

Est.  
1841

YORK  
ST JOHN  
UNIVERSITY

Weir, David T.H. ORCID:

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6750-6722> (2017) Singing the critical life: folk, place, and the palimpsest of rhythms in the beat of the city. *Journal of Organizational Ethnography*, 6 (1). pp. 46-59.

Downloaded from: <http://ray.yorks.ac.uk/id/eprint/2109/>

The version presented here may differ from the published version or version of record. If you intend to cite from the work you are advised to consult the publisher's version:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/JOE-01-2017-0004>

Research at York St John (RaY) is an institutional repository. It supports the principles of open access by making the research outputs of the University available in digital form. Copyright of the items stored in RaY reside with the authors and/or other copyright owners. Users may access full text items free of charge, and may download a copy for private study or non-commercial research. For further reuse terms, see licence terms governing individual outputs. [Institutional Repository Policy Statement](#)

# RaY

Research at the University of York St John

For more information please contact RaY at [ray@yorks.ac.uk](mailto:ray@yorks.ac.uk)



**Singing the Critical Life: Folk, Place, and the Palimpsest of Rhythms in the beat of the city**

Journal:	<i>Journal of Organizational Ethnography</i>
Manuscript ID	JOE-01-2017-0004
Manuscript Type:	Research Paper
Keywords:	Spacing,, Timing, Auto-ethnography, Authenticity, Music Performance, Regulation

SCHOLARONE™  
Manuscripts

Journal of Organizational Ethnography

## ***Singing the Critical Life: Folk, Place, and the Palimpsest of Rhythms in the beat of the city***

### **Introduction**

This paper is based on a participant-observation insider account of a contemporary scene-based music venue, using the method of thick description, and centring on the affective use of space and time in a locale dedicated to creative performance (V. Marrewijk and Yanow, 2010). The theoretical framing derives from Lefebvre's dictum that there may be "nothing inert in the world, no things: very diverse rhythms, slow or lively (in relation to us)" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 17). Lefebvre notes that "Wherever time, space and an expenditure of energy coincide, there is rhythm (Lefebvre, 2004 p. 15). Lefebvre's core theoretical stance derives from a Marxian frame of alienation and illuminate "the dialectics of power and resistance that transpire in urban settings, particularly in the interrelations between music, the body, and urban life." (Moore, 2013, p 62) Lefebvre sees the capitalist spirit infecting all areas of social and civil life, restrained by rituals such as festivals (Lefebvre, 1991, p127) that break the pattern of structures and permit transgressive behaviours in limited socio-temporal opportunities that offer "a reprieve from work and disciplinary power" (Moore, op.cit. p 65).

"Ethnography is the disciplined and deliberate witness-cum-recording of human events" (Willis, 2002: 394) or "an attempt at a textual rendering of a social world" (Abu-Lughod, 2000, p261) while recognizing explicitly that "discourses/ideologies cannot be treated as if their constructed contents can be equated with lived outcomes" (Willis and Trondman: 2002: 395). But the lived outcome has to be inhabited before it can be studied and this paper represents a "performance ethnography" as the author is an effective member of the set of performers and the social role of performer pre-dates and over -writes that of ethnographer (Morten, 2005).

The writer did not enter this scene for the purposes of study or seek elevation as a "blushless Promethean observer" (Boon, 1982, 47) but there is no state of nature here: it is a constructed space. This paper is partially auto-ethnographic in that the writer is a participant in the activity described and the work is subject therefore to the legitimate critiques of this genre (Delamont, 2006, Ellis and Bochner, 2000, Jones, 2005) but is presented here as an example of a "tale from the field" (van Maanen, 2013) intended as accurate and not too self-regarding, as a "realist" rather than a "confessional" story. The experience of this scene as a participant predates by a considerable time the work of ethnography (van Maanen, 2011).

The evolution of this urban space encapsulating some aspects of liquid modernity (Baumann, 2000) indicates how the iron cages (Clegg and Baumeler, 2010) of genre and typology are transgressed in practice, and hints that the espoused agnosticism of Clegg and Baumeler towards some of the negative implications of Baumann's thesis at least partially justify a rather more optimistic stance.

This venue is one that appears open and available for free access as the location is in principle a public place, but in fact the use of space here for the time-bound events described is strongly-determined and quite powerfully regulated, with informal sanctions against contravention of norms. Haspelmath notes that "Space and time are the two most important basic conceptual domains of human thinking. Neither space nor time are part of a more basic conceptual domain, and neither can be reduced to the other" but points out that nonetheless in most cultures similar adverbials and adjectivals may be equally valid in both discourses (Haspelmath, 1997). May and Thrift's proposal about Time and Space that ".these dimensions do not exist singly, but only

1  
2  
3 as a hybrid process " (May and Thrift, 2003) and so this scene is bounded temporally with " so-  
4 cial and symbolic boundaries" (Antonius and Robben 1989, p 576).

5  
6 The style of research employed is similar to that of Laurier, Whyte and Buckner's et al's (2001)  
7 ethnography of a neighbourhood café in aiming to return to "just what the life of a particular  
8 café consists of, and in so doing re-specify a selection of topics related to public spaces"(Laurier,  
9 Whyte and Buckner, 2001, p 195), and is thus in Lorimer's terms a "small story" (Lorimer,  
10 2003) that is not intended to imply any over-arching theoretical weight or reach.

11  
12 The field of musical scene ethnography is currently lively and an important recent contribution  
13 is Kaul's exemplary(2009) study of Irish music created and performed in an Irish village,  
14 "Doolin". The genre overlaps that of performance more generally (Wulff, 2008) and we note a  
15 tendency in some such analyses to first *identify* the genre and then to *describe* the location and  
16 then to *seek some fit* between the two. But Kaul is clearly concerned about such notions as  
17 "authenticity" and implies some dissonance between the tradition and modernity exemplified in  
18 the Doolin scene. We follow Kaul in seeking to avoid the romantic narratives of "tradition" and  
19 their assumed habitus of "communal relationships grounded in kinship and territoriality"  
20 (Blaustein, 1993: p 271). While music is the focus in this scene and the espoused politics are  
21 radical and anti-establishment, above all the central motif of this habitus is creativity  
22 (Janesick,2001)

23  
24  
25 Studies of the use of space as "public" and "private" show how divisions between public space  
26 and private space operate at different scales and take different forms in different  
27 neighbourhoods, illuminating how gender and class are interwoven in demarcations between  
28 public and private spaces (Goffman,1969 Bondi 1998).

