*, Appadurai seeks to understand the creation of values, meanings and relations between people and spaces, being them physics or imagined. Drawing on social theory, the locality is understood as contextual and relational (APPADURAI, 1996), a propriety of social life with fragilities regarding production/representation of its materiality, as well as hierarchy issues from modern nation-state. Given this "historical dialectic", Appadurai proposes locality as a structure of feelings, that is "always emergent from the practices of local subjects in specific neighbourhoods" (p. 178-198)8.

By relating the proposal of musical engagement to the possibilities of constructing the locality, we observe new articulations between sound and space. These new connections can be expanded and associated with other forms of expression and languages, in the specific case of this article, with image and audio-visual. That is why Reily and Brucher (2018)

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8 Neighbourhoods, in this context, are understood as situated communities, permeated by their capacity of social reproduction, as well as their spacial or virtual means (APPADURAI, 1996, p. 198).

realized that when we expand the notion of musicality we are challenged to "explore the full gamut of arenas in which human musicality operates as a technology of interactivity, mediating people's daily activities and their relations to locality" (p. 4). This daily involvement between music and individuals generates a complex system of interactions that provides bonds, commitments and personal experiences.

The concept of Local musicking, as presented here, echoes in *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros*, a Brazilian journal which published the thematic dossier called *O musicar como trilha para a etnomusicologia*. On that publication, Villela et al. assume that, in recent years, music as an object of study has come to be understood as a multidisciplinary prism that prioritizes process and practice; thus, diverging from the Eurocentric formalist view that understood music as a product / object. This new paradigm is associated with the notion of locality in the intention of investigating "how musicking constructs locality and how locality is constructed by musicking" (VILLELA, 2019, p. 19). As in *The Routledge Companion*, mentioned earlier, throughout this dossier, the dynamic contexts of different locations are observed, as well as the multiple connections between ideas, people, practices, objects and technologies.

Given these statements, we rewrote the central question of this article: how to present the main aspects of musicking – its process, its structure of feelings and the impact of its social power – through other languages that not only the music? In other words, how can we represent the diversity and contradictions of this local musicking? To answer these questions, we use multisensory languages9, such as those used in audio-visual products. Therefore, it seems important to reflect on the particularities of sound and image and, fundamentally, on the relationship established between them on production/editing a film.

In the same way that, by filming or photographing there is an intentionality of "looking" in order to "show a person how I see him/her", we note that a qualitative distinction between "listening" and "hearing" is also noticeable. Initially, we observe differentiation between the acts of "looking" and "seeing/observing" (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2013; MACDOUGALL e LEAHA, 2017), often taken as synonyms, which raises an exciting discussion. According to David MacDougall (2017):

> We are constantly seeing, if we can see. But perhaps there is an intention behind the seeing. You look with some purpose here or there, on the camera, at you, and we also look with the camera. In a way, the camera creates an intention and allows that intention to be amplified, framed in a par-

9 Examples of multisensory experiments in the field of Social Anthropology can be found in Elias, 2019.

ticular way, emphasized, in order to be shown to another person, of course. As Rouch said, "cinema is the only way I have to show a person how I see him", or he could have said "how I look at him". So there are two intentions: perhaps the intention of how we always look, interested in something, for curiosity, desire, for all the different reasons why we look, an aesthetic reason, appreciation, for pleasure. But then, the second intention would be that I want someone else to see this. I want someone else to see what I saw, what I looked at. And I think that this reduplicates the power of the camera (p. 343-344).

There are similar reflections in the sonorous/musical scope. Lucy Green (2002), for example, observes two distinct approaches in the practice of listening. The first, denominated as "purposive listening", is based on conscious purposes assumed in the act of listening. The second one, denominated "distracted listening", is associated with the act of listening and it occurs when "the music is heard at the back and it is not treated in a focused way: it enters almost entirely in the mind by the unconscious enculturation" (p. 23-24). Nevertheless, listening would be the act of receiving the sound and not necessarily paying attention to it, that is, the capacity to those who have a hearing; just like seeing/observing is inherent to those who have the vision.

