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Lifestyle Aspects of a Core Creative Class when Home and Away: A Study with Reference to the Ouseburn Valley, Newcastle upon Tyne

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and regeneration documents and allowed me to spend focused time in the Valley as part of the participant observation process.

Abstract

This study investigates aspects of working artists' lives when in their home environments and when travelling and holidaying in the elsewhere. Artists are seen by Florida (2002) as being a central group in the functioning of a new creative economy in the West based within a global division of labour. This creative economy is seen to be founded on the proliferation of bohemias in cities as catalysts of growth and regeneration, as artists are seen to attract further 'creative capital', and form new directions of consumption and lifestyle through their creative outputs and practices. Surprisingly, very little study has been done that gives voice to artists in relation to aspects of their lifestyles, that may inform new directions of consumption. Just as importantly, artists' views in relation to changing bohemias, wrought through gentrification processes, have often been ignored. This thesis investigates the meanings of place, changing place through gentrification, leisure practices and the travel and tourism preferences of this group.

Empirical findings suggest that a desire for an integrated life that blurs the boundaries of work, leisure and travel or holidaying is important to this group. Creativity is a central aspect that permeates the life world of my participants. Gentrification processes are viewed negatively or ambivalently. These processes are not predominantly disparaged due to fears of immediate displacement however, but are related to ideas of changing place, including the social makeup of newer users of the Ouseburn Valley and their sheer numbers, and the associated increased levels of bureaucratic regulation and commercial interests in the formerly 'marginal' Valley.

During the course of the study, empirical and theoretical directions led to the construction of what I have termed a 'governing ethic' that can be seen to inform many of the discourses and practices discussed in relation to the working artist in the Ouseburn Valley. This ethic is one that promotes an integrated life of self-expressive individualism. It is seen to have origins within the Romantic Movement in the late 18th Century, and can be detected in creative-countercultural ideologies and practices up until the end of the 20th century.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Themes

This thesis investigates a number of aspects of the lifestyle of working artists in the gentrifying 'bohemia' of the Ouseburn Valley in Newcastle upon Tyne. It analyses three main aspects of artists' lives:

- Their relation to, and perception of, place, and the changing place of the Ouseburn Valley;
- Their leisure use of the Valley and the ways in which creative leisure and work are often dedifferentiated for this group; and
- Their travel and tourism biographies, how these inform their world-views, and how they are dedifferentiated with the home environment for this group

These themes, that can be described as an interest in artists' lives both at home and when away, are investigated for a number of reasons emanating from *a priori* theoretical interest and from themes that have emerged from data. Firstly, 'creatives' are viewed as important actors in recent policy debates over urban development and regional growth. Following Florida (2002), there have been a number of policy thrusts on behalf of local political actors, concerned to develop 'creative capital' in their cities. These policy directions are informed by desires to grow local economies through the creative industries, that hold promise for the development of valuable intellectual property rights, and are seen, equally, as industries that can contribute towards consumption through the creation and maintenance of bohemian-cosmopolitan ambiences in city quarters (Florida 2002).

Although there is much literature debating the possibilities and contradictions of such approaches to urban development (Peck 2005; Evans 2009; Rousseau 2009), little of this literature actually looks in qualitative depth at the perceptions of working artists in relation to '*their bohemias*'. In this sense then my thesis gives a particular perspective on place and changing place in relation to the views of a particular segment (see Markusen 2006) of the 'creative class'. These processes of

place-change inevitably feed into literatures and theories of gentrification (Smith 1996; Ley 1996; Caulfield 1989; Zukin 1989; Lees 2008), and as such are discussed in relation to this broader context, and answer calls to give voice to perspectives of artists, often seen as unwitting initiators, in such processes (Smith 2002). In relation to gentrification, I debate whether changes in the Ouseburn Valley should be considered as gentrification at all, and if they should, what specific forms of gentrification are occurring.

During the process of my research it became clear that the placeness of the Valley was constructed through its distinctive architecture, greenery and industrial heritage, and in relation to the valuation of these constructs, its 'countercultural' heritage. However, leisure use and the Valley's pubs in particular were important to my interviewees, and a number of these pubs served as places of socialisation and networking. The Cumberland Arms in the Valley was, in particular, often mentioned as being very special to my interviewees and participants, and as such my research began to focus on the particular meanings of this 'institution'. It became clear to me that the Cumberland was in many ways 'totemic' (Durkheim 1915) of the values of the wider social group that I was interested in.

The 'placed cosmopolitan' (Beck 2006; Massey 1997) nature of the Cumberland thus became an important focus of my study. In looking at leisure in the Valley through the eyes of my interviewees and participants it also became clear that a number of other important strands informed these practices. Leisure and work were often seen to reach a high degree of integration for my artists. Leisure, as with work, was pursued as a creative activity within the broader ethic of valuing self-expressive individuality. As such, themes from my data, as well as contributing to the ideas of place and change, began to direct me to investigate themes of leisure consumption (Rojek 1995; Veal 2004), the meaning of the dedifferentiation of work and leisure and the idea of a 'serious' creative leisure (Stebbins 2004).

The above two sections on place and leisure then are focussed on the 'home' environment of my interviewees and participants. As well as these themes though, I was also interested in the travel and tourism biographies of working artists – their perceptions and practices of the 'elsewhere' when away. This interest was informed

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by my awareness, through my time in the tourism department of the University of Sunderland, of the fact that many practices of travel and tourism, have, in fact, historically been informed by the inscription of landscapes through creative-countercultural and Romantic imaginings (Urry 2002; Buzard 1993; Fiefer 1985; Cardinal 1997; Solnit 2001; Adler 1985; Richards and Wilson 2004). In an era of heightened mobility of subjects, materialities, discourses and practices (Hannam *et al* 2006), ideas of practices and meanings within home and away environments gain further theoretical interest.

This focus, on my respondents' desires for the elsewhere, in conjunction with their views and practices in relation to the Ouseburn Valley in their 'home' lives, allows us to look at a number of themes. We are able to investigate what the meanings of travel and tourism are for this group, and as the data reveals, there is a strong desire for an integrated life, with both practices when at home and when away often being strongly linked to creativity and the vocation of 'artist'. The desire for 'one life' and creativity can thus be read as an implicit and sometimes explicit critique of the centrepetal social tendencies of modernity that stress the fracturing of social and individual life into different autonomous spheres. In terms of the places that the interviewees desire we are able to address the question, more relevant to tourism studies, of whether travel and tourism represent a true ontological break for the subject, an escape or a total difference from home, that is often seen to be a dominant motivation, (McCannell 1976; Urry 2002; Wang 2000), or if they are, alternatively, an extension of practices and leisure in the home environment (Edensor 2002; 2007).

The section on travel and tourism biographies then sees many of my interviewees and participants as adopting 'traveller roles' (Cohen 1972, 1973, 1979, 1986; McCabe 2005), with attempts to get 'off the beaten track' (Buzard 1993) that are concomitant with their home identities and practices aimed at capturing and maintaining senses of auratic being in the world through hoped for 'individual', 'inalienable' and 'authentic' experiences when away. In similarity to the idea of dedifferentiation of the spheres of work and leisure in the home environment, we see that when in the elsewhere, many of my interviewees and participants view their

corporeal mobilities as integrated into a 'total life', where experiences of the elsewhere bear resemblance to those desired at home (Edensor 2001; 2007), particularly in relation to the authentic everyday of elsewhere urban environments (Maitland 2007; 2010). Travelling and visiting other places is, in line with Romantic 'uses' of the elsewhere, often viewed as a source of inspiration and also of engagement with new and different artistic practices and practitioners.

During the process of the study it became clear that these three spheres of interest (dedifferentiated as they are I have still treated them in separate analytical sections), were informed by a similar ethic. This ethic, that I describe as a desire for 'aura' or 'self expressive individuality' within the modern world has a genealogy stretching back, at least, to the Romantic Movement in Western Europe in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries (Blanning 2010; Kaufmann 2004). This Romantic ethic (Campbell 1987), of valuing one's creativity and individuality, in search of an 'integrated' sense of being, acts as a guiding thread in this thesis that informs my understanding, at the most abstract theoretical level, of the views and practices of the interviewees and participants in the research.

In terms of where my thesis' theoretical foundations lie in relation to influential theories in the social sciences then, we can see that Walter Benjamin's (1936) well known essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, and his idea of the authoritative 'aura' of art in pre-modern modes of development is very important. I suggest that, following Benjamin, artists often attempt to preserve the 'auratic' properties of objects and *their own lives,* through the pursuit of self-expressive individuality that takes on a secular sacred meaning in early modernity. This ethic informs a particular way of seeing the world, and this way of seeing is constructed through various practices and value positions throughout the 19th and 20th centuries in the West. This takes us to the ideas of Foucault (1966) in relation to the historical formation of 'epistemes' or 'discourses' as being important. Durkheim's (1915) idea of the development of a *shared ethic* of individualism (Aron 1969b; Marske 1987; Cladis 1992) within modern social relations is also very important but is taken a step further in the case of artists – into the realm of this *self-expressive* individuality (Hampson 1968; Blanning 2010; Kaufmann 2004; Campbell 1987). Bourdieu's

(1984) ideas of *habitus* and cultural capital are also drawn upon to demonstrate how this totemic value is promoted and protected through strategies of distinction and Othering.

Other theoretical writings on 'counterculture' (Roszak 1969; Leech 1973; Hebdige 1979; Green 1999; Young 2002; Braunstein and Doyle 2002; Heath and Potter 2005; Goffman and Joy 2004; Gair 2007;), bohemias (Siegel 1986; Wilson 2000; Grana 1964), the Romantic Movement (Wedd 1998; Campbell 1987; Blanning 2010; DeBotton 2002; Hampson 1968) and ideas on cultural diffusion (Caulfield 1989; Ley 1996), are also very important to the thesis. These latter theories allow us to view how the value systems of romantically inflected, self expressive creatives, have, through desires for cultural capital formed in relation to expanding education levels, become a much broader ethic, especially in relation to an emergent liberal middle class, in the post war era. More specific ideas in relation to place, gentrification, leisure and travel and tourism are discussed in relevant sections.

1.2 Case Study Description: The Ouseburn Valley

In this section we look at the development of the case study area – the Lower Ouseburn Valley in Newcastle upon Tyne. This allows us to view how the Valley has moved from being one of the earliest cradles of industrial production in Great Britain to being a cultural quarter or creative hub for Newcastle and the wider region. This section adopts a descriptive approach, giving a narrative overview of changes in the Valley, and especially concentrates upon changes since the millennium. This allows the discussions on, particularly, changing place that will be encountered in analysis section one to have a grounded context in material developments in the area.

1.2.1 The Ouseburn Valley – Geography and Topography

The Ouseburn Valley lies approximately 1 mile to the east of Newcastle city centre and borders on the Quayside area of the city. It is bounded to the east by Byker – of which the Valley was often seen to comprise a part of in the past – and to

some people is still a part of. The areas of Shieldfield and St. Ann's border the Valley to the West. The Valley is formed by a contributory to the Tyne – the River Ouseburn – that runs from near Newcastle airport, through the Gosforth area in the north east of the city, through Jesmond Dene (a landscaped urban park), and continues to flow alongside both Armstrong and Heaton Parks to the Tyne (Morgan 1995; Newcastle City Council, No Date). The river is diverted through a culvert, built in the early 20th century, (Newcastle City Council, No Date) at a specific section within the Sandyford area of the city, and is taken under this neighbourhood and reappears in the Valley some 400 metres later. Over the years, the Valley has undergone residential clearance – particularly in the 1930s and 1960s – and, due to being a tipping ground in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, undergone significant changes in its landscape. Indeed much of the Valley and its immediate outlying areas has been landscaped and greened due to manmade processes (Ouseburn Farm Management Committee 2005).

Figure 1.1 The Ouseburn Valley. Source: Ouseburn Trust. Note: this map was made before the opening of the barrage and the Toffee Factory, both of which reside opposite the Tyne Bar.

1.2.2 The Ouseburn Valley – Early Industry

The Valley bore witness to some of Tyneside's earliest industrial endeavours in the 17[h] century, due to the propensity of coal, flowing water for milling and its favourable location in proximity to the Tyne River (Morgan 1995). Glass making was central to the very early industry of the Valley in this period and later, in the 18th and early 19th centuries an array of manufacturing and industrial enterprises were located in the Valley including potteries, flax manufacture and flour milling, tanning, glue working, tailoring, butchery and, towards the end of the century, engine manufacturing, lead working and the Maynard's toffee factory (Morgan 1995). The Victoria Tunnel, a project designed to transport coal from the mines in and around what is now the town moor and the Spital Tounges area of Newcastle was also constructed in the mid 19th century, and now forms one of the most popular heritage attractions of the Valley (Newcastle City Council, No Date; Ouseburn Trust 2011).

One of the reasons that the Ouseburn Valley is seen to have, by chance, preserved some of the remnants of these early industrial architectures is due to the fact that the topography of the area was unsuitable for the large scale manufacturing and industrial plants that Tyneside became famous for in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Morgan 1995). The geographically cramped nature of the Valley and the fact that certain parts of land were still being used for manufacturing production in the 1970s combined to allow for a degree of preservation of the industrial architecture of the Valley, despite residential relocation, bombing during the second world war and the building of a Metro[1] bridge across the Valley in the early 1980s.

1.2.3 The Ouseburn Valley – Artist Settlers

The early 1980s saw the founding of the Lime Street Studios in the Valley with the purchase of the disused Cluny (Whiskey) Warehouse, that had previously been a flax factory and flour mill (Morgan 1995) in 1982 by Mike Mould. Mould and the Bruvvers Theatre Company began to use the building as a rehearsal space and in 1983 the lower floors begin to be rented out as artists spaces (Ouseburn Trust

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[1] The Metro System is Tyne and Wear's mainly overland, and sometimes underground, light rail system.

2012). In 1984 Pauline Murray moved Polestar Recording Studios to the Valley (ibid), and later (1990) moved location within the Valley. This period also saw the formation of the East Quayside Group in 1988, (Langley and Robinson No Date) that would lead to the East Quayside Group Monitoring Panel in 1990 – a forerunner of the Ouseburn Trust (Ouseburn Trust 2012; Langley and Robinson No Date). These groups were formed as a response to fears of encroachment of the TWDC[2] plans for redevelopment of the Quayside into the Valley and are made up of a community of interests in the Valley, including artists and the Church.

The late 1980s and early 1990s, saw a great deal of investment into Newcastle's adjacent Quayside area, in an effort to make it a centre of night-time and cultural consumption, alongside relatively expensive 'loft living' and new build housing projects (see Robinson 1988; Byrne 1999; Wilkinson 1992). This was also a period of increased interest in the heritage attributes of the emerging artists' colony of the Valley. The 1993 fire in the former Maynard's toffee factory building was a spur to the creation of the Ouseburn Trust (Ouseburn Trust 2012) that was formed from the East Quayside Group in 1995, due to fears that such events may have had links to attempts on behalf of property developers to clear land for new development (personal communication from Ouseburn Heritage volunteer), that would, it was feared bring the regeneration aesthetic into the Valley, and change the social fabric of the area (Ouseburn, 2008)

The Ouseburn Trust was formed in 1995 around an effort to claim funds from the third round of SRB[3] bidding (Ouseburn Trust 2012), a regeneration funding process that allowed local authorities, in conjunction with voluntary sector and private sector interests, to bid for central government fund matched and project-tied proposals, in the aim of developing deprived areas (Communities and Local Government 2007). The Trust's application, supported by the local authority and associated interests was successful and the £2.5m gleaned from the process was used to invest in upgrading of infrastructures in the Valley (Ouseburn 2008;

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[2] Tyne and Wear Development Corporation. One of a number of inner urban development organisations set up by the then Conservative government to encourage growth and consumption in declining or post-industrial areas of English cities. See Imrie and Thomas (1999).
[3] The Single Regeneration Budget

Newcastle City Council 2003). It was really around this time that we began to see the Ouseburn Valley developing at a much faster pace, with an increase in both public and private funding in the area leading to a raft of new developments that are aimed at encouraging leisure and cultural consumption in the Valley and the encouragement of creative industries in the area.

1.2.4 The Ouseburn Valley – Millennium to the Present

The last ten to fifteen years have seen an appreciable growth of enterprises in the Valley. What was to become the Cluny bar, a bar that is heavily involved in the promotion and staging of 'alternative' (mainly non chart) music was opened in 1999, and was expanded by the Head of Steam group when they took it over in 2004. The bar, opposite the 'village green' in the Valley is the largest in the area, has a small gallery space and, as all of the bars in the Valley do, (apart from perhaps the Ship Inn at the time of my study) supplies a wide variety of real ales. All of the six bars in the Valley, the Cumberland Arms, the Tyne, the Cluny, the Free Trade, the Tanners and to a lesser degree the Ship Inn (at the time of research), heavily promote the consumption of real ale. Recently a brewery has opened in the Gosforth area of the city (in the Brandling Villa pub, next to the Ouseburn River but some 2 miles from the Lower Valley) named the Ouseburn Valley Brewery. The brewery has many of its ales named after local themes and historically important personages (Armstrong Bitter; Grainger Special), perhaps partly ironically makes authenticity claims of "real beer for real people" on its website (http://www.ouseburnValleybrewery.co.uk/ (Ouseburn Valley Brewery 2012) and supplies a number of the pubs in the Valley.

The early millennium also saw the development of the Valley in terms of a number of public art projects – signifying the Lower Ouseburn as a 'creative space', and, following Zukin (1989), a signification to developers and business that the 'artistic mode of production' had arrived on Tyneside. This stance, of the Valley being specifically managed for creative businesses and 'alternative' leisure users (Chatterton and Hollands 2000), is explicitly supported by the Local Authority's regeneration strategy of 2003 (Newcastle City Council 2003). Very importantly the year 2000 saw the Lower Ouseburn Valley being adopted as a conservation area by the local authority. This, in many ways can be seen as an institutional validation of

the 'placeness' of the early-industrial aesthetic in the Valley, and as such future planning applications are subject to more stringent aesthetic and functional assessments (Newcastle City Council 2003).

Figure 1.2 The Cluny bar, with the 'village green' to the right. Source: Author.	**The Cluny bar, with the 'village green' as seen from Byker Bridge. Source: Author.**

The number of art galleries and work spaces also increased dramatically in this period. The Mushroom Works gallery opened in 2004 and the Biscuit Factory in 2006, and although both of these spaces could be said to be outside of the 'Lower Ouseburn Valley Proper', they are clearly in terms of economic and social alignment very much part of the area's creative industry scene. Spaces for creative industries have also been expanded during this period and only very recently, the former Maling pottery works, Hoults Yard, has been reopened as a workspace for creative digital industries, self described as a "funky and flexible office complex with character" (Hoults Managed Workspace Ltd 2008). In 2011 the former Maynards toffee factory opened as a hub for creative industries, selling its office space to prospective tenants, in a similar vein to Hoults, on the flexibility of space available and twenty four hour access to offices, allowing responsiveness to uncertain working

patterns and staff requirements (especially uncertain since the crisis of 2008) a hallmark of what Harvey (1989) has called 'flexible accumulation'.

Figure 1.3 Creative Workspace in the Ouseburn Valley – The Recently Opened Toffee Factory. Source: Author.

Even by 2003 the local authority estimated that because of 'locational advantages' some 300 businesses, mainly in the creative industries, and in leisure provision, were located in and around the Valley (Newcastle City Council 2003). In a meeting I attended with the Ouseburn regeneration officer at the Cumberland Arms in September of 2010, he suggested that the Valley, by that time contained 400 businesses in the creative sector in the Valley, and furthermore, the Valley had facilitated some 400, 000 leisure and tourist visits in the year 2009-2010 (see flyers in appendix 1 and 3 for examples of encouraging visitation). 2009 also saw the creation of an Ouseburn Ward in the city, for the first time, as the city's electoral boundaries were changed. The naming of a ward 'Ouseburn' is testament to the growing importance of the Valley in the city, and the fact that it had, through the early 2000s come under a more focussed gaze as an area for development and growth.

This period has also seen the opening of the Seven Stories centre for the children's book, a museum dedicated to children's literature that is located in the centre of the Valley, and the opening of a new regeneration centre at the mouth of the river. The relocation of the volunteer-run Star and Shadow cinema, described as embodying the do-it-yourself spirit of the early Ouseburn (Kell 2011), to a space rented from the Artworks Gallery occurred in 2006. The Artworks has since closed due to financial reasons – but the Star and Shadow remains, opposite The Tanners Arms. The rebuilding and reopening of Byker City Farm as 'Ouseburn Farm', an urban farm with an 'ecocentre' (Ouseburn Trust 2012) has also been an important event, as has the extension of the Stepney Bank Stables, a horse riding school and centre.

Figure 1.4 View of the Valley from Byker Bridge. This Image looks down Lime Street. Source: Author.

Figure 1.5 The Seven Stories Centre for the Children's Book – The entrance to 36 Lime Street Artists' Cooperative can be seen in the bottom left corner also

Summer of 2009 also saw an important infrastructural development completed – that of the barrage in the river (see figure 1.2). This development, opposite the Tyne pub in the Valley, allows for the Ouseburn's water levels to be varied and was explicitly pursued by the local authority to encourage leisure use and a 'better environment' in the Valley, as the river was seen to reveal "an unsightly exposed bed at low tide...a disincentive to future development" (Newcastle City

Council 2008; p1). Here we clearly see how the environmental management of the Valley is tied into growth and social (through leisure use) objectives of the local authority, and how the landscape of the Valley plays an important role in the cultural economy of the area. In total the local authority estimates that since 2003 the Lower Ouseburn Valley has seen £67 million of investment with fifty physical regeneration projects being undertaken in this period.

Figure 1.6: The Ouseburn Barrage; here 'open' or 'up'. Source: Author.

During the 2000's as creativity was being seen as a viable growth strategy for Western cities (Florida 2002; Peck 2005; Evans 2009), within the global division of labour, we can see that the growth potential of the Valley in relation to wider

economic regeneration agendas becomes more focused (BNG[4] 2007; p17) and the Ouseburn area is identified as "clearly the creative heart of Newcastle Gateshead". This same report identified a number of other possible creative clusters in the Newcastle and Gateshead areas, and recognises the importance of historicity and heritage, plus affordability in attracting artists, more commercial creative industries, and wider consumption on behalf of broader reference group attracted to such *habitus*. As such we can see clearly how regeneration policies can be tied to cultural capitals and economic possibilities found within the gentrification or regeneration processes discussed earlier.

Minton (2003), clearly following Florida's (2002) thesis, makes similar points in relation to expanding the creative sector in the city through the advocacy of the generation of cosmopolitan urban environments seen to be attractive to such workers who crave "authenticity and gritty reality" (Minton 2003; p33; see figure 1.3). Place, individuality and authenticity are all seen to be important components of a city's "urban soul" (Minton 2003; p15), and tellingly there is a picture of the Free Trade Inn, one of the Valley's pubs, as a signifier of placeness in this report. In Minton's report we can see that the creation of (or the maintenance of) the ambience of cosmopolitan-bohemianism is quite clearly in the realm of policy circles in relation to the city.

The city authority, in combination with the Ouseburn Trust has another regeneration document that is due for ratification in May 2012. This policy assessment and plan, the *Ouseburn Regeneration and Action Plan (draft)* (Newcastle City Council 2012), suggests that the Valley is now well and truly integrated into the growth agenda of the local authority. The latest document suggests that, although funding issues in the public, private and third sectors, due to the recessionary tendencies in the economy and the drive towards fiscal constraint, will be affected, the local authority wishes to "enable the area to use its assets so that it is globally competitive in a global knowledge based economy" (Newcastle City Council 2012; p5).

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[4] Bridging Newcastle Gateshead

Figure 1.7 "Authentic and Gritty"? The intricate post industrial aesthetic of the Valley. Source: Author.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

The second part of this introduction gives an overview of the case study area of the 'home' environment – the Ouseburn Valley in Newcastle upon Tyne. We are able to trace its growth in this section from a derelict area that is initially populated by a small number of 'settler artists' to an increasingly popular area for leisure consumption that is linked into the local authority's desire for economic growth through creative production. Chapter 2 looks at the formation of the self-expressive ethic of individuality that informs the worldviews and practices of working artists and creatives in both the 'home' and 'away' environment. We see how this ethic clearly comes into being through Romantic reactions to enlightenment and emergent modernity. This section traces this ethic in various creative-countercultural

movements from Romanticism to Punk Rock. This meta concept can be seen to inform many of the following discussions.

Chapter 3 looks at the formation of bohemia as a spatial manifestation of this Romantic ethic. We see how bohemias are constructed as 'mythical' places in a dialectic relationship with imaginings of the ordered, rationalised and massifying tendencies of modernity. The growth of policy interest in bohemia as a 'growth strategy' within the remit of the creative class thesis is also discussed. In chapter 4 we look at processes of gentrification and the role of artists in these processes. Chapter 5 looks at leisure as a discreet category of life within modernity and as containing dedifferentiating directions in relation to work within more post-modern relations. We investigate the possibilities of creative leisure in this section as being related to the ethic of self-expressive individuality. In section 6 we look at how many narratives of the elsewhere have been informed by creative-countercultural imaginings, and how these imaginings often privilege the role of traveller, as a seeker of authentic individual experience over that of 'tourist' often imagined as an embodiment of massified, alienated and passive cultural experience.

The methodology chapter – chapter 7 – looks at how particular 'ways of seeing', understood as epistemes or paradigms of qualitative research, have many of their origins within critical discourses, that, in similarity with critiques emanating from creative-counterculture, see fault in objectivist and quantitative approaches to research. The qualitative paradigm is seen thus as a value position that is related to the political and cultural critiques of the post war countercultures. This section then focuses upon, and justifies, the specific qualitative approach and methodology utilised in this research. I argue for the validity of emic epistemologies and constructionist ontologies here, and suggest that the interview and participant observation methods have been the most useful to me and the most heavily used in the research. This section finishes by devoting considerable discussion to the actual process of my research and stresses the iterative nature of the links between data and theory in this process.

Chapter 8 initiates the analysis section. This first analysis chapter deals with the idea of the 'placeness' of the Ouseburn Valley to my interviewees and

participants. Here we are able to see how the distinctive 'industrial gothic' architectural legacy of the Valley, combined with the greenery of the environment, signifies uniqueness and distinction from the imagined elsewhere. This section discusses the elements of the Valley that are valued by the working artists I have interacted with there, and also discusses modes of denigrating the 'elsewhere' found in Other sections of the city. Here we clearly see the Valley being constructed as an 'auratic object', inalienable, and holding the possibilities of creative self expression within its bounds. This section also importantly focuses upon fears of gentrification within the Valley, and we view, through the eyes of many of the participants, how the Valley is perceived to have changed in recent years. We see how processes of regulation and cultural diffusion of its heritage aesthetic and leisure possibilities are linked to its increasing centrality as a 'development area' under the gaze of the local authority, and as a desired zone of leisure consumption on behalf of the broader middle class and, and how these developments herald a curtailing of the possibilities of self-expressive freedoms in the Valley.

The second analysis section, chapter 9, is devoted to discussing the ideas of work-leisure dedifferentiation for many working artists in the Valley. We see how the Valley's pubs are often sites of perceived non-massified leisure consumption and cosmopolitanism. There is a focussed discussion of one of the Valley's pubs – the Cumberland Arms – as a 'totemic' expression of the wider values of many of its users. As well as embodying the idea of placeness, the Cumberland also acts as a place of networking that signifies dedifferentiation of work and leisure, and is importantly an environment constructed as a realm of cosmopolitanism, where difference, *within boundaries*, is encouraged. The pub is also an important site of 'creative leisure' where there is a degree of self-produced, and sometimes spontaneous artistic performance. As such it is a site that embodies much of the meta-ethic of self-expressive individuality.

The final analysis section, chapter 10, discusses the travel and tourism biographies and preferences of my participants. Here we are able to link the positions of working artists in the Valley to discourses of the elsewhere. We are also able to view accounts of practices when 'away' from the home environment to wider

ideas. This chapter hints at the fact that there is a good degree of integration between the home and away lives of many of the working artists, with the elsewhere often being viewed as a source of inspiration for artistic work. Here we see how the environments that are sought when travelling or on holiday are often other bohemias, or 'off the beaten track' areas of large cities. We see that there is a strong leaning towards Romantic tourist roles, and a strong desire to identify with position of 'traveller' and to denigrate that of 'tourist'.

Chapter 11 concludes the thesis by re-exploring the common themes of the thesis found in the theory sections and the analysis. Firstly I suggest that the practices and discourses held and promoted by the interviewees, all, in some way, are informed at the meta level by the ethic of self-expressive creativity. This may seem a little obvious, for, in the modern world, this is essentially *what artists do.* But we can see that this ethic is not merely found in the realm of artistic production, but permeates desires for cosmopolitan placeness, for creative and distinctive 'leisure', and for experiences when away and travelling or on holiday. As such, the 'practice of everyday life' of many of the participants in the research, involves a pursuit of 'aura', both in the production of the self and objects, and in the experiences of places and practices. The conclusions also show how the aspects of lifestyle of working artists discussed in this thesis relate to theoretical consideration in the areas of gentrification studies and leisure and tourism studies. It is argued that paying heed to some of the practices and worldviews of artists is important, as, due to processes of cultural diffusion, the ways of artists often inform broader cultural and consumptive trends to come.

1.4 Conclusions

This introductory section has given an overview to the three aspects of lifestyle that have become central to the investigation of artists' worlds over the process of this research. We have seen an overview of the major theoretical concerns that will appear in the thesis, and I have introduced the guiding theoretical thread of self-expressive individuality. I have acknowledged both theoretical and empirical limitations to the study here, and I have set out in a clear manner the structure of the thesis. In this section we have also specifically focussed upon the

Ouseburn Valley's development from a derelict post-industrial area to an important focus of growth strategies in the regional economy. This process has been informed by the allure of such landscapes and the affordability of workspaces found there on behalf of pioneer artists. We can see that the Valley has developed and grown in relation to meta changes in the global economy, where the West now takes on much more of a role in creating new markets for goods, and infusing products with 'design value'. The Valley has also appealed to an expanding taste-public with desires for heritage, place and diversity.

Chapter 2: The Self Expressive Individual as a Collective Ideal

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter of the thesis is to anchor the following discussions, in both the literature review and the data analysis, around a key concept. This concept, a central and governing one for the entire thesis, is based in the idea that creatives and counterculturalists, have, from the late 18th century onwards, given great value to an ethic of *self-expressive individuality*. This group ethic of self-expressive individuality, I argue, takes on a role of secular sacred meaning to artists and intellectuals within early modernity. Through cultural diffusion (Caulfield 1989; Ley 1996; Kaufmann 2004), mainly through the expansion of tertiary education, especially in the liberal arts and romantically inflected humanities-social sciences, in the post World War II era, it spreads to broader sections of what can be termed the 'liberal middle class'. The lifeworlds of this broad group are, therefore, to the present day, heavily permeated by the ethic of individual self expression, and this ethic, in consumer culture, now reaches even further throughout the social fabric with the promotion of self-expressive individuality within the "economy of signs". This leads us to the point whereby expressive individuality is, in fact, a widely held collective ethic, and where the desire for distinctive objects, architectures and expressions of the self are contained within *normative* rather than antinomian frameworks of cultural life.

In relation to these foundations, recent theory such as the creative class thesis (Florida 2002), along with other writings (Brooks 2000; Ray and Anderson 2000) propose that in conditions of Western postmodern work and consumption, the divisions between this self expressive ethic, that is heavily indebted to the Romantic Movement, and 'bourgeois' or 'utilitarian' styles of life embodying a strong work ethic have arguably, only for some however, become fused. Romantic and countercultural values, based around the primacy of individual experiences and expressions have also (some would say ironically, as this hints at 'cooptation' or 'incorporation') arguably become central to 'psycho-social' desires in consumer capitalism (Campbell 1987; Frank 1997; Heath and Potter 2005; Goffman and Joy 2004) in

postmodern modes of consumption (Featherstone 1991; Lury 1996; Bocock 1994) within the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 2011).

2.2 The Values of Creative Countercultures

In relation to specific sociological and cultural theory, countercultural values, centred on the elevation of individual expression in art and life, are understood and discussed in this thesis as a socially constructed sense of inalienable *aura*, similar to Walter Benjamin's (1936) concept of the 'sacred and unique' property of non mass produced art . This concept of *aura*, as I am using it, differs slightly from Benjamin's as it refers to an ideal of self-authored expressiveness that becomes a binding ethic. This is a shared social value that bestows esteem for the self and others, and follows Durkheim's (1915) concept of the totemic[5] function of religion; its "collective representations" (ibid; p230), and Bourdieu's (1984) concept of *Habitus*. The reverence for the artist and artistic ways of being in the world allows for in-group bonding for 'educated' (i.e. literate), often critically minded, generally 'middle class' people as Romantic values become transmitted to the reading public in the 19th century (Darnton 1984; Kean 2004). This idea of aura as I am using it then does not simply refer to the social meaning of art objects, but to a broader way of inhabiting the world and ideal notions of the self that are in turn informed by a group ethic, that values difference, diversity and the creative expression of difference and diversity through the 'work of the self'.

Importantly, and following Parsons (1975; cited in Martin 1979; Turner 2005) this ethic also appears in a much expanded form due to the explosion of university education, and associated exposures to the ideal of critical and 'individualised' modes of thinking and creative expression, in the counterculture of the 20th century post war years (see Roszak 1969; Ley 1996; Martin 1979; Turner 2005; Kauffman 2004). During the post war years, the notion that the "self is sacred" (Heelas, 1996; p2), an essentially (and essentialist) "romanticist conception of the self" (Hautman

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[5] For Durkheim totemism involves a material inscription of cultural values onto animals and objects – whereas 'aura' here is really being treated as a concept. It is argued that 'aura' as a central desire of creative individual expression in relation to a peer group in a distinctive non-massified environment is materialised in the totemic guise of the Cumberland Arms, an iconic pub in the Ouseburn Valley.

and Aupers 2007; p307), described by the latter two authors in relation to New Age religion, becomes tied to artistic creativity as a prominent ethic for a broader group; the expanding "cosmopolitan" (Kaufmann 2004) liberal middle class. This ideal, I will argue, however, has its origins earlier, and becomes valued at the turn of the 19th century, through Romantic imaginings of the world and the centrality of creative individualism to spiritual life. Essentially, during this period, the romanticised figure of the artist becomes a 'secular-spiritual' totem, that, for many, begins to create a new 'secular-spiritual' direction for the *individual* within modern social relations, and more functionally allows a 'filling of the void' left by declining faith in the church and scripture (Campbell 1987; Wedd 1998; Blanning 2010).