29  
30 Baudrillard (1983) bemoans the loss of distinction between public and private space and  
31 between subject and object to the detriment of the intrinsic values of both in the context of the  
32 de-sacralization of post-modern life. Acconci (1990) points to the political processes of public  
33 and private space and the loss of time due to the absence of clocks, and suggests the continuing  
34 relevance of public space in a "private time". Baxter and Kroll-Smith (2005) illustrate the  
35 potential for buying private time out of public space for instance through taking a workplace  
36 nap.

37  
38 In many of these characterisations there is an implicit polarisation of the "public" and the  
39 "private" and a lack of attention to the ways in which the one can segue into the other, without  
40 blurring their essential distinctiveness.

41  
42 Cultural activities are a key focus of urban politics and Zukin (1995) argues that notions of cul-  
43 ture as ethnicity, aesthetic, and marketing tool are reshaping urban places and conflicts over  
44 revitalization. In dismissing the notion that cities have a singular urban culture and the post-  
45 modern trope of the many different subcultures, she contends that that cultures are constantly  
46 *negotiated* in the city's central spaces- the streets, parks, shops, museums, and restaurants  
47 which are the great public spaces of modernity.

48  
49 Zukin indicts "gentrification" as a process, while Holt also argues that some venues are subject  
50 to a process of gentrification (Holt, 2012) that may contribute to making cities both safer and  
51 more civilised places to live but has its darker side, as, beneath the perceptions of "civility" and  
52 "security" nurtured by cultural strategies, there exists an aggressive private sector bid for con-  
53 trol of public space. Foucault proposes that such spaces are subject to processes of de-  
54 authentication and become less "utopian" (Foucault (1967, 1994). Drummond (2000) con-  
55 tends that the boundaries between public and private spaces are fluid and routinely trans-  
56 gressed showing how private use can colonise overtly public space. Carr (1992), echoing Mum-  
57 ford (1938), argues that the meanings invested by users are central to the understanding of how  
58 urban space is accomplished.

We maintain that there is no inevitability about these processes and that devoid of Foucault's redundant "utopianism", there can exist cultural spaces in contemporary urban places that retain authenticity through colonising public spaces for private, even communal, intent.

### **The Locale**

This is a small, old fashioned village pub in a narrow side street leading to what is clearly an encapsulated village in the suburbs of a major Northern city in the United Kingdom. The architecture of the street comprises mid nineteenth century artisan housing at one end leading to rather larger but still down at heel residences at the far end which leads to urban playing fields and a cricket club, and what have been at one time shops and small workshops. Many of the houses, small as they are, are clearly in multi-occupancy and there are other signs of student and multi-ethnic presence. The main road leads to the city centre past a mile and a half of urban decay. The bigger pubs on the main road are either boarded up, as are many of the shop fronts, or appear shabby and rough. There is an off-licence with resolute metal shutters.

The Real Ale guide notes that "This tiny Victorian back street local with two bars is looking a little worn and tatty in places." This is not a venue where you would take anybody on a first date. The pub consists of two rooms, a public bar and a snug. Each is small, the bar accommodating four or five on stools and one small table for two. Most drinkers are standing. From the back of the bar are steps down to the cellar. By the side of the bar is a door closing off stairs to the living quarters above. A door leads to a basic pub toilet.

The snug is about 12 feet by 14 feet, with wooden chairs around the walls and four or five tables, with benches on either side of the usually unlit fire. In comfort this space accommodates a dozen or so clients for drinking and conversation. But on a Monday night after nine pm it regularly hosts twice or three times that number with the same in the bar, crowding to listen to the music and survey the performance. On some nights for instance when the folk festival is on in the city, the crowd spills out into the street and the music can be heard from the main road.

During the day, the pub is quiet, with a few regulars, notably one who seems to be there from noon to late night and is much in evidence on Monday evenings, earning his presence by clearing glasses and supporting the singers with evident enthusiasm. The host and his wife, the joint publicans, know their clientele and deserve the epithet of "old fashioned" landlords. There is no fighting or rough behaviour, and if any incomers start anything up and it appears that it is about to kick off, it is quickly dealt with. In five years, I have only seen this twice or three times. There is no loud swearing, and no nastiness.

Once was during the folk festival when some, doubtless well-intentioned visitors shouted for requests and became disappointed when their noisy cues were not acted on. Another time was when a young Italian man, accompanied by friends tried to intervene when someone else was performing, in order to offer an unwanted version of a Neapolitan ballad. In each case the publican took condign action and escorted the interlopers from the space.

The space is thus managed "by the publican and his wife and staff but this is by no means a "Smokey Joes" (Crang, 1994) "where the performance of the staff is seen to be of equal or greater value to customers" (Laurier, Whyte and Buckner, 2001: 199)

### **Monday night**

By around ten to nine on a Monday evening, participants start to arrive, most carrying instruments. By nine fifteen, there will be music. Normally the whistle players, flautists, start off. There may be as few as two there but they will start a tune going, a reel or a jig. There will usually be one or two guitarists, and a Bodhran player. The whistle players arrange themselves

1  
2  
3 on either side of the guitar player who nestles in the corner, usually next to the banjo man.  
4 When the fiddlers arrive, things are usually going, and they sit further away from the guitarist,  
5 closer to the door.  
6

7 Two spaces down from the guitarist is a table where the singers sit if they have got there early  
8 enough. Singers are not necessary and there will be evenings when there is no structured  
9 singing. I usually sit with the singers, one of whom is the reason I first attended these Monday  
10 sessions: he is a good singer and fair guitarist and the other regular singers are also his friends.  
11 One has a very fine deep baritone and specialises in lugubrious West Country ballads. I  
12 harmonize and sing in and only occasionally offer a version of "Dirty Old Town" that is usually  
13 courteously received. (MacColl, 1949)  
14

15 My principal role is that of "poet" and in return for being part of the ensemble, I am expected or  
16 suffered to present two or three original poems every week. This earns me, in common with all  
17 the performers, a round of drinks and participation in the late supper, prepared by mine host  
18 consisting of sandwiches and pies, sausages and sometimes cake or jam tarts and served around  
19 midnight when the music is starting to wind down.  
20