Given these questions, it should be noted that, from an audio-visual point of view, there are three foundations that take up the acts of doing, supporting and looking: the operator, the one who makes and composes the (audio) visual footage; the spectrum, which is the referent that supports the "view/sight" of the image producer; and the spectator, the one who looks at the image in different circumstances. Barthes (1984), in his famous work *Camera Lucida*, speaks specifically about the photographic act, however the extension of the referred concepts (operator, spectrum and spectator) are also useful as an analytical instrument for cinematographic/videographic works.

Therefore, when thinking about the possible links between sounds and images, we are facing multiple sensory possibilities to explore the audio-visual field. In this sense, Sarah Pink presents sensory as an efficient interdisciplinary mastery to understand and represent the human experience (2015, p. 24). By articulating disciplines such as Anthropology, Geography and Sociology, the author proposes experiences through the sensorial perception *of* the spaces and *in* spaces (p. 26-32)10. Pink et al. (2017) and

10 According to Pink, initially the scholars understood sensory as a relation between body and mind. This relation has been changed over time: Victor Turner, for example, assigned different roles to the body and mind in producing experience. This point of view was questioned years later by phenomenological studies, which understood the body as a source of

Cruz (2017) will consider the issue of the "embodied" in fieldwork research, that is, in the intersubjective encounters between researchers and subjects, exactly from the notion of sensory. By analysing the production of images from digital devices, especially smartphones apps, the authors contribute on our thoughts about the elaboration of the documentary "Um Ouvido no Fone e o Outro na Cidade", in which the producers gathered themselves via a digital platform to compose some sort of "digital ethnography". Furthermore, throughout this process, the interlocutors themselves were using smartphones in their moments of work and leisure: being the food delivery apps, being the podcasts and music players. Finally, we understand that the virtual dimension and its mediation through smartphones and devices were an important convergence point in the sensory experience of those involved with the documentary, have they been the producers or their interlocutors.

NUPEPA AND THE CONTEXT OF THE CREATION OF THE DOCUMENTARY

In May 2020, the Institute of Communication of the University NOVA of Lisbon (ICNOVA) and the Social Research Laboratory of the University of São Paulo (LAPS/USP) started a partnership to carry out joint projects in the fields of Audio-visual Production for Social and Human Sciences. The articulation between these two institutions was in charge of the Audio-visual Production and Research Center (Nupepa/ImaRgens). This Center focuses on the formation and technical and theoretical training in audio-visual, using this language as a teaching and researching tool, with a special focus on the Social Sciences field, History and production of audio-visual material.

The NUPEPA/LAPS/ICNOVA partnership gave rise to the 7th Audio-visual Workshop – International Virtual Edition, and this initiative included more than one hundred students from all of the Brazilian regions and from abroad as well. Among the contents covered in the Workshop, are the usage of the audio-visual material in researches; functions and stages of film production; planning and organization; team guidance and creation of language documents. Such content was divided into several fronts that addressed different parts of audio-visual production.

At the Editing topic, the requirements for editing, the construction of tracks and timelines, the editing/montage process and the finalization

knowledge. Thus, the experience would be part of an embodiment process of the subjects and their agency. Later, David Howes added an environment perspective, establishing the notion of emplacement. In this sense, Pink's perspective for understanding the sensory is based on the body/mind/locality tripod (Pink, 2015, p. 25-28).

were studied. The photography and sound section, on the other hand, included principles of camera operation, framing, light, shots, stability, and sound properties. The part dedicated to screenwriting approached all the different types of scripts and adaptations. Also, there was a technical analysis about the relevancy of the contents for the workshop proposals and the introduction to cinematographic languages. During all of the workshop period, the participants performed individual and collective activities aiming to put into practice the content exercised in each module.