The identification of these values is intended to generally inform the discussions and analysis of my primary data in the three analysis chapters in this thesis. These values are often strongly linked to the identities, orientations and stated motivations of the participants in this research, their perceptions of the Ouseburn Valley and their desires when travelling or on holiday. However, importantly, the fact remains that we must not view these values as exclusively Romantic, or only 'possessed' by 'romantically inflected' working artists or even the broader liberal middle class of which they form a specific fracture. The fact that these values are often adopted, at different points, and often in relation to specific stages in the lifecycle (c.f. *Youthquake* by Leech (1973); Campbell 1987) and specific practices (i.e. going to see a rock band), by people inhabiting 'Western mindscapes' point to the persistence and depth of 'countercultural' and Romantic imaginings in Western life. We have to also consider the fact that Romantic sensibilities themselves were forged within much *broader* struggles for intellectual, social, political and economic freedoms in Western Europe and America at the end of the 18th century (Hampser Monk 1994; Siegel 1987; Hampson 1968; Campbell 1987). These broader values, classically contained for example in the American Bill of Rights of 1776, have made a strong cultural impact on ideas of the autonomy and primacy of the individual in political, economic and social spheres the West.

Following these contextual points, the values of romanticism and creative countercultures are not seen to be 'owned by a group' but are rather a worldview that

many people, and indeed power structures[6], in the West have access to and 'use' on occasions – further, certain romantic sensibilities can ironically be used to enforce senses of 'one people one soil'; as such these impulses can appear antithetical to the cosmopolitan desire for diversity and individuality. This is most obvious in relation to romanticism that has informed many dominant and often everyday (Billig 1995) Western self-representations in the "corporate soul" (Russell 1946; p703) of nationally 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983) – for example William Blake's *Jerusalem* is an 'unofficial English national anthem', and romantic imaginings from Walter Scott's pen greatly influenced the construction of a tartan and highland identity for Scotland (Devine 2000; Aitchison et al 2000). Many popular views of nature have also been strongly influenced by romanticism and these realms are often experienced through leisure and tourism practices (c.f. Urry's romantic gaze 2002), by people desiring escape, difference or respite from the workaday world, often similarly demarked as 'profane' within romantically ordered dualities.

Romantic values then, permeate many activities in the West, from solitary hill walking to hedonistic leisure and from imaginations of nations' histories to 'exoticisms' in film and literature[7]. Further examples of the links between 'the mainstream' and romantically inflected countercultures can be seen in bourgeois desire for bohemia in 19th century Paris (Seigel 1986), 'straights' on the 'hip' jazz scene (Becker 1951), and the massive influx of young tourists (not all 'committed' hippies) to Heights-Ashbury in San Francisco in the summer of 1967 (Medeiros 2005). There is thus an interpolation between 'terranean' and 'subterranean' values and practices that Young (1971) describes as having been ever present – but with those who spend *too much time* underground becoming castigated for indulgence. In short then, although many 'oppositional voices' from within Romanticism and later romantically inflected countercultures in the West may desire separation from, and claim no affinity with, the perceived dominant culture (see de Botton 2004; Siegel

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[6] Especially in appealing through media and political campaigning to tropes of national identity – The image of George Bush Junior wandering through the Texan landscape wearing a Stetson, jeans and rawhide boots for example has obvious connotations of romantically inflected solitary male strength within the beauty of 'our country'.

[7] Perhaps 'The Western' as a film genre, especially in its re-imaginings from the 1960s onwards is an example of many of these Romantic tropes. If this is so, we can also view Romanticism as a worldview imbued with rampant masculinity (c.f. Durham 2004)

1986; Frank 2001; Grana 1964) many people, to a greater or lesser degree, inhabit both terrains – regardless, oppositional voices are always bound to, and dialectically engaged with perceived to be 'dominant' practices and discourses[8].

2.3 The Depth and Breadth of Creative Countercultures

Although many descriptions of creative countercultures often stress their 'antinomian' (see Westhues 1970 for a discussion of this and emergent hippy norms), 'disordered' (Martin 1979) or libertine natures (c.f. Goffman and Joy 2004; Leary 2004), various 'movements' from Romanticism through to the counterculture of the 1960s share strong commonalities. These commonalities are centred around concerns as to the 'loss of aura' of both works of art and of life itself. To reiterate aura is, to follow, and possibly slightly alter Walter Benjamin's (1936) idea of the term here, being used to denote a sense of specific 'secular sacred' meaning that a group of people may attach to a person or an object that gives it a sense of *sacredness* and *uniqueness*; a normative (as promoting individuality it is ironically shared) ethic that pursues the value of distinctiveness through self-expressive individualism.

The loss of this aura of objects, people and communities as having a distinct sense of identity and place in time and space is, for example, at the end of the 18th century critiqued by proto-romantics William Blake, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau in relation to the emerging modern world. This modern world is seen to be defined by Blake through growing empirical-rationalism, industrialism and urbanism, in England, (Cantor 2004) and by J.J. Rousseau in relation to modern manners, society and institutions in France (Hampson 1968; Hampsher-Monk 1992). It is in relation to these developments, and associated encroaching secularity at this time, that the desire for aura – original productions of poetry, prose, art or music – as an expression of the "inner voice" (Hampson 1968) of a 'secular-spiritual' figure – the artist – becomes more important to figures such as Blake and Rousseau (Russell 1946; Campbell 1987; Blanning 2010).

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[8] As will be argued in relation to the elsewhere, and particularly primitivism and exoticism, 'oppositional voices' have often validated essentialised imaginings of Others rather than challenging these powerful and totalising constructions.

Essentially then it is important to recognise that early critiques of European society by people such as Blake and Rousseau were directed towards the *anomic* social form identified by later sympathetic intellectuals such as Weber, Marx, Durkheim and Simmel as *modernity*. In similarity with these romantically inflected (see Campbell 1987) sociologists it is often concerns with alienations in labour practices and bureaucratic modes of governance, the 'disenchantment' of the world through rationalism[9], and rising social relations of fractured, anomic instrumentalism that are shared territories of critique; and these point to a sometimes non-critical acceptance of the 'dominant myth' of disenchantment among intellectuals and counterculturalists (Saler 2006) in relation to modernity.

In many ways this discourse of disenchantment is central to the thesis, and informs, especially in the realm of various Otherings that my interviewees and participants offer, a meta-imagining of the negative aspects of the modern and post-modern world. It will be hence argued that it is in opposition or ambivalence to the processes and end results of modern (usually capitalist but not always) ways of production, including high divisions of labour and bureaucratic management, systems of mass production and the coming of the industrial 'mass society' that creative countercultural imaginings and oppositions have always defined themselves. In this sense then the antinomian character of creative countercultures have always been in a dialectic tussle with perceptions of the limits and constraints of dominant forms of modernity, and therefore have often been discursively ordered around opposition to interpretations of this dominant discourse and the social practice of modernity.

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[9] A striking similarity in this regard can be found in E.A. Poe's (1829) *Sonnet to Science* and Weber's idea of disenchantment.

2.4 Modernity – Rationalisation as a Constraint on the Expressive Self

Proto Romantic William Blake and his poem *Mock on Mock on, Voltaire, Rousseau*, written in 1804 can be seen to encapsulate many of the critical (and dialectically formed) values of oppositional creative countercultures from this period onwards. In this famous poem, Blake demonstrates a sarcastic and suspicious attitude towards 'enlightened' trends in Western thought. However, there is a subtlety at work here. Blake is not critiquing the movement towards enlightened thought in all of its forms, and indeed as with Rousseau, who also contributed towards the continental enlightenment's major work, the *Enyclopédie,* (see Darnton 1984) welcomed many of its developments (Cantor 2004).

For Blake there is a value to be found in reasoned, methodical and scientific thinking in relation to the world (Cantor 2004), and at this time this way of thought had obvious implicit critiques of existent religious and state authorities – with their concomitant epistemological orderings of power and the social world (c.f. Foucault 1966). It is however, the *limits* of such a world view that elevates reason, materiality and the methods of science as a 'totally liberating' force that is being critiqued (Cantor 2004). Blake is really saying here that reason, and empirical understandings of the world are 'not enough' for human beings, and do not replace or render redundant 'needs' for spirituality, creativity and wholeness, or 'auratic presences' in the world. He is suggesting that humans need an integrated sense of self, and an idea of wholeness in the world around them – both of these things are challenged by the particularising qualities of modern science and industry.

In this sense then we can again see that romantic sensibilities are formed *within* the same critical "intellectual soil" (Hampson 1968) as enlightenment thinking, and in relation to many 'core values' "grew out of it" (Campbell 1987; p181). The values of centred-individualism (Campbell 1987; Hall 1992), autonomy and anti-authoritarianism (Goffman and Joy 2004[10]) are common to both enlightenment and romanticism, and as Siegel (1987) suggests, the romantic worldview and the

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[10] Goffman and Joy (2004) stress how enlightenment thinkers such as Diderot and Voltaire were indeed 'dangerous' for their time, and how this trend towards empirical and reasoned thought was itself a 'counterculture'.

bohemian lifestyle it inspired, although often painting the utilitarian and the 'bourgeois' as 'the enemy', was often formed in relation to essential desires for freedoms, individualisms and autonomies shared by, but interpreted differently, by each social grouping. Individualism then, has to be viewed as a nuanced concept, with different European national cultures also expressing it in different forms (C.F. Lukes 1973) Essentially then, creative countercultures, in their origins, critique the limits of rationality and reason, and the tendency of Enlightenment thought to "narrowness" (Campbell 1987, p182) or reductionism in relation to human experience of the world (Blanning 2010), and, importantly, the reduction of the 'sacred' sphere. This root of Romantic critique of utilitarianism, reason and empiricism however, can be seen to widen and become more entrenched as modernity advances in the West and becomes associated in later modernity with for example destruction (the atomic bomb) and genocide (the bureaucratically managed concentration camp).

Critiques of the modern world emanating from creative groupings represent a more or less continuous thread of romantically inflected orientations in Western thought from the early eighteenth century onwards (De Botton 2002; Goffman and Joy 2004; Campbell 1987). The spread of literary and philosophical Romantic ideas, along with lifestyle practices, from principally France (Rousseau and, later, bohemianism), Germany (Goethe and the *Sturm und Drang*) and Britain (the Romantic Poets and Authors) in the late 18th and early 19th centuries also moved across the Atlantic and became manifest in American Transcendentalism with Ralph Waldo Emerson and David Henry Thoreau, and the darker, more cynical Gothic prose of E. A. Poe.[11] These loose groupings often found themselves in opposition to a rationalising or reasoning mode of modernity, where the human being is defined as a 'centred' and rational universal actor (see Hall 1992; Hampson 1968, for a discussion of Enlightenment views on human nature as dominated by utilitarian reason) and where the attainment of utility or happiness (c.f. Hampsher-Monk 1992

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[11] Poe despised the Transcendentalists and referred to them as 'frogpondians'. It was their benign view of nature and human nature that differed from his darker visions. This division between 'optimistic' and 'pessimistic' Romanticism is often evident and can for example be seen in the differences between protest singers' music, such as Dylan, Joan Baez and Joni Mitchell, in the 1960s and the more solitary and less progressive/political visions of the Velvet Underground or even the Doors (see Witts 2002).

on Bentham), through material possession is considered the purpose of human action.

Very importantly, all of the individuals and movements listed in the above paragraph can be seen to in one way or another be searching for 'sacred experience' that (this is obvious for Emerson and Thoureau) *transcends* the limits of the utilitarian profane. This searching is often manifest in the intense devotion to art, prose or poetry that is often seen at the time as an *essence* of the romantic personality (Campbell 1987; de Botton 2002; Seigel 1987; Blanning 2010), and stands against the 'atomising' or 'disintegrated' idea of the self as a fractured being within modern divisions of labour[12] and scientistic challenges to ideas of spirituality. The collapse of authority of the Church in the later 18th century, for many romantics, combined with increasing 'colonisation of the life world' by rational, utilitarian and profane modernity means that spirituality is searched for elsewhere (Wedd 1998; Campbell 1987; Blanning 2010), and, as Hautman and Aupers suggest (here in relation to modern "New Ageism"; but equally applicable to the late 18th Century) there is a "relocation of the sacred" (2007, p315) from the realm of organised religion into individual spirituality.

One outcome of this searching for a new realm of the sacred is that spirituality becomes associated with the aura of art itself, and the auratic life of the artist (Blanning 2010) as a 'priest' (Pevsner 1975). An 'inner voice' (Hampson 1968) or 'genius' of originality (Blanning 2010), becomes equated with an *expression* (Ibid; Martin 1979) of *authentic* spirituality (Campbell 1987; Blanning 2010); a romantic example of this effort to turn art into the 'spiritual and eternal' can be found through the immortalising function of art in Keats' famous 1820 poem *Ode on a Grecian Urn*.

Following this, and in line with Durkheim's ideas of the 'cult of the individual' (Marske 1987; Aron 1969b) or the 'sacralization of the individual' (Cladis 1992), with individuality becoming a shared ethic of moderns, artists, become 'secular prophets' able to harness the emotionality and creative side of this individualism, and to 'see

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[12] This is of course very similar to Marx's earlier ideas of alienation as representing a break from his state of nature as a maker – creativity and a desire for 'the whole' being concomitant. C.f. Hampsher-Monk (1992).

beyond' the everyday, and an increasingly rationalised and secularised, or fractured and profane, existence within modernity – and it is this that Blake calls for in his poem. Artists, then, support the wider 'bourgeios' freedoms of the 19th century, such as individuality and autonomy (Siegel 1986), yet turn these freedoms to creative and emotive expressiveness, imagined now as a kind of Gnostic 'divine spark' (Campbell 1987; Blanning 2010; Hampson 1968) rather than the exercise of civil duties or rights of property ownership (again see Lukes (1973) on how this relates to different forms of modern individualism). It is the central importance of individuality and creative impulse as an expression of inner spirituality within the work of art, that allows for 'communion' with the decoder (reader, viewer, listener etc) of the cultural object that allows for its sense of aura – or a secular spirituality.

In relation to this, and moving back across the Atlantic again, we see clear reactions to the 'attack upon aura' that modernising impulses represent, can be found in the Arts and Crafts Movement of the 19th Century in England, with William Morris decrying the machine as the enemy of meaningful and creatively produced arts (Pevsner 1975). The Arts and Crafts Movement, embodied in the work and thought of Willam Morris, was a movement that can be viewed as a direct response, on behalf of artists, to preserve their autonomy and sense of expressivity in the light of growing forms of machine production in late 19th century Britain (Pevsner 1975; Crawford 1997; Tomes and Armstrong 2010). This association of designers and producers, inspired in part by the writings and work of John Ruskin, can be described as an artistic-political grouping that wished to do a number of things, these included: challenging the hierarchy of Victorian art, that placed craftsmen and 'makers' at the bottom of the order of aesthetic production; the infusing of individualistic and creative production techniques into the making of ornaments and furnitures; and finally the movement sought to challenge the contemporary *standard* middle class tastes of the age (Crawford 1997; Tomes and Armstrong 2010).

All of these three points are important, and link directly to our concept of aura. The first of these aspects points towards a democratization of what the arts are and what forms of expression are valid as sacred or worthy of having auratic prescence. This point has clear links to ideas that the Romantic poets espoused in their

challenge to formal writing and their ideas of what poetry should be about – for example the expression of the simplicity and beauty of the everyday that can be found in the writing of Blake and later Wordsworth and Coleridge in their Lyrical Ballards – such beauty for Morris could be found in a chair, as well as a neo-classical portraiture. The second point suggests that the processes of production of objects should include a form of *creative self expression*, and that people should be able to pursue this means of production as an 'end' in its own right. Here we see the experience of 'making' as an individual and expressive 'auratic process', highly antithetical to machine production.

The last point again suggests individuality, as hand crafted goods are seen, by the Arts and Crafts Movement, to distinguish the realm of auratic production (their realm) from the desacralised mode of consumption of fashionable and factory made goods, found en masse in late Victorian department stores (Crawford 1997), although interestingly, in practice, Morris's rhetoric did not always match his activities; Tomes and Armstrong (2010) discuss how he did in fact produce wallpaper design for machine manufacture. The irony of the Arts and Crafts Movement's desire to spread the ethic of appreciation of good design, founded on unified artisan labour, was, however, that the rejection of the machine and the economies of scale it provided led to the situation where many of Morris' and his contemporaries' products were too expensive for purchase on behalf of ordinary middle class consumers, leading to the products acting *de facto* as signifiers of distinction for the wealthy.

Perhaps the most salient point to consider in relation to the Arts and Crafts Movement then, is that it was a movement that was self-consciously involved in a dialectic (and didactic) resistance to aspects of modernity and modern life, particularly in its "moral" (Tomes and Armstrong 2010, p30) response to the modern, factory-based realm of labour and production that Morris and his associates saw to be alienating and dehumanising. These aspects of 'dehumanisation' and 'alienation' were seen through the prism of an ideal, as discussed above, that places individual creative expression as an essence of human-being. This movement then can be clearly seen to incorporate the struggle for 'aura' at its core – both the aura of

individual objects and the deeper spiritual significations of individual-expressiveness that they represent.

The central ethic of autonomous self production, however, as well as having backward links to the Romantic Movement (Crawford 1997, p25 in fact describes Arts and Crafts as a an attempt to apply "the spirit of Romanticism to everyday work"), also bears strong similarities to ideals of democratic accessible individual production that can be found in much later movements, such as Punk. Punk, like all *popular* music forms did though, ironically, rely upon techniques of mass production and marketing/popular criticism (vinyl pressing / music journalism), for its ethic of self-expression to reach a larger audience (Savage 1991). This tension between commercial populism and auratic self expressiveness materialised in the 'inalienable' object or ouvre (the subject of the Sex Pistols' song *EMI*), that signifies, in the romantic imagination, 'authenticity' (the sacred territory of self expression) and its unhappy relationship with massification (the banal 'disenchanted' spectre of modern production), was also conteseted in the ideas and practices of the Bauhaus, the early 20th Century school of art and design initiated by Walter Gropius, one of the founding fathers of modernist-functionalism.

The Bauhaus originated in 1919, and in Gropius' founding manifesto stressed the importance of the 'auratic presence' in the role of art, craft and design, and "embraced self expression and individuality" (Marcus 2008, p346). This intention, was, in part, in the tradition of other artistic movements as we discussed above, to 'shock the bourgeoisie' (c.f. Wolfe 1981), and was in part, ironically aimed at "a revolt against the machine, specifically at mass produced kitsch imitations of sumptuous hand crafted styles" (Tomes and Armstrong 2010). Although the Bauhaus, taking its early lead from the Arts and Crafts Movement, was initially concerned with the unity of the arts as realms of auratic self expression, the later direction of the school, emerging clearly in 1923 (ibid), saw an attempt to view 'design' as a union of both *science* and art, (Wolfe 1981) embracing the possibilities of the machine and its 'clean aesthetics' to produce "good design" (c.f. Tomes and Armstrong 2010) for the mass market.

Gropius, with experience of the devastating use of modern mass produced weaponry in the first world war wanted to turn the machine to more benign or 'utopian' ends, and bring an enlightened and rational *zeitgeist* to everyday life through a material didacticism founded in objects and architectures. This desire for rationalism, and for formal rules of "good design" can be seen to have influenced (and was influenced by) the aesthetic of functional-modernism, where linear and non decorative forms expressed most clearly the planned, simple, utilitarian *purpose* of the object or edifice in question (Pevsner 1936; Droste 2002). Although Gropius believed that the individuality of the artist/designer could be transmitted to the population *en masse* through machine production, and as such, a preservation of auratic individuality, to a degree, was possible (Droste 2002) the Bauhaus, post 1923 sought to in some ways 'erase the hand' of the artist (Marcus 2008) from the aesthetic of production.

The foundational direction, influenced by the principle of artistry as found in the Arts and Crafts movement, and a desire to 'transmit' the expressive work of the individual to a larger market, was then superseded by the desire for 'design' as founded in machine aesthetics and heavily influenced by Dutch De Stijl artists concerned with principles of form and more structured teaching methods aimed at principles of expression rather than individually tailored tutoring (Droste 2002). This perhaps, almost allegorically, illustrates the broader point of modernism as a general reflective enterprise that began with critical orientations towards the meaning of modernity (Rodrigues and Garrett 2004) changing into a more 'self confident', coherent, and disciplined movement.

Later strains in modernism can be seen to have been founded in promotions of shared techniques and principles, rather than individually expressive and critical engagements with modernity (ibid). Desires to create an 'ordered world' through, for example, Le Corbusier's ultra rational city plans (that were of course never truly realised[13]) and 'total Modernism' (Donald 1992), that sought to use architectural

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[13] See a model of Le Corbusier's Paris design at:
 http://www.oobject.com/9-utopian-architectural-projects/le-corbusier039s-utopian-plan-to-demolish-paris/8608/

design, in particular, for utopian ends through the "construction of a social project" (Harvey 1989a, p66), was aimed, ultimately, at the production of 'rational' and ordered citizenries; human bodies efficiently circulating within a figurative urban machine. In relation to both the geographical spread and homogeneity of these ideals, Wolfe (1081, p40) describes the 'international style' of functional and 'pure' architectural form as "nothing less than the first great universal style since the Medieval and Classical revivals, and the first truly modern style since the Renaissance" (Wolfe 1981, p40).

This less critical and more aligned homage to the machine *zeitgeist* of the early 20th century is perhaps encapsulated best by the messianic worship of the speed and power of the times by the Italian futurist movement (Rodrigues and Garrett 2004) that worshipped at the altar of the modern spectacle, finding beauty and joy in scenes such as the: "vibrant nightly fervor of arsenals and shipyards blazing with violent electric moon" (Marinetti, T, F. (1972. orig: 1909). As we will see, the replication of architectures and artefacts founded in essentialist-modernist principles of 'good design' as promoted by the later Bauhaus, and adopted by town planners in many places (Rodrigues and Garrett 2004), became targets for great critique in later discourses on massification, machine aesthetics and the place of the individual in modern society. Experiences of the use of technology and mass production for total war also dampened the enthusiasm for the spirit of the age as shown by Marinetti above.

It can, therefore, be argued, that the (post 1923) Bauhaus played its part in a broader understanding of the role of designer[14] as a distinct *modern* type of *technically educated* and *formal* occupation within the emergent 'mass society'[15] (Walker 1989). Although Gropius called for a unity of art and technology we can see, through the development of the Bauhaus, a bifurcation of the role of artist/craftsperson and the *designer* with the latter taking on a quite precise and anonymous (as they are bound by technical rules of 'good practice') role in the

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[14] Droste further supports the idea that this is a *very* modern specialisation, distinct from that of artist, due to the fact that the word was not used in Germany until 1945.
[15] 'Design' was, before modern divisions of labour, and the modern-romantic conception of the 'artist' seen in the *Renaissance* as the basis of all visual arts (Walker 1989).

modern division of labour[16]. The division between the artist and the designer, although contestable (see Walker 1989; Bloemink 2004) is therefore often founded on the idea that the product of design is of a 'functional' nature (Bloemink 2004) and that art, as we have discussed previously, is seen by Romantically inflected moderns to inhabit the realm of the spiritual. This view, of the practicable nature of design and the 'spiritual' nature of expressive art was held by Kandinsky (Droste 2002), one of the Bauhaus' most famous instructors, and points to the difficulty of unifiying 'market focussed design' with 'art'.

2.5 Post War Countercultures – Massification and Fordism as an Attack on the Sacred Self

It can be strongly argued then, that art and the artist become imbued with a kind of 'spiritual authority' over the burgeoning, culturally literate, middle class populations from the early 19th century onwards in Europe and America, despite the attempts of the Bauhaus to reconcile (or reunify) the spheres of technology and artistry. These movements, ranging from poetical expression to craft furniture manufacture, I have argued, are bound by a desire to protect and extend the ideal self expressive individuality; this idea I have discussed under the moniker of aura. The continuity of this ethic can, importantly, be seen in the 20th century as these associations between expressive individuality and spirituality are present in the counterculture of the 1960s (Roszak 1969; Leech 1973), as well as within American Transcendentalism and the Beat poets and authors that bridge these two movements.

American versions of Romanticism, introduced above, are important for discussions of more contemporary, or at least post-war movements in the West as it is in America that *the* 'counterculture' (named as such by Roszak 1969) emerged with a raft of criticisms of 'technocratic modernity' – seen by the 'intellectual leaders' of this movement such as Herbert Marcuse[17] (1955) and sympathetic commentators

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[16] This has subsequently been rechallenged in 'post modern' forms of design, and 'designer' goods (Walker 1989) where the individual imprint of the designer on the mass produced good (i.e. Terence Conran glasses) is assumed to be paramount.

[17] See Suri (2007; p59) for a discussion of Marcuse as a "Radical Celebrity".

such as Roszak (1969) as the ultimate manifestation of 'narrow scientism' in Western life. This post war period again demonstrated the close links between creative oppositional voices to the processes and effects of modernity and critical academic intellectual voices. The 1950s and the 1960s saw a number of sociological texts, discussed by Gair[18] (2007) that formed an intellectual strand opposed to 'Fordist Technocracy', that was also heavily critiqued by the emergent counterculture and the related (but more politically focussed) New Left movement in America.

Clear echoes of the Romantic-artistic desire for spirituality within the modern world are evident in the self descriptions of a number of the Beat poets, whose outlooks and practices informed much of the popular counterculture of the 1960s. The Beats adopted the word "beat" to describe themselves as, to Jack Kerouac, who coined the phrase, it seemed to illustrate the fact that they were part of a generation who were beset by materialism and conformity on one side, and the threat of nuclear annihilation on the other (Gair 2007; Green 1999; Goffman and Joy 2004). In this sense they were down and out – "beat", but still striving for spirituality and authentic self expression: "characters of a special spirituality…staring out the dead wall window of our civilization" (Kerouac 1957, quoted in Gair 2007, p37) who had been "rejected by society" (Ginsberg quoted in Green 1999). The desire for authentic self expression in Beat poetry and prose also meant the destruction of rules and formalism to allow for the emergence of the 'true self' in expression (Allen 1960) and this, very introspective and spontaneous approach to art shares many qualities with, for a range of chronologically disparate examples, earlier Romanticism (Blanning 2010; De Botton 2002), and Impressionism, and the 'autonomous ethic' of punk rock (Savage 1991; Hebdige 1979).

The Beats, their poems, prose and their lifestyles, that often venerated drug related and hedonistic 'hipster' lifestyles of the urban freeform or bebop jazz scenes (see Becker 1951), as well as the more classically Romantic ideal of spirituality in nature, are often viewed as a "rehearsal" (Green 1999, p39) for the "eruption of a

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[18] Gair includes William H Whyte's *The Organisation Man* (1956), Norman mailer's (1957) essay *The White Negro*, Paul Goodman's *Growing up Absurd* (1960) and Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), as examples of 'anti-Fordist' critical sociology.

fully fledged countercultural revolt" (Goffman and Joy; 2004) in the 1960s. Again, as we saw above in relation to the Romantics and earlier modernity, the target of much Beat and later 'hippy' (see Witts 2001 for a good description of the etymology; and Hebdige 1979 and Leech 1973 for further analysis of the links between the Beats and British youth culture) or countercultural opposition in the 1950s and 1960s was the way of life under rationalised modernity; this had reached a peak in Fordist-corporatist social, economic and political relations. Fordism can be seen as a system of economic production, a particular "industrial mode of development" (Castells 1996, p10), that above all relies upon a *planned and integrated* relationship between capital and labour to ensure effective demand and growing profitability with increases of material standards of living for the workforce (Fulcher 2006).

Fordism is typified by a large manufacturing working class, increasing divisions of labour, employment in large scale plants, nonflexible techniques of production, large undifferentiated consumer markets, and the growth of white collar bureaucracy and management work in industry and government (Lash and Urry 1987; Allen 1992; Harvey 1989a; Lury 1996; Jessop 1994). In the 1950s and 1960s, for initially the Beats (the wider sympathetic social grouping being known as 'Beatniks' from 1957 onwards) and the later much larger counterculture, this mode of industrial development becomes associated with an ever-growing, and malign, sphere of rational and utilitarian life, that through the dominant ethic of the primacy of economic growth and the perceived threat of communist subversion fosters a conformity of interests during this time. The cultural existence of human beings in such a social form, what Roszak (1969) refers to as the "Technocracy" (i.e. the rationalising and planning-led form of governance in the immediate post war decades), or what Leech (1973; p11) describes as a "complex, frantic, disjointed machine like experience of modern urban existence" can be seen to be the target of both the counterculture and to a certain degree the new left[19] during these years.

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[19] The 'new left' usually connotes student led activism from the 1960s onwards; particularly the 1960s and 1970s that had both radical and progressive (civil rights/anti Vietnam) agendas. 'New left' usually signifies a disillusionment with both 'existent collectivism' (especially totalitarian soviet socialism) and consumer capitalism (see Leech 1972 for a good discussion of its British type). There is much debate as to how closely linked the creative counterculture of the 1960s and the new left student movements of the same era actually

The above two paragraphs, can be seen to be outlining a by now quite familiar story of what the 1960s counterculture stood against in America (and following Leech 1973, the relevance of these debates in Britain also). However, following the earlier discussions of Romanticism and the ideal of the individual, and particularly the individual artist, as being a 'centre of spiritual expression' we can see that in large part, the critiques emanating from the counterculture of the time are often essentially rallying against the perception of *collective and disciplined* Fordist cultural life. Perceptions of this type of existence that reaches its ends through the control and standardisation of everyday working practices and consumer goods negates the possibilities of 'auratic' or 'secular spiritual' *expression* (Spates 1976; Blanning 2010) of individual essence so central to Romantic imaginings of the 'auratic' self and objects (of course objects are the central theme of Benjamin's original essay on aura and mechanical reproduction). It is this period that Talcott Parsons in 1975 saw as central to what he termed the *Expressive Revolution* where the ethic of creative individuality comes to the fore (also see Martin 1979; Turner 2005 for more discussions of Parsons' idea and related themes), or rather, as we have seen it has historical roots, becomes *popular*. The Romantic primacy of the self as a sacralized individual entity that is emotive and concerned with creative expression of a 'divine spark' then can be seen to inform a good deal of countercultural critique of social existence in the post war years.

The counterculture of the 1960s is seen by some commentators as a short lived phenomenon in its most identifiable form (Spates 1976). The decline of this 'movement' is interpreted as relating to the end of the military draft in the U.S. in 1972; the progress of the civil rights agenda into mainstream politics; the Manson killings; the effects of drugs; the Nixon conservative backlash and the general aging of the baby boom generation (Young 2002; Braunstein and Doyle 2002). The 'incorporation' of much artistic production (especially in terms of music) in the 1960s

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were (see Roszak; Young 2002; Rosinow 2002), with the relationship often seen as "complex and unstable" (Gair 2007; p8); the former being more individualistic and the latter more collectivist. There are clearly links however, especially in the charge that totalising forms of governance and regulation serve to alienate the individual in everyday life and, as in Europe at the same time with Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* (1968), 'ordinary culture' becomes a realm of the political. See Jerry Rubin's Yippie Manifesto (in Horowitz *et al* 1972) for a series of ideas that blur both creative counterculture and political concerns.

into the mass productive terrain of the culture industries (c.f. Storey 1988; Goldstein 1989) is also seen to be a paradoxical and desacralising trend, where the profanity of mass production and mass popularity invades the 'sacred space' of the 'auratic object', that no longer carries a specific meaning for a chosen few of the select 'in-group'. In the emergence of punk in the mid to late 1970s we see a more nihilistic form of self expression emerging that is aesthetically distanced (in its best known form as musical expression) from the 'sounds of the 60s'.

Punk can be seen to emerge partly as a disillusion with the fact that the 60s had failed to change or seriously challenge the 'hegemony' of the technocracy, but also due to the fact that, as alluded to above, many of the 'idealists' of the 1960s were in many ways seen to have 'sold out' their artistic integrity to the 'spectacle' of passive mass consumption[20]. In the words of one of my interviewees, Pauline Murray, herself (still) a singer in "punk first wave" (Savage 1991, p578) North East band *Penetration*[21] in the late 1970s, punk at the time didn't involve a total rejection of the 1960s but a rejection of the "bloated" aspects of its musical culture, where 'technically excellent' but increasingly aging and creatively narrow 'progressive rock' music was becoming tired, clichéd, and institutionalised.

Punk therefore, whilst in a sense rejecting some of the more progressive ideals of the 1960s such as the notion the world could be changed if "enough people transformed themselves" (Braunstein and Doyle 2002; p10) further promoted the ideals of democratic creative self expression with the "D.I.Y. ethic" that pronounced self authored artistic production that didn't need a great deal of technical expertise to carry out (Savage 1991; Hebdige 1979). Although Lash and Urry (1987; p 291) are correct to suggest that Punk "mocked [the] auratic pretensions" of established rock music that in form claimed originality and complexity, punk at the same time allowed

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[20] See Heath and Potter (2005 Ch. 1) for an intelligent discussion of how this problem of 'becoming commercial' (becoming de-sacralised) may have posed great identity problems for arguably ' the last rock star', Kurt Cobain, and may have contributed to a form of, to follow Durkheim (1897) Anomic Suicide.
[21] Penetration were named after the Stooges song on their (1974) album *Raw Power*. Many Punk and New Wave bands were influenced by the 'darker' and at the time less recognised bands of the 1960s and early 1970s, such as the Ramones, The New York Dolls, Iggy and the Stooges, The Velvet Underground, The MC5 and Lou Reed (see Savage 1991). Such bands often offered a pessimistic and introverted lyrical content, and harsher simpler guitar sounds in comparison with much west coast psychedelic rock popularised in the 1960s – see the Velvet Underground's Sterling Morrison 's views on hippiedom in Witts (2006).

for a greater 'production of aura' on behalf of greater numbers of people due to its insistence on simplicity of emotive expression. This urge for individual self expression, is of course where this conceptual section began, with a discussion of this as a prime 'secular-sacred' aspiration of Romantic ideals, and we can see within the Punk movement that this desire for immediate, simple, self-expression is imbued with the Romantic ideal where "Untamed, spontaneous authenticity was everything" (Blanning 2010, p34).

It may seem a little abrupt and lacking in contemporary relevance to conclude the discussion of counterculture and art in the late 1970s. However, Punk can be seen to have informed many of the aesthetics and ideals of (mainly 'white') artistic expression (especially musically) in the 1980s (British 'new wave') and early 1990s ('Grunge'), through the further democratisation of self expressive art (see Martin 1979 for a discussion of this) through an emphasis on feeling and simplicity rather than technical proficiency. The reaction to 1960s idealistic progressivism with a despondent form of nihilism during this period also informs the alleged emergence of Coupland's (1991) 'Generation X' that eschews political oppositions for self-expressive and intensely individualistic nihilism. The number and range of creative countercultures from the post punk era onwards has also multiplied and fragmented (Goffman and Joy 2004), and as we will see below, it can be argued that much of this period has seen an integration of previously oppositional stances signified by self expressive artistic practices into a much closer relationship political and economic imperatives through post-modern consumption and the creative economy.

This section then, has, so far, through a consideration of the meaning of creative counterculture, charted some instances of influential creative countercultures from the pre-romanticism of Blake and Rousseau up to the late 1970s and the emergence of Punk Rock. The aim behind this has been to attempt to decipher similarities between these movements in terms of their general orientations. We have been able to arrive at a central guiding theme that can be seen to inform all of these creative countercultures. This theme is one of pursuing individual distinctiveness – that has been, following Benjamin, defined as a sacred-secular 'aura'. This 'aura', that also informs idealised constructions of mechanical or

'authentic' group relations in communal life focussed around the products of art is seen to be threatened by modernity and modes of mass production that disseminate and alter the possible meanings of artworks and cultural productions.