21 The order of proceedings appears casual and unorganised but there is a fairly regular order and  
22 structure to it. For example, the evening always starts with whistle playing and never  
23 commences with a song or a poem. The style of music is traditional Irish, but later in the evening  
24 other genres may be offered. The first song comes usually about half an hour into the session,  
25 the first poem a bit later than that. Sometimes the poet gets a signal from the leading guitarist  
26 who sits in the corner, occasionally offers some informal leadership and is clearly respected  
27 though his guitar work is pretty straightforward and there are others whose work is more  
28 virtuosic. This signal will come often when the players are pausing for breath and taking a  
29 refreshing draught of the amber nectar.  
30

31  
32 One player will start a solo and others join in, developing the tune and running into variations of  
33 increasing complexity, changing key and segueing into other tunes: this can go on for ten  
34 minutes or so before the flutes are laid down. Often one player starts a tune and another will  
35 finish, or another or two join in: like chamber musicians they hand the tune to each other to see  
36 what can be got out of it. There is sometimes an undercurrent competitiveness but the overall  
37 framework is that of collective combination and support. Sometimes the line is lost and the  
38 player puts his or her instrument down with a regretful smile. The atmosphere is craftfully  
39 collegial and the mood is one of enjoyment, though often intense and serious. Applause follows a  
40 solo and also the end of a sequence. Loud talking and laughing is discouraged, if necessary by a  
41 look or a gesture. Respect is shown to each performer. There are no playlists and no overtly  
42 announced rules. Any one is welcome to create music provided they are talented and respectful.  
43 Anyone can come in, provided they can pick up the line.  
44

45 When several rounds of music have occurred someone may offer a song and this is usually a  
46 standard from the Irish repertoire, like "Down by the Salley Gardens" or "Raglan Road". The  
47 former is well appreciated by the regulars. If the singers are there in force we singers will  
48 sometimes offer a semi comic version of "They say old man that your horse is dead" or "Just one  
49 more day on the grey funnel line". If there are particular female singers who have their own  
50 repertoire, it may be The Eriskay Love Lilt or "Who knows where the time goes".  
51

52 One regular usually comes in later than the others: he is a fine guitarist and good singer and  
53 performs his own stuff, a cross between Johnny Mercer and Jesse Winchester. He joins in the  
54 choruses of other singers and like them will harmonize where they feel like it. He will support  
55 me if I do my solo of "Dirty Old Town". Once on an evening in May I said to him as we were  
56 packing up "see you next week" and he replied "no, I shall be away travelling". He told me that  
57 he travelled round the various summer festivals, starting at Wrexham and getting down to the  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 West Country. I expressed jealousy of this way of spending the summer and he responded "well  
4 come with me. We can share the tent or stop at B and Bs and we could get an act together. We  
5 have about half a dozen things we can do now and we can build something with your poems. I  
6 have a tune for one of them." It was a path not taken, rather to my regret.  
7

8 One regular is a strong A Capella singer who sings from a huge book of typed up songs, mainly  
9 traditional North Country ballads. He will harmonize with others if he finds it worthwhile. He is  
10 well known on a wider Folk circuit and will sometimes disappear for several weeks doing  
11 Festivals, and will come back with tales of performing with well-known names. He took about a  
12 year to accept me, but he is very affable now with me having accepted me as a serious  
13 performer. Even though he is a regular, and a practised and respected performer, he has to  
14 watch his timing because he knows not to come in until the feel of the ensemble is right because  
15 there is a continuing process of what Schutz calls "tuning in" (Schutz, 1970: 216-217). If you get  
16 out of tune, you may find that you are out of time, along with Chris Farlowe's "Baby". There is a  
17 master rhythm operating here that implicitly regulates the boundaries between words and  
18 music as it offers each performer a turn at their own speciality.  
19

20  
21  
22 One of the whistle players is very well respected; he is a legend on the scene not just as a  
23 performer but as an instrument maker who has made for the very best including, reputedly for  
24 James Galway. He is a quiet almost unobtrusive presence and his solos are sometimes listened  
25 to in respectful silence, at other times his light lines ripple around the walls and bring  
26 spontaneous combustions of celebration, but he gigs and partners with the others and gives  
27 them respect also. One other soloist who often arrives without his guitar is an all-round  
28 performer on the local music scene, and organizes concerts. He keeps in touch and is usually  
29 arranging some event or other. He has played professionally most of his life: though his style is  
30 more Jimi Hendrix than Danny Boy he gets good applause for his elaborate and pacy solos and  
31 duets with anyone who can keep up with him.  
32

33 Many of the instrument players will also sing along, the banjo player has a special line in  
34 Republican and working class ballads from Belfast. Later in the evening a couple often come in.  
35 He is a guitarist, with a depressing tendency to give it some whack very late in the night on  
36 "Ghost Riders in the Sky"; while (or perhaps because) I will give him support on this and some  
37 casual drop-ins will sing along, this has been known to empty the pub. She is French, and is a  
38 very talented klezmer clarinettist though and her long lilting East European line once prompted  
39 me to an instant poem that is not too bad and she regularly presses me to publish it in exchange  
40 for the CDs she has given me. She performs solo and is well received and has her own klezmer  
41 band that is famous in the North of England.  
42

43 One evening a young guitarist, evidently Spanish, sat in the corner from early doors and  
44 gradually got into the swing and accompanied music he was clearly not familiar with. Late on he  
45 broke into a slow, luxuriantly-decorated Malaguena that lasted several minutes. He was asked  
46 where he was from. He turned out to be a semi-professional player from Mexico City, who was  
47 working temporarily in London. He had asked where he might sit in on a "traditional British  
48 music venue" and been directed to our pub session. He admitted that the journey was rather  
49 longer than he had expected.  
50

51  
52 One of the least successful evenings- perhaps paradoxically- came during a widely-advertised  
53 city folk festival. The pub was crowded for several nights but nobody acceded to the suggestion  
54 that the regular performers could come in on other nights and "put on a show". It seemed that  
55 although the crowd overflowed into the street, there were too many observers, some of them  
56 offering suggestions and making requests and some of the regulars opted out "until things have  
57 quietened down a bit". It seems that nobody comes to this place to be looked at or questioned:  
58 they come to jam with other performers.  
59

### Seating, Good Order and Drinking

The order of seating is pretty strict. The instrumentalists take the best places from the far corner around two sides of the room behind the two small round pub tables, the guitar man in the corner and the Bodhran man in the middle with his massive arse to the room forming a formidable barrier. Singers follow on usually around the square table. Guests, drop-ins and casuals get in where they can. The snug bar is centre stage and front of house and the public bar is a back area on a Monday night.