The workshop was free and took place via Zoom and Jitsi platforms. As the final exercise, the students were divided into groups and had had approximately two weeks to create a free themed film – overall, 14 movies were made by 74 participants, encompassing diverse possibilities, genres, and audio-visual production languages.

The documentary "Um Ouvido no Fone e o Outro na Cidade" analyzed in this paper, is one of the movies made in the workshop; it was created between June and July 2020 by a team of seven participants, namely: Alexsânder Nakaóka Elias, Anna Flávia Guimarães Hartmann, Arthur Silva Barbosa, Brenno Brandalise Demarchi, Luiz Henrique Campos Pereira, Noelle Rodrigues Ventura and Renan Moretti Bertho

It is necessary to highlight the transdisciplinary character of this team, which is composed of a Doctor in Anthropology, a Master's in Anthropology, a Master's in Sociology, a Bachelor of Social Sciences, a Bachelor of Visual Arts, a Doctor of Music Studies and an actress who is also an audio-visual assistant. Moreover, the geographical and institutional variety of the team draws attention since during the making of the film, three members were, at the moment, linked to the Postgraduate Program of Social Anthropology of the Federal University of Santa Catarina, the Postgraduate Program of Sociology at University of São Paulo, and the Faculty of Philosophy and Sciences from University of São Paulo State, and another member linked to a research internship at the University College Dublin during the doctorate degree at the Postgraduate Program of Music from UNICAMP. Three members were no longer linked to Research and Education Institutions but were once linked to the Arts Institute from the University of Brasília and to the Postgraduate Program of Social Anthropology from UNICAMP. During the shooting, the members were living in Dublin, São Paulo, São José do Rio Preto, Santos, Goiânia and Campinas.

Regarding the transdisciplinary character of the team, we agree with the point of view presented by Jürgen Mittelstrass (2011). When evaluating the history of science, the author states that due to an excessive specialization of disciplines and knowledge fields, the so-called transdisciplinarity began to be valued since the 1990s. Although it is a term that is often used in a

self-explanatory way, it can and must be specified (p. 329-330). Mittelstrass understands this concept as a type of scientific cooperation, that is: "trans-disciplinarity suggests that cooperation will lead to a lasting and systematic scientific order that will change the perspective of subjects and disciplines" (MITTELSTRASS, 2011, p. 331). Yet to this vision, we added the present content from the Charter of Transdisciplinarity. This document, elaborated by Lima de Freitas, Edgar Morin and Basarab Nicolescu throughout the First World Congress of Transdisciplinarity (1994), considers 15 fundamental principles. Among the approached topics, we highlight that "transdisciplinarity does not strive for mastery of several disciplines but aims to open all disciplines to that which they share and to that which lies beyond them" (p. 2).

In the field of audio-visual productions, multidisciplinary teams are very usual because the production of a film consists, basically, of a collaborative journey. In this sense, having a group with a division of labor and different specializations is usual for this area. If, on the one hand, a large share of audio-visual works are the result of a process carried out by countless people, occupying different roles, on the other hand, how these people organize and relate to each other is peculiar to each production. What could be described is that, when it comes to large productions, this organization is, in general, characterized by a verticalization in decision-making processes, where the people responsible for executive production, production, and general management centralize the development of audio-visual work.

In the making of this short documentary, the team had horizontally divided itself, because it was considered relevant for this type of organization in a context that each participant was in a different location, besides it was the peak of the Covid-19 at the time – a fact that will be discussed below. In addition, the relevance of making horizontality a democratic practice was also considered, even if we were in a smaller or larger number of people. In other words, we were a transdisciplinary team because the organization of the film was organic, not hierarchical and everyone, from their respective areas and plural worldviews, participated in a dialogical manner throughout the process. From the initial elaboration of the proposal to the practical execution of the film, the arguments were decided collectively, in a process that lasted 17 days.