Mass society in this context is often then seen by critics to de-sacralise both the work of art and the room of the individual for spontaneous creative expression. This guiding concept, of the primacy of the individual and individual creative expression, bound within the 'deeper' meanings of the sacred-secular 'aura' will be used in this thesis to understand and interpret the worldviews of my participants. My participants' orientations in respect of relationships with space and place in the home environment, leisure whilst at home, and travel and tourism in search of experiences of the elsewhere will be analysed in relation to these important discursive undercurrents of creative counterculture. As has been suggested however, these values of the primacy of individualised expressions and experiences, and the associated desires for less massified and more creative involvements in the realms of work and leisure, have, in recent years (from the later 1960s onwards – c.f. Bocock 1993) been seen to have become more important to 'post-modern' consumers. As such they can be seen as central values of much 'non utilitarian' consumption and form the cultural basis within which 'later capitalism' operates.

2.6 Popular Consumption and the Ethic of Self Expression

Romantic poets such as Shelley and Byron; figures claiming epiphany such as Rousseau and Blake; drunken and raving authors such as Poe or Hemmingway; and numerous bohemian artists, and jazz and rock musicians are often seen in popular cultural representations to occupy the role of 'rebels'. They are often portrayed as individualistic outsiders, cowboys living on the margins of the civilised world and only rarely coming into contact with it. Their imagined libertine yet sensitive natures are seen to be all too vulnerable to the machinations of dominant, oppressive rational and dully utilitarian life as pursued by the bourgeois or the straight. Hence we have the myth of the tortured artist, and the lone genius forging a new creative path, destined to be oppressed, ignored and ridiculed in his (most of these figures are men) own lifetime (de Botton 2004; Seigel 1986). There are undeniably many truths in that artists and creative and critical intellectuals have often

been persecuted by authorities afraid of critical voices. Examples of this can be seen in the persecution of Oscar Wilde; the fleeing of the lost generation to Paris from America in the 1920s; hippy bashing; anti-communist witch hunts of the 1950s; John Lydon's police harrassment; even the failed Paris commune of 1871; and a more recent case of the persecution of critical Chinese artist Ai WeiWei (on tax dodging charges).Through the Romantic prism, the effects of these ostracisms and abuses are often seen to, in combination with the mythically constructed intensely passionate and individual spirit of the artist, lead to early death through suicide or excess.

Ideas of ostracism, persecution, and ridicule of the individual, or minority aesthetic movement however, only represent one aspect or interpretation of creative countercultures relate to the broader social formations of which they are part. Certain authors (Heath and Potter 2005) point to the fact that these movements, have in fact, produced works of art and ways of life that have become very *popular* within Western consumer cultures. Examples of marginal creative milieus (often 'constructed' – i.e. they have no self consciousness as a 'movement' – into named and categorised movements by external actors such as the music press in relation to 'grunge' or the 'Manchester scene' for example; or even more ironically the political elite in relation to 'Britpop'), that begin in marginality and end in popularity are numerous. They could include the Impressionists; the Beats; Garage (later punk) Bands; Hip Hop, and arguably, most importantly the retrospectively named Romantic Movement. This process of 'cultural diffusion' (Caulfield 1989) relies upon, often quite place bound, semi-autonomous creative countercultures, undergoing "cooptation" (Frank 1997) or "Incorporation" (Storey 1988) into popular commodities of consumer capitalism[22] (see also Leech 1973, pp9-13; Goldstein 1989).

In such ways, new markets can be formed for consumer desires that are more linked to needs for identification – and importantly the identification with the spiritual aura of 'being an individual' – and wants for experiences, rather than utilitarian

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[22] The contest between the mass market orientations of cultural producers such as record companies and 'their' artists is critiqued in song by the Sex Pistols' *EMI*, The Clash's (1977) *Complete Control*, The Smiths' (1987) *Paint a Vulgar Picture* and Nirvana's *In Bloom*. In a central way these songs can be read as a declaration of discomfort by these bands' respective songwriters at the fact their bands had attained commercial success.

consumption. This latter 'psycho-social use of goods' is seen by many authors to be central to the 'semiotic' act of consumption in the post-modern world (Baudrillard 1961; Bocock 1993; Lury 1996; Featherstone 1991). This act of consumption, is therefore seen to be closely linked to the 'secular spiritual' desire for 'authentic self expression', that has been argued above to constitute a keystone of the artistic sensibility post-romanticism, and the desire to identify with 'rebellion' (Heath and Potter 2005). As modernity, rationalisation and utilitarianism advances throughout the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, culminating in the 'mass society' of the Fordist post war West, individuality itself, for some, becomes more and more aligned with emotive release and spiritual qualities. This consumer desire for individuality is commonly seen to become a force in the 1960s (Frank 1997; Heath and Potter 2005), as countercultural critiques of conformity, authority and discipline become diffused to broader sections of an affluent, educated and critically receptive population (Roszak 1969; Ley 1996).

We can see then that the desire for individuality, initially founded within Romanticism and in creative countercultures since the early 19th century are seen by many above authors to herald a 'coming together' of romantic ethics and the consumer society during the '60s. Many commentators on the 1960s are concerned that a 'shallow' individuated hedonism and expressionism, facilitated though an ever more flexible political-economy of global capitalist production (c.f. Harvey 1989a), should not be the legacy (or rather only) of the decade (Young 2002; Goffman and Joy 2004). In fact however, it can be strongly argued that the links between creative-critical countercultures and popular consumption in the broader society have always been there. For example Rousseau's romantic novel *Julie* (1761) was perhaps "the best seller of the [18th] century" (Darnton 1984, p242) appealing mainly to "ordinary readers" (Ibid, p242). Success of Romantic themes is also evident in the popularity of Coleridge and Wordsworth's 'folk poetry' in their *Lyrical Ballards* (1798), and Wordsworth's prose as an important facilitator of modern tourism (Fiefer 1985; Buzard 1993; Urry 1995).

The popularity of Romantic literature during this period often fostered anxieties about its massification and the growth of an industry of 'sentimental

novels', with 'differing' literary merits around themes of romantic love and nature (Keen 2004) As was argued earlier on in this section the values that have been considered here – of individuality and expressiveness – also have strong links to broader sections of the general culture, and in many ways have always created an 'escape route' of emotive expressiveness and transcendence of the everyday. It is also probably true however, that until the clearer integrations of these values and practices into the post-modern experience economy from the 1960s onwards, these values have operated at a subterranean or subaltern level (Young 1971), with those such as romantics, bohemians, beats and hippies being chastised for occupying these worlds 'full time'.

2.7 The Rise of the Creative Class?

The above integration of Romantic-creative-hedonistic-individualism with broader economic imperatives and social outlooks is related to another, even more recent thesis – that of the rise of the creative worker. 'Guru' academic, Richard Florida (2002), proposes that in recent years romantically inflected countercultural values and the values of the 'protestant work ethic' and have essentially moulded together to form a new Romantic work ethic. This ethic involves a commitment to hard work, but the work is seen to be of a creative, intellectual and semi-autonomous order aimed at profitability as a rational goal, rather than a secondary consideration. In this sense we can see then that if romanticism and utilitarianism have become more strongly fused at the level of consumer culture in recent years, they are also becoming closer in the realms of production and working practices.

Florida (2002), an economist, is interested in how creativity, ultimately leading to the creation of process values (i.e. doing things differently) or the creation of intellectual property rights or patent values, may lead to new markets and increased productivity. This has led to interest, in an even more specific way, as to how these I.P.s[23] are formed in specific urban milieus, and how they can lead to urban growth and employment – also see Hall (1998) for an excellent detailed descriptive-historical

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[23] Intellectual Property

account of how various cities have fermented creative ideas and subsequently grown in relation to the formation of new markets and productive processes.

Unsurprisingly, this prophetic vision of urban growth through creative working has appealed to 'entrepreneurial' (Harvey 1989b) municipal authorities in de-industrialised (Lash and Urry 1987) or 'declining' (Bianchini and Boyle 1993) cities that have been impacted negatively by global structural changes in production. In specific interest to this study is the fact that Richard Florida's ideas of attracting creative human capital to urban areas are predicated upon the existence and promotion of a bohemian atmosphere representative of the desired habitus of the creative class. According to Florida, urban areas with high degrees of 'bohemianism', that are seen to embrace values of individualism, creativity, tolerance and encouragement of difference and cosmopolitanism can attract young creatives[24]. Following this, through a density of this talent, it is hoped that creative business will both upstart and locate to areas due to this pool of labour.

Florida's thesis, whilst correctly stressing the dedifferentiation of the work ethic and the desire for non-alienated and creative production on behalf of many educated young workers (see also Brooks (2000) and Ray and Anderson (2000), for similar theses) raises a number of questions. These questions arise around concerns of the viability of the thesis for economic growth (Evans 2008; Peck 2005; Zimmerman 2008); conflicts within the 'creative class' itself (Markusen 2006), and the paradoxical notion of an institutionally gestated bohemia (Long 2009). Of particular interest to this thesis is the idea of working artists as a specific portion of this alleged creative class and how artists react to the increasing popularity of 'their' bohemias for wider leisure uses, tourism and economic growth objectives. These themes will be discussed under the idea of gentrification in the Ouseburn Valley.

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[24] This fusion of creative labour and leisure in the neo-bohemian workplace is brilliantly satirised in Chris Morris' (2005) comedy series *Nathan Barley.*

2.8 Conclusions

This chapter has identified a number of important themes for the following discussions in the thesis. We have seen how the values of individual expression have, from the Romantic Movement onwards become a very important part of artistic identity, and have their origins in shifting perceptions of spirituality and the possibilities of its non institutionalised expression. This concern with individual spirituality is foundationally related to the rise of the individual as a sovereign being in enlightenment thought, and associated political struggles (the American and French Revolutions as prime examples), but at the same time is a critique of 'narrowness' of enlightenment views of the primacy of reason, and critiques the 'disenchantment' of the world through scientism. The growth of early industrialism in Britain is similarly seen as an important development which people such as Blake, Wordsworth and Coleridge critique for its materialism, instrumentality and 'inhumaneness'.

This value of individual expression, that takes on a communal meaning between artist and public, understood here (following Benjamin) as 'aura' is hence important. For certain sections of the literate middle class, individuality of expression hence becomes a normative trait of the self and one that is sought in others and thus we have the emergence of a version of Durkheim's binding ethic of individuality. This idea of aura, or secular spirituality founded in individual expression, can be seen as a central value of Romanticism, and informs all later creative-countercultural movements in the West in one way or another. Ironically, the aura of the work of art is constantly challenged by the desacralising forces of mass production, dissemination and commercialisation, and concerns over the massification of art and more generally life, have, for artists, often been linked to modernity and modern ways of production.

These concerns however, belie the fact that creative countercultures' lifestlyes and objects of production have often been more popular than they may have liked them to be (see Keen 2004 on Coleridge and Romantic literature; See Heath and Potter 2005 on Kurt Cobain). In recent years, I have argued that these links have become closer, as post-modern consumer cultures have imbued the desire for

individual expression, and creative workers in the West desire bohemian and 'non-alienated' labour. It is through this idea of 'individual expression' understood here as aura that many of the opinions and practices of my interviewees and participants will be discussed. The following section attempts to interpret this binding ethic of auratic being or self-expressive individualism in relation to valuations of place and placelessness in the modern world – the spatial embodiment of Romanticism often being found in the form of *bohemia*.

Chapter 3: Bohemia – Individual-expressiveness, and Placed Cosmopolitanism

3.1 Introduction

This section looks at a number of themes in relation to 'bohemia' as an imagined and practiced zone of the modern city. There are three main themes that this discussion brings together. Firstly, that of bohemia as a 'retreat' from (as seen through romantically inflected gazes) the perceived negative aspects of modernity, such as instrumentality, utilitarianism and disciplined life-worlds – in short as retreat from the rational orders of dominant modernity that were discussed in the last section. In this sense bohemia is viewed as a 'mythical' or socially constructed realm whereby our guiding meta-concept of the *auratic* ethic of creative self expression is viewed to reign.

Secondly, the idea of bohemias often preserving 'placeness' in relation to these modernising impulses in urban space around them is explored. This 'suspicion of the new' and of 'development' can be read, again through Romantic viewpoints, as often signifying a de-sacralising act of massification; of a rendering of *meaningful places* into *instrumental spaces*. Critiques of 'instrumental space' are quite clearly detected within both the literature on the social meaning of Bohemia as is discussed below, and in the data generated by my investigation. However, as we will see, although the Ouseburn Valley may be portrayed by some of its inhabitants as a 'non instrumental space' it is ironically, due to the high levels of networking required in creative work (Florida 2002), an environment in which the creation of opportunities for work and artistic development are 'expoited'. As such, we have to look at the notion of the Valley and bohemias in general as 'non-instrumental' or purely hedonic spaces with some critical distance, as they may afford the "resources required for goal attainment" (Scannell and Gifford 2010, p2), in a way that many other putatively more 'instrumental' places and space may also do.

Regardless of this point of the actual *practice* of bohemia and its links to instumentalism, the representation of bohemia is imbued with a kind of nostalgia – and again the idea of *place* as an inalienable and individual form of dwelling is

viewed as a corollary of the desire, on behalf of romantically inflected creative mindsets to experience *aura*. The desire to preserve 'placeness' of bohemia is also strongly related to senses of territoriality, and ideas of protecting space and place from the aesthetics of 'Others', and as such, in this thesis, place-identity is viewed as a "relation of difference" (Gupta and Ferguson 1997; p19) where "social identity forms where a person seeks a balance of similarity to in-group members, and distinctiveness from out groups" (Scannel and Gifford 2010; p7). As we will see in the analysis section, the encroachment of 'Others' both of the 'Other' middle class and the a more working class 'Other' make up a good deal of the concern over the interviewees perceptions of the gentrification and 'massification' or increasing popularity of the Valley.

The aesthetics of place and the deeper social meanings they signify can be read, as such, as proxies for forms of social identification and as fetishes for the enactment of group control and power over place. In this sense of viewing aesthetics as fetish or proxy for 'deeper' significations of social bonding we can see that "individuals do not become directly attached to the physical features of a place, but rather to the meaning that those features represent" (Scannell and Gifford 2010, p9) and as such, viewing the use of aesthetics within the formation of group identity leads us to concur with Raban's observation that territoriality and the "malevolent buzz of city life is a way of marking boundaries of taste, staking out the ever-more-questionable frontier between us and them" (Raban 1974, p 143).

Thirdly we look at the cosmopolitan nature of bohemia; it is argued that bohemias have always been synonymous with cosmopolitanism, as cosmopolitanism and 'difference' more generally appeal to the highly aestheticised appreciation of individuality that countercultures in the West have often nurtured. Cosmopolitanism also implicitly critiques the ordering processes of modernity through the emergence of the clearly delineated nation state, and its often strong insistence on uniform (hence indistinct) cultural subjects (Bauman 1990; Billig 1995). The expression of and experience of difference through cosmopolitanism is again tied to the notion of 'secular-sacred' validations of individuality.

Bohemianism is therefore discussed as a particular mythical, or narratively imagined and constructed, form of *urbanism* that includes all of these above three factors. I attempt to link the idea of bohemia to two main Other spaces of modernity where the ordering and serialising tendencies found within modern forms of architectural development are found:

1 – Modern urban development; including the ordering aspects of 19th century city building, typified by the boulevard construction in 19th century Paris, and 20th century modernisms of both the internationalist and brutalist architectural styles.

2 – Suburban development; typified in Britain and America during the middle period of the 20th century through the development of modular or mass produced architectural forms.

The discussion on gentrification, that follows this section looks at how the auratic aspects of bohemias can become challenged by their increasing popularity as places to live and to consume and hence open to the 'dangers' of massification – and serial reproduction, as suggested as for example by urban growth theorist Richard Florida's (2002) calls for the 'planning of bohemia'. Here we see how the popularity of placed cosmopolitan urban environments, often founded in creative-countercultural critiques of the above two types of urban developments, and their connotations of order, seriality and cultural monotony is facilitated by the diffusion of essentially countercultural views of the promise of the city to wider segments of the urban liberal middle class, and eventually into local government growth policies, in the latter 20th century. In this sense then, we are able to view the fates of bohemias within *post modern* economic and cultural trends. To begin with though, I would like to link the ideas of romanticism and bohemianism, as founded in *modernity* more clearly.

3.2 Bohemianism and Romanticism

We have seen how Romantics, in the tumult of nascent modernity, saw both value and limitation in the hard won rights of individual freedoms wrought through the processes of political, economic and ideological revolutions. Enlightenment thinkers and agitators had placed the rational individual at the centre of new arrangements of political rights and property ownerships. Enlightened thought had also, in the view of many of the proto and early Romantics, limited the role of individuality to these spheres. Reasoned thought was seen to attempt a claim upon the totality of the human experience and was seen to have constructed a set of dominant normative cultural values around notions of conservative accumulation of utilitarian comforts and scientific-mechanical views of natural and social orders. As was argued in the previous chapter, Romanticism and enlightenment shared a central concern with the primacy of the autonomous individual as (literally) the most inviolate body of the emerging social relations of the modern world. Romantics sought to 'push the boundaries' (Siegel 1986; Wilson 2000; Hampson 1968) of this individualism into the realm of self expression in the cultural-creative sphere; partly as an ultimate expression of the ethic of individuality; partly as a response to the decline of (for many of the educated middle class at least) the moral-intellectual legitimacy of emotive-religious experiences within organised Christianity.

The 'challenge', or rather 'functional foil', to the perceived strictures of 'bourgeois life' that Romanticism posed can also be seen to have had a spatial dimension, and this can be seen as bohemia. Campbell (1987; p195) describes bohemia as the "social embodiment of Romanticism", and as such bohemianism as a way of life embodies the core ethic of individual self expressiveness that we discussed as the binding value set of romantically inflected individuals in the last chapter. Wilson (2000) describes Bohemia as a 'mythical construct' as well as a spatial one, that "modernized the aesthetic of Romanticism by applying it to urban life" (Wilson 2000, p28) and she correctly points to its mythical construction in many texts and representations.

Furthermore, she suggests that at its core, the performance of bohemianism in the 'liminal zones' of bohemia is a testament to the "ambivalent role of art in

industrial society" (Wilson 2000, p3). I argue therefore that, in line with our governing meta-concept of the sacredness of unique objects and expressions of the self to 'creatives', it is a space within which artists have traditionally attempted to protect the aura and autonomy of art – and just as importantly everyday-expressive-life too – from the perceived desacralising and 'alienating' processes of mechanical reproduction. It is a space within which contestations between cultural producers and the cultural industries are manifest.

Essentially, these tensions, pit bohemians' desires for autonomy, creative freedoms and individuality on the one hand, and the processes of 'cultural diffusion' (Caulfield 1989) wrought by the desires of actors in the cultural industries to forge new (mass) markets on the other – where bohemia becomes a "marketable commodity" (Wilson 2000; p42). The desire of ethically sympathetic but (nominally) less creative and radical sections of the middle class (understood in much of this thesis as the broader liberal middle class), to associate with the lifestyles, places and works of 'the artist', as secular-sacred figure, further acts as 'transmission belt' for the popularisation of such *habitus*[25]. As such we are left with the tension between the desire for autonomous self-expressive creative life and commercial and social processes that can lead to massifications of such practices, and of the mass production of life itself – processes that through the logic of the auratic ethic mean the desacralisation of such things. Of central importance we can see that the *massification* of such practices that valorise individual self expression as an ultimate virtue is not only paradoxical, but, for some, a clear profanity[26].

Of course, as we have seen, this contestation between the realms of 'eros' and 'logos' (c.f. Freud 1961; Marcuse 1955; Wang 2000) represents an all too simplistic binary notion of bohemians and bourgeois, of art and commerce and of the

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[25] This process holds true for all kinds of cultural consumption – from the popularisation of Romantic ways of reading (Darnton 1984) to flared jeans and ripped jeans, Tie dyed t-shirts and Mohicans. Musical aesthetics are particularly susceptible, and of particular interest to this thesis – the ambience of bohemia as a *place* to be consumed (processes of gentrification) through living there or visitation for leisure or tourism – we can see a spatial equivalent of this cultural economy.

[26] Heath and Potter (2005) give an excellent discussion of how the 'success' of Nirvana may have contributed to the loss of worth or rupturing of Kurt Cobain's sense of self. They essentially argue that the process of popularisation and massification of his music led to him feeling like a traitor or failure to the ideal of the autonomous, Romantic, self-expressive creative.

sacred and the profane. For many, of course, as was argued in chapter one, the needs of utility and the desires of hedonism have been held within the same 'personality system' (Campbell 1987), of 'down to earth' and subterranean, or utilitarian and expressive, values (Young 1971). This leads to situations where, demonstrating their "love-hate relationship" (Wilson 2000, p7), the 'bourgeois' is a bohemian for the weekend (Siegel 1986), or for an evening (Hall 1999) or the straight attempts to become hip (Becker 1951), or bohemian places become tourist magnets (Hall 1998; Wilson 2000).

In essence, it is arguable that bohemianism has always been *popular*, but for many has often only offered leisure time pursuits rather a totalising lifestyle. As we have seen, more recent theories also suggest that for some post-modern knowledge workers these ethics have been totally reconciled (Florida 2002; Brooks 2000), and a number of authors suggest that there has always been a strong aesthetically directed work ethic within bohemianism (Wilson 2000; Siegel 1986). Nevertheless, bohemia has often been a space where tensions in modern middle class life, surrounding the purpose of art and expressive life – often imagined as an ideal form of urbanism – have been debated. These tensions are still clearly present in my case study, as the views of my interviews and participants to such processes attest to.

3.3 Bohemia and Its 'Other' Spaces

There have been areas of many cities that have been given the title of 'bohemia', and bohemia, in many ways is imagined as a form of socially and aesthetically diverse urbanism, that shares many similarities of the possibilities of individual liberation and expressions of difference valued by left and progressive writers on the city (Jacobs[27] 1961; Lees 2004; Raban 1974) where urban environments offer *both* place-attachment and diversity (Massey 1997; Beck 2006). This form of 'cosmopolitan urbanism' (Binnie *et al* 2006, pp13-17) is commonly seen to be apparent in places where difference is embraced and encouraged, and, where the aesthetic environment, often imbued with historicity, is, for many of its inhabitants and visitors, seen to be replete with meaning and social significance.

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[27] Jacobs was though of the libertarian right...

Echoing the rather essentialist/Romantic and Heideggerian influenced notions of early human geographers (See Cresswell 2004 on place), and concerns with the aura of non-alienable "distinctive character" of its *genius loci* (Welter 2003; p38) bohemia is often viewed, by its inhabitants, as *place in opposition to non-place or space* (Auge 1995). This *genius loci* is often compared with an outer-world "generica" (Florida 2002)' of flat, monochrome modernism, or suburbia (Ley 1996; Stevenson 2003; Rofe 2003) that is often derided as a realm of anti-auratic monotony, where inauthentic social relations, instrumentality and the orders of production and consumption – the profane – prevail.

As stated earlier, these aesthetic significations can, at one level, be read as a form of fetish and proxy for the practice of place control and power, where one group (in this study 'artists' 'creatives' and the broader 'liberal middle class') attempt to inscribe their values in a 'totemic' manner onto the material urban landscape. In much the same way as gang colours or inscriptions of ethnicity through language use in signage may signify forms of territoriality (Badcock 2002), in urban environments imbued with territories of 'division and difference' (Bridge and Watson 2012), the presence of a steel-chrome-neon aesthetic or a worn brick edifice can signify senses of belonging, where 'people like me' congregate.

As such, desires to protect the boundaries of bohemia from later stage gentrification or 'massification' through the popularisation of an area with leisure users and tourists (these processes are closely linked) are related to broader conflicts of social groupings (and class access to power and determination over resources and space) that are played out in the realm of aesthetics (c.f. Bourdieu 1984). Importantly however, the fact that 'Other' groupings may frequently use spaces that are deemed as 'territory' by groups that may have longer or stronger associations with places/spaces suggests that places and spaces are very often contested, can rarely be 'purified', and may have different meanings to different user groups (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam 1994). This allows for views of place and space as having certain fluidities in relation to social identification, rather than being reified containers of social difference (Bridge and Watson 2011).

Post-humanist views of place as fluid, contested and socially constructed, as opposed to static, given and romanticist-essentialist in their composition, discussions of the emergence of 'non place' (Auge 1995), and conceptions of social identity as being bounded in flows, networks and nodes (Appadurai), as opposed to being rooted and place-bound notwithsdanding, much research points to the fact that 'place' is still an important facet of social identity (Lewicka 2011), and that *desires* for place may have even strengthened in our era of mobilities and cultural hybridity (Papastergiadis 1996) and deterritorialisation (Lewicka 2011). In more specific relation to the study at hand, Florida (2002) for one, convincingly argues that the 'power of place' (in Florida's work this terms is related to the 'power of bohemia' more specifically), plays a very important role in the lifestyle and locational decision-making processes of 'creatives'.

The places of archetypical bohemia could range from the Montmartre and later the Montparnasse in Paris; Soho and Bloomsbury in London; Haight-Ashbury in San Francisco and the Lower East Side and Greenwich Village in New York. These spectacular and mythical 'ground zeros' of varied cultural movements are now complemented by an array of provincial bohemias, such as the Ouseburn Valley, undergoing processes of gentrification as their ambiences and possibilities for encouraging economic growth through both cultural consumption and production become part of local authority development policies within the broader rhetoric of the creative class thesis (Florida 2002; Evans 2009; Peck 2005). The idea of bohemia and bohemianism though has its origins within the city that is still seen by many as being synonymous with the global art market – Paris.

Paris and Bohemianism are, historically, inextricably linked phenomena as this is where the social form of bohemianism is seen to have arisen (Siegel 1986; Frank 2001; Wilson 2000). The bohemian[28] way of life is often portrayed as one of hedonism and of a rejection of the 'utilitarian' or 'bourgeois' modes of existence thought to exist in the boulevards and other, increasingly ordered, areas of 19th

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[28] This term became used at the turn of the 18th century as gypsies were then thought to have originated from Bohemia in what is now the Czech Republic. As 'la Boheme', in their disordered and often mobile lifestyles, were deemed to resemble the gypsy and his/her way of life this etymological misnomer became a signifier.

century Paris. This rejection of these spaces was due to the fact that they often imbued the rationalism of modernity which saw "rationally designed society as the *causa finalis* of the modern state" (Bauman 1990; p20), and also, perhaps more fundamentally, that the 'bourgeoise' with clearer access to the resources of the state was seen as a competing group by the artistic community in France in the 19th century, and this competition for prestige and recognition played itself out in spatial ways also (Siegel 1986).

As such, the bourgeois is often portrayed, in dominant imaginings, as the embodied Other of the bohemian (Grana 1964; Siegel 1986; Frank 2001; Wilson 2000; De Botton 2004) – materialistic; conservative; unimaginative and, worst of all, lacking in individuality. As has been discussed in the previous paragraph and the previous section on Romantic values, this distinction is almost certainly, in the actual practiced lives of real people in Paris at the time (c.f. Siegel 1986), much too simplistic and binary. Importantly however, this 'mythical distinction' has allowed for a normative identity construction of 'bohemianism', a role, to evolve, with a defined Other, later seen in the guise of the 'straight', the 'square' or the suburbanite to evolve (see Wilson 2000 on the function of this role creation).

If the bohemians sought to define themselves in opposition to the bourgeoisie (if 'only' in an imagined rather than practiced way) then the spaces of bourgeois life, sculpted with 'their' practices and ideologies were often seen negatively as spaces of discipline and monotony, and as the spaces of the rationalised money economy identified by Simmel (1903) as a key trait of modern metropolitan life. Viewed as lacking in the possibilities of individual creative expression, the Other spaces that various countercultural movements have often critiqued are numerous and varied, They all do, however, bear the perceived imprint of the 'realm of logos' (see Freud 1961; Marcuse 1955; Wang 2000) denotative of massified, instrumental rationalism, and can be viewed in the guises of both mass produced suburban architectures and international modernism with its desire for urban order and machine-living (Pinder 2005).

Parisian Bohemians' ambivalence and critique (See Wilson 2000; p33) of the Second Empire rebuilding of Paris' medieval street patterns by Baron Haussmann in

the 1850s and 1860s, is testament to individualist-expressives' suspicions of the ordering and serialising tendencies of modernity. Haussmann's boulevards famously sought to impose a panoptic (Foucault 1977) "orderly monumentality" (Cohen 2007 ;p68) on previously cosmopolitan and bohemian spaces – such as the Paris docks and waterways – also spaces that importantly had been and would be again zones of political radicalism (ibid). The rationalised and serially monotonous 'bourgeois blocks' of Haussmann's modern Paris were of quite a different aesthetic to the picturesque and eclectic environment of the Montmartre (Hall 1998), in 19th century Paris. As such, these ordered boulevards of 'purified' bourgeois salon life signified to a number of bohemians, the loss of diversity, and the desire for disciplined order in urban environments (Wilson 2000; Donald 1992). Similar critiques of the desire for order and the "formally rational" in Viennese and broader Germanic street planning was also evident within architectural discourses in the 19th century (Frisby 2003; p59), and the turn to neoclassical forms in British Victorian architecture also insisted upon the rational and ordering tendencies within enlightenment world views; and this was a period in Britain that saw the first plans for urban zoning of the modern city revealed (Briggs 1963).

It is of course the Boulevards and Arcades of Paris as emergent realms of consumption that were of critical interest to Walter Benjamin in his writings on consumer or non-utilitarian or 'phantasmagoric' (Rojek 1997) capitalism. The role of consumption in imbuing the urban landscape with the instrumentality of exchange values, and the associated construction of such spaces around the circulation of the commodity form (even the city itself as a spatial form that aids the quick cycle of capital accumulation – see Lamarche (1976)), and the colonisation of the city by the commodity form is critiqued clearly by later creative countercultures. These groupings,[29] with more focussed political aims such as the Situationist International, (SI) (Debord 1967; Ball 1987; Merrifield 2002) and their associated critical geographical practices of detournement and the derivé (Merrifield 2002; Sadler

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[29] It may seem a stretch too far to some to label the activities of the Situationist International under the banner of 'creative counterculture' but the critique of commodified and 'mechanised' urban space was often carried out through artistic expressive mediums (see Merriman 2002; Pinder 2005), and their antecedent organisation was named the "First World Congress of Free Artists" (Sadler 1998; p2)

1998). The SI, who themselves inherited many of the Dadaist and surrealist critiques of the desires for order, traffic circulation and uniformity found within earlier forms of urban modernism (Pinder 2005; Sadler 1998), essentially critiqued the corporatism or technocracy of post war France.

In particular this critique focussed on the reinterpretation of banal urban space, a reconstructive exercise summarised in the slogan from the 1968 Parisian riots "sous les paves la plage" (beneath the pavement the beach). This slogan is often interpreted as suggesting that beneath the ordered boulevard, devoted to commerce and exchange value, and within the marginal spaces of a modernity where "spaces are strange: homogenous, rationalised [and are] specialized just as in the social and technical divisions of labour" (Lefebvre 1991, pp97-98) there lay a possibility of libidinous or expressive and liberated urbanism (Merrifield 2002), whereby in their technique of the derivé "spontaneity and chance" (Sadler 1998; p78), through unstructured walking could imitate the form of exciting and cosmopolitan urbanism they desired for the city. In a way this is a more explicit form of de Certeau's (1986) notion of reclamation of an individual and social meaning to life (essentially a form of individuality and communitas beyond utility) within the gaps of mass, ordered modernity.

The practices of creating difference and spontaneity in the planned post war urban environment, through detournement or the creation of unexpected and inalienable *situations*, were aimed at 'liberating' everyday culture from bureaucratically designed, and monotonously and serially experienced, "abstract space" (Lefebvre 1968,1991; de Certeau 1986; Gottdeiner 1994a, 1994b; Merriman 2002; Pinder; Parker 2004). Essentially this was aimed at showing a 'humanist' rather than 'machinist' urbanism, and pursuing the ideal of "social space" or spaces where *authentic* (outside the spheres of instrumentalism and capital accumulation) communal relations could be found "beyond commodified space" (Parker 2004, p20) and where "the need for creative activity" (Lefebvre 1991, p87 in Parker 2004, p20) could be reached.

Equivalents of such activities can be found within contemporary 'misuses' of formal urban space (Ferrell 2001). These sometimes have political aims in

'reclamation' of urban space as democratic and non-instrumental, but often erotic activities in such spaces such as BASE jumping, skateboarding, Parkour, mass cycling and even modern forms of derivé-inspired urban wandering can feed into the *Habitus* of the broader liberal middle class[30]. As these 'cool' physical activities are ripe for forms of commodification within the experience economy, we can see that processes of cultural diffusion through the cultural industries also take place here as the city becomes a 'playground'. Practices of detournement and pranksterism, have also been lifted from the streets in recent years and can also be found in the cyber environment (Papastergiadis 2012).

The autocratic, acommunal and monotonous nature of much modern architecture where the planning and constructions of new spaces – and the associated architectural forms that would fill these 'abstract' spaces – relied upon "adopting a scientific approach based on an expert" (Gold 2007, p105) would similarly come under great scrutiny in British popular and professional-architectural discourse in the later 1960s. This period saw the emergence of social and material problems concerned with modernist-brutalist forms of social housing, and these forms being critiqued as being imposed from above and for reifying a Fordist-utilitarian "bureaucratic uniformity which violates the individuality of family life...all the doors painted uniformly olive-green" (Taylor 1973, p81 quoted in Gold 2007, p274) where "self-expression" (Taylor 1967, p341 quoted in Gold 2007; 275) is limited. Here we can see, within the sphere of architectural and new left critique (the above paragraph), concerns with the ethic of self-expressive individuality clearly emerging in critiques of the urban environment of the 'abstract space' of functional-modernism in the 1960s.

Similarly we can see, within the American counterculture of the 1960s a portrayal of many parts of the city as pertaining to mammon, the absence of spiritual values and of instrumentalism (see Ginsberg 1956), where "they" (presumably the 'technocracy' – see Gartman 2009) "paved paradise and put up a parking lot"

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[30] See Parkour brands at http://shop.urbanfreeflow.com/; Skate and outdoor wear at http://www.surfdome.com/; Urban extreme sports lifestyle fashion at http://www.metacafe.com/watch/2025766/g_tox_extreme_urban_freestyle_lifestyles/.

(Mitchell 1970). The ideas of the European Situationist International and their Lefebvre-influenced (Merrifield 2002) ideology also influenced a new generation of radical geographers in the U.S. who shared many of the critiques of popular voices, but often grounded them within a historical materialist perspective (Mitchell 2003). These critiques were reflected in oppositions to the growth of highly planned, and often undifferentiated modernist architectural forms appearing in many urban centres which saw an aesthetic of "rejection of all expression to utility or the processes of fabrication" (Frampton 1992, p10) governed by architectonic rules of "uniformity and straight-line geometry" (Gold 2007), that in many areas led to the creation of 'new slums'.

These aesthetics stood as monument to rationalised modes of productions and uniform consumption, and to the orderly and planned desires for urban life under Fordism where "spaces themselves were mass produced" (Gartman 2009, p12). Particular critiques of the rationalised and serially planned forms of city building found after World War II, typified in notorious developments such as Cabrini Green in Chicago, that were often sculpted in the 'machine aesthetic' of Le Corbusian modernism[31], and spoke, through their indistinctiveness, of the broader "individuality workers had sacrificed in Fordist bureaucracies and factories" (Gartman 2009, p253) can be seen to have emerged at a popular level in the 1960s.