The space never seems to be large enough and very occasionally people will come to the door, look in and pass on. But room is always made for any of the regulars and the atmosphere can get very dense with music and appreciation.

The culture is rooted in Irish culture and much of the music of course is Irish but good performance in other genres is appreciated on its merits and working class urban and nautical ballads as well as Scottish songs are accepted. My friend and I sometimes do a duet of a song that has both Scots and Irish Gaelic words and this works quite well. But hammed up versions of Dubliners classics like "Whiskey in the Jar" or "Black Velvet Band" are only tolerated with often some overt irony late in the evening as a collective activity but not celebrated. An insight into the facile ingenuousness of associating any type of performance to a national cultural heritage or identity came when I was sitting once with a young Irish man, a blood relative of my best friend: I asked him what was the provenance of a particular reel that had just been performed. "Jaze" he responded "don't ask me! I never heard some of this stuff before. It's not my scene. Back home some people are well into all this, though, Y'know!". I sat, rebuked for my naivety and for having committed the ultimate research analytic sin of the Ecological Fallacy (Dogan, 1969.) The fact that he was Irish did not allow him or me to accord to a cultural stereotype of "Irish". This place is not Johnny Fox's pub high on the Dublin mountains, parading its Irishism for the tourists, Begob.

Drink is of course a feature: this is a Real Ale pub and features in a CAMRA list, and the beers on the pumps are varied and well-kept, but drunkenness is very much not required and any stupid, noisy or irreverent behaviour is frowned upon, literally.

Once I was rising to deliver a poem at the invitation of the lead guitarist, while a couple of lads were laughing noisily but not unpleasantly in the corner. I could cope with that and was raising my voice to take them on and assume the high ground of performance but immediately a small man -one of the non-performing locals- rose and shouted "Quiet, Now! Good order in the House for the Poet!" When I had given my performance and sat down I thanked him and he stated "That's OK, Son. Respect! Those lads are well out of order." (I appreciated the designation of "son".)

Most of the instrumentalists will take less to drink than the singers, but four or five pints in an evening will be as much as one can be expected to take. One of these will be on the house. Some participants, three or four are regulars without ever being performers. Some of these come from at least two hours' drive away so their commitment is sincere. They become friends with the performers but sit resolutely with or near to the singers but never among the instrumentalists. If they do not perform, the house does not buy their drink. If a performer wants their seats they will move uncomplainingly.

The timings appear informal, fluid and open, with neither starting nor finishing times that can be publicly known nor announced but any one evening will follow in practice fairly predictable envelopes. The playlist appears unplanned, spontaneous and impromptu, varying from



1  
2  
3 performance to performance, depending on the personalities present and the balance of  
4 musical forces available but is nonetheless quite powerfully disciplined with strict rules of  
5 conduct and certain themes, motifs and genres visible. The distinction between insiders and  
6 outsiders is emergent and to an extent subterranean with some plausible entry opportunities  
7 for new participants and some micro-political games being played.  
8

9 At the end of a "typical evening it is not uncommon for regular participants to agree that  
10 "tonight was different" "because it often is, reinforcing Bohman's (1991: p vii) take that "Social  
11 phenomena are shot through with indeterminacy and open-endedness" .  
12

13 The typical use of space in this scene is partly hierarchy-based but also performance-specific,  
14 creating opportunities for participant involvement, a typical performance, the allocation of time  
15 and the characteristic sequences of individual performances, and certain roles and rituals occur  
16 unnoticed but if they are omitted can be missed by regular participants.  
17

18 No one is *expected* to do anything and what one does do is not pre-classified into a format. It is  
19 in the nature of a "session" or a "jam" rather than a performance. But respect for accepted ways  
20 is very much part of the experience. It is sometimes in order for someone to ask for a request  
21 but this request does not have to be honoured. Once a friend of a friend who thought he knew  
22 what it was all about on his first and only visit asked our Belfast banjo man specifically for a Van  
23 Morrison number but this was not appreciated. The consequent performance was massively  
24 infused with ironic detachment.  
25  
26  
27  
28

### 29 **Barriers and Balances**

30 There are a number of subtle barriers between the different parts of this space. The most  
31 obvious is between the main room, the snug or lounge and the bar, opening on to the street. The  
32 first is an interior and the latter a liminal space. No one is prevented from entering from the  
33 street and no one is inhibited from exiting and people do so, for instance to take a fag break. But  
34 within the room, there are three quite distinct spaces, owned by the instrumentalists, the  
35 singers and the drinkers.  
36

37 Entry from the bar is always in principle available but usually is not possible because there will  
38 be nowhere to sit. In practice it is the instrumentalists whose spatial needs take priority, and if  
39 there is on any night a surplus of instrumentalists they can push the boundaries but their  
40 boundaries will not be pushed. Here "regulars can be expected to share certain local  
41 knowledges" (Laurier, Whyte and Buckner, 2001: 219). Incomers or onlookers or would-be  
42 spectators have to take their chance and may find themselves standing in the street as the  
43 instrumentalists and the singers push past them.  
44

45 Occasionally would-be participants may come in without ever being accepted or their presence  
46 overtly acknowledged. This happened to one person who came several times, sat among the  
47 singers, clearly enjoyed himself in a somewhat distanced way, sometimes bringing a book to  
48 read out of a capacious rucksack, offering interpolation rather than conversation. He was  
49 gradually "cooled out" by the regulars evidencing a suggested repositioning of unrealistic  
50 expectations as the dispassionate lack of affect transgressed local participation norms. (Deil-  
51 Amen and Rosenbaum, 2002)  
52

53 As was reported in Laurier's study "places are massively ordered", and as Sacks (1992) notes,  
54 there is 'order at all points'. It is a heterogeneous order, a finely grained and lived  
55 accomplishment which is spatially distributed and distributive of space (Crabtree 2000; Latour  
56 1997). The order in this locale arises out of a collaborative activity that is creative and  
57 structured along forms that incorporate traditional memes but are not bound in Procrustean  
58  
59  
60

bonds: much as the players in Benford et al's study demonstrate a "situated discretion" (Benford, Tolmie, Ahmed, Crabtree, and Rodden, 2012). The socio-temporal order is manifested in not one but a hierarchy of rhythms as noted in Table 1.