So, two instruments were essential to assist the team's organizational process: the first was to hold meetings to follow the tasks that each member was responsible for doing, sharing what he had already done and what still needed to be done. This was important not to check "who had done what", but for us to help each other. So we held daily meetings or on alternate dates to discuss the film's script and the following steps, as the members volunteered to meet the demands that arose. The second

instrument – which relates to the previous one – was the production of minutes that documented each stage of the process, describing the situation we were in and what we had jointly decided at each of these meetings. From the first meetings, the members of the group established the production of these documents organized by meeting number, date, agenda points, reports of the debates and, finally, referrals.

This process favored the registration of a common unit and allowed the filmmakers to monitor the process widely. For example: all tasks and deadlines proposed by the event team were recorded and organized by the minutes. In addition, it should be noted that the minutes were not only organized by a folder on Google Drive, but also circulated at the end of each meeting via WhatsApp. These instruments contributed to making it possible to experience the principles of a collective and participative organization methodology, in which each person was aware of their tasks and responsibilities to themselves and to the group of which they were a member.

THE PANDEMIC AS AN ADJUNCT IN AUDIO-VISUAL CREATION.
As previously stated, the 7th Audio-visual Workshop at NUPEPA / LAPS / ICNOVA, which resulted in the creation of the documentary analyzed here, took place virtually. The choice for this format was due to the conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic. In this context - and considering the nature of shared work – it is worth mentioning that it was a great challenge to dialogue from a scenario of instability and social distance, the latter being very necessary.

One of the most critical points of the process was that the pandemic took on different phases and contours in each region. Depending on the location, that is, where the documentary filmmakers were residing, the pandemic had different indices, numbers and realities. In order to offer at least some type of reference to the reader, we highlight three panoramic and generic information on first-rate aspects of the Covid-19 pandemic, considering the World Health Organization's classification of the disease, the Irish scenario and the context of the State of São Paulo, Brazil: (1) On 03/11/2020 the World Health Organization classifies the disease caused by the new coronavirus (Sars-Cov-2) as pandemic status[11]. (2) After the suspension of non-essential activities and the ban on parties, such as

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11 Agência Brasil. The World Health Organization declares coronavirus pandemic. EBC, 2020. Available at https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/geral/noticia/2020-03/organizacao-mundial-da-saude--declara-pandemia-de-coronavirus, access on 09/24/2020.

the national party of Saint Patrick's Day[12], the Irish government decrees lockdown[13] on 03/27/2020. (3) The São Paulo State Government announces quarantine throughout the State due to the Covid-19 pandemic, considering decree No. 64.881, of 03/22/2020[14].

Although audio-visual productions are affected to varying degrees by the pandemic, it cannot be said that there is necessarily a correspondence between producing about the pandemic and producing in an ongoing pandemic. Thus, it is worth noting that the focus of the collective work presented is facing the challenge of producing "about" and "in" the pandemic, by conducting a knowledge aware of the dialogue with the Other. Or, in other terms, a relational discovery with the Other that it concerns about a systematic reciprocity between the researcher and the research subjects, as stated by Rocha and Eckert (2008).

Note that the adversities do not appear as an exclusivity of the present work. It is observable that the pandemic has stimulated works in and about the context, ranging from national initiatives such as *Te trazer essa canção de amor*, directed and scripted by Thor Vaz Eustáquio, who addresses virtual conversations between friends in a fictional documentary; even international projects that bring selections of independent productions around the world, as *Feito em casa*, available on the Netflix.

WHO ARE THE RIDERS AND WHAT DO THEY LISTEN TO?

In general, the riders, who are currently based in Dublin, left Brazil and went to Ireland to learn English. As students, they necessarily need to be enrolled in language schools and fulfill a minimum workload at these institutions. In this condition, they do not have a visa for formal work, that is that they are unauthorized by the Irish government to exercise professions ruled by employment contracts, even if they are (these contracts) temporary attachments. Thus, the options of remunerated activities that are left to them are almost always exclusively in the role of autonomous and, in most cases, in precarious work conditions, which puts them, in a certain way, in a liminality situation in the environment where they live15.