These critiques often came from libertarian and progressive cosmopolitan writers such as Jane Jacobs (1961) and Herbert Gans (1962), (ibid; Gold 2007) or from more radical voices of the American new left, informed by Frankfurtian notions of the atomising and acommunal qualities of such developments (see Welter 2003, p53, for Adorno and Horkheimer's views). In a similar way to the European critiques of the SI, these critics pointed to the 'dehumanising' aspects of such developments, where (in their eyes) poor design and an attack on street culture (in favour of the motorway and various 'interdictory spaces' Flusty 1994), was an attack on the cosmopolitan, interactive and creative promise of American urbanism. Modernist

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[31] The spaces of British modernity and of modern architectural forms are critiqued by J.G. Ballard in *Concrete Island* (1974) and *High Rise* (1975). Respectively, these forms are viewed by Ballard as spaces of interminable imprisonment and isolation and as architectures where the barbarism of human beings can be given full reign.

space was seen as a realm of extended *amnesia* (see Frisby 2004 for equivalents in 19th century architecture), where the dwelling of *place*, through seriality and cultural and geographical disorientation was denied, and where elite planners destroyed the "diversity and vitality of the real city with the homogeneity of their rational utopias" (Gartman 2009, p 262).

Ironically, and as a testament to the cannibalistic nature of much (post) modern consumer capitalism, these practices of liberated urbanism are now often incorporated into advertising campaigns for the erotically focussed consumer: see T-mobile's train station 'happening' (2008); the urban playground of the Nissan Qashqai (2010); and the desire to inject playful 'pranksterish' colour into the urban environment from Sony (ND, 2009). In even closer resemblance to the erotic ideals of the New Left and the SI in relation to the city as a place of play we can see that entrepreneurial (Harvey 1989b) local authorities in bids to promote their cities to tourists, capital and prospective/current residents have literally attempted to bring the liminal zone of the beach (Shields 1991) into the town. Interestingly, however, Berlin appears to have predated the 1960s slogan by many years (Barkham 2007)

In the American context, critiques of spaces of modernism can be seen to have signified an attack on the 'Anglo-Protestant ascendency' in the country through "the spirit of expressive individualism" (Kaufmann 2004, p145) borne by the "expressive pathfinders" (ibid; p144) of the New York avant garde in the early 20th century. Such critiques were linked to critiques of Other spaces as spaces of 'the nation' of majority culture and conformity. Cosmopolitanism, experienced as a form of ideal urbanism, and the cosmopolitan as a mobile subject can be viewed as implicitly uncommitted to the formation of the territorial-political-cultural unit of the nation-state (Germain and Radice 2006) during the modern period with connotations of a body of 'unknown subjects' possibly radical and often Jewish (Bauman 1990; Beck 2006; Kauffman 2004; Goffman and Joy 2004).

As, during the modern period, the nation was constructed as an imagined community (Anderson 1991) of banal orderings (Billig 1995), and shared worldviews bound through cultural universals (encapsulated in the notion of an ordered series of national characters born through a shared cultural, and possibly racial heritage),

cosmopolitanism was often seen as a threat or a pollutant to this desired purity (Bauman 1990). It could be used even by spatially fixed subjects, through strategies of consumption, to explore avenues of identity outside of patriarchal-nationalisms (Nava 2002), and it is in the diverse city that this freedom of identity play/expression is allowed fullest reign (Raban 1974; Featherstone 1991). Importantly, Williams (1985) views the emergence of modern art in the Parisian bohemias of the Montmartre and Montparnasse in the early 20th century as being formed explicitly within a placed, cosmopolitan environment that through the mixing and interaction of perspectives allowed for a new language of art to emerge.

Cosmopolitanism, although a contested signifier (Szerszynski & Urry 2006), that suggests both normative and positive practices (see Cheah and Robbins 1998; Beck 2006) also hints at an aestheticised appreciation of difference (Papastergiadis 2012) where artists in particular seek the aesthetics of diversity often in combination with liberal-left political expressions (ibid). In relation to high degrees of cultural capital (ibid), cosmopolitanism is seen by Hannerz (1990) as "a willingness to engage with the Other...a search for contrasts rather than uniformity". As such we can see that as a disposition it often aligns itself with the individualistic, aesthetic self expressive ethic (c.f. Kaufmann 2004) that bears many similarities to the guiding meta-ethic of this thesis.

The city and bohemia in particular can, also in U.S. contexts, be seen to have offered an oppositional space to the small town and culturally-politically dominant American values at the beginning of the 20th century for "here was a life more real and authentic [than] in the Midwest or in the bourgeois neighbourhoods and its suburbs" (Bender 1987; pp229-30 in Kaufmann 2004; p 154). These critiques of Anglo America would eventually find themselves transmitted into critiques of 'male white corporate oppression' in 1960s counterculture, as the cultural diffusion of such ideas, through popular oppositional counterculture (for example the music of Bob Dylan), and the expansion in liberal-arts higher education (Ley 1996; Kaufmann 2004) saw the liberal-egalitarian and self-expressive values of previously limited intellectual-artistic countercultures expand to broader sections of the population.

Hence there occurs, during the post war era, a situation whereby "cosmopolitanism [becomes] institutionalised" (Kaufmann 2004, p177).

The ordered and seen to be disciplined space probably most commented upon and critiqued by post war Anglo-Saxon countercultures however lies not within the central city but at its physical and figurative boundaries – in the suburb. The critique of suburbia (the associated social form of the material suburb) is now a well worn and clichéd portrayal, of conformity, panoptic regulation in relation to status hungry neighbours, and strictly divided gender roles. These critiques importantly can be seen to have emanated from countercultural oppositions to the planned and highly ordered social and spatial relations of post-war Fordism, and strongly inform liberal middle class desires for inner urban life – as we will see, this is the generally accepted demand side, or cultural explanation for (at least initial) gentrification processes.

Stevenson (2003, p 124) suggests that, during the post war period, and until the dismantling of Fordist modes of accumulation in the West in the later 20th century (c.f. Harvey 1989a; Gartman 2009) "artists and writers...tended to belong to the urban elite [and] almost inevitably viewed them negatively" – and here we see a clear corollary with Kaufmann's (2004) cosmopolitan critics discussed above. The suburb, along with the supermarket, the motorway and to a degree modernist internationalism are all attacked due to their perceived aesthetic seriality and social homogeneity, their brazen functionality (and hence their close allegiance with "abstract space"), and their disciplined separation of the life-worlds of work and home and male and female. They are also charged with being antithetical to open cosmopolitanism through direct fleeing from Otherness and ethnic difference increasingly found in inner urban areas through 'white flight' (Rex and Moore 1967; Sandercock 2006).

Critiques of these mass produced spaces of modernity abound, stretching from Whyte's *Organizational Man* (1956) to Mumford's (1961; p486) critique of suburbia suggesting it as a "multitude of uniform unidentifiable houses…inhabited by people of the same class…conforming in every outward and inward respect to a common mold". In this sense we see an attack on the anti-cosmopolitanism of this

mythical space, where "cosmopolitan 'pro-urban' thinkers relish the creativity and diversity of the city and deride the suburb (and its residents) as being bland and unimaginative" (Stevenson 2003; p126). The suburb is clearly painted as a space where individual-expressive aura is denied. We can see post-war critiques of these spaces in Henry Miller, for many years a Montmartre Bohemian in *The Air Conditioned Nightmare* (1945), critiquing the emergent spaces of American Fordism, and Malvina Reynolds' (1962) *Little Boxes* is often given as an example of critique in song[32] where the houses and inhabitants of suburbia "all look just the same".

In relation to the ordering of women's roles Betty Friedman's book *The Feminine Mystique* (1961) is seen as important in decrying the domestication of femininity in American suburbia[33] (Kenyon 2004). In a British context we can see that such spatial forms are viewed as "Festering...Always the same" by George Orwell in *Coming up for Air* (1939), and similarly negatively by Durrell in his *Black Book[34]*. These representations, only a handful of many emanating from artists and intellectuals, attest to the enduring image of suburbia as antithetical to such experiences as cosmopolitanism, freedom of expression and experience of difference and placeness, and attest to the "remarkable consistency of twentieth century attacks" on the suburbs (Giles 2004, p29) capable of "influencing public understand (sic) of suburbia even to own day" (Nicolaides and Weise 2006, p291).

The suburbs then are often painted in the popular imagining as antithetical to the traits of bohemia as a cosmopolitan, expressive place. They are often viewed as monotonous *space*, devoid of difference and diversity, where a straightjacketed social role as a 'respectable member of society' is expected, within the broader delineations of life, work and leisure within Fordism. In this sense then, the "mythology" (Stevenson 2003, p123) of suburbia (see Kenyon 2004, for a very good review of American representations), acts as a discursive foil to the mythology of bohemia (Wilson 2000). It acts as an imagined 'Other space', for bohemians and

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[32] The striking similarities between works by Whyte, Mumford and others and their more popular 'countercultural' contemporaries, again displays the close links between critical oppositional voices in academia and those of many people in the broader arts.
[33] See Tindall and Shi (1992) for a good overview of these wider social critiques in the US
[34] See Oswell (2000) for how various textual geographies have painted British views of suburbia

broader segments of the liberal middle class, a palimpsest inscribed with the values of collectivity, rational-utilitarianism and cultural conservatism – in other words the social and cultural faces of post war Fordism that were so heavily critiqued by the new lefts and countercultures of the 1960s.

In fact, the spaces of the suburbs are in many places *not*, and never were, as empirically observed phenomena, as uniform, grey, non-cosmopolitan and socially ordered (see Nicholaides and Weise 2006; Wilson 2000; Kenyon 2004), as their dominant imagining by cosmopolitan urban intellectuals (Kenyon 2004; Kauffmann 2004), and creative-counterculturalists concerned with anti-auratic processes and wider dangers of 'mass society' (MacDonald 1957) made out. Suburbs, outside of dominant representations, that have become so dominant as to be mythological, (c.f. Tongson 2011) can be seen to be of varied form, and the lived experiences of suburbanites are often quite different to the imaginings of centrophile bohemians and liberal intellectuals.

For example, post-colonial migration (i.e. what is commonly referred to as an important cultural aspect of globalisation), has borne witness to the 'cosmopolitanization' (Beck 2006) of many previously quite homogenous suburban areas. Ip *et al* (1998) describe this process in relation to South East Asian migration to Brisbane's Sunnybank, where they describe a formerly "Anglo dormitory suburb" (ibid; p53,75) being transformed into a space of 'cosmopolitan consumption' mainly through the proliferation of eateries. Orfield, similarly in relation to ethnic diversity empirically describes the declining 'whiteness' of Chicago's suburbs in the years since the millennium (Orfield, 2012) claiming that suburban areas in the city are now more diverse than many of its inner neigbourhoods. The process of African American migration to suburbs, in particular however, would appear to have been a trend that has much older origins with Clapson (2003) reporting that by 1970 16% of Black Americans were suburban, and that by 1995 this had grown to around one third of the U.S. Black population.

Further to this Tongson (2011) ironically suggests that many suburban areas in the United States are increasingly being seen as 'hip and bohemian' in their own right. She documents a number of lifestyle and travel in recent American media that

suggest many of the desired attributes of inner urban bohemia are increasingly found in the suburbs, and hence they are increasingly appealing to 'Bourgeois Bohemians' (Brooks 2000) and member's of Florida's (2002) Creative Class. Here we see a confusion emerging in the historical ordering of inner city and suburb as clear and separate spaces.

In relation to sexualities, Tongson (2011) describes the 'disorder' of Californian suburbia in relation to queer studies, showing how homosexual activism and gay culture can, and is, active within suburban contexts. Interestingly Tongson shows how representations from critical theorists (belonging to Kaufmann's (2004) cosmopolitan intellectual grouping) have often adopted a non critical approach to the spatialisation of sexualities – assuming that 'queer' lives can only be found within the urban centre. For this, she suggests that (following a neologism conjured by Halberstam (2005) some Queer scholars are guilty of being bearers of 'Metronormative' spatial discourses in relation to sexuality and difference. This logic can be seen to have informed a recent BBC article on Hebden Bridge in West Yorkshire, with the fact that the village has been named as a 'lesbian capital' making the story interesting due to its challenge to dominant beliefs about socio-spatial orderings[35].

In further reference to the United Kingdom we can see that the make up of certain suburbs such as Croydon in South London has been heavily influenced by Afro-Caribbean migration from inner London, particularly after 1970 (Clapson 2003). The same author also traces the movement of South and East Asian families to suburban areas in this period demonstrating that British suburbia has for many years had degrees of diversity, and in particular suburbs (such as Croydon) had large ethnic minority communities. Interestingly Clapson suggests that the reasons for 'minority ethnicity flight' from inner urban areas maintain many of the same aspirations that informed 'white flight' (Rex and Moore 1967) in the more immediate post war era, such as desires for home ownership, more space, better access to amenities, and fears of crime. Clapson (2003; p98), makes a similar point to

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[35] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-16962898

Tongson (2011) in that he suggests that both academic and popular discourse has often ignored "the complexity and dispersal of Black settlement patterns beyond the inner city". In this sense then Metronormativity, as a dominant, and even totalising, social-spatial discourse, has often directed the gaze towards looking at and analysing ethnic minorities only in certain inner urban spaces, and either underplaying or ignoring their existence in the suburbs.

A word here is required on the nuances of the idea of 'cosmopolitanism'. As we shall see in the analysis section many of the respondents and interviewees embrace a certain form of cosmopolitanism but reject it in other ways. Cosmopolitan environments can be experienced though a form of 'cosmopolitan consumption', that views other people on the street as a form of 'background music' or 'wallpaper' that are 'consumed' at the level of ambience but not engaged with at depth (Butler, 2003), and it is this form of 'superficial' or consumptive cosmopolitanism that many of my respondents claim to reject. Similarly, diversity and cosmopolitanization do not always ensure a *normatively* cosmopolitan environment, assuming as Hannerz (1990) and Syzernsky and Urry (2004) do, that openness to difference is part of the way of cosmopolitan-being. This is due to the fact that diversity can be met with resentment and aggression (Beck 2006; Orfield 2012) or indifference and non contact (Albrow 1997).

The preceding paragraphs then show that the suburbs may not correspond to their overriding image and portrayal as homogenous, bland and lacking in diversity and cosmopolitan opportunities. In many ways, suburbs have been shown to be much more complex than these stereotypical representations. The representations of the suburbs would appear to stem in the U.S. and the U.K., from postwar racial, gendered and sexual orderings of space, that were at that time found within iconic dormitory suburbs such as Levitttown[36]. The fact remains however that these historical and enduring connotations of 'the suburbs' is a testament to both the strength of these particular representations (see Stevenson 2003; Kenyon 2004;

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[36] The Levittowns became a focus for issues of race particularly not due to itheir 'total whiteness' but because they were a centre of conflict in the 1950s and 1960s as aspirational Black American families *wished to move there,* and in many cases fighting against local opposition and sometimes legal deterrents, were able to fulfil this desire (Clapson 2003).

Tongson 2011; Nicholaides and Weisse 2006 on the strength and endurance of images of the suburb) and the fact that dominant *representations* of places and spaces play just as much if not more of a role in our *experience* of them, or our desire to experience them than any 'objective' criteria.

3.4 Conclusions

In this chapter I have looked at two main trends that have affected the urban environment from the 19th century onwards, Firstly the desire to bring order and purity to the urban form through linear, serial developments in architecture and street planning, initially through the desire for 'straight' over 'crooked' streets (Frisby 2003) culminating in the ultra-rational machine-aesthetic of modernist planning and its associated brutalism and internationalist styles. We have also looked at the Anglo-Saxon imaginings of suburbia as seriality and monotony. Both of these types of spaces then have often been portrayed as antithetical to desires for a placed cosmopolitan urbanism where the ethic of self expressive individuality in an environment of cosmopolitan difference is seen to be a possibility.

This placed cosmopolitan urbanism can be seen to encapsulate many of the qualities of bohemia, as it is a vision of the city based upon communities of difference, where individual expressions of difference, within a non massified (non serially produced) *place* are actively encouraged and valued, not merely tolerated. This idea of bohemia as a mythical realm of possible self expressiveness, place meaning (i.e. community) and diversity is very similar to the idealised zones of meaningful and placed, yet diverse and open notions of urban cosmopolitanism proposed by more recent theorists such as Lees (2004), Massey (1997) and Beck (2002). Such zones are seen to be spaces where 'authentic social relations' can also be sought, that are seen to operate beneath or outside the ordered realms of production and consumption found in other areas of modern cities.

In recent decades however, as the cultural tastes of various 'avant gardes', have, in combination with deflated property prices in inner urban areas, become transmitted to the *habitus* of the broader liberal middle class more fully, desires for bohemia have become more widespread. This has ushered in processes of

gentrification of many artistic quarters, as post-modern forms of urban desire, wrought through many of the critiques of modernism and Fordism discussed above have taken hold. It is to this process of the broader valorisation of bohemias that have been encountered, within post-modernity, for cultural and economic reasons that we now turn.

Chapter 4: Gentrification, Artist Pioneers and the Creative Class

4.1 Introduction

This section discusses the varied meanings and processes of gentrification. It concentrates on demand side ideas of the phenomenon that place diffusions of cultural capital within the validation of the previously denigrated aesthetic of inner urban environments as being important to understanding artists' roles in the process. This emphasis, on the changing popularities of bohemias, allows us to see how symbolic values can be transformed into exchange values and how these processes can lead to place-change.

4.2 What is Gentrification?

Gentrification is a term that denotes both the *revalorisation* of previously economically (Smith 1986,1996) and/or culturally (Caulfield 1989; Ley 1996) devalued land and property. Importantly the *displacement* of existing populations inhabiting such land or properties by higher income groups (Glass 1964; Slater 2006) is central to many interpretations of the idea. Relatedly, the signifier has currency in academic and lay discourses that generally emanate from the 'critical[37] or progressive left' (Lees *et al* 2008; Slater 2006; Atkinson 2003). As such, gentrification is often viewed as a 'dirty word' (Smith 1996) typifying land use change under more-or-less free-market conditions. Academic discussion of the phenomena often views class (as culture or economic role) and capital (at the household or institutional level) as central to the process (Smith and Williams 1986).

Gentrification as a term however, has 'mutated' (Lees *et al* 2008; p129) over time and come to signify a complex number of revalorisations of land use and associated displacements (see Lees *et al* 2008). Gentrification as a term and process has grown from its "classical" (Lees *et al* 2008, p10) form based on 'pioneer households' and investments in 'sweat equity' to a process of capital-led reinvestment in the inner city (Smith 1986, 1996, 2002). As well as households and

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[37] See Sayer (2009) for a good discussion of the role of critical social science in trying to prevent 'avoidable suffering'.

capital it has involved local political actors (Cybriwsky *et al* 1986; Rousseau 2009) and 'urban social movements[38]' (Cybriwsky *et al* 1986) sometimes informed through identity politics (Castells 1983).

The process of gentrification is complicated by the fact that it often involves people who are ideologically opposed to one another, such as artists (Zukin 1989; Ley 2003), the liberal middle class (Williams 1986; Ley 1996; Butler 1997) and 'counterculturalists' (Caulfield 1989; Ley 1996) often conflicting with property speculators and other fragments of the 'new middle class' (Butler 1997). Ironically the process can often be kickstarted by the very people opposed to the notion of 'gentrification' itself as previously denigrated and 'dangerous' areas of cities become signified as 'safe' through the location of artists, counterculturalists and idealistic middle class 'pioneers'[39] (Zukin 1989; Williams 1986; Smith 1986; Cole 1987). As such, displacements of generally middle class groups by higher income groups can also occur (Lees et al 2008; Williams 1986) showing that displacement is not simply a matter of concern for 'the poor'. Indeed, Rose (1984) argues that some poorer service workers are often *forced* to gentrify due to exclusions from suburbia, having non-normative households, and suffering low incomes, suggesting a closer relationship between 'displacer' and 'displacee' groups in the overall process than is often imagined.

However, in relation to the above, the dynamic of gentrification is often seen to take the form of a 'wave process' development. This can include models that typologise the process as almost a reverse of the Chicago School's 'ecological succession' based on social classes and groups moving into and out of inner urban areas (Clay 1979). Later models of gentrification processes look at how the phenomena has become 'institutionalised' over time – moving from 'sweat equity investment' and sporadic state involvement, beginning in the 1950s to state policy in the 1990s (Bounds and Morris 2006). Critics of such typological models however

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[38] An urban social movement is a conceptual term coined by Castells (1972: Eng. Trans. 1976) in 'the urban question' to denote the social mobilisation of political groups in the 'produced space of capitalism' i.e. the city. Also see Mayer (2006)

[39] See Brown-Saracino (2004) for an interesting study focussing on how 'social preservationists' are explicitly opposed to gentrification of historic neighbourhoods. They are though well aware that their very presence many be the beginning of the process.

suggest that gentrification is "diverse" (Caulfield 1989) involving many different groups sometimes acting in the same place at the same time.

In particular relevance to this study, artists are often seen as particularly important in the process (Ley 1996) that eventually demonstrates an economic valorisation of cultural capital (Bridge 2006a). This occurs through what Zukin (1989) has ironically termed an 'artistic mode of production' signifying an area as 'post industrial' and ripe for development and promotion to an existing middle-class *habitus*. The signifying importance of an artistic enclave becomes important as the cultural transmission of 'cool bohemia' becomes popularised and 'co-opted' by the 'culture industries' (Caulfield 1989), ensuring its transmission to more 'mainstream' consumers (Ley 1996). Indeed, in the present day the local state has begun to promote the 'lifestyle ambience' of its bohemias to appeal to the much heralded, but ill-defined, 'creative class' (Florida 2002; Peck 2005; Evans 2009; Rousseau 2009) – including in Newcastle the Ouseburn Valley. As we shall see in the analysis chapter, there is evidence of conflict *within* the much-vaunted 'creative class' in the Ouseburn Valley as part of gentrification processes. There is also a sense on behalf of some of my interviewees that the artistic-creative 'buzz' of the Valley has been appropriated by developers and the local state keen on speculation.

As well as issues of process-types and displacement, the actual spatial location of gentrification is also of a varied form. The urban-ness of the venture is well established as the strategic/economic requirements (Smith 1986) or 'cultural feeling' (Ley 1996) for the central city. This urban-ness of the process is often associated with the restoration and preservation of the particular aesthetics of Victorian industrial, urban architecture (Jager 1986; Zukin 1989). This fact suggests strong links between heritage mobilisations and the process of gentrification, especially in its earlier 'sweat equity' stages.

This distrust of modernism as a process of massification and an attack on community, and positive imaginations of urbanism as manifest in pre-modernist architecture is found in the values of many of my working artists, and clearly in the heritage functions of the Ouseburn trust for which I was a volunteer in the Valley. However, there are instances of gentrification as a rural process (Phillips 2004) and in suburban contexts (c.f. Bounds and Morris 2006). In relation to my study – the green landscape of the Valley, *as well* as the pre-war architecture, is part of the

area's attractive capacity. Overwhelmingly however, influential literature on the subject of gentrification concentrates on its most spectacular (and combustive) manifestations in the central districts of mainly 'Anglo-Saxon' 'global cities'[40].

As we shall see in the next section, specific pressures on these 'spectacular' locations are often intimately linked to the "command-function" (Smith 1986; 1996; 2002) demands of global capitalism (see Sassen 1989, 2000; Fainstein and Fainstein 1989) as well as representing the apogee of the sacred communion with urbanism so desired by 'gentrifiers'. Historically, the process is also more spectacularly manifest in big cities in *certain countries*[41] with low provisions of social housing, a small local and welfare state, racially segregated ghettos and low rates of owner occupation (Williams 1986).

As such, this, for some authors, raises the problem of conflating the process of 'gentrification' with the reuse of essentially *non-contested wasteland* in what Lash and Urry (1987) described as 'de-industrialised cities', and what have elsewhere been described as 'difficult areas' (Buckley and Witt 1985; 1989) converted cities (Judd and Fainstein 1999) hinterland cities (Blank 1996), Loser cities (Rousseau 2009), or more prosaically 'crap towns' (Kieran and Jordison 2003). Is 'brown belt' development, which undeniably involves the revalorisation of land, but perhaps little or no displacement, actually 'gentrification'? – see Cameron (2003) and Lees *et al* (2008) for discussions of this. For example how valid is a comparison in terms of a *qualitative process* and a *quantitative impact* between the 'gentrification' of Manhattan in the 1980s and 1990s, and the development of the 'gentrified' quayside, on derelict and uninhabited land, in Newcastle in the late 1980s and early 1990s?

Further complications of the process can be seen as it usually denotes residential on residential displacement at the expense of workplace displacement (Curran 2007), and in relation to the case study at hand it is essentially the changing nature of my interviewees working and leisure environments – not their residential neighbourhoods – that is being investigated. Indeed the very aesthetic of much

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[40] See the seminal and much cited collection of works in "Gentrification of the City" (Smith and Williams 1986). See Smith (1996); Ley (1996); Glass (1964); Lees et al (2008); Butler (1997). Smith (2000) suggests that gentrification has 'gone global' and provides some (limited) evidence. Wang and Lau (2009) point to the case of Shanghai as representing a similar spatial process but traces this to quite specific historical and cultural contingencies somewhat different to western models of the process.

[41] America of course – see Williams (1986)

'pioneer' or 'sweat equity' gentrification, and its associations with 'victoriana' (Jager 1986) and the 'industrial vernacular' (Zukin 1989), may be in the future challenged. This could be reached by revalorisations of *modernist* architectural forms, and their appeal (with or without irony) to the monumental, 'gritty-authentic' or increasingly distinctive, as they disappear from the landscape (see While 2006; Halgreen 2004).

Overall then, we find that gentrification must indeed be seen as a "chaotic" (Rose 1984, p47; Beauregard 1986, p35) concept, or cluttered signifier, of which there can be "no single theory of an invariant…process" (Beauregard 1986, p35). It is for this reason that Lees (2000, p160) calls for a "geography of gentrification" that allows for its variance to be viewed in relation to particular places and contexts, whilst holding onto its central "critical" meaning. Having discussed *some* of the complexities of the idea we can though come to some conclusions about the fundamental meanings of the term and its position in academic and popular discourse:

- It is *pejorative*
- It originates (in all discourse) from a *critical social science* perspective
- It denotes the *revalorisation* of devalued land, and;
- It involves the displacement of *lower income* groups by *higher income* groups

It is for the above reasons, and specifically the necessity to contextualise the process of gentrification that my analysis chapter later on in the thesis begs the question of the 'spectre' of gentrification. Rather than uncritically accepting that 'gentrification is occurring in the Ouseburn Valley' I choose to use the term in the context of revalorisation of land and associated regulation and commercialism that many of my interviewees see as changing the Valley. The idea of 'gentrification' then in my study is given a specific context, mainly related to the meaning and use of the term on behalf of my interviewees. The question of displacement is for the majority of my respondents a *future fear* rather than a present or past event – although as my analysis chapter does reveal there is evidence of displacement in the Valley. In this sense then the study at hand looks at a place that may be *within* a process of

gentrification, answering David Smith's (2002) call for more looks inside the social meaning of the *ongoing* process.

The broad debate of how to understand or define gentrification within some useful working parameters has been discussed. We need to now go onto to look in more detail at how the process is theorised. The next section will explore the two major theoretical 'schools' that purport to explain the process of gentrification. Nearly all papers or books on gentrification will make some mention of (and some are entirely devoted to – Hamnett 1991) the debate between the production side explanations of Neil Smith and the consumption side causalities often focussed through the work of David Ley (see Butler 1997; Lees *et al* 2008).

I concede, in line with many of the considered 'mediators' in the debate – for example see Hamnett (1991) – that both meta-theories are necessary conditions for the process to occur. However, the present study is more concerned with the cultural meanings of places and spaces, and more specifically how changes in the Ouseburn Valley are perceived as encroachments onto 'countercultural' territory by the state, business and 'general society'. As such, the focus is more clearly linked to the cultural or consumption side explanations of gentrification.

4.3 How has Gentrification been Explained?

4.3.1 Neil Smith – The Rent Gap, the Secondary Circuit of Capital and the Global City

Marxist geographer Neil Smith (1986; 1996; 2002) argues that the logics of capitalist expansion can be utilised to explain the process of gentrification. Smith (1986) proposes that post war suburbanisation of productive capacities (see Balchin and Bull (1987) for a good discussion of UK experiences this), residential housing and "suburban aspiration" (Rex and Moore 1967) plus the "centralised dispersal" of corporate and governmental bureaucratic functions (Marshall *et al* 2003) devalued the inner urban land on which these activities had taken place previously - see Waquant (1989) on the dereliction of areas of Chicago. The Inner city at this time then, due to Doreen Massey's concept of emerging "spatial divisions of labour" (Saunders 1986, p273; see also Savage and Warde (1993) pp50-53) became

devalued and denigrated, and was seen as a container of urban ills (Smith 1986; 1996; Robson 1988).

However, ironically, the suburbanisation of work and life in the years of "high Fordism" from 1945 to the oil shock of 1971 (see Harvey 1989a) created what Smith terms a 'rent gap' in relation to the inner city. The 'rent gap' is the gap between the *actual* ground rent of a parcel of land and the *potential* ground rent of the same parcel of land. The increasing costs of developed and advantageous suburban land plus desires to halt stalling corporate profitability in the early 1970s (the switch from primary to secondary circuits of capital – see Harvey 1978), allowed for acceptable opportunity costs on behalf of speculators and capital to reinvest in the supply of urban residential and office space in the 1970s and especially from the 1980s onwards.

Combined with the emergence of a rent gap and capitalists' desires to maintain profitability by investing in the built environment, the desire for corporate concentration in the command centres of 'global cities' (Sassen 1989) during the 1970s and 1980s allowed for the creation of highly fuelled property markets in the CBDs of many important cities. Multi national corporations prefer concentration of executive staff in these centres for a number of reasons including proximity to political, informational and financial institutions, good ICT infrastructures (Sassen 2000), nearby ancillary services such as legal and PR firms (Sassen 1989) and executive closeness to allow for quick and coordinated reactions to crisis (Smith 1986).

For Smith then, the production of gentrified housing is based fundamentally on the exploitation of the rent gap on behalf of the "institutional agents of capital" (Smith and Williams 1986, p4) – described as "banks, speculators…and the state" (Smith 1986, p18). The exploitation of the rent gap becomes most prescient in the financial districts of global cities, where dense networks of services and executive functions are deemed necessary. This eventually leads to a 'class war' where the middle classes seek to revenge themselves on the inner city and its perceived degenerates (Smith 1996), to 'purify' its spaces and allow for the functioning of trans-national capitalism. Displacement occurs as the local state in conjunction with

developers, facilitate or force the eviction of sitting tenants in favour of office developments or 'rent-gap-realised' residential development.

In relation to the above, the Ouseburn Valley can undoubtedly be seen as land that was previously devalued in economic terms with initial artist-settlers, in the 1980s, taking advantage of cheap and disused commercial and industrial space. As we saw in the discussion of the case study area, the Valley can be seen as a 'cradle' of early industrialism on Tyneside with many industries either out-migrating or becoming redundant as more rational production techniques took hold in the 20th century. Residential movement from the Valley occurred in the 1930s and 1960s as the area was viewed as unsanitary, and the local state moved populations to modern housing projects elsewhere in the city. The Valley has then been impacted by the creation of an initial 'rent gap' through the machinations of capitalist production and residential suburbanisation. There are a number of problems with such production-side explanations of the process of gentrification however.

4.3.2 Cultural Desire for the City

Neil Smith has consistently put forward a coherent and rhetorically persuasive argument that explains gentrification as the spatial manifestation of the strategic and economic imperatives of later capitalism. In essence though, it can be said that structuralist-Marxist interpretations of the phenomena have traditionally ignored the role of demographics (see Beauregard 1986) in desires for urban living as well as the changing nature of the household and the form that the reproduction of labour power takes in later capitalism (Rose 1984).

The need for group affiliation and distinction in an increasingly class*less* mass society, through expressions of 'self' through commodities (including housing), is also ignored or explicitly opposed (see Jager 1986; Redfern 2003). Perhaps more

presciently however, in relation to the present study, *culture*[42] or value systems in relation to the *social meaning of the inner city* (Caulfield 1989; Ley 1996; Butler 1997) on behalf of those who are seen as 'gentrifiers' have also been ignored or awarded a "surface form" (superstructure to base) status in Marxist-supply explanations (see Smith 1986, p31; 1996, p57).

In further critique, supply-side analyses of the process of gentrification that minimise the role of cultural aspiration and demographic factors often view gentrifiers as a homogenous group working for and promoting the "institutional agents of capital" (Smith and Williams 1986, p4). This group is broadly analogous to the "yuppie"[43], of the 1980s, and its constituents are generally seen as "emissaries of global capitalism" (Lees et al 2008). In line with Sklair (2002) these groups form part of an "international capitalist class" seen to inhabit gentrified – and "supergentrified" – Lees *et al* (2008) – enclaves of polarised, 'dual' or 'global' cities (Sassen 1989).

As such the process of 'high end gentrification' is increasingly seen to be a global phenomenon centring around the super-heated city-spaces of 21st century capitalism (N. Smith 2002). In reality however, the mundane process of gentrification may involve poorer service workers, artists, single families, ethnic groups and many others whose "diversity" complicates the relationship between displacer and displacee (Rose 1984). Historical materialist perspectives then can be essentially criticised for giving mono-causal, anti-agency, non-cultural and restrictive views of what the process of gentrification entails and who 'gentrifiers' may be.

These weaknesses are challenged by people arguing from a consumption side perspective. Commentators such as such as David Ley (1996; 2003) and Jon Caulfield (1989) have as such concentrated more on the *cultural values* of those who can arguably be classified as 'pioneer gentrifiers' in the process. The importance of culture and values to the process of 'middle class' re-inhabitation of formerly

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[42] Not to suggest that the imperative to 'accumulation' is not also a cultural imperative – but to many structuralist-Marxists (and classical and neoclassical economists) the urge to create surplus is often talked about as if having a life of its own – hence overriding human 'will' or 'agency'.

[43] See Rennie Short (1989) for the etymology of 'Yuppie' and the historical context of its creation. J Rennie Short – the new urban order…see Bret Easton Ellis' *American Psycho* (1991) for a caricature.

denigrated spaces is vitally important as it gives us some idea of *why* people want to move to such areas in the first instance. Furthermore, these explanations involve notions of 'agency' as an inter-subjective force, and allow for the motivations of actors to be given central *social* meanings outside of the purely economic realm.

These studies, along with other ideas of the possible 'emancipatory' or liberating social environments of inner urban areas (see Lees 2004), importantly, contrast the (continuingly dominant one might argue) discourses and experiences of the "denigrated" (Caulfield 1989) post-war suburbs with those of the 'promise of urbanism'. The dominant social construction of suburbia with its patriarchy, order, and essentially spatial manifestation of Fordist working and living patterns[44] is often seen in almost binary contrast to the possibilities of 'expressive' and 'diverse living' made possible in the urban cultures of inner areas – comparable in many ways to the promise of Bohemia we discussed in the last section.