Table 1 Rhythms and Turns

	Actors	How regulated	Rhythm
Music and words	Musicians and poets	Agreed common structure	An evening's symphony with balanced movements
Types of Music	Whistles, strings and percussion. Singers	Starts with whistlers, moves to guitars and fiddles. Collective, with solos. First song comes in only after at least three sets of music.	Solo leads and individual entries
Performance and Participation	Playing, Talking and Drinking	Performers don't talk outside the circle. They have to go to the bar to break the circle's rhythm. One drink, self bought to start the flow: personal choice to continue One collective round, paid by the host . Supper for performers provided by the host.	No overt drunkenness, a swelling of participation moving to crescendo

## Discussion

The ethnography of urban music scenes is a well-established genre, with many of the contributions being North American, often jazz-based and implicated in the discourse of ethnicity, politics and gender (Becker, 2004). Lena and Peterson distinguish distinct genre types—Avant-garde, Scene-based, Industry-based, and Traditionalist, (Lena and Peterson, 2008). Danescu characterises the Rotterdam music scene (Danescu, 2013). McQuail proposes a typology of the participants in terms of "active engagement" (McQuail, 1997) defining "regulars", "drop-ins" and "groupies". All of these are present in our scene from occasion to occasion but it is dominated by the regulars.

In this particular venue the role of "host" is also significant, indeed central to the scene. Kosby's framework is useful in depicting the "atmosphere" of a venue, varying by the nature of the participants and offers interpretations of "what works" and "what doesn't work", and proposes the perceived importance of ethnicities and "tradition" in establishing and confirming meaning and authenticity, with especial reference to the role of "grittiness" (Zukin, 2010) in the urban scene.

1  
2  
3 UK ethnographies are relatively few in number and for the most part are centred on folk music  
4 performed at clubs and festivals, rather than the pub scene (Kosby, 1977). The English public  
5 house per se is relatively well researched and Smith offers a historical overview of its evolution  
6 (Smith, 1983) and argues that the pub is overdue serious sociological attention. More recently  
7 there have been several studies of the well-documented decline in the "traditional" English pub  
8 (Pratten, 2005). But there seem not to be many serious ethnographies of the urban pub as  
9 cultural context and developmental private space.

10  
11 Symbolic meanings are invested by consumers in the pub experience (Clarke et al, 1998) but  
12 there is comparatively little contemporary literature on folk or music pubs. A notable exception  
13 is the proliferation of literature about Irish folk music in Irish pubs in Ireland (Kaul, 2007). Pace  
14 these, this venue seems to evidence neither "commodification" nor "commercialization and is  
15 far from the tropes of modernity displayed in the Riverdance experience, despite the assertion  
16 that "Riverdance became a symbol for Irish modernity" (Wulff, 2003:117), but that the themes  
17 of "displacement and longing" (Wulff, 2008:4) so noted by such research encounters are in no  
18 way absent from this pub scene.

19  
20  
21 Although there are distinct and formalized relationships between "performers" and "audience",  
22 the dictum "If it wasn't for the tourists we wouldn't have an audience" (Kneafsey, 2003) does  
23 not apply here, because the presence of tourists in this venue has had the effect of destroying  
24 the space and devaluing the experience. But there are no perceived issues around the  
25 employment status of participants (Kaul, 2004)

26  
27 A common feature of the "Irish scene" in Ireland, according to Kaul and many others is the  
28 "Craic" and this is sometimes elevated to an almost mystical and uniquely Irish meta-  
29 phenomenon. Thus "The Craic" is a multifaceted, complex concept that describes diverse  
30 things: high-quality social interactions and conversations, an entertaining night out, or the  
31 character of a witty person" (Kaul, 2013, p 130) for here, music is at the heart of the collective  
32 performance and as in the example studied by Kaul, "when the bow strikes the fiddle, the  
33 quality of the music trumps any consideration of social status or role" (Kaul, 2013, p131)

34  
35 The discourse of "authenticity" (Tetzlaeff, 1994), central to rock and hip-hop (Auslander, 1998,) and the analysis of post-colonial scenes from a critical perspective (Murphy, 2000) is less  
36 relevant to this scene where the criteria for acceptance are related more to competent musical  
37 or delivery performance than to conformity to a particular style or genre. As Dahlhaus remarks  
38 "authenticity is a reflexive term: its nature is to be deceptive about its nature" (Dahlhaus, 1967,  
39 p57).

40  
41  
42 But we agree with Bruner that there is no need to fall for a post-modern disdain simply on that  
43 account (Bruner, 2005: 168). Like Kaul, we see considerable relevance in Keil's emphasis on the  
44 experience of being a "participant" for notions of authenticity (Keil, 1994: 97-98) and echo the  
45 significance for participants of the process of "tuning in" (Schutz, 1970: 216-217). During the  
46 performance participants pick up, enhance and develop the musical themes initiated by others,  
47 and must have the skills to do this. As in jazz scenes the ability to listen carefully and pick up on  
48 musical ideas, lines and riffs are central. Sometimes but only rarely the participants fail to pick  
49 up the evening's rhythms. Timing is also an evolving aspect of the process: if an evening is  
50 working especially well, it may stretch well after midnight into the early hours.

51  
52  
53 Nonetheless, there seems little danger of the threat of "assimilation" (McLeod, 1999) in this  
54 scene because this venue is part of a wider, albeit loose and weakly connected, network of  
55 musicians that exists separately from the venue itself. Nor does the positioning of this particular  
56 pub in the wider urban mosaic offer much promise of the generalizability of any new  
57 "authenticity" based on planning or investment potential, pace Zukin (2008) because here there  
58 are few young consumers or intriguingly viable back-story on which to base new products or

1  
2  
3 cultural services. Per contra, attempts to position this experience in a wider cultural consumer  
4 context as in the Folk Festival, failed because they detracted from the occasion itself. The festival  
5 visitors were seen as interlopers and their presence created an uncomfortable atmosphere.  
6

7 This venue and its characteristic performances do not seem to support Geertz's dictum that "it is  
8 the copying that originates" (Geertz, 1986, p380). No-one comes here either to be a copyist or  
9 to be "authentic" but to jam, and the expectation of creativity and neo-musicality is intrinsic to  
10 the setting and the performances occurring here. Foucault's claim of the loss of *utopia* in  
11 settings like this is not made by any participant but it may be that some drop ins arrive with  
12 pre-determined utopian views about Irish or Folk venues.