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12 LUSA. Ireland decrees closure of non-essential establishments. Mundo ao Minuto, 2020. Available at https://www.noticiasaominuto.com/mundo/1441406/irlanda-decreta-encerramento-de-estabelecimentos-nao-essenciais, acess on 09/24/2020.
13 VITTI, Rubinho. Ireland announces 'lockdown' for two weeks. E-dublin, 2020. Available at https://www.e-dublin.com.br/irlanda-anuncia-lockdown-durante-duas-semanas, access on 09/24/2020.
14 GOVERNO DE SÃO PAULO. Governo sp, 2020. Página quarentena. Available at https://www.saopaulo.sp.gov.br/coronavirus/quarentena, access on 09/24/2020.
15 Several authors (Turner, 1967, 1974; VanGennep, 1909; Tambiah, 1985; Peirano, 2001, 2003; DaMatta, 1990) have made important contributions regarding this aspect of liminality,

From this point of view, the condition/circumstances of these subjects as students/immigrants/riders seem to dialogue with the three stages of a rite of passage. Initially, when they are newcomers to the city, they are associated with the first stage of the rite, a preliminary stage, marked by entering another locality, getting into the city and learning a new language. Later, in a second stage, these subjects feel the need to work in order to maintain living costs, but as they are in the condition of newcomers, they cannot yet occupy better paid positions in stable jobs. Therefore, they take on precarious work assignments. This situation corresponds, then, to the preliminary stage in which the subjects face the challenges of the new reality (job insecurity, traffic dangers. Climate instabilities, among others). Finally, this phase can culminate in a post-liminal stage, in which the subjects reach a new living condition, either returning to Brazil or ascending professionally in Ireland.

While riders, they are registered in companies that manage the provision of autonomous services – Deliveroo and UberEats are examples of virtual platforms (applications) for food delivery. In other words, this means that their profession is mediated by companies that connect restaurants to customers. As service providers, riders collect food in a commercial establishment and take it to a residence. They have no formal employment relationship, nor a minimum or maximum number of hours to work. They are paid according to the number of deliveries, that is, the more often food is taken from the restaurant to the client, the higher is the salary.

Giventhe predominantly flat geography of Dublin16, the vast majority of these workers use bicycles to make the deliveries. However, work time is not only guided by the bicycle "rides" from a restaurant to the customer's home. It is necessary to add the amount of time that the rider waits until they receive an order – a set of general instructions presented by the application informing basically where to collect the food, where to take it, distance to be traveled and how much will be the remuneration. In this perspective, we propose the division of the rider's work routine in two steps: the first consists in waiting for the application order – period in which the rider is idle, without being paid and without prediction of how long it will take until they receive the instructions of the next delivery. The second step is the delivery itself, when

which can be observed in multiple relationships of sociability. VanGennep and Turner, for example, highlighted this aspect by observing the so-called "rites of passage", through wich the elevation of the status of individuals occurs, who move from a level of sociability to a stage in which they occupy a higher position. Between the lower or pre-liminar and the higher or post-liminar stages, they pass through a liminal stage in which there is a social suspension, that is, the individual is temporarily on the sidelines. In the case of the riders, these workers occupy these precarious positions, that is, they are not unemployed, nor formal workers.
16 The average ground elevation in Dublin is 177 feet, and in the central region - where the documentary was recorded - this variable is only 100 feet (source: https://en-ie.topographic-map.com/maps/qb/County-Dublin/).

the rider is in motion, usually pedaling, having been previously informed about how long it takes from the commercial establishment to the customer's house and for which will be paid.