Ley's (1996) gentrifiers are, as we shall see later, quite close in ideological orientation and cultural aspiration to the artists working in the Ouseburn Valley that have been engaged with during this research. My interviewees and participants can be seen to form part of the broader "new cultural class" (Ley 1996, p15) with close links to the expanded post-war welfare state – ironically one of the key attributes of the 'Fordist' or 'Corporatist' governmental paradigm from 1945 - 1979. This 'class', (rather status grouping – see Redfern 2003), is often higher in cultural capital but lower in economic capital than the more private-professional 'class Other' (archetypical in the high end gentrifier identified by structural–Marxists) with which its 'members' counter-identify themselves (Butler 1997; Bridge 2006b). These counter-identifications between fractions of 'the new middle class' are also found in my research and are played out in relation to the social meanings of architectural styles, and related notions of place and placelessness.

Like many of my interviewees and participants, Ley (1996, p205) suggests that the "new cultural class" grouping is often seen to possess a cultural affinity to

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[44] See Rose (1984) for how zoning restrictions in American suburbs have traditionally made it very hard if not impossible for non-nuclear families to reside there.

'urbanism as a way of life'. Here the term is understood not in its negative sense as promoted by Wirth (1938), but the city is seen to offer a positive engagement with diversity (Jacobs 1961), 'liberating anonymity' as described a century ago by Simmel (1903), the freedom of self expression and reinvention of the self (Raban 1974) and the possibility of placed 'cosmopolitan community' as was discussed in the last section.

In short, certain city spaces are seen as attractive to the new cultural class and minority and creative-countercultural groups, certainly because they initially offer cheap living costs, but also because of the promise of certain bohemian freedoms and experiences of alterity that are seen to be limited elsewhere. Importantly, such spaces are also seen to offer an 'authenticity' of the built environment, through the preservation and promotion of historical vernacular architecture. The preservation of such forms signifies 'placeness' as an objectified form of cultural capital (Bridge 2006a) and attempts to stem the encroachment of 'massification' found in both internationalist-modernist architecture and the 'spectacle of consumption' identified by critical commentators in the post war years.

As such, these bohemian spaces (imagined as places in a sea of functional space) also act as areas where senses of ontological, and as we will see in the analysis section physical, security are generated by the broader liberal middle class, through a "clustering" (see Knox and Pinch 2009, pp 171-174; Butler 1997; 2003) of in-group 'members' cemented by negative perceptions of 'Other' areas of the city. The function of symbolically defined boundaries wrought through 'signifying aesthetics' within landscape are thus implicit within the play of "tribal hostilities" (Raban 1974, p.143) encountered within urban environments where certain social norms are constructed that are related to wider ideas of place-control and power (Badcock 2002). Gentrification processes can threaten these senses of ontological security by the encroachment of 'Others' into the symbolically delineated spaces of 'dwelling' of groups that feel ownership of, and rights to, specific places and spaces.

Much literature on gentrification therefore suggests that, in line with previous ideas discussed in the literature review, certain inner urban areas in the post war era in the West became marginal spaces (Shields 1991) of 'cosmopolitan-bohemia'. These places increasingly appealed to the liberal ideologies of a new middle class and "marginal gentrifiers" (Caulfield 1989) seeking diversity and 'place authenticity'

outwith the dullness and placelessness of the suburb, or the perceived strictures of the planned modernist spaces of cities. In the process of 'consumption led gentrification' as with the place-mythologies of cosmopolitan bohemias, it is the ambivalent figure of the artist who holds the analytic gaze.

4.4 Artists as 'Shocktroopers' of Gentrification

As discussed previously, the processes of gentrification are numerous and complicated. How these processes play out 'on the ground' as opposed to in the 'abstract spaces' of academic typology and theory, are, to a degree, idiosyncratic. However, for many explanations of the phenomena that stress the importance of culture – or perhaps more specifically that of '*counter*-culture' – the figure of the artist is important. For example, Ley (1996, p199) suggests that:

In the ideal case of a stage model, it is the artists and cultural professionals who are the first to establish a presence in the inner city, followed by professionals in education health care, and related fields, with the natural sciences (including engineering), financial services, and managers and administrators in the private sector the last entrants to a district.

As discussed previously, simple stage models of gentrification can be criticised for attempting to put a linear-logic on what is often a messy and conflicted process (Lees *et al* 2008; Bounds and Morris 2006). However, if used as a heuristic device to understand *some* processes of gentrification, *particularly* processes that involve the initial settlement of groups of artists in previously denigrated and devalued places they can prove useful. This is due to the fact that such notions of, to use an old and unfashionable term, "invasion-succession" demonstrate, for a number of authors, the 'bridging' or 'expansive' role of artists in terms of markets in consumer capitalism. Artists are seen to have a peculiar ability in creating 'new' objects and places of consumption for broader segments of the new middle class (Ley 1996, 2003) – and the eventual conversion of cultural into economic capital (Zukin 1989, 1995, Caulfield 1989; Bridge 2006b).

In valorising and changing the contextual appreciation of objects, places and places' aesthetics, artists can create 'new ways of seeing'. The 'old', and previously denigrated, can become culturally valorised through new meanings that artists may

attach to these objects (Ley 2003)[45]. Initially, as in perhaps the original Parisian bohemia, this desire to (as Baudelaire did – see Seigel 1986) reconstitute everyday life as a form of art that demonstrates its essence, contingency or possibilities may have been restricted to a number of *avant gardes*. However, as Ley argues (2003), in the post war era, in western societies there has been a massive growth in material wealth and educational provision allowing for the growth of the artistic field in relation to both cultural and economic capitals – with the expanded welfare state acting as a 'transmission belt'.

Central to this is the growth in higher education took place in the social sciences field in the 1960s, with many more young people participating in humanities courses with emergent critical perspectives often linked to artistic critiques of modernity (Ley 2003). Examples of the similarities of artistic and 'intellectual/academic' critique can be seen in the Beat criticisms of Ginsberg and Kerouac and the sociological writings of Paul Goodman William H. Whyte, Theodor Roszak, and the 'countercultural-godfather figure' of Herbert Marcuse (see Gair (2007) for a good discussion of the intellectual-artistic links). These critics problematize the general social form of modernity, Fordism, the suburb, consumer capitalism, conformity and a myriad of other shared themes.

The growth of tertiary education, in *specific* '*critical disciplines*' alongside the valorisation of the 'artist as prophet' (Ley 1996) in the emergent counterculture then allowed the valorisation of the 'artistic sensibility' and the creation of a critical-reflexive 'cohort' of well-educated, young people – and an expansion of the realm of the individual-expressive ethic of the self identified previously. This group of young people, soon to be employed in the emergent welfare-employed middle class, are hence seen to have provided 'effective demand' for or "desire" (Caulfield 1989) for critical-artistic works, lifestyles and places. The specific aesthetic forms of the revalorisation of inner urban areas on behalf of such 'gentrifiers' include the re-interpretation of previously banal and 'dirty' architectural forms such as warehouses and factory spaces.

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[45] This tactic of recontextualising 'junk' or 'the mundane' is carried out clearly in relation to a plastic bag in the film *American Beauty* (1999). It is also famously seen in the controversial case of Tracy Emin's *Bed* (1998). Kurt Cobain's 'ripped jeans' are also a case in point – a once 'individualistic' and 'anti-fashion' or 'anti-utilitarian' demonstration of style that eventually found its way to larger markets through high street stores.

These edifices and interiors became, through initial sweat-equity investments, formed into signifiers of difference and taste for 'marginals' to assert their group-identities in relation to the perceived homogeneity of the 'spaces of rejection' found in Fordist suburbia or in the modernist, rationally planned, glass- chrome central business districts of cities. As such, industrial heritage aesthetics and Victoriana have become closely associated with the process of gentrification at the aesthetic level (Zukin 1982; Jager 1986; Savage and Warde 1993). These aesthetics are a clear preference for many of my interviewees and participants, and these forms and their deeper significations were of clear interest to a good number of the people I met during volunteering at the Ouseburn Trust's heritage group – who were often also artists or linked with the creative industries.

This process of revaluation, initially essentially due to appropriate possessions of cultural and economic capital on behalf of broader groups of people identifying with critical artists is furthered and broadened by the 'spectacle' through 'recuperation' (Debord 1967; Merrifield 2002; Ball 1987). This involves the 'culture industries' pushing new markets in consumer capitalism from initially critical-creative subcultures through the promotion of (and often sanitisation of) new cultural forms, fashions and points of cultural identification (see Caulfield 1989; for a broader view see Heath and Potter 2005).

In this sense then, gentrified places follow the same patterns of cultural production as do many works of art that originally signify a critical or oppositional stance to the 'mainstream', as they eventually become 'banal' appealing to broader, often wealthier, and more ideologically distanced groups of consumers through a process of "diffusion" (Caulfield 1989) – what was discussed as a process of popularisation of countercultural *habitus* in the previous section. It is through such processes that we can then see the transmission of cultural into economic capital, reaches a spatial or rather place-ial (in that it is 'place' rather than a perceived massified 'space' that is desired) dimension in gentrifying areas. It is also through such theorisation that we can see how tensions between different fragments of 'the new middle class' can occur in areas subject to such processes.

As well as allowing for the transmission of 'new' and 'culturally valorised' appreciations of spaces and places, the presence of artists also signify the safeness of previously 'dark' areas of cities to developers and less adventurous members of

the middle class. Cole (1987) and Zukin (1989) describe how in New York City the presence of artistic communities was utilised by the local state to develop what were previously undesirable or industrial areas into places that could be seen as 'ripe' for gentrification or redevelopment. This included the revalorisation of old and existing, industrial workspaces into, initially, lofts for artists in need of workspaces and eventually into living areas for non-artists in these conversions that bespoke of the cultural kudos and ambience of artistic production but in fact were occupied by non-artists.

Artists then are often amongst the first groups of the 'new-middle-classes' to re-inhabit[46] the derelict and (to the eyes of more conservative tranches of the middle class and property developers) dangerous areas of the inner city. As well as costs it is often the imagination of a diverse, less regulated, more authentic and sometimes transgressive urbanism that plays a key role in attracting creative-countercultures to such spaces. In turn, this movement can alert the local state and property developers to the fact that such areas can be 'produced' in line with desires for cultural capital and 'safe urbanism' or forms of bohemia to be consumed (Wilson 2000) for other members of the middle classes. In this sense then, as the appeal of such areas broadens to the more general population we can see that, through cultural transmission, many of the aspects of bohemia become appealing to broader groups of gentrifiers. For example, Young *et al* (2006) chart how 'cosmopolitanism' in different ways is used to attract different gentirifying groups to city centres. In essence, then, we can see that artists can signify a 'green light' for the processes of gentrification to begin. In the analysis section we will be able to see how my working artists view the changes occurring in the Ouseburn Valley in relation to these themes

4.5 The Creative Class and Gentrification

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[46] Of course the whole point of gentrification is that these places do have 'other' inhabitants as well. In relation to the case study area however we have to bear in mind that the Valley has not been a residential area since the 1960s, and has always primarily been industrial-use land.

In recent years the (in some ways paradoxical) promotion of bohemia and a 'creative class' (Florida 2002) has become, for slightly different reasons, a key aspect of much central and local government policy (Evans 2009). This has been based upon the growth of the 'creative industries' and the idea that, in knowledge economies within broader 'global divisions of labour', the 'production of innovation' becomes more important than the manufacture of goods themselves (Handy 2000; Lash and Urry 1994; DCMS 2001).

Alongside innovation is the key idea that, in consumer capitalism, many goods now possess larger amounts of design quotients or 'objectified cultural capital' within them (Lury 1996; Bocock 1993; Featherstone 1991). Aesthetic symbolism in goods and individually produced artworks or bespoke artefacts all appeal to an aesthetic-reflexive (Lash and Urry 1994) consumer – high in cultural and sometimes economic capital. For these reasons, artistic quarters are now seen to be a valid segment of the economy in their own right, and garner the attention of local authorities who hope for direct employment benefits through their nurture (Florida 2002; Evans 2009).

Debates over the actual contribution of such a 'creative class' to economic development are found in literature – and indeed such policies may often be simply extensions (c.f. Peck 2005) of the above discussed 'boosterisms' aimed at 'kickstarting gentrification' through property development through the promotion of artistic enclaves and 'bohemian buzz' (Zimmerman 2008; Rousseau 2009). However, of more interest to this study is the idea of looking at the 'creative class' as a group of broadly creative workers that in fact includes a significant degree of dissonance within itself. There is a peculiar symmetry in the initial literature stemming from Florida's work that the 'creative class' like production side views of gentrifiers (Smith 1986) are of a homogenous whole. However it is clear, as with the process of gentrification, that the 'creative class' as a very broad group of 'knowledge' workers may contain contradictions within itself, and groups of workers and creatives that are ideologically distanced if not opposed in some ways to one another (Markusen 2006).

Of particular interest to the study at hand is the possible role that certain groups of more formal creative workers, more closely aligned to business services, may play in gentrification and the possible displacement of other creative workers such as individual working artists (c.f. Catungal *et al* 2008). Specifically, working

artists can perhaps be viewed as a tranche of creative workers that may, in fact be, due to their desires for 'place authenticity' and autonomy, either ambivalent or opposed to place promotions of creative enclaves under such policy directions (Long 2009). Artists' specific and often critical orientations to the role of the state in place promotion of areas that artists may have 'settled' as first wave 'gentrifiers' are thus explored as a nexus of gentrification and creative class debates in my research. We can see that there are ambivalences and oppositions to both related processes of gentrification and the promotion of bohemia under the rubric of creative class policies in the views and perceptions of my working artists.

4.6 Conclusions

This chapter has explored the varied meanings and explanations of gentrification. It has been shown how both supply and demand side factors need to be considered in the process. The role of artists, often important in the process, has been clearly outlined, and we can see that the desire for the city is in many ways informed through the diffusion of critical and countercultural valorisations of urbanism and distinctive architecture. These theories and processes inform later discussions of the changing bohemia of the Ouseburn Valley, as we discuss the meanings of gentrification to the participants in this thesis.

Chapter 5: Creative Leisure and the Production of Aura

5.1 Introduction

As we have discussed in the previous sections, creative countercultures are synonymous with bohemias as marginal places. In this section we will see how these places are often viewed as arenas where the time-space differentiations of industrial working patterns are foregone, and leisure and creative work are undertaken in a less ordered fashion than in the outside world. Bohemias have often been centres of cosmopolitanism – itself a signification of the disordering of national bodies in the age of the nation state and of possibilities of self-expressive individuality. They have also been viewed as spaces that have 'placed identities' that are perceived to distinguish them from the sameness, seriality, and regulated order of the imagined urban elsewhere. Further, we have seen how gentrification processes often threaten the individual, unique or auratic perceptions of bohemias as non-massified or non-institutionalised spaces as they become objects of lifestyle-desire for the broader middle class. In this sense then, following the discussion on the centrality of distinctive aura to creative-countercultural values, such areas run the risk of, through commodification and broader or 'mass' appeal, becoming desacralised.

Related to the movement of bohemia towards more central and institutionalised roles in production and consumption in later capitalism, it has been shown how in recent years a new wave of regeneration or gentrification policies centred on the value of the creative industries have pushed bohemias from the margins to the centre of local authority growth agendas. This push is linked to tactics for growth through the consumption of these areas for tourism and leisure, that is related to an increased popularity of the *habitus* of the artist in the post war years. It is also related to the possibilities within creative bohemian milieu for sparking the creation of unique and valuable intellectual property (IP) rights that have become important to the 'entrepreneurial' local state searchinhg for growth. In this section I wish to discuss the dedifferentiation of work and leisure for some workers under conditions of post-modernity, and the desire for 'creative leisure' on behalf of 'counterculturally inflected' individuals; individuals that often desire to occupy bohemia. The practices of the working artists I have interviewed and spent time with during my research, will be, analysed as:

1/ Examples of individuals who are actively practicing dedifferentiations of work and leisure, and;

2/ People who pursue self-expressive, creative or auratic uses of 'free time' within the 'gentrifying bohemia' of the Ouseburn Valley.

5.2 Auratic Leisure

'leisure' has become, in recent years, for some sections of the Western middle classes, more integrated into creative impulses and desires for 'self authored' experiences that involve 'doing' and 'expressing' rather than simply the consumption of 'massified' leisure through Frankfurtian, Debordian and McDonaldite 'passive' and 'regulated' consumption[47] (Banks 2009; Richards and Wilson (2007). Some simple examples of this creative and 'serious' (Stebbins 2004) leisure career could involve actually being in a band instead of (or rather as well as) going to see bands; painting and the creation of visual art as opposed to simply gazing on the works of others; writing poetry and prose as opposed to 'simply' reading. This turn, towards creative leisure, involves at its centre a greater pursuit, on behalf of individuals, of 'auratic' or artistic inhabitations of the world as *producers* of perceived *inalienable* art and experience rather than as 'mere' consumers; it has vocation and self identity at its core rather than distraction.

This desire for creative self expression in leisure therefore has very strong links with the discussion of self-expressive aura, and its relation to the realm of the sacred as discussed earlier. Although there is a growing body of work on the importance of creativity to tourism development and tourists' experiences (Richards and Wilson 2007), there would appear to be much less literature devoted to the role of creativity, and 'self authored' experience within leisure studies (See Banks 2009). The following discussion attempts to show how work-leisure has become blurred for

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[47] Following Barthes' famous proclamation of the 'death of the author', Hall's idea of cultural encoding and decoding and De Certeau's ideas of the co-production of consumption, acts of 'mass consumption' with the consumer as 'cultural dupe' have almost certainly always been a totalising and simplified form of understanding the processes of cultural consumption. My discussion looks at creative leisure from the standpoint of involvement in *processes* of material and symbolic *production*, rather than the symbolic reordering or different interpretations of existent objects or texts.

some workers in the (post) modern West and how creativity has become a central ethic to work and leisure for some in recent years. I argue that the blurring of the boundaries between these previously distinct categories is the result of both ideological critiques of 'ordered modernity' (essentially romantic discourses, that, as discussed previously become popular in the 1960s), and the growth of regimes of 'flexible accumulation' (Harvey 1989a) within the global economy that sees the growth of 'expressive' or aesthetic-reflexive (Lash and Urry 1994) knowledge work on behalf of some Western workers.

5.3 Beyond Work and Leisure?

5.3.1 Leisure and the Order of Modernity

'Leisure', is, in a fundamental way, a problematic term to use in relation to what is actually being discussed in this thesis, as it has strong connotations of the division between *work* and other aspects of life that itself can be seen to be related to particular ways of living under conditions of ordered-modernity (Rojek 1995; Roberts 2010). These 'ordered' ways of life, and the work leisure division were seen to have been accentuated within particular ways of, modern-industrial (Fulcher 2004) and particularly modern-corporate, or Fordist, types of labour and economic production (Roberts 2010; Rojek 2004; Veal 2004a and b; Wang 2000).

Along with the division and ordering of work and leisure under these conditions, it is also these very ways of life – of disciplined (Thomas 1964; Foucault 1977[48]) Taylorist-Fordist industrialism (Allen 1992), with high degrees of rationalised, standardised and goal-oriented working practices (O'Neill 1986) and time regulation (Thompson 1967; Thomas 1964), that have been attacked by creative-oppositional voices[49]. These ways of production, relying on, (to use a Marxian concept) 'highly alienated' machine-driven work (Hampsher-Monk 1992), have been attacked, for the

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[48] Foucault in *Discipline and Punish* suggested that the modern penal system actually took its cue from systems of 'ordering bodies' to 'yield to institutional dictates' from institutions such as the platoon, the workhouse *and* the factory. In this sense, practices and discourses of modern order in relation to *criminal* deviance are partly borne in the industrial workplace.

[49] See Henry Miller's ideas on individuality and the artist, and the ways that 'work', here discussed as Fordist work, limits the 'potentials' of human beings http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bn542BUEnbg.

stricture they impose on the possibilities of auratic individual self-expression by those comprising creative countercultures. Examples of this could include critiques of early industrialism from Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge and their American variants of Whitman, Thoreau and Emerson, to, for example, Marcuse's and the Beats' desire to regain the assumed creative-impulse of the everyday from the technocracy of 1960s imaginings.

Creatives and intellectuals, often occupying 'disordered' Bohemias from the 19th century to the post war countercultures, and New lefts, of America and Britain, who as we have seen, highly value individual expressiveness, have often strongly criticised the lack of creative output in relation to rationalised working practices. Highly controlled *working environments* with little room for self expression are not the only cornerstone of creatives' critiques of ordered modernity. The mode of *mass consumption*, often engaged with in delineated leisure time, seen to be the necessary regulatory foil for mass production (the concern for effective demand in the economy), predominant under Fordist ways of life are also critiqued for their seen-to-be passive and non expressive natures (Hoffmann 1968; Marcuse 1955; McDonald 1957; Debord 1967).

Within academic discourse also, the *spatial and temporal distinction* between work and leisure is viewed to have deepened, or even been created (Roberts 2010), through the rationalisation of industrial production (Rojek 1995; Thomas 1964; Urry 2002) found in the modern world[50]. This distinction has often been seen as a given in relation to the vast majority of working people and has been viewed as a necessary conceptual delineation by many leisure researchers (see for example Harper 1997). The relationship between these practices has often been called an 'oppositional' or 'compensatory' (Veal 2004b) orientation suggesting a trade-off between the uninteresting bureaucratic or routinised work discussed above, and fulfilling 'serious' or 'career', (as well as necessary casual) leisure (Stebbins 2004). Banks (2009) also suggests that some leisure practices, far from being passive or imbued with 'false

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[50] The artisan, living and working in the same space and integrating their work with their general life is often held up as an ideal of non alienated pre-modern labour (Marx? Who else has this idealistic archetype?)

consciousness' are critical in their oppositions to the orders and disciplines of modern work.

This mutually exclusive binary, or ordered, approach to interpreting work and leisure (see Rojek 2004), views leisure as occupying a different time and space from the everyday workaday world (Rojek 1995) in 'liminal zones'. These zones are 'spatialized' (Shields 1991) through discourse and practice as places of play or spirituality – for example the English Lake District (Urry 1995), Brighton (Shields 1991), tourist resorts generally (Mullins 1991; Wang 1996, 2000; Urry 2002[51]) or perhaps archetypically, in terms of popular post-war leisure and tourism, in Las Vegas, a city built almost purely on consumption activities (Douglass and Raento 2004; Parker 1999).

In much literature on the subject, leisure is often seen to be a 'compensatory' practice at best, or as the residual feelings of unhappiness, alienation and depression from work spill over to a further 'dead-space' of non-working time, a negative 'spillover' at worst[52] (Wilensky 1960 in Veal 2004b). 'Spillover', though, can have positive impacts, if for example work is valued by the individual and they belong to an "occupational Milieu" where work and leisure communities are often shared (Wilson 1980) – work and leisure, are however, still viewed in the 'spillover' thesis as distinct spheres that can be empirically known (Wilson 1980).

From critical-left perspectives though, 'leisure', following the well-worn Frankfurt School's critique (Rojek 1995) is, from the perspective of probably an over simplified critical discourse (see Jones 1977), also viewed as becoming increasingly alienated itself, as the residual everyday after work is increasingly occupied by reified activities of the consumer economy, and passive consumption, that is

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[51] Wang (1996:2000) in a very similar way to Urry (2002), divides leisure and tourism practices into those which are 'spiritual' (or imbued with more cultural knowledge) and hedonistic or bodily. These divisions bear close allegiance to Urry's idea of the Romantic and Collective gazes respectively.

[52] Interestingly, Issues such as gender and race, as well as regional and urban/rural differences are often not discussed in much of this writing, and as such an implicit character of a white, male, working class, urban-dweller toiling in a corporate (be it manufacturing, industrial or bureaucratic) 9-5 'job' implicitly takes centre stage as the subject of this alienated opposition of work and leisure. Such theories however do represent the nexus of romantically inflected academic and 'countercultural' thought in relation to this system (*the system!*), and as such are useful to outline the dominant critical discourses of post-war life in the West.

ideologically infused and functionally related to the non-critical reproduction of labour[53] (Banks 2009; see Burnett and Rollins 2000 for how these critiques are also promoted through influential distopian fiction). In this view, commodities and their social meanings and 'dreamscapes' colonise everyday life and reduce 'authentic social relations' to appearances of sign games or of mass submission to the 'phantasmogoria' (Rojek 1997) of the 'spectacle' (Debord 1967; Ball 1987). Furthermore, in spatial terms, this mass leisure, in post modern contexts, is, through its reliance on out of town retailing and multiplex cinemas for example seen to offer an attack on the promise of the city, on cosmopolitan bohemia, and is figuratively aligned with suburban ways of life (Hannigan 1998).

Leisure then has often been viewed within critical leisure literature as having an "observable space and time in society and an observable function" (Rojek 1995; p38), be this in the realm of recuperation and moral improvement for liberal or conservative commentators respectively or as a time space of ideological infusion for the left (ibid; Jones 1977). The temporal and spatial separation of work-leisure may have been a reality for the majority of people in periods of highly organised corporate production and governance. Regardless, this mythical mode of life, of perceived regulation and non self expression; of a perceived de-sacralisation of the subject due to its mass production, has been one of the major critiques of modernity from the Romantic period onwards, culminating in the critiques of everyday life under immediate post war conditions.

5.3.2 Leisure and the Disorder of Post-Modernity

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[53] The Clash's *Capital Radio* (1977)is a classic example of Frankfurtian ideas transmitted into the realm of counter, and eventually popular culture realms, where popular radio becomes "the doctor Goebbels Show" and the DJ "Picks all the hits to play, to keep you in your place all day". This theme is also prominent in Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty Four* (1948) in the notion of 'prole feed'.

In recent decades, we can see that work (for some) relating to symbolic production in post-modern economies is often seen to overcome the dualities of Fordist-corporate work and leisure. At one level, this desire for creative working in industry and business has been greatly informed (and indeed itself promoted – see Frank 1997) by the ideals of individuality and creativity that informed the discursive terrain of the 1960s countercultures (Florida 2002). This has also been achieved through the need for creativity at work, greater time autonomy, less explicit supervision and project rather than routinised work, due to an emerging global division of labour (Florida 2002; Lash and Urry 1994). Globalised production, which certainly to an extent has merely relocated *Taylorism*, rather than the broader social form of *Fordism* (Greider 1997; Korzeniewicz 1994; Allen 1992), and the growth of the cultural economy, allows for creativity on behalf of educated Western innovators, designers, aesthetic trend-setters and marketers and artists (Lash and Urry 1994; Florida 2002).

These workers, often though the need to 'network' for informal contacts in the hope of finding work, and the fact that their work is 'task' or 'project' based (rather than routinised) often find their social and working lives becoming more integrated[54] (Florida 2002). Work and leisure in the West may become less easy to separate for *some* workers although not all, and almost certainly not even the majority experience this – as Ritzer (1993) suggests, certain forms of service work involve large degrees of regulation and supervision, a view supported by Critcher and Bramhan (2004), and investigated empirically in relation to job-satisfaction by Herbert[55] (1988).

Where de-differentiation does occur, this also may not be benign, as 'flexible working' can often have the effects of allowing work to 'colonise', or 'spillover' (Wilson 1980; (Wilensky 1960 in Veal 2004b) into more of the lifespace than in

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[54] The effects of these de-differentiations are satirised (and obviously exaggerated) in the short lived BBC comedy series 'Nathan Barley' about a young entrepreneur in the creative industries in London. In the series work essentially becomes play, and the office is more akin to a kindergarten or playschool than anything else. See: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tH3eeN2q4DQ&feature=fvsr&has_verified=1

[55] This 'view' can also be supported by simply asking a call centre worker at an 'average' call centre about the restrictions they may have on toilet breaks and about the closeness of supervisory management and call quotas etc.

previous, more ordered, patterns (Lewis 2003). Even for the 'creative class' Banks (2009) argues that far from work becoming more like leisure, there is indeed a 'colonisation' of leisure time by the desire to get better at one's creative work through 'instrumental' creative engagement outside of work time. This view however implies an instrumental and hence 'alienated' view of work that is perhaps at odds with creative workers own desires, and the meanings of their own 'labour'.

Related to the above types of work, in post-modern service economies, much consumption is also centred around leisure and tourism activities, and the psycho-cultural meanings of experiences the provision of these services *can*, for *some* employees engender a blurring of the traditional divisions between work and leisure. Arguably this blurring has always taken place to a much greater degree than modernist theorists, imbued with notions of ultra-rationalisation and alienation inherited from Weber and Marx have allowed for (Rojek, 1995; Guierrier and Adib 2003), with 'tactics of resistance' (as de Certeau 1986 discusses) to such processes (rationalisation, alienation) integrating themselves into work time and work place[56]. More focussed leisure studies scholars have long seen that work and leisure, often depending upon occupation can be quite integrated (Wilson 1980).

More clearly however, within certain service industries, work can become leisure, as in for example certain hospitality workers who desire to meld lifestyles of leisure and tourism into what is nominally seen as work (Adler and Adler 1999). Similarly this process is achieved by a tour guide or resort rep tasked with 'having

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[56] Rojek (1995; p171) suggests that "leisure experience is perfectly compatible with the office or the shop floor" – maybe an idea of it as never being truly eradicated is a better estimation as to its position. As an employee of a number of bureaucracies in local and central government for what amounts to nearly 8 years of my working life I have amassed a good degree of 'participant observation data' in relation to such practices, that both myself and colleagues undertook – such things could be:
1/ stopping off at the shops on work time whilst 'just passing through' from say a meeting in a different part of town back to the office where you may be based...
2/ listening to music whilst in a secluded space – for example a job involving clearing an old record room of its files
3/ surfing the internet rather than working – often leading to screens outwith of the supervisor's view being prized more than those in his or her eye-line...
4/ 'Banter', or simply talking about things other than work to colleagues, and as such not being properly 'focussed on work' for portions of time...
5/ 'sancioned' invasions of 'leisure' into the office such as having televisions in the work place for cultural events such as the world cup

fun so others can' (Guierrier and Adib 2003). Working in a restaurant (Crang 1994) or a bar also achieves this dedifferentiation. Conversely, leisure can become work as for example in the provision of live music in pubs (see Rapuano 2009), and much 'serious leisure' must be worked at to gain competency and fulfilment, as well as (sometimes) financial reward (Stebbins 2004).

Importantly, and now in relation to the discursive level, it is the very post-war Fordist-corporatist separation (or rather further accentuation of the latter process, as of course this separation is evident in earlier industrial forms also) of work and leisure, and the connotations of a particular type of fractured and dispersed life (office and suburb, with the commute in between) that has often been part and parcel of the object of attack by creative countercultures. Ordered Fordist demarcations of leisure and work within economies (and, as a correlate, social structures) are seen to inhibit the possibilities of 'auratic self-expression' that we have discussed as, in this thesis, the key ethic informing creative-coutercultural discourse and practice.

The critique of strictly demarked and rationally bound modes of production and consumption, and the effects of these modes of existence upon the (former, as these modes are often seen to have massified and desacralised the subject) *individual* can be viewed, from the vantage point of creative-countercultural ideologies as displeasure at the 'fragmenting' of the essentially romantic idea of the unified or authentic self. As was discussed earlier, many artists in the popular 'counterculture', alongside influential academics in various academic areas, critiqued the spatial and temporal separations of 'life' under the rationalising ethos *par excellence* of Fordist-modernity and this was often interpreted as an act that alienates the integrated self through fracturing its 'essence'.

The 'massification of life' under Fordist modes of development then is seen by creative oppositional voices to both limit the possibilities of auratic self expression in the pursuit of work and to the anti auratic, non-creative and non-expressive way of experiencing leisure time as a passive recipient of a massified cultural product. A dedifferentiation of 'leisure' and 'work', in the hope of an autonomous and non-alienated, often creative-expressive 'one life' was hence one of the aims of the

1960s counterculture. Hoffman's Yippie manifesto (1967) which classically combines New Left and countercultural ideologies, is a good example of this desire for the unification of the self, and, importantly, counterculturally inflected entrepreneurs and the emergence 'expressive' business models[57] (Frank 1997), culminating in the emergence of Florida's 'creative class' (2002), point to the desire for more relaxed (In terms of dress code and clock discipline), autonomous and creative working environments that blur boundaries between the Fordist order of work and leisure[58] and hence point towards the possibility of a unified 'one life'.

The dedifferentiation of work and leisure or the 'decentring' (Rojek 1995) of leisure thus has an ideological idealism as a driving factor, yet has also been facilitated by the need for creative work within in the global division of labour, with certain core creatives taking on the role of forging new markets, and developing intellectual property and design quotient through creative work. Accordingly, Leisure and work then are viewed by certain authors (Rojek 1995; Florida 2002; Banks 2009) as having become more integrated for some people in recent years and this can be seen to be prominent in certain service sector jobs, and for creative workers within the 'creative class'. Regardless of the historical reasons for the growth of the value of creative work and leisure and their blurring, we can see that this style of life fits in very well with the ideas of the 'secular sacred' production of the self as an 'auratic' subject. For some workers the guise of 'artist' can be adopted that involves an integration into the 'mainstream' of the economy that for many previous generations of creatives was not an avenue.

5.4 Conclusions

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[57] By this I mean the industries of advertising, as Frank (1997) discusses, and emergent cognitive-aesthetic areas of production such as design and the 'culture industries' more generally (see Lash and Urry 1994).
[58] This desire is excellently satirised by the 'roadie' in Alex Cox's (1986) film Sid and Nancy.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F7Rd9_DmpNo

This section has shown how for some workers in the West, the global division of labour and the need to market and formulate new products and directions within the 'symbolic economy', along with countercultural desires for creativity in working practices, had led to a dedifferentiation in work-leisure in some vocations. The dedifferentiation of work/leisure may be somewhat overblown if taken to extremes, as people (here I am thinking of the working artists that I have spent time with and have interviewed) do still recognise the conceptual orderings of leisure and work (as I would have found some of my interview topics to have been difficult to approach without an assumption of the relevance of these terms still!). However, what we may see is that activities outside of working time, for creatives, often do not engender a desire to *escape* from their work, due to it being alienating, or more prosaically – unenjoyable. This is due to the fact that greater creative autonomy is present within the 'work' of these individuals. In the analysis section we will analyse the ideas of dedifferentiations of work and leisure for the working artists and creatives that have participated in this research and we will discuss to what degree this dedifferentiation involves a pursuit of 'creative leisure'.

Chapter 6: Creative Countercultures – Mobility and the Elsewhere

6.1 Introduction

In the last sections, we have witnessed how 'bohemia' has arguably been constructed and practiced as an 'escape route' by creative countercultures in the face of modern and post-modern social relations. Creative countercultures since the late 18th century, although having many of their values formed in the "same intellectual soil" (Hampson 1968; p187) as enlightenment thought, have yet sought to push the boundaries of this thought into the realms of individuality in art, lifestyle and cultural freedoms (ibid; Siegel 1986). We have seen how Blake's dictum to "mock on" and question the limits of scientific and rational thought, have often been at the centre of countercultural critiques of seen-to-be dominant 'bourgeois', and later 'technocratic' and 'modern-consumerist' utilitarianisms.