13 This experience is not an exercise in the recapture of past authenticities of "folk", "nation" or  
14 "class" although many of the presentations of song or rhythm could be recast in the terms of  
15 such genres originating in these meta-structures. The output of the session is not commodified  
16 nor is it "on the edge" (Kaul, 2009, 2013) Rather, it is a genuine current in a pervasively live  
17 Stream of Stories (Rushdie, 1990). Simplistic mapping of performance as genre to location only  
18 serve to map what is dynamic and evolving to a Procrustean bed of time-expired theory because  
19 as in the Brazilian habitus "the hegemony of this domestic sociospatial structure is not  
20 autonomous, but rather stands in dynamic interaction with the public and economic dimensions  
21 of the household's reproduction in society." (Antonius and Robben, 1989, p 570).  
22

23  
24 The urban location of this scene is significant because it is in the diversity of cities that  
25 separately-originated authenticities can re-meld into new performed realities where, so long as  
26 men and women desire face-to-face contact, cities will endure in one form or another (Mumford,  
27 1938). Within cities, smaller spaces of human scale provide the essential nutrients of urban life.  
28 In this scene, urban life is continuously re-created in interpersonal encounter and creative  
29 performance, but "authenticity" per se is neither sought nor celebrated.  
30

31 In this space we see a type of "liquid modernity" characterised by a special ethic of care for  
32 performance, for "Liquidity is marked by care for the other as primarily mediated through the  
33 immediate self in the moment" (Clegg and Baumeler, 2010, 16). This care for performance  
34 supervenes the dangerous episodic possibilities of liquidity and transcends anxiety about any  
35 particular identity or putative threat to it or loss of it. Thus, "liquidity's essence is positioned as  
36 openness to the future rather than a specific future as an outcome" (Clegg and Baumeler, 2010,  
37 6). But the affect displayed in these performances does not rely solely or even primarily on  
38 Memories of Class (Baumann, 1982) as the narrative meaning of the scene is continuously and  
39 regularly recreated. The criteria for membership in this scene are competence and reflexive  
40 creativity. While timing and spatial positioning are important to the social interactions of the  
41 evening and the temporary structures thus created they are not imposed externally as  
42 Thompson described but arise through evolving processual agreement among the performers  
43 (Thompson, 1967).  
44

45 There is no "abstract moral" in this scene so nobody has to bang their head to be identified as an  
46 authentic member of a sub-group (Larsson, 2013) but neither is the identification in any sense  
47 "ethereal" (Kinkade and Katovitch, 2009) because this place is where it is. "How the music  
48 experience happens is complex" (Kaul, 2009: 161), nonetheless no claim to an "authentic self" in  
49 scenes like the one described here is made by the act of narrative (Sparrowe, 2005). Affect is  
50 central to participation, and *dissociated* would-be participants, however technically skilled tend  
51 to be frozen out. It might be possible to characterise this scene as a type of "urban subversion"  
52 (Daskalaki and Mould (2013) and in further research it could be possible to trace the rhizomatic  
53 networking of participants, these particular urban transients (Chia, 1999) .  
54

55  
56 The space and time constraints are internally generated through the creative processes rather  
57 than externally imposed in relation to some generic cultural or economic norms. This is a "jam"  
58 rather than a concert. The reflexivity evolves to encompass semi-ritual as well as novel  
59

elements. The only responsibility is to the craft itself, or the several crafts themselves which are of course self-consciously evolving as each session comprises old-established and new participants. Nonetheless the space is indeed institutionalised in Low's sense because "Spaces are institutionalized if their ordering remains effective beyond the action of the agent and entails normative synthesizing and spacing." ( Low, 2008, p25).

When Eliot states "we shall not cease from exploration, and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started and know the place for the first time" (Eliot, T.S. 1942) it sounds like a valid motto for the earnest ethnographer but that dictum assumes that the place, the space, the habitus do not change even though the time does. But "who knows where the time goes?" (Denny, 1985) and this space and the performances exposed in this locus change with the seasons. No two nights are the same in this scene and it is that rather than any folklorised notions of "tradition" or "authenticity" that comprise the genius loci of this particular scene (Pomorski, 1996). Rather we argue that it is in the palimpsest of rhythms that the vitality of this experience lies. In this space as Lefebvre notes " time, space and an expenditure of energy coincide, there is rhythm (Lefebvre,2004 p. 15)This venue demonstrates in Low's terms both spacing and synthesis (Low, 2008) : moreover it demonstrates a characteristic "atmosphere" (Low, op.cit) that is constituted of both space and time. In Lefebvre's frame, these are resistant activities and there is both a cyclical and recursive structure as well as a "durability to this resistance" (Moore, 2013, p77)

It is hoped that this miniature ethnography of a scene that does not fit stereotypes referenced in the musicological, cultural or urban ethnographic literature represents a modest contribution to the genre. . Is it "authentic"? Who asks? Who says?  
Will you guys find your way here to this place? I rather hope not.

## References

- Abu-Lughod, L. (2000) Locating Ethnography: *Ethnography*: Vol 1 no 2 : pp261-267
- Acconci, (1990) Public Space in a private Time: *Critical Inquiry*, vol 16:no4 pp 900-918
- Antonius, C. and Robben, G.M (1989) Habits of the Home: Spatial Hegemony and the Structuration of House and Society in Brazil: *American Anthropologist*: 91:3 570-588
- Auslander, P. (1998) Seeing is believing: Live performance and the discourse of authenticity in rock culture *Literature and Psychology*; 44, 4;
- Baudrillard, J (1988) *The Ecstasy of Communication*: Paris: Semiotexte
- Baxter, V and Kroll-Smith,S (2005) Normalizing the Workplace Nap: Blurring the Boundaries between Public and Private Space and Time  
*Current Sociology January 2005 vol. 53 no. 1 33-55*