Whether during a delivery or while they are waiting for an order from the application, many riders use headphones. From this observation, the following question arose: "What do the riders listen to?". During the meetings between the documentary team, it was collectively decided to explore this questioning and use it as a tool to approach riders. Therefore, for approximately one week, Brazilian riders in different parts of Dublin were interviewed about the sound content present in their headphones[17]. The answers were as diverse as possible: various genres and musical styles (forró, sertanejo, funk, electronic music, among others), podcasts with tips and English classes, news and Irish radios, and even authorial compositions. Aware of these answers, the dialog with the riders was directed to other spheres: how and why do they listen? At this point, the most variable responses occurred, from functional aspects - "helps to pedal faster" and "softens the uncomfortable sounds of the city" - to affective questions - "relieves the longing for Brazil". Within this plurality of options and conditions of listening one thing became clear: music plays an important role in the daily lives of these subjects. However, the engagement of these subjects with the auditory sphere was not only an aesthetic and appreciative question. Besides the sounds that they "want to hear", there are also so many other sounds that make up the sound landscape of the city itself, sounds that they "need to hear".

Overall, all of the interviewees agreed that the level of noise pollution in Dublin is considerably high. There are multiple sounds echoing from machines on construction sites, from the surface metro, from cars, buses, from street artists with sound boxes, from home and business alarms, among so many others. Natural sounds like wind, birds, people's voices, laughter, screams, etc. are also added. If, on one hand, all this auditory layer generates a nuisance, on the other hand it characterizes a certain identification with certain points of the city. In this aspect, one can say that listening to riders on their headphones is related to the sound landscape of the city, becoming, in essence, local.

Another point highlighted throughout the interviews is that, even if some sounds are unwanted and unavoidable, there are others that are important for the safety and good performance of the profession. Paying attention to the traffic sounds, for example, is essential to guide the locomotion of these

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17 It is worth mentioning that the choice to approach the riders in Dublin was a condition of the pandemic context. If, on one hand, most of the team that made this documentary was in Brazil, on the other hand, the Brazilian reality at the time of the capture of images was not conducive to the circulation of people in public environments. However, at the same time, the Irish government and a large part of Europe were preparing to reopen trade and discussed new norms and security measures for the occupation of public spaces.

subjects in the city, besides avoiding them to suffer accidents. Perhaps the most pertinent example of this paradox is the public comment that a rider – as a spectator – made on the platform where the documentary is available. According to him: "I am a rider here in Dublin and I do not recommend using headphones during work. Although it is a good way to spend time while working, it is completely risky for the cyclists, because they lose a very important perception of traffic, which are the sound signals" 18.

In brief, once they are contextualized locally in the daily lives of these employees, the sounds of the traffic are fundamental, reaching the point of conflict with the sounds that are "a good way to spend time while working". It is, therefore, a question of plural listening, which encompasses desired sounds, necessary, unavoidable, unwanted sounds and even conflicts between these sound categories. Like the concept of locality for Appadurai, the musical engagement of these riders is relational and contextual, as pointed out by Reily and Brucher (2018), when they say that local musicking is effective in mediating relationships between people and localities. To this structure is added the uses of music – and sound landscapes – as a resource to mobilize situations that make up social life, as theorized by Tia DeNora.

Once this complex listening relationship was mapped out, the interviews and conversations with these subjects reached a new level, something very close to a conversation between friends in which the city's problems, the risks of the rider profession and musical tastes were discussed. Once this position of comfort and delivery had been achieved by the interviewees, authorization/consent to record was requested. In case the riders had accepted the invitation to participate in the documentary, the material was instantly captured with the help of a Canon T3i model camera and a Zoom H1n portable recorder. Once the captures were completed, the material was made available to the other members of the group so that the editing process could begin.

## THE EDITING PHASE IN THE PROCESS OF REPRESENTATION OF LOCAL MUSIC

The documentary's editing process began from discussions held in a virtual environment as we sought the best way to organize the narrative, since the documentary was arranged in a more organic way. Although a line of reasoning guided the making of the short film since the beginning, the formalization of a script only happened later – after many meetings, outings to capture material and, of course, after the meticulous observation and listening of the recorded content.