Importantly, we have also seen how many oppositional voices tied to artistic movements have often become incorporated into more mainstream political discourse and into more mainstream modes of cultural production. Importantly in the form of 'post-modern consumerism' we have seen how many of the 'cultural rebellions' of the 1960s and later have been important for the growth of more individuated forms of consumer lifestyles. This 'system of objects' where services and goods are valued as much if not more for their signifying power within a language of identities and cultural affinities, and where individual experiences and hedonism are valued, is seen by many authors as typical of post-modern consumer culture (Baudrillard 1960; Bocock 1992; Lury 1996; Featherstone 1990).

In direct relation to the above, we can see that the *places* of artistic production – bohemias – have themselves, in recent years, through a similar process of cultural diffusion, become less simply places of 'subterranean values' (young 1971) but of a more general liberal middle class desire for place-bound, urban, bohemian-cosmopolitan living (Ley 1996; Caulfield 1989). Additionally to this, and in the context of the global division of labour, 'creative places' and their industries have become more central to economic growth in the West (Florida 2002). The 'creative mode of development' that has the creation of IP and new markets at its core, but also sees

an increasing desire for auratic art on behalf of increasingly educated and discerning consumers, has moved 'bohemia' to more central economic concerns of many local authorities.

This section links the discussions of the pursuit of the 'escape from modernity' and the desire to engage with the self-expressive ethic to the desires for the elsewhere often exhibited by 'counterculturalists'. We can see that the desire to escape modernity is often found in a portrayal of the elsewhere as either 'natural' or socially pre-modern; it is also found through the act of mobility itself. The desire for authentic individual experience is clearly related to the construction of an adventurous 'self-authored' form of mobility under the guise of 'traveller' that is rhetorically positioned against the imagined inauthentic, massified and passive role of 'the tourist'. The link between these desires for the elsewhere and the 'home environment' can thus be drawn out in this section, and we are able to see how the desired mobilities for creative countercultural groups are linked into the ethic of an 'integrated life' where the elsewhere provides senses of authenticity and creative inspiration for romantically inflected creatives.

6.2 Nature, Primitivism and Bohemianism

6.2.1 Nature

Bohemia has traditionally been constructed as a figurative elsewhere within the urban territory of the 'bourgeois' and later 'massified' Other. Participants in creative countercultures have, however, often sought 'escape' from 'limiting' or 'disciplined' or 'utilitarian' modernity through the pursuit of authenticity, self-expression, spirituality and aura in the more literal elsewhere. This has often been achieved through travel to places and valuing travel as a practice in its own right, and as such the 'home and away' lives of modern creatives can be seen as both 'escapes' from their perceptions of dominant modernity and its spaces, and also as an attempt to gain 'auratic' experiences of place and individuality. This quest for escaping modernity often becomes manifest in critique of one of its institutions – that of modern tourism (Buzard 1993). There is a long association of travel and travel writing with creative countercultures. Indeed, many countercultural discourses of

their respective eras, from the late 18th century of Rousseau and Wordsworth (Solnit 2001; Cardinal 1997; Urry 2002) to Whitman to Kerouac (Cresswell 1993; Richards and Wilson 2004) stress the importance of mobility, and much counter-cultural poetry and prose has, down the years been focussed on the themes of mobility and the elsewhere.

This important point, and the fact that mobility and the elsewhere are so often topics for creative production points, as the idea, in a very similar way to discussions of leisure did previously, that those in creative countercultures have often sought integration of work, travel and home life and as such a cosmopolitan dedifferentiation of the *meaning* of the home and away environments is sought for. The elsewhere is integrated and used as inspiration for work – as such travel on these terms is not an escape from alienating working life but an active part of the creative process. Examples of the inspiration of the elsewhere and of mobility *within* works of poetry, painting, music, performance and prose abound, and can be seen in Wordsworth, Coleridge, (Cardinal 1997; Solnit 2001) and Byron (Feifer 1985), in the landscapes of romantic art, and in the writing of later 'alienated intellectuals' such as Kerouac, Hemmingway, Hunter S. Thompson (Richards and Wilson 2004) and George Orwell (Adler 1985)**.** Tellingly, the 'original aesthetic rebels' – Keats, Byron and Shelley – all died abroad, in the 'exotic south' (cf. Cardinal 1997). We will then, discuss, in the analysis section if the 'elsewhere' is seen as an extension of the creative process of the home environment, or as travel and tourism are often portrayed (c.f. Urry 2002) more of a differentiated experience from that of home.

Focussing on the *elsewhere*, however, rather than mobility *per se*, allows us to see a number of discursively constructed 'elsewheres' that participants in creative countercultures have over the years discursively built. These have been imagined and 'dwelt' within, in order to escape the spaces and places of rationalised and disciplined utilitarian modernity – and as such can come within the 'anti-promethean' or generally backward-idealistic strain of countercultural thought (Goffman and Joy 2004). These elsewheres, can, following Urry (1995; 2002) be viewed as a series of 'gazes' – discursively constructed and bodily-performed places. Urry's original 'countercultural gaze' – the romantic gaze – is the discursive inscription of the

meaning and experience of the sublime (Trott 1998; Bell and Lyall 2002) onto 'raw' European landscapes – especially 'mountainscapes' (Feifer 1985).

The temporal emergence of the importance of solitude in nature is salient (although Welk 2004 argues this has deeper Western-religious connotations) as we can see that this experience attains a spiritual dimension in dialectic relation to the collapse of conventional Christian religious authority at the turn of the 19th Century (Wedd 1998) – it is thus solidly rooted in the ferment of emerging European Modernity, and linked to the desire to explore the 'inner self' if authentic self-expressive creativity is to be reached. For early romantics such as Wordsworth and Rousseau, sublime nature, not the gospel, becomes a deistic conception of transcendence (Solnit 2001), and the documentation of 'inner feelings' in relation to this experience, not distanced documentation (c.f. Pratt 1992), becomes the prescribed literary style (Cardinal 1997; Butler 1985), and the didactic mode of *experiencing the landscape*.

During the Early 19th century the Romantic would have "travelled as far from his familiar world as possible" (Feifer 1985; p 142), and this gendered ideal (Buzard 1993) of sensual mobility in search of pristine and sublime nature during this period is still evident in many imaginings of independent travel[59]. The analysis section will explore if the interviewees bear traces of this Romantic discourse of nature in their worldviews and accounts of past travel and future travel desires.

6.2.2 Primitivism

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[59] See for Example how Alex Garland's (1996) novel *The Beach* and Danny Boyle's (2000) film adaptation of this text bear these discourses (Tzanelli 2006; Law *et al* 2007) – often at a 'secondary level' of signification (Barthes 1957), relying upon historical social constructions and 'meta-discourses' for their meaning (Squire 1994). See also Forsyth (2002) and Cohen (2005) on how the filming of this (generally panned – http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0163978/) ouvre interfaced with post-colonial discourses and liberal middle class reformism in Thailand.

As well as the spiritual properties of nature promoted by the romantic sensibility, and discursively reworked by the American Transcendentalists most famously in Thoreau's *Walden or Life in the Woods* (1854), the Beat Generation, in Kerouac's *Dharma Bums* (1959), later hippy communalism and new age travelling (Hetherington 1996) there emerges another related gaze – that of *primitivism*. Primitivism can essentially be seen as a socially constructed gaze of Otherness that reifies and venerates pre-modern forms of social relations as relations that are conducive towards 'authentic self expressions', equality and non-instrumental forms of existence. A conception of the 'primitive gaze' here is meant to be quite broad. It can include merely gazing upon 'pre-modern Others' or attempts to *recreate* an imagined form of pre-modern communitarianism through for example experiments in anti-structured living – and associated leisure experiences (Wang 2000).

Primitivism also tellingly refers to a movement in modern art that values both the simple, as expressive technique, and the 'pre-modern' as origin (Knapp 1986). Emerging in the late 18th and early 19th century, a creative desire for Otherness is related directly to the growth of empire and Modern-European constructions of the 'primitive Other' (Hampson 1968). Following Said (1978) this period saw an imagined creation of a 'foil' to European self identity with Others occupying atavistic-Hobbesean states of nature in the tropics (see Conrad 1902; Arnold 2000) and worlds of the irrational, ancient, mystical, feminine and despotic (Said 1978). Dominant constructions of Otherness here aided in the legitimisation of Western expansionism as enlightened and Christian discourse emanated from the European centre to the periphery.

Creative-countercultural critiques of utilitarian-modernity, however, can be seen to have often venerated the imagined subaltern primitive within this constructed dialectic (Heath and Potter 2005). The desire for the primitive in art, arguably takes place within the context of the increasing power of reproductive technologies (Benjamin 1936), and fracturing of social consciousnesses through divisions of labour and modernity in general. The process of valorising the primitive oeuvre can be seen as a desire to view art as a form that cannot be easily reproduced (Costa 1991) and to view the object of art as signifying its 'ritual' or 'auratic' origins

(Benjamin 1936). Indeed (Guenther 2003) argues that primitive art (in the anthropological sense) was, and still is, desired for its signifying function of pre-modern social relations and aura – in essence, one reading of the pursuit of primitive art in turn of the century metropolitan Europe is that it signifies a 'golden age' of mechanical solidarities. This is important as it demonstrates, again, how creative cultures have often sought to integrate representations of the elsewhere into works of art as part of a broader critique of the modern West.

Although stemming from romantic imaginings of the past, as clearly formulated within Rousseau's conception of the egalitarianism of social life in the state of nature (Hampsher-Monk 1992), the 'primitive construction' of escape from modernity does not imply solitariness within the sublime, but in the experience of 'authentic' social relations. The primitive gaze as understood here can take many forms, and, echoing primitivism found within visual art, in poems and prose, coded into the writings of Wordsworth and Coleridge in the forms of the pastoral *Lyrical Ballards*, that eulogise 'the rural' as a golden age, Wordsworth alone with his *Solitary Reaper* (1805) and, in relation to the same 'northern' geographies of the latter, inhabited by 'noble Highlanders' in the later writings of Sir Walter Scott and others (Butler 1985; Devine 1999; Watson 2006) stress the 'authenticity' of pre-modern social relations. Similarly, although the relationship between romanticism and emergent empire in this period is complex (Fulford 1998), the desire, through the radical abolitionism of Coleridge (Kitson 1998) and the primitivism of Byron (Franklin 1998), can be read as a "coded language of opposition to the dominant culture within Britain" (Kitson 1998, p25) at the time – a culture based in the utilitarian views of dominant enlightenment thought (Franklin 1998).

The veneration of 'pre-moderns', in the same manner as above, and containing implicit critiques of emergent modernities, is also seen in American culture in the idealisation of the American Indian for example within Coopers' *Last of the Mohicans* (1826). This motif is taken forward in the U.S. counterculture's later obsession with the same reified and essentialized figure in works such as N. Young's *Pocahontas* (1979) and relatedly *Cortez the Killer* (1975) – the construction of the American Indian as a 'noble savage' during this period being well documented

(Delouria 2002). Beat valorisations of Black street culture and hipster lifestyles similarly venerate and essentialise the imagined other (Gair 2006), as do many anthropological writings from the counter culture (c.f. Diamond 1974).

The breadth of the above ideas of the primitive gaze demonstrate its strength within Western thought and its specific relation to modernity. In specific relevance to this study we can see how this gaze is related to the activities of heritage groups, such as those found in the Ouseburn Valley that seek to valorise and in some ways objectify working class culture of the past as a signifier of community, solidarity and authenticity. The primitive gaze is also, more importantly for this section, strongly tied to travel and tourism motivations and plays an important role in theorizing, evident in foundational writings in the subject area[60] (MacCannel 1976; Cohen 1972, 1979). As well as being foundational, this desire in terms of gazing upon pre-moderns and experiencing Rousseauian or mechanical social relations of communitas with other 'travellers' informs contemporary motivations (Binder 2004).

As will be discussed in greater detail below, both the romantic and primitive gazes are steeped in desires to escape the massified, institutionalised and commercialised experiences of modernity through individualised forms of travel, where serendipitous, or non alienable forms of experience are seen to be found. As such they are implicitly related to discourses around distinctions between travelling and tourism. These rhetorics, and the problematic nature of searching for 'authenticity in nature' and in the company of 'less modern' Others or in destructured 'Rousseauian' social relations (Wang 2000), have often sought to valorise the traveller (Boorstin 1961) and denigrate the tourist (McCabe 2006; Buzard 1993).

These distinctions, based upon displays of cultural capital grounded in previously countercultural discourses, however, through commercial processes relying on cultural diffusions of previously minority discourses (and practices), become harder to maintain as they become institutionalised into a 'parallel industry of independent travel' (Cohen 1973; Ateljevic and Doorne 2004). As such we see the

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[60] Again *The Beach* can be read as encapsulating the Romantic traveller's desire for communitas in social relations – not amongst 'primitivised Others' but amongst like-minded 'alienated moderns'.

same difficulty in maintaining the auratic properties of 'independent travel' in the realm of mobility and experiences of the elsewhere that is encountered in possible 'loss of place' narratives in gentrification processes in the 'home' environment. The analysis section then will interrogate my data to see if primitivism, and the desire for 'pre-modern', and importantly perceived 'less-modern' social relations are sought by the creatives occupying the Ouseburn Valley.

6.2.3 Elsewhere Bohemias – Off the Urban Beaten Track?

As well as the idea that countercultural discourses have often constructed nature and the primitive (or less modern) Other as realms of spiritual experience and authentic social relations, there is, following the discussions on bohemia and gentrification above, the possibility of another 'gaze'. This gaze, linked to the desire to experience the elsewhere, can be seen as very closely linked to the discussions on the promise and desire for cosmopolitan and bohemian environments in the 'home' lives of counterculturally inflected individuals – including the broader middle class and working artists.

There is really more of a question being posed here rather than as above, a fairly clear discursive terrain being mapped in relation to general counterculturally-originated desires for the natural elsewhere and the valorised Other. The question is – if my participants show desires to visit and experience *urban* environments – what form of experience, and what places would they generally desire to see and experience? As we shall see in the analysis section there is a considerable amount of evidence to suggest that the desires for urban environments on behalf of my respondents point to a preference for the kind of places that they, though their behaviours and statements, gravitate towards in the 'home environment' – in this case the Ouseburn Valley. This has implications for the ideas of dedifferentiations of home and touristic/travel practices suggesting, as Edensor does (2001;2007) that for this group and very possibly many other groups, that travel and tourism is not so much getting away from everyday life and practice in the home environment but is and *extension and deepening* of such practices and preferences. The question of the ideological meaning of this dedifferentiation for this group will also be addressed in the analysis, and we will see how the desire for an *integrated* life that ties the practices and environments of the home and away are linked to the critiques of

divisions of labour, leisure and life and the 'fracturing of the self' that was a focus for both the Romantic Movement and the later critiques of spatial differentiations found within counterculturalist critics of 'high Fordism'.

Accounts of travel and tourism in urban areas in urban tourism literature have traditionally focussed upon policy and management themes of visitor flows and numbers, types of attractions and how local authorities and policy actors can encourage visitation as part of wider growth agendas and image enhancements for cities (cf. Jansen-Verbeke 1986; Page 1995; Law 1993), and have as such ignored the possible meanings of certain forms of urban tourism to counterculturally inflected, and critically orientated groups of city users. Other studies have concentrated upon the role of tourist and leisure consumption as part of the broader political economy of post-modernity or later capitalism (cf. Mullins 1991, Harvey 1989a 1989b; Judd and Fainstein 1998; Booth and Boyle 1993) and often relate these developments from a critical social sciences perspective to issues of social justice.

Furthermore, cultural studies perspectives have often discussed visitation to cities from a meta discursive level, describing and interpreting tourism and travel in such areas through a 'wordy' an approach that sees inscription of (often dominant) place meanings being decoded by often undifferentiated tourists. Following Selby (2004) it would appear that many tourist voices have been excluded from these academic approaches. In particular, urban tourists are often seen to engage with 'spectacular areas of consumption' in the "fantasy city" (Hannigan 1998), in smooth consumptionscapes such as festival market places or larger cultural venues and iconic monuments – often hermetically sealed from 'the life of the city' and its concomitant bohemian-urbanism.

More sensitive literature has emerged recently suggesting that some urban tourists, who would most probably like to define themselves as urban travellers (see below) exhibit desires to get 'off the beaten track' in cities and experience the 'backstages' (c.f. MacCannell 1976) of urban cultures (Maitland 2007; 2010). This desire for an imagined 'authenticity of place', rejects the 'spurious' (MacCannell 1976) or serial developments (Richards 2011) of many tourism-led developments in cities in later capitalism: 'McGugenheimization'. However, as with many processes in tourism development, this can see areas of cities becoming incorporated into wider growth agendas, and 'areas of Otherness' such as little Italies (Conforti 1996) and

Chinatowns (Anderson 1987), become moulded into 'staged' representations of a reified Other, as part of the tourist economy.

The above process is also in evidence in relation to 'bohemia' becoming a more central part of the tourist itinerary in many cities, with many middle class consumers now desiring 'creative tourist experiences' (see Richards and Wilson 2007; Richards 2011; Hannigan 2007) in such 'heterogeneous' (Edensor 2001) environments. The analysis section then will analyse the preferences of my working artists in relation to the urban experience of the elsewhere and will ask if the working artists and creatives that I met in the Ouseburn Valley during my research attempt to get 'off the beaten track' when in the urban elsewhere, and if they seek bohemia.

The above discussions have clearly suggested that many framings of the travel experience and of the desires for nature and the primitive Other have their origins within countercultural imaginings. Nature and primitivism as signifiers of spirituality and authenticity can be seen to emerge with a romantic critique of modernity in the late 18th century. These constructs are then re-structured by later creative counterculturals, but the trope of rejection of modernity and its limitations is clearly identifiable. This rejection of modern ways of life also has a clearly denigrated Other in relation to discourses on travel, authenticity and the elsewhere. This Other, a seen-to-be massified subject, is often given the moniker 'tourist', and is rhetorically manufactured as an identity-opposition to the virtuous, spiritual, authenticity-seeking, educated, knowledgeable and respectful traveller.

6.3 Travellers and Tourists

6.3.1 The Genealogy of Distinction

Buzard (1993) argues that the oppositions of 'traveller' and 'tourist' as constructed roles, with various connotations, became apparent in the very period where the technological and discursive facilitators of leisure-mobility are rendered available to the expanding working and middle classes (Also see Urry 1995). With the expansion of steam travel and the inscription of various landscapes through guide writing in the 19th century, what was once 'off the beaten track' became available to increasing numbers of people (see Butler 1985 for how 'stories and steam' opened up the Scottish Highlands to tourism). Tour itineraries and the act of viewing landscape became institutionalised, regulated and commercialised (Buzard 1993; Urry 2002; Feifer 1985). We see the emergence of the constructed modern-massified and 'culturally-poor' subject in its mobile leisure guise, in need of improvement (this was Cook's classically Victorian-Arnoldian ideal), but nevertheless seen to belong to a "docile 'herd'…surrendering [its] own initiative to an organized power" (Buzard: pp60-61).

The expansion of the availability of travel to 'the masses' through organized tours, steam technology and very popular guidebooks saw the emergence of what Buzard describes as 'anti-tourism'. As mobility alone[61] is no more enough to confer distinction (Urry 1995), those 'higher' in cultural capitals, including many romantic writers (Buzard 1993; Feifer 1985), seek to distinguish themselves from the 'hordes' that are seen to personify the bureaucratically aligned, itinerised and "alien economic forces" (Buzard p26) of burgeoning modernity. This distinction is importantly, for Buzard, based upon the re-inscription of many European landscapes through romantic literature (see also Watson 2006; Cardinal 1997).

In opposition to the functional and instructive guidebooks of Baedeker and Murray, Romantic prose and poetry suggested that the landscape should be inhabited in a sensuous and imaginative way – an inner sentiment being satisfied rather than an other-directed display of 'having done Rome' as part of a larger crowd

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[61] See Hobsbawm (1962) for a description of how immobile the mass of the European population was in the 1780s. See Adler (1985) on the state limitations of mobility in pre and early modernity.

of tourists (often seeking social distinction as 'Milords[62]' through displays of wealth – see Buzard's (1993) account of Trollope's *The Robertses on Their Travels*). Anti-tourism and this particular 'taste public' is then from the beginning linked to oppositional voices found within the broad 'Romantic Movement' as described earlier in this chapter, and to an educated and literary middle class capable of decoding and displaying these subtle cultural capitals.

This display of cultural capital has clear links to Urry's notion of the romantic gaze discussed above, and is solidly linked to the concept of the desire for the primitive and the authentic in social relations – which for many Romantics in the 19th century was found in Southern Europe or the Near East (Cardinal 1997). This particular episteme and practice frames the 'true purpose' of travel (not touring) as one whereby spiritual engagement with nature and authentic-auratic place is encountered outwith the institutions, boundaries and commercialised aspects of the emergent tourism *industry* which in its forms and effects is solidly tied to the mechanisms of modernity. In other words, to escape modernity, and to experience the elsewhere, many Romantic travel writers, their discursive inheritors, and those with similar sensibilities and cultural capitals have identified themselves as anti-tourists or as 'travellers' in opposition to "mere tourists" – tourists themselves being the signifiers of modernity (Buzard 1993).

Buzard also describes this process of subtle differentiation taking place within the broad movement of British traveller/tourists to the continent after the Napoleonic Wars. For Buzard, the *ways* of relating to place (i.e. the *same* vista or site) can engender distinctions through differential readings and performances of sentiment – although granted, many anti-tourists would not want to be experiencing a romantically-inscribed landscape in the company of 'the crowd' as the presence of other tourists is seen to 'pollute' the reflective and spiritual sense of place-habitation desired by the Romantic sensibility (Urry 1995;2002; Buzard 1993; Feifer 1993) .Urry (1990; 1995; 2002) however, in a more geographically delineated fashion, describes

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[62] 'Milord' is a continental phonetic corruption of 'My Lord'; an address of a servant to a master.

the emergence of the above romantic gaze, in relation to the bifurication of class cultures as tourist practices.

Urry (2002), in a specific British context, describes the emergence of a *collective gaze* in the 19th century. This is essentially the emergence of mass tourism at seaside resorts, that themselves are imitations or addendages to the more upper and middle class destination of the spa town. The collective gaze for Urry, in opposition to the 'positional good' the romantic experience, relies upon the *presence* of culturally-familiar stranger-Others (also see Hoggart 1957). This gaze excludes or ignores cultural difference, is concerned with bodily pleasure (c.f. Wang 1996) and is experiential rather that reliant upon degrees of cultural capital for the decoding of destination-significance. In short Urry is describing an emergence of mass working class leisure and tourism[63] against which the Romantic gaze counterdefines itself.

The romantic gaze then is at once literary and sensual, relying initially upon degrees of cultural capital and upon a desired solitude for its performance. The growth of mass working class tourism, and of regulated and itinerized sight-seeing tourism (see Adler 1985 on its origins) during this period act as its foils with the tourist often being seen as a massified subject low in cultural capital, autonomy and 'taste'. This pejorative view of the tourist as a massified figure as well as a harbinger of destructive and anti-auratic modernity continues in the post war era in the West. Similarly, inheritors of Romantic sensibilities with itinerant critiques of 'alienated utilitarian modernity' follow the critiques of tourism and the tourist in much the same vein as before.

The pervasiveness of these "ancient stereotypes" (Welk 2004; p83) still abound in contemporary 'traveller' identity constructions and oppositions (McCabe 2006), and are exacerbated in the second half of the twentieth century. The "explosion of tourism" (Feifer 1985) in this period is closely linked to rising income levels and compartmentalised and space-time delineated working patterns found under Fordist modes of development (Feifer 1985; Urry 2002; Sharpley 2008) as

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[63] Urry does suggest that urban tourism with its 'cosmopolitan' appeal can also be seen as part of the collective gaze but to conflate working class seaside tourism and *flanerie* is perhaps too general a proposition.

discussed in relation to leisure in the previous section. The growth of leisure time and household incomes is however not seen to be met by a general increase in 'legitimate' cultural capital, and as such 'the tourist' is seen by many commentators as partaking in a form of cultural homage that is at once spurious, homogenised and lacking in critical function (Boorstin 1961).

In line with the critiques of the 'mass society' put forward by romantically inflected (c.f. Heath and Potter 2005) artists and intellectuals of the American counterculture (c.f. MacDonald 1957), and as is discussed in detail earlier in the thesis, the post war tourist is often viewed as a 'product' of such social relations – an 'organisational man', 'managed' (c.f. Oliver 2001) and open to spurious experiences of cultural (often seen to be *non-cultural* due to forces of commodification) consumption, and open to manipulation (c.f. Ballard 1964). For some authors then the tourist is a pariah of consumption, inhabiting a neo-platonic cave (Deleuze & Krauss 1983) of media generated touristic desires (Boorstin 1961), happy to reside in "total passivity" (Eco 1986: p48) within a hyper-real space of representations and spectacles (Debord 1967) of difference that are deemed safer and more satisfying than 'the real thing'. Las Vegas is often seen as an archetypal "tourism urbanisation" (Mullins 1991) of invented and simulated objects and experiences (Douglass and Raento 2004; Parker 1999)

The platonic cave also has connotations of both intellectual and physical confinement and it is the surrendering of the self to the bureaucratic itinerary of the institution that also haunts the representation of many tourists (Cohen 1972; Dann 2000). Tourists are often seen to inhabit the spaces of modern consumer capitalism's fantasy experience economy (Ritzer and Liska 1997; Bryman 2004) where even the original referent is an invention (Pretes 1995). In this way tourists are often seen to be seekers of signifiers or markers of 'second order' myths (Barthes 1957), that consecrate certain world views and give order to the aleatory or anomic tendencies of modernity. In the realm of placeness, tourists are often also seen to facilitate a 'flattening aesthetic' through contributing to the growth of Auge's (1995) 'non places' by insisting on culturally compartmentalised spaces of safety that allow

for ontological security and physical comfort in Other territories (Bauman 1990; Jacobsen 2003; Jaakson 2004; Weaver 2005; Judd 1999).

The traveller, in a discursive distinction from much the above, is often portrayed as "working at something" (Boorstin 1961), as for example Wordsworth's solitary physical exertions in climbing the Alps that can be viewed as a secular penury at the shrine of the sublime (Cardinal 1997; Solnit 2001). The 'anti-tourist' (Buzard 1993), and its more recent incarnation of the 'alternative tourist' is often held up as a paragon of non-destructive sensibilities – a 'good' mobile subject, respectful of the elsewhere and the environment encountered there (Kontogeorgopoulos 2003). As Buzard (1993) and Fiefer (1985) above suggest, some mobile subjects, have, for at least two centuries, sought to differentiate themselves from the perceived 'ignorant mob'. This strategy of distinction and desire to 'escape' the signifiers and places of modernity (one of these key signifiers being the above constructed 'tourist) is clearly evident in the mobility-practices of post war countercultutralists.

The phenomenon of post-war independent travel, archetypically formatted in the growth of youth backpacking in the 1950s and 1960s in America and South East Asia clearly inherits its modus operandi from valorisations of 'tramping' life found in the depression era (Adler 1985), the spiritualism-in-nature proclivities of the Transcendentalists (compare Kerouak's writings for example in *The Dharma Bums* to the valorisation of nature found in Whitman and Thoreau) and accordingly the broader European Romantic Movement discussed above and elsewhere in this thesis. Independent travel as a fairly clear ideological and practiced opposition to 'institutionalised tourism' and 'disciplined technocracy' emerges (Cresswell 1992) as a broader social phenomena as the meta-discourses of the American counterculture become more available to Western youths suffering a "widespread alienation" (Cohen 2003; p96) in the 1960s.

Cohen (1973) describes the desire to 'find oneself' in the elsewhere in this period as becoming a 'nomad from affluence', and later, (1989) clearly describes how hill trekking in Thailand has its origins in the U.S. youth movement of the 1960s. The countercultural impulse towards mobility is formulated in a desire for the authenticity of the elsewhere, and as argued above takes its root in Romantic

conceptualisations of nature and the primitive Other (Heath and Potter 2005), and these representations of otherness still imbue much tourism marketing of the 'pre-modern' aura of the Orient (Bandyopadhyay and Morais 2005).

The 'spirituality' of these two realms of 'nature and the primitive' is also stressed by countercultural travel literatures during this period (see Brazil 2010 in relation to Ed Buryn's travel literature), that are pre-cursors of paradoxical 'independent travel guides' (Welk 2008). This trope is also echoed in literary and filmic interpretation of these mobility-motives in the American road movie of the late '60s and 1970s (Laderman 1996), such as *Easy Rider* (Ibid; Shiel 2007). This period also saw a reconceptualisation of the primitive other from a Hobbseian to Roussean state of nature in the 'Indian friendly' Western (Durham 2002), and many of the above road movies of the time involve some contact between the 'hippie' protagonists and allusions to the 'primitive other'[64].

The 'traveller' then, from the emergence of Romanticism in the late 18th and early 19th century becomes a figure that seeks experiences of the elsewhere that are differentiated from the spaces and signifiers of modernity, and seeks distance from 'the tourist' as an embodied signifier of this form of social relations. In this game of identity rhetorics, and in more focussed and specific theories of tourism studies, the concept of authenticity in the elsewhere is a central theme.

6.3.2 Authenticity in Tourist and Traveller Motivations and Typologies

MacCannell, writing in the mid 1970s, not delineating between types of tourists, or travellers and tourists, suggests that *all* tourists, as alienated moderns, are essentially *pursuing authenticity*, rather than consciously or unconsciously revelling in the hyper-real – involved in a "universal quest for authentic experience" (MacCannell 1976; p146). Divisions of labour and consumption in the mass society render the sense of social existence 'inauthentic', or lacking in wholeness as the social body becomes more and more fractured. The tourist then, for MacCannell,

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[64] Again my conception of primitivism is broad and encompasses both gazing upon the 'primitive Other' *and* the desire to experience the 'mechanical solidarities' of an imagined pre-modernity. As such this may be through the communitas of hippie settlements in teepees rather than an actual encounter with an American Indian.

and in opposition to the above interpretations of tourists being satisfied with the Platonic cave, becomes a seeker, attempting to get beyond the "spurious" (MacCannell 1976, p147) simulacrum of (archetypically modern-American) consumer culture.

Authenticity is found in other places and in other times and can be encountered by exposure to both objects and (often objectified-primitivist) social forms. The tourist seeks Goffman's (1959) 'backstage' where 'authentic' (read mechanical/non instrumental) social relations in modernity can still be found. The tourist is ultimately thwarted however, in the authenticity game, as increasing levels of 'frontery' are utilised by 'locals' to both present a pseudo authenticity to the visitor and at the same time protect their 'true backstage' (private/sacred social space) from the gaze of the stranger.

MacCannell's thesis has proven very influential in tourism theorizing, but importantly appears to be far too general to account for the motives of the broad spectrum of leisure mobilities. Cohen, (1988, p376) suggests that in fact MacCannell's meta motivation of seeking authenticity is only applicable to a certain group of what he describes as "alienated intellectuals", that for our purposes can be viewed as critical 'seekers'; Romantically inflected and with high levels of cultural and not economic capitals. These 'seekers' can arguably be archetypically represented by the myriad of Romantic and countercultural poets authors and painters alluded to above who have over the years sought escape from modernity in mobility and the elsewhere. Simply put, MacCannell's idea[65] of tourism motivation through authenticity has a countercultural inflection and is related to the desires of counterculturally inflected individuals rather than tourists *en masse.*

The concept of authenticity has become a central one to many theoretical explanations and discussions of tourist motivation (Reisinger and Steiner 2006). This discussion has ranged from the role of commodification in tourism experiences and how this may affect the authenticity of the experience (Cohen 1988; Hannam and Halewood 2001). Authenticity has been discussed at the level of objects gazed upon

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[65] Is it a coincidence that MacCannell's work emanated from Berkley in the late 1960s?

(Reisinger and Steiner 2006), and of inter- and intra-personal relationships (Wang 2000). It has also been importantly discussed in reference to the toured Other, and is concerned with the impact of the commodification upon previously inward-facing social rites or ways of life as they become viewed as products with exchange values rather than place-bound social formations (Greenwood 1972; 1977; Crystal 1989). This point raises the important question of whether culture should be viewed as object or process (c.f. Lacy and Douglass 2002; Kontogeorgopoulos 2003).

Following the above argument, we can suggest that authenticity is only important to certain tourists, however, who are high in (counter)cultural capitals and who would probably define themselves as travellers within the traveller/tourist rhetoric. We can see that the desire for authenticity and the need to encounter spiritual nature and the primitive Other can also be strongly related to various systems of tourism typologising that have been undertaken by tourism scholars in the study of motivations for leisure mobilities. Tourism scholars, have, since the 1970s sought to interrogate the realities and meanings of these widely held notions of 'traveller' and 'tourist' through both behavioural and discursive analyses, and qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Many of these typologies can explicitly or implicitly be read as having the desire for authenticity (an correlate levels of Romantically and counterculturally inflected worldviews) as a key factor for delineating the purposes of travel and tourism.

Examples of such typologies that can be read as scaling tourists on desires for authenticity and concomitant degrees of counter cultural inflection can be seen in Cohen (1972), typologising on degrees of escape from institutions of tourism sought; Cohen (1979) this time in relation to senses of alienation from the core culture; Plog (1974) on psychographic tendencies to engage with otherness or stay 'culturally safe'; Gray (1981) on wanderlust versus beach relaxation and Urry's (1995; 2000) dual gazes. Useful summaries of typologies in both academic and applied-marketing segmentation work can be found elsewhere (Mehmetoglu 2004; Swarbrooke and Horner 1999). Butler's (2006) well known (in tourism studies) Tourism Area Life Cycle model similarly can be read from this perspective, and in a similar manner to discussions of gentrification previously in this thesis, counterculturals are seen to 'clear the path' for the broader liberal middle class to visit areas. With temporal

progression and cultural diffusion combined with increasing interests of capital, previously 'authentic' and 'non-tourisic' destinations become 'massified', and hence unappealing to their original practitioners.

Other authors discuss the possibility of tourism and travel practices being open to role adoption in the post-modern era, as consumer capitalism and declining forms of ordered cultural norms allow the "post tourist" (Feifer 1985) to emerge – a figure that can pick and choose to play the traveller or beach tourist at any given point. More contemporary typologising has a tendency to view roles in this way, as constructions that aren't essences of individual people but varied and sometimes oppositional roles or "normative enactments" (Edensor 2001, p75) that can be adopted in discourse and practice – hats to be worn (see Wickens 2002). However, even if the post modern ideal of self conscious and fluid identity construction is the case, some tourist roles clearly require the pursuit of authenticity in nature and primitive Otherness over embodied and hedonistic pursuits of modern subcultures – compare Wickens' (ibid) "cultural heritage type" with her "raver" type – and as such are contained within an often reified and polarised discursive frame.