- 1  
2  
3 Becker, H. (2004). Jazz Places. In: *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*. Nashville:  
4 Vanderbilt University Press, 17-30.  
5  
6  
7  
8 Bendix, R. (2009) *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies*: Madison: Universi-  
9 ty of Wisconsin Press  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14 Benford, S. , Tolmie, P., . Ahmed, A.Y., Crabtree, A., and Rodden, T., (2012)  
15  
16 Supporting traditional music-making: designing for situated discretion *Proceedings of the ACM*  
17 *2012 conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work* pp127-136  
18  
19  
20 Blaustein, R. ( 1003) Rethinking Folk Revivalism in Neil V Rosenberg *Transforming tradition:*  
21 *Folk Music Revivals Examined*, 258-274 : Chicago: Chicago University Press  
22  
23  
24 Bohman, J. (1991). *New philosophy of social science: Problems of indeterminacy*. Cambridge:  
25 Polity  
26  
27  
28 Bondi L. (1998) Gender, Class and Urban Geography: Public and Private Space in Contemporary  
29 Urban landscapes: *Urban Geography*: vol 19 no 2  
30  
31  
32 Boon, J.A. (1982) *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study* :  
33 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press  
34  
35  
36 Bruner, E (2005) *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*: Chicago and London: Chicago Uni-  
37 versity Press:  
38  
39  
40 Carr,S. (1992) *Public Space*: Cambridge University Press, 1992  
41  
42 Chia, R. (1999) A "rhizomic model of organizational change and transformation: perspective  
43 from a metaphysics of change *British Journal of Management* Vol.10, 209-227 (1999)  
44  
45 Clarke, I. Kell, I, Schmidt, R. and Vignali,C. (1998) "Thinking the thoughts they do: symbolism  
46 and meaning in the consumer experience of the "British pub"", *Qualitative Market Research: An*  
47 *International Journal*, Vol. 1: 3, pp.132 - 144  
48  
49  
50  
51 Clegg, S. And Baumeler (2010) Essai: From Iron Cages to Liquid Modernity in Organization  
52 Analysis, *Organization Studies* December 2010 vol. 31 no. 12 1713-1733  
53  
54  
55  
56 Crabtree, Andy. (2000) "Remarks on the social organisation of space and place." *Journal of*  
57 *Mundane Behavior* 1.1 (2000): <http://www.mundanebehaviour.org/>  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4 Crang, P. "It's showtime: on the workplace geographies of display in a  
5 restaurant in South East England." *Environment and Planning D: Society*  
6 *and Space* 12 (1994): 675-704.  
7

8  
9 Dahlhaus, (1967) *Musikästhetik Musik-Taschen-Bücher*. Translated by W. Austin: Cambridge,  
10 Cambridge University Press  
11

12  
13 Danescu, (2013) Rotown: a study on music scenes and venues:  
14 [http://andreeadanescu.wordpress.com/2013/01/17/rotown-a-study-on-music-scenes-and-](http://andreeadanescu.wordpress.com/2013/01/17/rotown-a-study-on-music-scenes-and-venues/)  
15 [venues/](http://andreeadanescu.wordpress.com/2013/01/17/rotown-a-study-on-music-scenes-and-venues/) accessed on January 15 2013  
16

17  
18  
19 Deil-Amen, R. and James E. Rosenbaum, J.E. (2002) . "The Unintended Consequences of Stigma-  
20 free Remediation." *Sociology of Education*, Vol.75 (July): 249-268.  
21

22  
23 Delamont, S. (2006) Arguments against Auto-Ethnography  
24 *Advances in Qualitative Research Practice', Qualitative Researcher Issue 4*  
25

26  
27 Denny, S. (1985) "Who knows where the time goes? London: Island Records  
28 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vbpURBJA4uA>

29  
30 Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds) (2000) *Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage (2<sup>nd</sup> edition)  
31

32  
33 Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds) (2005) *Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage (3<sup>rd</sup> edition).  
34

35  
36 Dogan, M. (1969) *Quantitative ecological analysis in the social sciences*: Cambridge: M.I.T. Press  
37

38  
39 Drummond, L. (2000) Street Scenes: Practices of Public and Private Space in Urban Vietnam:  
40 *Urban Studies* November 2000 vol. 37 no. 12 2377-2391  
41

42  
43 Eliot, T.S. (1942) *Little Gidding: Four Quartets*: London: Faber and Faber  
44

45  
46 Ellis, C. and Bochner, A. (2000) Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity. In Denzin, N.  
47 and Lincoln, Y. (eds) (eds) (2005) *Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage (3<sup>rd</sup> edition).  
48

49  
50 Foucault, M. 1967/1994. 'Different Spaces,' *Aesthetics: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984* ,  
51 edited by J. D. Faubion. London: Penguin Books.  
52

53  
54 Geertz, C. (1986) *The Interpretation of Cultures*: New York, Basic Books  
55

56  
57 Goffman, E. (1969) *The Presentation of Self in everyday life*: Harmondsworth: Penguin  
58

59  
60 Haspelmath, M. (1997) *From Space to Time: Temporal Adverbials in the World's Languages*:  
LINCOS Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 03  
München – Newcastle: LINCOS EUROPA

1  
2  
3  
4 Holt, F. 2012 *Have Post-Fordist Narratives of Cool Changed the Music Business?: An Explorative*  
5 *Study of Cultural and Organisational Change in Live Music Clubs*. Live Music Exchange. [Online].  
6 Available from: [http://livemusicexchange.org/blog/live-music-clubs-in-new-york-an-](http://livemusicexchange.org/blog/live-music-clubs-in-new-york-an-explorative-study-of-cultural-and-organisational-change-fabian-holt/)  
7 [explorative-study-of-cultural-and-organisational-change-fabian-holt/](http://livemusicexchange.org/blog/live-music-clubs-in-new-york-an-explorative-study-of-cultural-and-organisational-change-fabian-holt/)  
8 [Accessed 13 January 2013]  
9

10 Jones, S.M. (2005) Autoethnography. In Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds) *Qualitative Research*.  
11 Thousand Oaks: Sage (3<sup>rd</sup> edition).  
12

13 Kaul, A. "(2004) At work in the field: problems and opportunities associated with employment  
14 during fieldwork." *Anthropology Matters* 6.2  
15

16  
17 Kaul, A. R. (2007) The limits of commodification in traditional Irish music sessions: *Journal of*  
18 *the Royal Anthropological Institute: Volume 13, Issue 3*, pages 703–719, September 2007  
19

20 Kaul, A. R. (2009) *Turning the Tune: Traditional Music, Tourism, and Social Change in an Irish*  
21 *Village*: Berghahn Books  
22

23 Kaul, A. "(2013) Music on the edge: Busking at the Cliffs of Moher and the commodification of a  
24 musical landscape." *Tourist Studies* (2013): 1468797613511684.  
25