18 Commentary presented in: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u8w5tb4R1hc&t=14s.

Once the narrative guideline was defined, it was time to carry out a previous editing: a decoupage that defined the first demarcations of speech, scenes and images of coverage. With separated files, a written selection was made, indicating the time and describing the speech and/or the scenes. To know the material and to observe images and audio with attention to detail was essential at this stage, so that no major excerpts were left out in the final cut.

In the meantime, the audio's importance to the short film was known by the crew, after all, music was one of the central points that guided the short film. However, it was noticed that, both by the reports of the interviewees and by the sound capture itself, the noises (or melodies) from the city of Dublin manifested effusively. These sounds were preponderant for the documentary montage, traversing it and even punctuating the short film's name. Thus, it was needed to think of a montage and editing that included the noises emitted by the city.

The practical editing process, already with a written structure of lines and scenes to be used, was carried out in a little less than two days, in constant contact with the other production members – something that was of great importance because it was felt the need to carry out, even if at a distance, a collective process. The software used was Adobe Premiere, which was familiar to other members and allows several tracks for both video and audio, enabling the insertion of several layers when necessary.
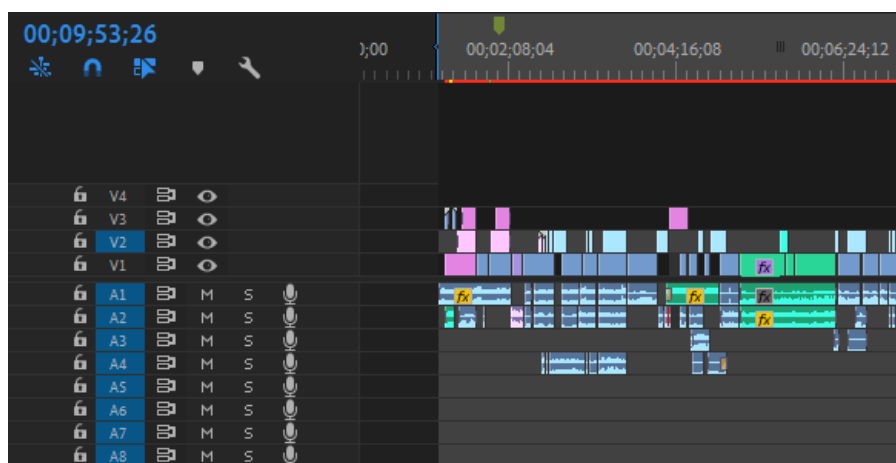
In the montage and editing phase, already inside the software, the power of the city sounds was explored in contrast with the musical diversity reported in the interviews. To balance several layers of audio was a complex exercise until it was agreed that to work with the functions of multi channels was the best option, in this case, right and left sides, in which one side would mostly reproduce the sounds of

the city while the other, the songs. Besides this experience, there was also a work with panning, in which there is the distribution of sound signals between multichannels, which initiates (and pervades) the film, reproducing the characteristic dynamism of this documentary, which explores the diverse sound possibilities, allowing its form to be in line with its own content.

TOWARDS AN AUDIO-VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF LOCAL MUSIC

Faced with the proposal of highlighting the city's sound landscape as a central element of this documentary's narrative, the aim was to interfere as little as possible during the audio mixing and mastering processes, as well as in its properties. To highlight one example, the raw audio media, that is, those that did not have any previous modifications, were characterized by an enormous amount of constant noise caused by the strong winds that occurred during the captures. Another aspect of these raw audio was the fact that there were, sporadically, the sounds of the surface subway signals and seagulls flying over the surroundings.

In order to preserve these environmental peculiarities, and to improve audio quality, sound treatment was applied to cut the low and high frequencies and subtly reduce the decibel levels of each audio media without losing its original characterization. Finally, to bring an immersion to the viewer, the panning technique was applied in stretches where there is a movement of people, objects or vehicles from one side to the other of the screen, as was the case, for example, of the moment where there is the sensation that a seagull is on one side and the signaling of the surface subways and some cars passing, on the other.