Authenticity then as a sought experience appeals to self identified independent travellers, and even independently minded tourists based within classically defined 'bubbles' or institutions (again see Wickens 2002 on this – this statement seems at once a little whimsical but also very contradictory), and appears of less interest to archetypal 'mass tourists' (Cohen 1988). However, as independent travel has grown into a "parallel Institution" (Cohen 1973, p90) the search for authenticity has arguably become reified into a system of *rhetorics* of identity formation (McCabe 2005; Welk 2008) rather than an essential difference in terms of *practice* between 'tourists' and 'travellers' (Kontogeorgopoulos 2003) and their 'core motivations may be in fact very similar (Larsen *et al* 2011). Authenticity of experience, echoing the distinction-strategies of earlier Romantic tourists (Feifer 1985; Buzard 1993; Urry 2002) is importantly signified by the absence of the massified Other 'the tourist' (Welk 2008; Waller and Lea 1999).

6.3.3 Cultural Diffusion and the Institutionalisation of countercultural mobilities

The above has demonstrated how many countercultural luminaries from the Romantic period to the post war era have sought to escape emergent and later Fordist modernity through mobility and constructions of the authentic elsewhere. As with the previous discussions in this literature review, on the paradox of counterculture and the commercial appropriation of its cultural products and its spaces of habitation through gentrification processes, we can see that the desire for mobility and the 'natural' and 'primitive' elsewhere has undergone a now familiar transformation from minority cultural practice with often critical ideological underpinnings into a form of commercial enterprise.

The conflation of the desire for authenticity and aura that underpin many of these more specific views of art and place, and mobility and the elsewhere have important ramifications for those seeking authenticity and aura in travel. As the process of cultural diffusion and emulation takes hold in the realm of leisure mobility, what was once a marginal practice becomes increasingly massified. To seek authenticity 'off the beaten track' the Romantically and counterculturally inflected 'tourist' must seek new experiences in new places, and thus the process of cultural cannibalisation takes off anew.

Urry (2002), writing in relation to his romantic gaze, in which solitude and spiritual reflection in sublime nature are central tenets, suggests that the practice of such a form of travel 'digs its own grave'. This happens as the previously minority pursuit and discourse becomes appropriated by businesses (such as Thomas Cook for example – Urry (2002); Buzard (1993); Feifer (1985)) in search of new markets. Travel providers are able to exploit new technologies (steam in the 19th Century; Jet travel in the later 20th), and new discourses, such as Romantic Travel writing and counter cultural guide writing, that can be marketed to and appreciated by 'educated' and burgeoning middle class populations.

Feifer (1985, p161) suggests that by the early-mid eighteenth century, the landscapes inhabited by Romantic drifters were becoming massified, and exhibiting the embodied spectre of modernity – "[T]he desolate places were filled with tourists, Romantic refuges no longer". Cohen (1973) describes a similar process in relation to the popularisation of the counterculturally inscribed elsewhere and validation of

mobility in the '50s and '60s, as the previous minority practice of 'drifting' becomes diffused into the desired mobility habitus of a new, 'educated' relatively affluent, and often 'alienated' youth middle class intent on fleeing corporate, 'technocratic Fordism'. Cohen (ibid) ironically documents the growth of a 'mass drifter' in this period, both a cause and an effect of the growth of institutional routeways for independent travel.

The idea that independent travel, is in many ways a parallel institution to conventionally imagined mass tourism finds support from other authors also with Ateljevic and Doorne (2004, p64) describing its growth from minority critical practice into a "coherent 'marketing niche'" that nowadays has much broader appeal to generally young middle class consumers (Munt 1994). Kontogeorgopoulos (2003) similarly describes how many backpacking and adventure tourists do in fact follow itinerized schedules and routes, and the main separation from mass tourists is reached through a rhetorical self representation (based on the above deeper discourses) of distinction and virtue, as well as the desired 'authenticity' of experiences. This idea, that the role of traveller exists in discourse and rhetoric as much as, if not much more than, in practice is also supported by McCabe (2005) and Waller and Lea (1999). The definition of being a traveller would appear to be a function of how much separation and (counter)cultural capital can be displayed in stressing one's difference from an imagined 'cultural dupe' or 'mass tourist' as anything. Avoidance of mass tourists and their traditional haunts within 'tourism urbanisations' is thus paramount in this identity game and in the pursuit of the nebulous construct of 'authenticity'.

6.4 Conclusions

The above discussions have attempted to look at the genealogy of the terms tourist and traveller, and how they have become, within discourse, to signify on the one hand a massified 'culturally poor' subject, inhabiting a neoplatonic cave of institutionalised itineraries and inauthentic experiences, and on the other, a brave, virtuous, sensual 'seeker', high in cultural capital and individualistic temperament. The discussions in section 6.3.2 suggest that self identified independent travellers have a greater desire to engage with 'authenticity' in terms of spirituality in nature,

gazing on primitive Others and attempting to recreate a temporally bound sense of a Rousseauian state of nature through existential community or destructured, mechanical and non-instrumental social relations. Although, as many authors have suggested, independent travel has its own sets of institutions, it is still seen to be a pathway to 'authentic' experience on behalf of travellers, as the mobile pariah of modernity 'the tourist' is kept at bay by these institutions. Authenticity in travel experiences then becomes, for many, defined by the absence of 'home culture Others' who can be regarded as 'tourists' rather than 'travellers'.

In the analysis chapter on the travel and tourism biographies and future desires of my working artists we will be able to clearly see how these strategies of distinction are processed in relation to the above discourses. Many of the interviewees mention the concept of authenticity as being important to them, and often deride traditional tourism urbanisations. They are often interested in engaging with the (often primitive-rural) Other whilst vacationing or travelling, and a good number of them actually use the term 'getting off the beaten track' to describe this search for authenticity. There are also hints of the broad desire for the simplicity and authenticity of the natural environments in my participants utterings, and desires to 'get backstage' in urban environments. There is also as we will see in the analysis, the common theme of travel and the elsewhere being used as inspiration and sometimes subject matter for their work – demonstrating the point in this review that mobilities and the elsewhere have often been the *topic* of artistic production, and are integrated into work at home. This latter point, in a similar vein to the discussions of leisure previously, points at the Romantic desire for the integrated 'one life'

Chapter 7: Methodology

7.1 Introduction

This chapter has three main foci. Firstly I intend to briefly look at the broad critiques of natural science approaches to understanding the human world that point to problems with positivism as an epistemology and objectivism as an ontology. These critiques of the approaches of social research as a natural science model, that emerge from post-modern and post-structural thinking in the post-war period, are often linked to qualitative methods and are importantly, not 'mere intellectual' critiques of positivism and objectivism, but have a clear links to critical, and, ironically, as this is in direct relation to the topic of this thesis, often 'countercultural' political views and values.

Secondly I justify the qualitative approach to my research project in relation to considerations of epistemology (the validity of knowledge) and ontology (the nature of social being). This importantly includes a specific discussion of the main qualitative approaches that I have used to gather data in this thesis; semi structured interviewing and participant observation.

Thirdly in addition to discussing the discursive and philosophical foundations of my qualitative approach, and my specific methods, I will also describe the process of my research as it occurred and the reflections on my approaches that this entailed. I will describe how the focus of my thesis changed from an initial focus on cosmopolitanism on Newcastle and Gateshead's regenerated riverside areas to a discussion of artists' views on changing place, their leisure in that place, and artists' travel and tourism biographies. This will include a discussion of the iterative process of my qualitative research that involved focussing my interviewing on themes of place, gentrification, leisure and travel whilst constantly trying to find varied analytical meaning in the data.

7.2 The Rise of Qualitative Methods

"We can gather many numerical facts if we want to, but what good is such information? The answer is that modern man has realised society can be run, at least to some degree rationally. It is

possible to assess a society's strengths and weaknesses according to objective criteria, decide what needs to be done, make a plan to achieve these objectives and put the plan into action" Lerche (1983; p1).

"[qualitative research – specifically May is referring to participant observation here] assists in bridging the gap between people's understanding of alternative lifestyles and the prejudices which difference and diversity so often meet" (May 2001, p154)

"The extent to which the 'qualitative revolution' has overtaken the social sciences and related professional fields continues to be nothing short of amazing" Denzin and Lincoln (2008; preface)

The first two above quotes are from two different methodology books and demonstrate two different approaches to the practice and use of social research. C. O. Lerche's book is written explicitly for African students in 'developing' nation states in the early 1980s. The quote from Lerche above suggests that broad-population statistics have all sorts of uses for nation states such as allowing for rational planning of the development of such states through objective and universally good criteria. In this sense then Lerche is suggesting the benefits of a form of technocratic governance that assumes the planner can provide the 'good life' for citizens. It is of course, as we have seen, this intimation to the 'rule of experts' that came under assault in the West during the 1960s.

The second quote demonstrates a link between the historical practice of qualitative research and the understanding of 'deviance' and difference as part of a normative project of acceptance or even valorisation of such social groupings. In this sense we can see a clear link between the practice of 'bottom up' qualitative research and many of the values, particularly here in relation to an idea of cosmopolitan difference, that have been seen to inform the dominant ethic of the liberal middle class that we have discussed in literature. The third quote hints at how qualitative methods and their implicit and often explicit political and normative positions have in recent years come to constitute a dominant view in some areas of social research. This demonstrates that as many critiques of Fordism and technocracy have become 'mainstreamed' or "institutionalized" (Fielding 2005) in academic and wider social discourse, originally marginal epistemologies, with associated qualitative methods, have, too, become more of an accepted orthodoxy in much social research (Crang 2002).

In this section I try to show a "further reflexivity" of my own position as a doctoral researcher in relation to this process. This is intended to show how I am 'subject to' dominant discourse within contemporary social research approaches, that for many, since the 1960s have witnessed a move from quantitative to qualitative approaches and have witnessed a valorisation of the connotative epistemologies and ontologies of such approaches. What I really intend to show here is that although I will use reason and argumentation to support the adoption of my qualitative methods in the next section, and do believe that such approaches are valid for my specific research questions, in many ways I am conducting my research from a perspective that has become, in cultural and critical social science studies (and much less so in economics for example) a normative paradigm in recent years. As such, I am aware that the 'justification' form my research approach is in some ways an uncritical re-statement of now well-accepted, hopefully good, practice within this once marginal but now in some areas (certainly not in economics however (Hughes 1990)) a dominant, or equally accepted, qualitative paradigm.

The following is not meant to be read as polemical, as I myself have used quantitative methods and can see their value in terms of the representativeness and reliability that parametric techniques can reach. The story below is a theorisation or genealogy that links a particular way of doing social research with particular social values that have emerged in the West in the port-war years, and shows how quantitative research has been portrayed by some researchers from 'critical qualitative' perspectives. These are not my own particular views, but are close to some of those occupying the 'critical qualitative camp' of the 'methodology wars' that prevailed within social science in the 1970s and 1980s, (Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2005) before a generally well observed 'peace' of mixed methods broke out (Ibid, Bryman 2004). As stated, I have conducted this particular section of work to show that I am aware of the deeper values systems that qualitative epistemologies are often associated with, an as such to attempt to understand the deeper significations of the rise of qualitative research approaches that I am using.

Positivist and empirical-realist epistemologies of 'traditional' quantitative sociology are often seen to have dominated the practice of research for much of the twentieth century (Von Wright 1971; Schutz 1962; Roszak 1968; Smart 1992; Fielding 2005) and to have formed a "positivist orthodoxy" (see Hughes 1990, pp16-

34), for much of this time. This is clearly related to the dominant *paradigm* (Kuhn 1996) or *episteme* (Foucault 1966) of natural science[66] as a way to objective truth and understanding of the relations of or orders of things in the world (von Wright 1971; Foucault 1966, Hughes 1990). The value of logico-empiricism of natural science as, almost unquestioningly, *the* methodological path to valid knowledge is clearly related to the 'founding fathers' of sociology's (particularly Durkheim and (the later) Marx, less so Weber) commitment to a science of society (von Wright 1971; Smart 1992, Hughes 1990) intended to demonstrate laws of its evolution (Marx) or maintenance (Durkheim).

This approach, that necessarily values objective processes and structures over subjective or conscious human agency can be seen to have come under attack particularly during the 1960s and 1970s (Smart 1992; Fielding 2005). This dissatisfaction with the remit, and problematisation of the legitimacy, of the human sciences in general must be viewed in the light of emerging strands of 'postmodernism' in (particularly French) intellectual thought at the time, (Butler 2002;Lyon 1999;Jameson 1988;Culler 1997) and the much broader, but just as important (and inextricably linked to the intellectual formations of the time) growth in critiques of 'progress' through Western reason, science and 'corporate' or 'Fordist' capitalism and bureaucratic governance that this thesis has already discussed in relation to romantically inflected artistic countercultures.

These attacks were often orchestrated, from within social research communities, by emergent qualitative researchers who, rightly or wrongly, accused 'mainstream researchers' of lacking in 'critical' orientation (Smart 1992). By this is meant critical projects concerned with 'emancipation' and generally informed by progressive or left ideas of what this entails (Sayer 2009; Smart 1992; Fielding 2005). Quantitative sociologists were often accused of essentially being conservative "establishment" (Fielding 2005) instruments of bureaucratic oppression or discipline (welfare research agendas) or instruments that furthered capitalist hegemony (market researchers, economists and advertisers) (Roszak 1968), utilising 'tactics'

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[66] Of course Kuhn was wholly concerned with changing paradigms *within* the natural sciences. In terms of the specific discussion here though we can view the dominant paradigm, or example of good practice within the social sciences to be in itself a natural science epistemology. An example of this positivist and causal paradigm could be for example Durkheim's *suicide (1897)*.

(de Certeau 1986) to attempt to 'subject' populations to state regulation or modes of predictable consumption. This distinction also often separated 'new left' from 'old left' with 'scientific Marxists' utilising positivistic methods (who surely would have seen themselves also a critical voices) sometimes being critiqued for viewing social life as a culmination of material quantities, rather than qualities (Hughes 1990), and through the implicit idea that the old left too, could, as in the example of the Soviet Union be just as technocratic and 'managed by numbers' as the corporate-capitalist West. Further to this much sociological research was viewed as either too empiricist or too theoretical and both of these approaches were seen to divorce the concerns of social science from the concerns of 'real people' (Mills 1959)

These attacks on "technocracy and its experts" were also combined with an attack upon the myopic specialisation of intellectual labour found increasingly within the "human sciences". Arbitrary divisions of disciplines within these human sciences (Foucault 1966), that (Foucault strongly echoes Kuhn here[67]) force understandings into "conceptual boxes" (Kuhn 1996, p5), were seen to be an unfruitful and unnecessary ordering of gazes, that, through attempting to replicate the (some argue equally arbitrary) foci or fields of natural science precluded richer and more fruitful avenues of theory and research orientation.

In this sense then, the orders of modernity within modern social science agendas were fractured as such critiques became more central to discourse in the social sciences, and plural and interdisciplinary "theory" (Jameson 1988) began to emerge. A more reflexive strain of approaching the study of human beings, and a "free sociological imagination as opposed to narrow hypotheses testing" (Fielding 2005; cf Mills 1959) began to be valued in this period. This blurring of boundaries, combined with an explicit acceptance that values implicitly or explicitly inform social research (indeed natural science also) is seen to make up a general approach of broad critical theory (Culler 1997).

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[67] Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* that critiques incremental or holistic views of science as a coherent discourse and instead posits points of fracture when knowledge and theory have witnessed paradigm shifts bears many conceptual similarities to Foucault's ideas of *episemes* as being somewhat arbitrary and contingent ways of framing, rather than reflecting realities. Foucault does not however make any reference to Kuhn in *The Order of Things.*

The critiques of the disciplines of the human sciences as valid and hermetically delineated realms of knowledge-bodies, in this period, was then combined with critiques of the dominance of natural science epistemologies and ontologies. This can be seen to have heralded a form of paradigm shift (Kuhn 1996) within much social research from an etic (i.e. researcher as distanced and expert observer with access to reality over 'subjects') universalist, quantitative and objectivist standpoint, to a emic (focussing on the meanings of words and behaviours to the 'participants' in research), pluralist, qualitative and constructionist approach. This change also reflects strongly the valorisation of individualities and subjectivities that can also be clearly related to the central ethic of valuing people as unique beings that was discussed earlier in this thesis.

Quantitative research, seen to be non-critical, non-reflexive and unconsciously in the use of 'technocratic' governance, rightly or wrongly, became associated with dominant/oppressive/disciplinary knowledge (Roszak 1968; Fielding 2005). In opposition to this (but as Foucault would argue, dialectically formed *within* this power-field[68]), qualitative research became associated with the recovery and construction of 'subjugated knowledges' (Foucault 1981) – 'emancipatory' histories and ethnographies of politically, socially and culturally marginalized, ignored and often perceived to be oppressed groups[69].

This point, of oppositional researchers, illustrates vividly how within social research specifically, there can be (or more probably *has been* as these old divisions appear to be receding with mixed method research projects becoming more popular[70]) a direct link between epistemology, quite specific value systems, and

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[68] "Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Foucault 1981).
[69] The links between qualitative research approaches and the recovery or production of minority identities and knowledges, and their presentation to 'the wider public' as part as progressive and new left (identity politics) driven agendas are numerous in this period. See Whyte's 'Street Corner Society' (1956) as an example of the validation of poorer ethnic minority life, Becker's research on Jazz musicians and marijuana users as a relation of this epistemology to emergent 'counterculture', and witness the growth of feminisms and gender studies during the 60s and 70s that demanded an appraisal of 'masculine scientism' as a valid epistemology (Chapman 1995; Bryman 2004).
[70] Just to clarify this point. The increasing acceptability of mixed-method research does not mean the end of specific epistemologies as value positions, but simply a newer more reconciled attitude as shown for example in Alan Bryman's very balanced and very well used series of books that cover both approaches. A mixed method researcher could still be devalued by people with strongly quantitative and qualitative (and all their traditional connotations) orientations as being invalid, confused or even 'incorporated'.

often political positions – the *way* of knowing is seen to be a function of and a contributor towards the continuation of or challenging of a power relation. In this sense then we can see that discussions of the validity of knowledge become fused to *power* in the political positions of such knowledges.

Michel Foucault, and again we get back here to the epistemological concentric circle between critique and practice/everyday consciousness, can be seen to be both an intellectual instigator of more New-Left-value-driven qualitative social research, and a 'contextually created' or closer to his words "discursively formed" subject of 60s France (Gutting 2005). Although viewing 'categories' as applied to humans as oppressive to freedoms within subjectivities, and categorisation as a nexus of oppressive modern knowledge/power when used 'on' 'man' (Foucault 1966, 1977), Foucault can ironically (but for Foucault as this is the whole point of his critique of knowledge/power this would be a dubious ethical act) be quite easily ordered or framed into a 'new left' position in his talk of a "plurality of resistances" (Foucault 1981) and his association with 'lifestyle' or identity causes outside of the traditional remit of the left (Gutting 2005).

Foucault's ideas and those of other oppositional voices in the West during this period are concerned with opening up fissures in the lines of perceived orderings of identity – the centring or knowing of subjects by those who wish to 'form' them and manage them. This critique involved questioning the very categories of order used by ordinary social science in that day and age, and the method used to reach them. In this sense then the political concerns of the New Left and the ethical concerns wrought through intellectual concerns such as Foucault's to free people from categorisation are central to understanding the orientations of many qualitative researchers.

In this way then there is an interesting relationship between the people I am interested in finding out about (working artists) and the qualitative approach, as it is apparent that in all probability, artists and the post-war critical proponents of qualitative research methods have similar discursive genealogies that have their

roots in critiques of modernity's search for uniformity and order (Bauman 1990).[71] In the words of Alex, one of my interviewees, "when you're an artist it tends to be qualities rather than quantities that you value – you're always interested in the qualities of things". If this statement could have been made by a qualitative researcher, then Denzin and Lincoln (2008, p7) further support the mutuality of this orientation by suggesting that qualitative research is more of an art than a science with such researchers being like "quilt maker[s] or Jazz improviser[s]".

This section then has shown that I have an awareness, a 'further reflexivity', in understanding that the methods I have adopted do at least in part come from certain political or value positions that, in the past, but much less so now, were involved in a form of assault upon the perceived purposes and functions of much quantitative research. This hopefully shows that I am aware that the *way* of seeing in social research has an influence on *what* is seen. In the next section I discuss the specific qualitative methods I have used, and offer a critique of their strengths and weaknesses. I use, the practices of quantitative research here as a 'foil' on occasion to aid in the discussion on qualitative methods. This is not meant as an attempt to 'prove' the superiority of qualitative methods, as I don't believe that this is possible, due to the fact that these approaches rest on different (but not incompatible (Bryman 2004)) ideas of what the social world is.

7.3 Justifications for Qualitative Approaches Adopted in this Project

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[71] In this sense then I am interpreting the utterances and actions of people from a perspective that they themselves may have substantial knowledge of and identification with, which in turn has influenced the world view or episteme of my researcher gaze. This interaction of value, perspective and discursive formation (both diachronically and synchronically) of a 'subject position' in relation to both the researcher and the researched again illustrates the interaction of theory and identification/value in the areas of academia and the everyday in the human sciences. Again though, in this last sentence I'm guilty of using fancy language to maybe try and create a barrier (professional justification) between the everyday and 'social research' – plainer words would say that 'the people I'm studying are probably quite similar to me, this demonstrates the fact that values and perspectives from the 'real world' permeate social research agendas. This shows it's not a pure science at all but is a matter of value and perspective. These values and perspectives are inextricably linked to the thing it hopes to study – (situated) social interaction and human thought and behaviour....'

In this section I will justify the specific methods and techniques I have used in the conduct of this research in relation to stages of what has been described as the "Research Onion" (Saunders *et al* 2009). This will allow me to clearly show how my methods or techniques of participant observation and semi-structured interviewing (along with a lesser degree of documentary analysis) are related to generally accepted ideas of philosophies, epistemologies, ontologies and approaches that are commonly used to support the use of qualitative methods.

7.3.1 Philosophies, Epistemologies, Ontologies and Approaches in Social Research.

To begin this section I look at approaches that are more commonly linked with quantitative research. This demonstrates that I do have a rounded understanding of research methods and that I have not simply adopted a 'paradigmatic' approach (in that for research such as mine – with strong undertones of sociological and cultural theory – a qualitative approach would be deemed *normal*) and have understood possible other approaches to gathering valid data.

Research philosophies in the social sciences can be broadly broken down into two main categories that usually inform their respective epistemologies and ontologies. The first one of these is a *positivistic* stance (May 2001) that generally accept the methods of natural science and the idea of monism (Aron 1969a; von Wright 1971) or unity of method whereby the approach to knowledge of all fields of human enquiry from mathematics through to social science are informed by logical-empiricism. The scientific method of building laws of causality, formed through the reliable testing of phenomena is seen to be the only valid way of gathering knowledge in relation to the world (May 2001; Bryman 2004). This philosophy is often associated with objectivist views of social realities and language use in the social world that suggests language (for example though the use of population wide questionnaires) is fixed and as such a reliable *measure* can be gleaned *across* populations.

Positivism is hence often associated with behaviourism, that assumes human actions can be meaningfully understood by the researcher without reference to the

subject's interpretations (May 2001). Objectivist ontologies that assume a fixed social world that exists "outside of the human mind", or as within much critical theory at "unconscious levels" only accessible to the Marxist or Freudian, are also connotative of such philosophies, and deductive approaches, that assume *a priori* the importance of a theoretical construct to a social actor, even thought this may not be within the reference frame of the actor themselves are often utilised (May 2001; Bryman 2004). Quantitative methods that rely upon *statistical* rather than hermeneutic modes of understanding the significance of data are also often preferred by those who hold a positivist view of human being in the world (Howell 1995), and quantitative researchers can sometimes be criticised for making statistical inference where there is no logical one.[72] The strength of quantitative research however is that it is able to gauge the attitudes, opinions and behaviours of large populations using parametric measures based upon much smaller statistics gained from random sampling techniques (Bryman 2004; Howell 1995), and it is able to be sure, within margins of sampling error, as to the accuracy of these measures for the population in question.

Qualitative research philosophies, that form a second orientation, are often defined as coming within an *interpretative* (Bryman 2004; Denzin and Lincoln 2008) or an *idealistic* (May 2001) philosophical framework. This approach assumes at its 'epistemological core' that there is "no social world beyond people's perceptions and interpretations" (May 2001; p13). Quantitative research, that assumes a positivist mantle, is often critiqued by social researchers from an interpretavist paradigm as it "ignores the differences between the natural and social world by failing to understand the 'meanings' that are brought to social life" (Silverman 2000). In essence, interpretavist approaches are *emic* in orientation, essentially assuming that the validity of any social research relies upon the data being as closely tied to the research subjects' worldviews as possible. In terms of epistemological approaches interpretavists suggest that the natural science mode of approaching human behaviour and action is invalid, as it circumvents the *meanings* of the actions of

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[72] Fluoride levels increased in the U.S. water supply in the 1950s, so did the number of 'communists' identified in the country. Although these numbers may be statistically correlated it is difficult to posit a logical or *meaningful* relationship between these two facts.

agents in relation to their own cognitive constructs and performances (Silverman 2000; May 2001; Bryman 2004).

Interpretivist approaches, in contrast to positivistic ones, in terms of *ontology* usually stress the *constructed* nature of social being or of the social world (Silverman 2000; May 2001; Bryman 2004), although much qualitative research, has in the past, assumed also, an objectivist or realist ontology (Mills *et al* 2006). The constructionist perspective treats the social world, not as an empirically observable fixed entity, but as a socially constructed one, where the meanings that people ascribe to the social world can never be truly seen as *false* but are related to value systems and discourses that in themselves *constitute reality*.

Perspectives, from this standpoint, don't simply reflect social reality, in many ways they *are social reality*, and it is not possible for perspectives to be independent of social reality as they construct it (Denzin and Lincoln 2008). The idea of language as being a universally shared 'reference' to an objective reality is also critiqued, as language is seen to rely upon its (often immediate) context for its meaning. In this sense, depth interviews and participant observation methods are often preferred methods of gathering *valid* data in relation to social phenomenon as they are sensitive to language and behaviour *in context* of the actor.

Inductive *approaches*, that form bodies of theoretical knowledge in relation to observations and interviews/conversations, are often preferred as these approaches are seen to allow for the creation of important categories of meaning on behalf of subjects' world views that inform their actions. The fear with purely deductive research is that these categories are pre-emptively closed by *a priori* assumptions on behalf of researchers as to what is relevant to the social phenomena or people in question. The idea of the "observer paradox", where the social researcher plays an important role in the actual *construction* or *generation* of social data through the research project is also important, as the idea of a form of social research where the observer is totally distanced from the phenomena, capable of merely uncovering objective facts, is seen to be very problematic. Hence interpretavist researchers will often speak in plural of perspectives and gazes that produce certain knowledges (c.f. Denzin and Lincoln 2008).

7.3.2 Research Methods Used in this Project

My research project can be seen to be firmly placed within qualitative paradigms. As such the project has assumed from the outset a form of emic research that attempts to put the views and meanings of the respondents and participants that I have interviewed and spent time with in participant observation research at the centre of the data gathering and analysis. This has meant that I have attempted to allow themes and categories to emerge within my research practices that have not been, at least consciously, curtailed by my own assumptions about the issues that I have been investigating. There are two main approaches that have been used in the thesis to gather data from participants and interviewees. These are *semi-structured interviewing* and *participant observation* techniques. I will now discuss these techniques in more depth.

7.3.3 Semi Structured Interviewing

The main benefit of semi-structured interviewing techniques – sometimes called unstructured (Demarrais 2005) – are, in line with the emic, or researched, rather than etic or researcher centred, approaches (of for example questionnaires) constructed on what is assumed to be relevant to people 'in the field' is *flexibility* (Bryman 2004; Demarrais 2005). Semi-structured interviewing, although not (as its name suggests) totally unstructured, allows for a *topic* of investigation to be discussed but does not curtail responses to the themes that arise when discussing topics in interviews (Bryman 2004; Demarrais 2005; May 2001). The semi-structured approach therefore allows for such a degree of flexibility that "alternative avenues" (Bryman 2004) or new narratives and accounts, that were previously unknown to the researcher or thought to be unimportant in relation to the topic can be brought up and made relevant to the research project from the perspective of the interviewee.

A semi-structured interview will typically include the construction of an interview schedule (Bryman 2004; Demarrais 2005). This can be used to then allow the researcher to either keep the discussion 'on track' if he or she feels that the topic of focus has significantly changed but it is also, again, a flexible aid that need not circumscribe the exact terrain to be covered. The flexibility of interview schedules of

guides is also evident in the fact that different questions can be tailored for different interviewees (Demarrais 2005). This allows for particular thematic foci to be explored when interviewing people in different social positions in the research areas, and allows for a degree of reflexive activity in the actual interview, where, the interviewer, aware of his or her own knowledge can critically mover towards new possible theoretical angles in their research project even as the interview is occurring (Pole and Lampard 2002). In my research, my interview schedules were often 'tweaked' for different situations, and eventually became more focussed on the meanings of more specific practices and discourses as time went on.

Qualitative interviews are, in comparison to quantitative surveys or structured interviews, often seen to, as well as allowing for relevance of response from the interviewee, provide a large amount of "rich" (Bryman 2004, p321) or "deep" (Silverman 2000, p8) data about the topic being discussed. This depth is seen to add a validity to interview data not present in survey research as it allows for the "contexts of different people's everyday social, cultural, economic and political lives" to be given (Cook and Crang 1995). The contexts of various utterances that I have used to illustrate and support points in the data analysis are, often of a fairly lengthy nature. This following the practice suggested by Charmaz (1995) ensures that direct quotations from text are situated within the immediate syntactical context of their utterance. This hopefully allows for a 'sense of realism' in terms of how the data is presented but also for greater validity of the use of quotations. Qualitative interviews may also however, be critiqued for the fact that they lack representativeness and can not speak for people who have not been included in the (often) purposive sample. This problem results in a lack of generalisability or parametric estimation to wider populations from the qualitative data set, and as such limits the breadth of findings.

The richness of such data sets, importantly allows for the *processes* of the interviewees' cognitive, and hence discursive, orientations to be 'viewed' or at least interpreted at a level that less fluid and 'natural' processes of survey questioning may allow for (Bryman 2004). In this sense then the semi structured interviews I conducted were ideal for allowing me to link the values and orientations of my interviewees with the broader discourses and values of Romanticism and self-

expressive individuality discussed in my literature review. Semi-structured interviewing, as will be seen in the discussion of the practice of my research below, was a very important approach for the gathering of data in this project.

At this point I would like to address a point in relation to the degree of social constructionism that I am assuming to be relevant for this research. Some researchers view the interview process as such a unique context, and the construction of social knowledge to be such an occasioned process, that data gathered in interviewing tells us little about an 'external reality' outside of the interview (see Miller and Glassner 2004, Walsh 2004; Gomm 2004, for discussions of this). In this sense then, the only way interviews can be analysed is in relation to the construction of social knowledge that occurs through interaction in the interview – the interview itself becomes the centre of analysis, and the construction of meaning between the two or three parties involved becomes the focus (Tonkiss 2004; Byrne 2004).

Although I accept that interviews do *generate*, rather than simply *uncover* or allow for the *collection* of data as if it were posited in some kind of objective external reference point (Byrne 2004), I also view the process of interviewing as in some ways allowing access to a external frame of reference or an access to the socially constructed body of knowledge that an interviewee may bring to the table so to speak. In this sense then I am not concerned with the social construction of knowledge within the interview itself, although I do accept that knowledge and perspectives are indeed being reviewed, clarified, debated and even perhaps invented. I am interested in viewing my data as relatable to themes that are held in a social discourse outside of the interview.

This view, a view supported by interactionist perspectives by Miller and Glaessner (2004), and seen as a necessary assumption by Walsh (2004), purports that it is in some ways impossible to assume that interviews are sole contexts for the unique construction of perspectives or knowledges as they are always implied by allusions, through language, to external assumptions of the meanings of language outside of the specific context of the interview - discourse. In this sense then, my ontological assumptions are that although perspectives on the world are socially

constructed and are related to and constituted within the minds of people, and these constructions are constantly emerging and are fluid and open to change,[73] the interview process allows a form of a person's worldview at a point in time.

7.3.4 Participant Observation

The interview, even the unstructured or semi-structured type is often accused of gathering information from the social world in a way that is 'unnatural' or "artificial" (Shurmer-Smith 2002, p96). This is problematic as it assumes that there is a particular context in which essential 'truth' emerges or 'people really show their true selves'. However, it may well be the case that interviewing alone may give a partial view of phenomena or of a group's ideas about the world. Shurmer-Smith (2002) suggests that interviewing is good for getting information from public facing bodies or for "tapping into self conscious practices or beliefs" but less so for generating deeper or more complex knowledge of social beliefs and actions in different contexts. Interviews can often be totally unsuitable for gaining knowledge of the values and practices of groups of people, especially those who are suspicious of strangers (see Levitt and Dubner 2005). It is for the limitations of interviews that Shurmer-Smith (2002) and Denzin and Lincoln (2008) stress that multi-methods are often utilised in qualitative research to give a more rounded and richer picture of a phenomena than interviews, or one approach, alone.

A technique often used in conjunction with depth interviews to generate data on a social group, a place, or a social phenomenon is participant observation. This approach has its origins within ethnography and anthropology, and can arguably be seen to be tied to the colonial impulse to "know Others" for the imperial-political necessities of governing culturally-unknown subjects (Denzin and Lincoln 2008). Later, the practice of observation and documentation of "exotic" peoples becomes

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[73] Although people may in fact, to gain some form of ontological security and permanence of meaning in the social world, often seek to *actively* reify or objectify their world views to these ends – and hence purposively resist possible new influenced and challenges to their values for these psychological needs. (see Miller and Glassner 2004). One interviewee, Steven,, suggested that the process had been useful to him as it had made him reflect (both before and during the encounter) on what he felt his values *really were*. In this sense the process can be seen to have moved an individual towards this process of objectification or reification of their values.

more closely aligned to a romantically inflected agenda to 'protect' such groups from the effects of the spread of Western modernity around the globe; and urge that is founded within the same discourses of the 'authenticity of primitivism' that were discussed previously.

The approach of participant observation, that often signifies ethnography in less 'exotic' settings, often in relation to subcultural urban environments (see Gans 1962), is seen to be a valid approach mainly due to the richness of contexts that can be viewed to gain an understanding of social phenomena. Perhaps more importantly however, is the idea that participant observation allows for a certain degree of 'naturalism' (Bryman 2004; Gomm 2004) in that what is observed and how and when it occurs is much less impacted by the observer, and often certainly is not 'arranged' or 'instigated' by the researcher as in the case of an interview for example. In essence, the occurrence of the generation of data in participant observation is in a much less *unusual* situation than in the interview setting.

There are a number of different approaches to participant observation that are related to the 'honesty' of the researcher in relation to those around them in the field and the level of immersion that the researcher desires, or is able to gain, in the field of study also. Bryman (2004) describes participant observation as occurring in either open or public settings or closed or institutional/organisational settings and, following Gold's (1958) typology suggests that the degree of involvement of the observer-participant that ranges from a "complete participant" to a "complete observer" the former being fully involved in the activities of a group or social setting and the latter being fully known as an observer but distanced from interaction at the setting. In relation to my research I have mainly been in the former of these categories on most occasions in the Ouseburn Valley, but I have never attempted to conceal the fact that I am involved in researching the area, and as such I may fit better into the category of "participant as observer" (Bryman 2004, p301) or in between Gans' (1968) categories of "total participant" and "participant researcher" (Bryman 2004, p302).