26 Keil, C. (1994) "*Motion and Feeling through music*" in Charles Keil and Steven Field (eds) *Music*  
27 *Grooves: Essays and Dialogs*: Chicago: Chicago University Press 1994)  
28

29  
30 Kinkade, P.T. and Katovitch, M.A. (2009) Beyond Place: On Being a Regular in an Ethereal *Cul-*  
31 *ture: Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* February 2009 vol. 38 no. 1 3-24  
32

33 Kneafsey, M. (2003) If it wasn't for the tourists we wouldn't have an audience': the case of  
34 tourism and traditional music in North Mayo ch 2 in Cronin, M. and O'Connor, B. *Irish Tourism:*  
35 *Image, Culture and Identity*: Clevedon: Clevedon Books  
36

37 Kosby J.B. (1978). An ethnography of the St Albans Folk Music Club ; MA thesis, Memorial  
38 University of Newfoundland, Canada.  
39

40  
41  
42 Larsson, S. (2013) 'I Bang my Head, Therefore I Am': Constructing Individual and Social Authen-  
43 ticity in the Heavy Metal Subculture; *Young* February 2013 vol. 21 no. 1 95-110  
44

45  
46 Latour, Bruno. (1997) "Trains of thought: Piaget, formalism and the fifth dimension." *Common*  
47 *Knowledge* 6.3 (1997): 170-191.  
48

49 Laurier, E., Whyte, A., and Buckner, K. (2001) *An ethnography of a neighbourhood café:*  
50 *informality, table arrangements and background noise. Journal of Mundane Behaviour*, 2 (2). pp.  
51 195-232. ISSN 1529-3041  
52

53 Lefebvre, H. (2004) *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. London and New York: Con-  
54 tinuum,  
55

56 Lefebvre, H. *Critique of Everyday Life*, Vol. 1 (New York: Verso, 1991),  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3  
4 Lena, J.C. and Peterson, R.A. (2008) Classification as Culture: Types and Trajectories of Music  
5 Genres: *American Sociological Review* October 2008 vol. 73 no. 5 697-718  
6

7 Lorimer, H. ( 2003) Telling small stories: spaces of knowledge and the practice of  
8 geography: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*: Volume 28, Issue 2, pages  
9 197–217, June 2003  
10

11 Low, M. (2008) The Constitution of Space : The Structuration of Spaces Through the  
12 Simultaneity of Effect and Perception: *European Journal of Social Theory*: 11(1): 25–49  
13

14 MacColl, Ewan (1949) *Dirty Old Town*, written for Landscape with Chimneys” for Theatre  
15 Workshop, produced by Joan Littlewood,  
16

17  
18 McLeod, K (1999) Authenticity within hip-hop and other cultures threatened with assimilation:  
19 *Journal of Communication* : Volume 49, Issue 4, pages 134–150, December 1999  
20

21 McQuail, D. (1997), *Audience Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.  
22

23  
24 May, J. and Thrift, N. (2003) *Timespace: Geographies of Temporality*: London: Routledge:  
25

26  
27 Pratten, J.D. (2004) "Examining the possible causes of business failure in British public houses",  
28 *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, Vol. 16: 4, pp.246 – 252  
29

30 Moore, R.M. (2013) The Beat of the City: Lefebvre and Rhythmanalysis  
31 *Situations: Product of the radical imagination*: Vol 5 no 1 (2013)  
32

33  
34 Morton, F. (2005) Performing ethnography: Irish traditional music sessions and new methodo-  
35 logical spaces *Social & Cultural Geography* Volume 6, Issue 5, 2005 661-676  
36

37 Mumford, L. (1938). *The Culture of Cities*. New York: Harcourt Brace  
38

39  
40 Murphy, D. (2000) Africans filming Africa: Questioning theories of an authentic African cinema:  
41 *Journal of African Cultural Studies*: Volume 13, Issue 2, 239-249  
42

43  
44 Pomorski, J. M. (1996) “The City and its Genius Loci”, pp. 21-36 in *The Historical Metropolis* ed. J.  
45 Purchla International Cultural Centre, Krakow.  
46

47  
48 Rushdie, S. (1990) *Haroun and the Stream of Stories*: New York, Viking  
49

50 Sacks, H. (1992) *Lectures on Conversation*, Vol. 2. Ed. G. Jefferson. Oxford: Blackwell,  
51

52 Schutz, A. (1970) *On phenomenology and Social Relations: Selected Writings*. Helmut R.Wagner  
53 (ed) Chicago: University of Chicago Press  
54

55  
56 St John, P. (1979) *The Fields of Athenry*: copyright Pete St John  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Smith, M.A. (1983) Social Usages of the Public Drinking House: Changing Aspects of Class and  
4 Leisure: *The British Journal of Sociology*  
5 Vol. 34, No. 3 (Sep., 1983), pp. 367-385

6 Sparrowe, R.T. (2005) Authentic leadership and the narrative self: *The Leadership Quarterly*:  
7 Volume 16, Issue 3, Pages 419-439  
8

9  
10 Tetzlaeff, (1994) Music for Meaning: Reading the Discourse of Authenticity in *Rock Journal of*  
11 *Communication Inquiry* January 1994 vol. 18 no. 1 95-117  
12

13  
14 Thompson, E.P> "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present*, vol. 38  
15 (1967), pp. 56-97.  
16

17  
18  
19 Van Maanen, J. (2013) *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography*, Second Edition: Chicago: Uni-  
20 versity of Chicago Press  
21

22  
23 Van Marrewijk, A. Yanow, D. (2010) *Organizational Spaces: Rematerializing the Workaday*  
24 *World*: Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

25  
26 Willis, P. and Trondman, M. (2002) Manifesto for Ethnography: *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical*  
27 *Methodologies*, Volume 2 Number 3, 2002: 394-402

28  
29 Wulff, H. (2008) *Dancing at the crossroads: Memory and mobility in Ireland*; New York and  
30 Oxford: Oxford University Press

31  
32 Wulff, H. (2003) *Ballet Across Borders: Career and Culture in the World of Dancers*: Oxford: Berg  
33

34  
35 Zukin, S. (2010) *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*  
36 . Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

37  
38 Zukin, S (1995) *The Cultures of Cities*: Lavoisier: Paris  
39

40  
41 Zukin, S. (2008) Consuming authenticity: From outposts of difference to means of exclusion;  
42 *Cultural Studies*: Volume 22, Issue 5, 2008  
43 724-748  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60