Taking into account the idea of displacement in the creative process, it is observable that such a dimension goes from the migration of these Brazilians to the very practice of riders. In other words, to reflect in front of points of departure and points of arrival claims for what is set in motion. As soon as the use of the panning technique in the audio itself can, in some way, reinforce the proposal of thinking in movement. About this and to exemplify the argument, there are four examples of passages in which such a technical procedure was consciously used to represent the dynamics and characteristics of the local music of riders:

1-) Film start: 00'00"-00'30": The ambient sound starts intensely on the left side (left earphone), right at the beginning of the film and, between the 04" and the 05", it opens for both channels, with the insertion of the researcher's voice, which moves to the right side (right earphone). The audio of the respondent enters on the left side, taking turns with

that of the researcher (right side), accentuating the idea of dialogue between subjects who, despite occupying different positions, establish a co-production relationship. Then, from 15" on, the researcher continues the dialogue and enters another interlocutor, on the 19". Both voices are predominantly on the right channel, while the sound landscape, composed of the sounds of Dublin city and the background dialogues between several deliverers, fills the left side. This occurs until the ambient sound dominates both channels (stereo) when the title of the documentary is entered, the black background screen stops and the image of the first interlocutor appears in low-angle shot (on the second 29 he enters, adjusts his headphone, activates the sound/music via cell phone and starts talking on the second 33).

2-) At 02'54", the left earphone output projects the music produced by one of the interviewees, while the city sounds are evidenced by the right output.

3-) At 07'28", images of a cyclist through the city follow the sounds of his displacement through the city; and at 07'38", a song begins to play at the right exit of the headset.

4-) From 07'37" to 08'16": the music enters the right side (right earphone), while the ambient sound and that of the bicycle (first person camera) continue. At 07'41" draft, the black screen appears and the credits enter, while the ambient sound of the final scene of the film continues on the left channel and the music on the right. The ambient sound will stop (fade out) on the right side in 08'06", when the credits reach the end. The music stays only on the right channel (all the time), and the ambient sound returns in fade-in on the same channel, until the end of the film (08'16").

CONCLUSION

The documentary *Um ouvido no fone e o outro na cidade* was produced collectively as part of a virtual audio-visual workshop that was held during the Covid-19 pandemic. From this context, the question: "what do deliverers listen to?" proved pertinent to the reality of riders in Dublin. This question served as a gateway to approach the characters portrayed in the documentary and became the key point for the filmmakers to explore the dimension of listening throughout the development process of the documentary.

As the creators of this film, we understand that the riders' relationship with their headphones – and consequently with listening – is a symbolic relationship guided by multiple musical engagements. It is an essentially

contextual music that permeates - and is permeated - by relationships of work, affection and locality. Faced with such striking characteristics, we began to think of ways to transmit this rich feeling of listening to our spectators.

Throughout this process, the ability to see/observe/hear/listen was essential for us to think about the representation of local music in the conception of the documentary. By associating these four actions in the film we looked for ways to portray what the deliverers hear, as well as what they hear when they use headphones. At the same time, we thought about this auditory theme, we also sought to take a look at the music of the riders with the aim of portraying how they are constantly noticed but not seen by Irish society: as immigrants, as students, as young people, as informal workers and as cyclists.

Finally, it should be said that the representation of local music through audio-visual can be explored through various resources and possibilities. In the case of *Um ouvido no fone e o outro na cidade*, the work of the production crew was consciously directed towards exploring these possibilities: either by establishing an initial question that brings the subjects closer to reflecting on their own listening acts; or by using a sound treatment that minimally interfered with the characteristics of the captured audio; or, still, by using panning techniques in editing, with the aim of exploring the spatiality and distribution of the audio.

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