The procedure of participant observation includes the recording of instances or utterances of people in the field through the taking of accurate and theoretically

relevant field notes as close as is possible to the time when the interesting occurrence or utterance was witnessed (Bryman 2004; Walsh 2004, p234). The participant observer has to strike a balance between being open to ambivalence and the multifarious nature of the information that they will be exposed to in the field and the fact that not all information, incidents or conversations will be of specific analytic interest to the topic at hand (Bryman 2004).

In this sense then, the researcher has to be open to new information that may inform their theoretical considerations in new lights but also be reflexively aware that they will always have either a conscious or unconscious selective perspective of what is important information to both pay attention to and to (relatedly) record (Gomm 2004; May 2001; Bryman 2004). Field notes need to be sensitive to the contexts of time, place and people (Gomm 2004) with the greater observed variances in these categories allowing for a richer data set in relation to a phenomena to be generated (see also Walsh 2004, p231; May 2001, p161). In this sense then the more varied in terms of these categories ones observations are, the more valid the data can be assumed to be.

Critiques of participant observation as an approach to gathering data can also be made however. The problem of the 'observer paradox' may emerge in such processes, where the researcher can consciously or unconsciously influence the conversations and behaviours of those around them. This could occur in a situation where the researcher is 'out' as a 'complete observer' and those who he or she is interested in researching is aware of their presence. This can lead to a 'representation of the self' as an observed subject (much like Goffman's notion of the presentation of the self) in which the backstage performances or more usual and everyday interactions of the researched are curtailed due to the desire to present a favourable impression. This can lead to a situation where the data gathered is very far from 'naturalistic' interactions and tells us more about the immediate behaviours and utterances of people within an observer situation than it does their everyday practices and 'underlying' values.

The problem of observer paradox is not only limited to the researcher who has adopted an 'open' role. A researcher may be covert, but due to aspects of his or her

social 'positionality' (class, race, gender etc), they may find it difficult to 'get backstage': examples could include a white middle aged male attempting to understand the everyday lives of a predominantly black, female street gang, a female researcher attempting to understand male sociability, a black researcher from metropolitan America attempting to gauge the attitudes of certain Appalachian communities' attitudes towards President Obama. These problems of gaining validity through participant observation will always be present to greater or lesser degrees, and due to the fact that data is generated through interaction, an awareness or reflexivity on behalf of the observer as to how they, as a 'positioned' human being within certain contexts, may influence what is or is not said or done is always necessary. Ideas of positionality and reflexivity are discussed in more detail below.

7.3.5 Analysing Qualitative Data

One of the main differences between inductive qualitative approaches and deductive quantitative approaches[74] is how the process of research is organised, and in particular, how the chronological ordering, within a particular project, of data and theory is organised. Deductive research frameworks, that are often but not necessarily exclusively, associated with quantitative research, often follow a natural science model of deducing a hypothesis from an accepted body of knowledge and then testing this hypothesis, with *probability statistics* to ascertain if the results of the research are likely to be due to chance or not. As such a statement can be made that gives the *confidence* of the measure in relation to the particular statistic or collection of numerical data as having *inferential statistical meaning* in relation to parameters (Howell 1995; Bryman 2004).

This formal and very structured mode of natural science epistemology is often, but not necessarily, eschewed in favour of an *iterative* and *interpretative* approach from qualitative research perspectives: these stress the importance of the *socially constructed meaning* of interview data, observations and other texts and artefacts to human life, as opposed to the *statistical significance* of numerical data

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[74] There is no necessary reason why qualitative approaches may not be deductive or quantitative approaches inductive, commonly however, due to the emic considerations of qualitative approach it is usually tied to inductive theory building based in data.

sets. Qualitative research, due to the fact that 'sampling' is often purposive (Bryman 2004) or theoretical – this means that people are selected for interviews or participant observation because they have an assumed knowledge or value system that is related to the study – cannot be subject to statistical inference due to the non random nature of sampling.

At a deeper level however statistical analysis is critiqued for bypassing the 'meaningful and situated' aspects of data generated in qualitative inquiry. Qualitative research is not usually concerned with the breadth of claims, in terms of opinions, attitudes or values being judged to correspond to precise numbers within populations, but is more concerned with the processes and constructions that inform the creation of these belief systems in the first instance (Silverman 2000). Processes of social construction and relations of thought to broader discourses, rather than population parameters, are of interest.

Returning to the role of theory we can see that qualitative research often approaches the use of theory as an adaptable 'backcloth' or strand of the 'weave' of research that at the same time informs the focus of data collection and allows data to direct the theoretical gaze of the researcher (May 2001; Bryman 2004; Cooper 2008). It is this back and forth or "*iterative*" (Bryman 2004, p399; my emphasis) interaction between data and theory that allows theoretical interpretation of data to be both flexible and broad; by this we can see that 'theory' in much qualitative research can draw from, as is the tradition within 'critical theory', interdisciplinary stocks of knowledge. As such, theory in qualitative research is often seen as a supporting or critical narrative, rather than a body of previously empirically proven 'facts', that allows a *perspective* on human actions and values to be displayed.

One of the main approaches to the use of data in this qualitative and inductive framework is grounded theory. This approach, founded in the works of Strauss and Glaeser (discussed in many of the methods books I have consulted – Bryman 2004 for example) suggests that the constant comparing of emerging data from the field with categories already formed inductively in relation to data previously gathered is the central act of inductive and emic centred research. Many researchers claim to use a "grounded theory" approach to the gathering of their data, but in practice

grounded theory is in fact only utilised in this insistence on iterative comparison and linking between smaller observations in the field and larger conceptual categories as the research process goes on (Bryman 2004).

For this reason I do not claim to have "used a grounded theory approach" in my research but I have certainly used an iterative orientation whereby my gaze upon and use of existent theory has been informed by coding data and placing them in theoretical categories emerging from the data (Gomm 2004), and through constant comparison of my conceptual categories with the codes I am using and with each other (Bryman 2004). This will become clearer as I describe the chronological evolution of my thinking and focus throughout the research period.

The link between theory and data also forms one of the essential parts of data analysis, where, as Giddens (1982) puts it, the 'double hermeneutic' of social science takes place. By this he means it is the process whereby understandings, actions and values of people in the social world are then given a secondary level of interpretation by the researcher in that they are 'raised' or 'conceptualised' into schema of social theory to allow for their significance, at the level of theory, to be promoted. In relation to my thesis then, I am interested in linking the data I have gathered in the Ouseburn Valley from artists and users to my central governing concept of self-expressive individualism as well as other, in a sense, "theories of the middle range" (Merton 1949) in relation to the more specific topics covered.

In this sense then, the specific utterances, actions and worldviews of my participants are given broader meaning within discursive genealogies in Western cultural and social life. This is seen to be essential to offer an analytical or deeper critical view of data gathered in the field, and here we have an admission that nearly all sociological research, to avoid being 'mere description', 'atheoretical ethnography' or 'naive empirical-realism', where 'facts speak for themselves' involves a transformation of the 'world of the subject' in the field into the 'world of theory' in the representational text (May 2001). In this way, nearly all social research involves a reconstitution of realities or a re-presentation of banal aspects of everyday life into the 'spectacular' realm of social or cultural theory.

7.3.6 Reflexivity and Positionality

During my research I attempted to adopt a reflexive approach to my interactions, being aware that my embodied self as a 32-35 year old white, male, middle class, heterosexual may have affected the research process. These attributes, arbitrary and debatable categories (of which there could be many more mentioned) of the self as they may be, are viewed to affect both the researcher gaze – the what is seen and the what is not – and also the types of interactions that may occur with other people both in interview situations and in participant observation (Cooper 2008; Denzin and Lincoln 2008).

The idea of reflexivity, and the related concept of 'positionality' (Bennett 2002) is that as a 'decentred subject' (Hall 1992), (i.e. a human being that assumes a cultural and social place due to the specific vagaries of myriad possible socialisations – and biologies?), the researcher presents a *perspective* on a phenomena that is influenced by their background. For example my researcher gaze may be influenced by the fact that I am male and not particularly interested in gender or feminist theory, heterosexual and not particularly interested in issues of sexuality, white and not consciously affected by categories of race, and politically small c conservative and not particularly attracted to the politics of 'radicalism'[75].

All of these things may affect a researcher's focus and as such render the production of knowledge as *value laden* through conscious or unconscious filters. The gaze is affected but also the construction of knowledge (data collection), that takes place within the gaze, is also. For example am I as an early middle aged white male likely to discuss the same themes in the same way in the field or in an interview or even have the same gaze and research values as an elderly, West Indian transsexual? Probably not. And it is in the spirit of reflexive research that I realise and admit the limitations and partiality of this thesis.

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[75] Of course this doesn't mean that such theories or ideas emanating from such areas are not interesting and valid and may be of interest way beyond the initial 'field' but that I simply have not been consciously particularly interested in such perspectives. I do not wish to suggest some crude causal analysis with a category of being white and male and not having a valid interest in such themes either. In a way what I am trying to say is related to political values, that, due to the emancipatory directions of such 'minority' discourses as a white, male, heterosexual I am less likely to identify with or feel necessary as 'my struggle'.

7.3.7 Ethics

Throughout the research process I made clear to people around me that I was conducting a project looking at the Ouseburn Valley, artists and its development as well as other themes. All of my research interviews included a signed consent form with options for anonymity – please see appendix 5 for an example form. To my knowledge none of the information used from participant observation or interviews in this research has put anyone at risk in any way at all.

7.4 The Process of my Research

My research initially began, in late summer 2007, with a slightly different focus in both the geographical area of interest and the theoretical ideas informing the study. Initially I was interested in the use and meaning of the Newcastle and Gateshead Quaysides to consumers of 'culture' and 'nightlife' in this area. I was particularly interested in why people may have wanted to have lived in the Quayside area, who they were, and how and why they perceived the area to be attractive to a certain lifestyle. The interest in the Quayside as a regenerated or gentrified 'playscape' for post-modern consumers was informed by my interest in the roles of leisure and lifestyle and tourism in the process of regeneration that had informed my MPhil I had completed some years earlier. This focus was also honed by a growing literature that I was engaged with at the time on cosmopolitanism, and the emergence of cosmopolitanism as a form of distinctive lifestyle borne through the consumption of goods and services.

Although the themes of cosmopolitanism and of regeneration and gentrification do still appear as important parts of this thesis, the focus of my research changed for practical and theoretical reasons when I began to collect data in relation to these issues. The first interviews that I conducted (please see interview schedule below) were with 'young professionals', that I had contacted through a friend of a friend, living on the Tyne corridor but slightly outside of the specific Quayside area of interest that I was initially focussing on. These interviews consisted of a form of group interviews the first with three people who were house sharing and the second with a couple. I was interested I general lifestyle themes of the people I

was interviewing and I was interested in their views of the regenerated Newcastle and Gateshead Quaysides as areas of leisure and 'culture' consumption.

To my surprise, the interviewees in discussing these themes were often ambivalent, tending towards negative, in their appraisal of the Quaysides as places to live and experience leisure. They were also generally suspicious of the idea of a 'consumptive' form of cosmopolitanism that could putatively be experienced in the Quayside areas and in the city centre more generally. These interviews were at considerable depth, and totalled over two hours of time and some 25 000 words of transcribed text. The interviewees were all more or less working in 'creative' sectors; in design at Newcastle College, as an architect, as a photography lecturer, as a photo lab technician and as an interior designer.

The themes that emerged from these interviewees, with reflexive-aesthetic workers (Lash and Urry 1995) that I would later be able to theorise as belonging to the 'creative class' (Florida 2002) as part of the broader self-expressive-individualist liberal middle class, that I would later construct as the guiding keynote of the thesis, were interesting. Emergent themes from this data that had appeared through unstructured interviewing – the only real themes of interest for very general discussion were the Quayside, cosmopolitanism in Newcastle and Gateshead, and holidays – were of shared concerns for 'authenticity', a concern to avoid 'massified' experiences and environments at home and when on holiday, a highly aesthetically sensitive nature to many of the discussions of places and their forms, and a clear desire to be involved in the production of individually expressive works be it through photography, music, design, or interiors.

In relation to the ideas of places that these initial interviewees had preferences for in the Newcastle Gateshead area, it was clear that the Quayside, and as the conversations expanded, the central area of Newcastle, were often ambivalently or negatively appraised as places and spaces that had undergone an often 'generic' regeneration process, and were stages of 'inauthentic' forms of mass consumption through the (heavily promoted) nightlife economy of the city. The Ouseburn Valley cropped up, on a number of occasions as a place where the perceived inadequacies of the central city and the Quayside area could be

overcome, and where 'likeminded' people, who one assumes had similar sensibilities, could be found. These initial interviews also brought up strongly the theme of desiring to get 'off the beaten track' when on holiday or travelling, and to avoid 'massified experiences' when abroad.

So, the initial interviews brought up categories of authenticity, of wanting to avoid generic or perceived fabricated environments, and of wanting to avoid forms of massified consumption, had intimated theoretically interesting themes that pointed towards the Ouseburn Valley as a valued place for my initial interviewees. The interest in the Valley as a study area became compounded by practical problems I was finding in terms of generating data in relation to the regenerated quayside area that was of initial focus. I had initially wanted to interview people living in the new-build flats in the area, and although my initial interviewees certainly lived in the river corridor, their abodes were really quite different in terms of price, location and social environment to the new builds found on the 'Quaysides proper' of Newcastle and Gateshead.

Despite 'hanging around' some of the bars, cultural infrastructures and even entrances to the new build apartments, whose dwellers I was interested in, for both participant observation reasons and the hope of meeting possible interview contacts I was finding it difficult to really get an inroad into the area. This may have been due to the fact that many of the newbuild flats on the quayside have not been taken up by residents. I also delivered 500 request for interview letters to the blocks of flats that I was interested in – all along the Newcastle and Gateshead Quayside areas – there was not a single reply.

This down-hearted response, combined with the obvious validation of the Ouseburn Valley as a special area, and the interesting theoretical angles gained by my initial in-depth interviews meant that in late 2008 / early 2009 I switched my focus to the Valley and to the idea of the views of 'creatives' of the Valley as a place. This switch in my focus from the Quayside to the adjacent Ouseburn Valley did not mean an abandonment of the ideas of cosmopolitanism, regeneration and lifestyle in terms of leisure and holidaying for my research. It meant that these themes could be explored in relation to the Ouseburn Valley and some of its inhabitants. As I had had

intimated to me in the initial interviews, and as would be explored in greater depth later, for many 'users' of the Valley and working artists there, the Quayside and other areas of the city, and their inhabitants, were often seen in a negative light so the Quayside and perceptions of it often come into the interviews and conversations naturally.

To allow myself some time in the Valley, simply to be there and to begin the process of participant observational research, I enrolled as a volunteer in the oral history group of the Ouseburn Trust, the charitable organisation that was, as we have seen, set up to protect and develop the Valley, partly in response to the fears of encroaching 'regeneration aethetics' and practices from the Newcastle Quayside in the late 1980s. My time at the trust allowed me to interact with various heritage volunteers, many of whom had broader interests in the arts. Whilst in the group I attended numerous meetings in relation to various projects in the Valley, was quite heavily involved in the organisation and invigilation of a photography exhibition. I also was involved in the gathering of contacts for oral history interviewing, manning a stall at the regeneration centre on the Quayside during the Ouseburn festival, attending Ouseburn festival management committee meetings, attending Ouseburn Trust training days and annual meetings, and some minor involvement in interviewing of older people with memories of the Valley.

My time in the oral history group was interesting and lasted for around a year and a half until I simply drifted out of involvement with some of the newer projects that were coming along. This 18 months involved monthly meetings, and periods of more intense activity when I had become more involved in a particular project or task. The main analytical interests of being in the group was how this was a group of people that were concerned with preserving and promoting the placeness of the Valley through heritage projects. This placeness was often explicitly or implicitly contrasted, as we will see, with other areas of the city including the Quayside. The group was a very useful experience for me in that it also offered me insights into the priorities of the Ouseburn Trust more generally and to documentations of policy and, through the heritage section, that I was involved in, some very good histories of the area, which as we have seen I have used in a factual sense to describe the Valley –

but as we will see can also be utilised for analysing some of the normative prescriptions of the organisation –particularly in relation to the meanings of built forms in the Valley.

As interesting and informative as it was to be part of the oral history group, I also at the same time as joining the group (this was early May 2009), had started to interview, independently, a number of artists working in the Valley. These interviews were organised due to the fact that I had by this point made the conceptual link between the people I had conducted initial interviews with as being involved in 'creative work', and having a liking for the Ouseburn Valley, and the role of artists more specifically in the Valley. I wanted to find out about aspects of working artists' lives in the Valley – how they perceived the place? Was it special for any reasons? Did they think it was 'cosmopolitan' or more encouraging of difference than other areas of the city? I was, in line with the objectives to look at lifestyle relationships between 'home and away' in the thesis, also interested in the leisure and holiday patterns of working artists.

To this end I began to arrange interviews with working artists in the Valley. This involved a process of initially, cold calling, or rather emailing artists that I could find on lists of practitioners in the Valley. One place that was particularly responsive and as such I conducted a good number of interviews in was 36 Lime Street, an artists' cooperative and, having been functioning since the late 1980s, home to the oldest settlement of artists in the Valley. The interviews I initially conducted with artists in the Valley, were, although being informed by some of the themes that my initial five interviews, with 'users' of the area, had raised in relation to possible differences between the Valley and other areas of the city, along with the general interest in perceptions of the 'elsewhere' and of travel and tourism preferences, quite unstructured.

As the initial 'focussed conversations' or interviews unfolded, it became clearer that a number of further themes were beginning to emerge as 'categories' in which interviewees were beginning to discuss their perceptions of the Ouseburn Valley as a place in their 'home' environment and where they worked and spent leisure time. Other themes were beginning to emerge in relation to categories of

practice and desire in relation to the 'away' environment or desires of the 'elsewhere' through these interviews also. A number of the interviewees that I first had the privilege to speak to in the Lime Street Studios had had considerable experience of the Ouseburn Valley from its beginnings as an 'artists' colony' in the 1980s and early 1990s, and themes that they brought to my attention were those of *change* in the Valley, essentially due to processes of gentrification.

My initial concern then to probe the ideas of the Ouseburn Valley as being, in line with the ideas brought up in the initial interviews with the younger friends of friends, of the Valley as being a place of *difference* from the rest of the city, was hence tempered. The concerns of some of the initial artist interviews testified to the fact that, yes, the Valley was often still seen as a unique creative district in relation to much of the wider city, and yes, as in the initial interviews, newly regenerated segments of the city such as the Quayside area, were often negatively appraised, as we will see in the analysis, as being 'generic', 'characterless' or realms of massified consumption, limiting the possibility of self-expressive individuality. However, there was also a concern that the 'character', 'freedoms' and auratic placeness of the Valley was increasingly being subject to the rationalising ethos of property speculation, the dangers of 'massification' through the Valley's increasingly popular leisure and visitor economy, and regulation from the local state as bohemia becomes a 'growth tool'. In this sense then the categories of analysis and theoretical relevance were clearly being formed through coding my data in an *iterative* way (Bryman 2004; Gomm 2004), allowing theoretical concerns to be strongly influenced by the emergent data itself.

Concerns over the changing Valley then refocused my theoretical concerns much more towards gentrification literature, than they had previously been. I was much more aware that, rather than seeing the Valley as a 'bohemia' that would always be 'different' to other places in the city, I now had to view these perceptions in a much more sensitive light. This then was seen as a *process* whereby cultural capitals (and raw speculations from economic capitals) become transmitted into, or diffused, through the valorisations of particular 'ambiences' (essentially social values) and aesthetics (representative of such values) into economic capital.

Themes of the changing Valley and the spectre of gentrification thus informed many discussions from here on in.

The second main focus that the emerging data from my artist interviews took me to was dominant patterns of leisure experience in the Valley. This was specifically salient in that many of the interviewees began to comment of particular pubs and places of 'leisure' – or as we will see work/leisure – as being important to them. In this instance the Cumberland Arms became more of a focus for the leisure habits of my interviewees, as this pub appeared to be very fondly spoken of – to such a degree and depth that I began to see it at 'totemic' of the loose social grouping's values – working artists – that I was interested in. This further encouraged me to spend time in the Cumberland and to eventually interview the bar manager.

The process of discussing leisure time in the Valley also pointed to the ideas of a blurring of the 'traditional' distinctions of leisure-work, and to the desire to experience creative and 'self authored' leisure in the Valley and in the Cumberland in particular. These emergent themes again were instrumental in the iterative process of my research. They appeared to be pointing towards broadly shared categories of practice and values in the interviewees. As such these categories informed further theoretical reading around these areas, and the eventual focus of a literature review section; again demonstrating how theory and data emerged alongside one another during this process (Cooper 2008). These categories and theoretically relevant ideas from literature were then used again in more focus when returning to the field for subsequent interviews, for as Bryman (2004; p307) suggests "open endedness cannot last long...and [the researcher] will begin to narrow down the focus of his or her research" onto themes they have deemed relevant.

In relation to the elsewhere, it appeared the many of the desires for travel and tourism (or rather the avoidance of tourism) fed well into some important categories of analysis in tourism research. Very open questioning on people's travel and tourism histories and their future desires in this area quite clearly revealed that there were shared concerns for forms of 'authenticity' when away, and that, as in the home environment there was a desire to avoid what were often perceived as massified environments with associated regulations. The desire to experience difference, often

in cosmopolitan 'elsewhere Bohemias', was, however, quite an interesting theme that emerged from these conversations. This pointed to a further dedifferentiation of work-leisure-travel in the orientations of these working artists, and also suggested that what they were desiring to experience in the elsewhere, although being related to deeper romantic tropes, was not that different from their 'home' environment. In this sense I began to see that the 'away' travel mobilities of many of my respondents echoed their desires for 'creative-cosmopolitan-placeness' when in the home environment. Travel and tourism were seen as an 'extension' or 'exploration' of the vocation of artist, and not as a separate, discreet category of their lives.

In terms of numbers, my interviews with Ouseburn Artists totalled seventeen in all (see interview schedule below), and in the end these interviews included working artists from three studio spaces in the Valley. I decided to stop interviewing when the interview data, alongside my participant observation diary, appeared to be becoming rather repetitive. In the terms of grounded theory, many of the categories that had emerged from my interviewing and observations such as the placeness of the Valley, the massification of the elsewhere, the valuing of the Cumberland Arms, blurrings of leisure and work, the importance of forms of creative leisure, and desires in relation to the elsewhere, had become quite 'saturated' by this point, meaning that I was not really generating many new perspectives on the themes I was interested in.

These interviews were further supported by an interview with the former Newcastle-East arts officer (who himself was also a sculptor with a personal history of the Valley) and as already stated the manager of the Cumberland Arms. The initial interviews with the five 'creatives' who initially instigated my interest in the Ouseburn Valley were also useful to me throughout the process of iterative category generation and theoretical research as many of their orientations and practices were similar to those of the working artists I interviewed. As such, they maintained their theoretical validity to me and twenty four in-depth interviews were conducted in total. This number, according to Warren (2002) cited in Bryman (2004), meets the criteria for the number of interviews usually required for qualitative work to be published, and

suggests that even qualitative research often takes notice of 'weight of numbers' in terms of validity and reliability of claims.

All in all the time spent in the Valley was in the hundreds of hours (see appendix 7 for an extract of the field diary) and totalled (according to my research diary, over fifty visits to the area at various times of day / night, and at various places in the Valley to attempt to reach what has been discussed above as sensitivity to time, place and people (Gomm 2004; Walsh 2004; May 2001). In all, my interview data totalled some 130000 words, and my research diary some 20 000 words of observations and analytically relevant notes. A note about transcription is perhaps also warranted – I transcribed this data verbatim by myself, for the express reason of gaining a 'closeness' to the data – see Appendix 6 for a transcribed interview. I suggest that this worked very well for me as it allowed for a constant reflection on the codes and categories I was generating that were then, in the process of the double hermeneutic (Giddens 1982) linked to existent theory.

Another important point I would like to make is that although there was a degree of 'snowballing' in terms of the generation of interviewees with certain contacts leading to others, there was also, due to me meeting people independently, say at the Ouseburn Festival, or through simply asking for interviews through email request, a sense in which many of my respondents'/participants' orientations and practices are held in the fields of discourse of broader *habitus*. By this I mean that my interviewees and participants were often personally unknown to one another or held loose filial relations – as such the 'purposive sample' (Bryman 2004; May 2001; Gomm 2004) that I pursued contains a greater assumed 'breadth validity' than one that was say gained through a closely knit artists' collective with 'thick bonds'.

The chronology of the research, along with the people I interviewed and their occupations and relationships with the Valley, can be viewed below. The notes indicate the ways in which specific interview influenced the focus of the research.

Table 1. Interview Schedule:

Name	Age	Date of Interview	Occupation / Further details

Christian	32	31/10/08	Technical Assistant / Musician Newcastle College
Janine	31	31/10/08	Photography lecturer / Photographer, Newcastle College
Dave	31	31/10/08	Architect (out of work at time of interview)

Notes: These initial interviews, more of a group discussion (but not really large enough to be seen as a focus group) were conducted when my focus was on the regenerated Quayside area of 'NewcastleGateshead'. The views of the respondents regarding the Ouseburn Valley and its 'difference' from other areas of the city turned my attention to the Valley. These contacts were made through a friend of a friend.

Si	30	03/02/09	Design Lecturer, Newcastle College
Deni	30	03/02/09	Design Lecturer, Newcastle College

Notes: Si and Deni (a couple with a young child) were particularly insightful in terms of creatives 'away' biographies, showing desire for the 'authenticity' of the elsewhere. They also, as users of the Valley had insights into the Ouseburn's place in Newcastle's leisure scene. These contacts were made through the above interviewees.

Maggie	56	04/08/09	Artist / Arts worker, 36 Lime Street Studios

Notes: With a long association with the Valley, Maggie offered great insights into the ways it had changed. Through desiring bohemias when 'away' from 'home' she also suggested the idea of integration or dedifferentiation of tourism/travel and the home life. The Cumberland Arms as a 'special place' was first mentioned by Maggie in this interview. This contact was made through e-mail request.

'Annie' (pseudonym)	52	06/08/09	Artist, 36 Lime Street Studio

Notes: Annie gave insights to the meaning if 'vocation' for artists, and talked at good length about the difference or 'distinction' of the valley in relation to Newcastle's other places/spaces. She also talked at length about her travel patterns. This contact was made through e-mail request.

Julia	42	13/08/09	Artist / Ceramicist, 36 Lime Street Studio

Judith	42	13/08/09	Julia's friend, present at interview. User of the Valley

Notes: Julia and Judith talked about how the Valley had changed in recent years (again themes of gentrification), but also about how the Valley still offered a distinctive 'leisure experience' in Newcastle. Both of these interviewees talked at length about the 'character' and uniqueness of the Cumberland Arms, and its 'non commercial' aesthetic. This contact (Julia) was made through e-mail request. Judith also happened to be present and, as a user of the Valley, had some valid and interesting insights.

'Stephanie' (pseudonym)	52	31/08/09	Artist, 36 Lime Street Studio

Notes: As one of the original 'settler artists' in the Lower Ouseburn Valley, Stephanie gave great insights as to the process and meaning of gentrification for her and other artists in the area. At this point, my interviews were becoming more focussed on these processed of place change, and ideas of gentrification as a process of regulation and commercialisation were becoming more solidy formed. The Cumberland arms as a 'bounded- cosmopolitan' realm of the liberal middle class, was clearly explored by Stephanie and myself in this interview. This contact was made through e-mail request.

Alex	40	02/09/09	Puppeteer / Musician, 36 Lime Street Studio

Notes: Alex gave great insights as to the meaning of gentrification in the Valley, and how for him, this was clearly tied to the 'mainstreaming' of its leisure and nightlife economy. Ideas of the Cumberland as a pub of 'individuality' 'character' and 'creative leisure' were also explored. This contact was made through e-mail request.

Paul	38	06/12/09	Artist, 36 Lime Street Studio

Notes: Paul talked about the networking possibilities in the Cumberland, and what aspects of the pub he found unique. This contact was made through e-mail request.

'Emma' (pseudonym)	38	10/12/09	Artist, 36 Lime Street Studio

Notes: Emma, with a quite long association with the Valley talked considerably about how it had changed in the past decade. Themes of gentrification clearly emerged in this interview tying the process to, not necessarily displacement, but increasing regulation and commercialisation of space. This contact was made through e-mail request.

Ronnie	60	25/02/10	Musician, Actor and book seller, Ronnie runs a guitar night at the Cumberland Arms and is a user of the Valley

Notes: Ronnie gave useful insight into aspects of place change and creative leisure. He was also very forthcoming about his travel biography and the experiences he (had in his younger years and pre-parenthood) sought of the 'elsewhere'. This contact was made through a co-volunteer at the Ouseburn Trust.

Pauline	54	07/04/10	Musician / Lead Singer of 'Penetration'. Owner of Polestar Rehersal and Recording Studios.

Notes: Pauline: discussed the homogenisation of the British city centre, and related this to the aesthetic and meaning of the Ouseburn Valley as a unique place. Pauline's business was coming under pressure from her landlord at the time of the interview, and has since been displaced from the Valley, due to planned residential development. As such, the process of gentrification from a displacement stance was discussed here. This contact was made through Emma.

Giles	48	02/06/10	Sculptor / former East Area Arts Officer with Newcastle City Council

Notes: Giles was able to give both personal and policy insights to the development of the Valley, as he has a long association with the area going back to when he was an arts student in the 1980s. Giles also offered some very interesting insights into the meaning of travel to him. This contact was made through e-mail request.

Andy M	48	04/06/10	Owner and Artist at Test House 5 Studios

Notes: Andy, with a long association with the Valley gave great insights into the experience of gentrification as a regulatory and commercial process. This contact was made through Giles.

Steven	55	10/06/10	Artist (previously used arts in social care work), 36 Lime Street Studio

Notes: Steven linked the use of the arts to the vocation of social work and encouraging expression from people with learning disabilities. Steven's passion for the broader social

'uses' of the arts served as an important signifier to me of the broader links between the working artists I was interviewing and the more general welfare-concerned liberal middle class. In a sense, Steven acted as an archetype or embodiment of these links that were present in many of the other interviewees' mixed working backgrounds that linked art to education and social and community concerns. Steven also voiced concerns over gentrification and the 'residentialisation' of the Valley. This contact was made through e-mail request.

Jo	40	18/06/2010	Bar manager, The Cumberland Arms
Notes: I came to interview Jo, due to the great esteem with which nearly all of the interviewees talked about the Cumberland Arms. The interview explored what Jo felt to be the place of the Cumberland in the Valley, and what aspects of the pub she valued and promoted. This contact was made through e-mail request.			
Barry	32	30/07/10	Artist / Print Manager at Newcastle Chronicle, The Biscuit Factory Studio
Notes: Barry, the only interviewee to be based in the Biscuit Factory Studios at the outer rim of the Valley gave some insights into why he valued the Valley and why he wasn't very keen on what he termed the 'generic' city centre of Newcastle. Barry also talked about being involved in creative leisure activities and the vocational aspects of travel as a way of informing him of new directions in his art. I met Barry, as a contact, at the Ouseburn Festival in July of 2010.			
Andy S	30	22/08/10	Artist, Test House 5 Studios
Notes: Andy talked quite passionately about the city centre of Newcastle and how modern planning had affected its development. Andy, in this particularly long interview of nearly two hours, also gave great insight into the vocational links vetween his travel biography and his life as an artist. This contact was made through Andy M.			
Dale	58	21/09/10	Ouseburn Regeneration Officer
Notes: Although not strictly an interview, as Dale was presenting a talk at the Cumberland Arms, I treated this as a form of interview data as it was an hour long presentation that I then proceeded to transcribe and analyse. Dale talked about the local authority's role in coordinating the development of the Valley and the future plans for the area.			
Jackie	52	01/02/11	Filmmaker and Ouseburn chronicler / user.

Notes: Jackie gave some insights into the Valley's development and its continued meaning to her. She also talked about the role of her filmmaking as a creative aspect of her life. I met Jackie whilst volunteering at the Ouseburn Trust.			
Jamie	37	03/05/11	Illustrator / artist and card designer (Displayed works at the Art Works Gallery in the Valley before its closure due to financial difficulties)
Notes: Jamie gave insights into the meaning of nature as a 'spiritual realm' and the ways in which natural environments, and his mobile biography to such environments, have informed and inspired his pen and ink illustrations and water colour painting. Jamie is a friend of mine and due to his occupation and associations with the Valley was deemed of suitable interest to the study.			

In summary then my research has relied upon in depth interviewing and participant observation as the major techniques of data generation. At times this has been aided by documents and even a degree of internet data gathering in relation to reviews of the Valley's bars in particular as useful sources of 'naturalistic' information. The data that I have gathered has informed the research process in that it has pointed, through the process of coding and categorisation major orientations or themes that have in turn informed the theoretical focus of my reading and writing. These theoretical foci have in turn refocused some of my questioning and observers' gaze when back in the field. This *iterative process* with a reflexive attitude on my behalf and a desire to put participants and interviewees perceptions and practices at the heart of the research has hopefully infused this thesis with a sound *emic* qualitative methodology.

7.5 Limitations

7.5.1 Theoretical

My concern to show the genealogical and historical terrains in which active living subjects' frames of references, values and practices are informed, grants a historicist and culturalist tone to the argument that perhaps neglects other theoretical

positions of the reasons why subjects find themselves posited within certain discursive and practiced positions. Although 'class' is discussed in this thesis as being related to romantically inflected viewpoints and behaviours, issues of gender, social psychology, temperament and the political meanings of actions are neglected. I thus accept that this thesis is a limited perspective, very much my own construction, but hopefully informed in an honest way by the views of my participants. I still argue strongly however that the broad ethic discussed as the guiding thread of the thesis is a very important socially constructed position that has for years informed the *habitus* and lifestyle orientations of working artists. Due to its cultural diffusion in the post war period it is now an important ethic for many more people within consumer capitalism.

7.5.2 Empirical

The approach adopted in this thesis is of a qualitative nature and as such there can only be a limited claim for the breadth of findings. As much of the focus and practice of the research was in relation to working artists in the Ouseburn Valley, there is perhaps a neglect of the wider perceptions of the Valley and the elsewhere in relation to other groups that have use of the Valley – leisure users, particularly student groups, come to mind as do those involved in the wider creative industries, that have in recent years, come to populate the Valley and its environs. The importance of the political meanings of many of the practices and values of those who have participated in the construction of the theoretical narrative that I have weaved are perhaps also played in a minor key in this thesis. Although I do not believe that cultural values can be easily separated from political ones, there is an accent in this thesis that interprets the data I have generated, and indeed informed the focus of this generation, within the realm of broader cultural themes rather than political accounts for the meanings of actions and values.

7.6 Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated how the qualitative gaze has emerged from many of the same critiques of 'ways of seeing' in dominant modernity that creative countercultures have attacked down the years. By discussing this I have attempted to show how my own focus is related to broader power-knowledge nexi in the post

war social sciences. Regardless of the fact that qualitiative approaches are an accepted practice of 'normal social science' in the present paradigm, this chapter has nonetheless justified from an intellectual standpoint, the benefits of such approaches. I have also given a clear discussion of the development of my research and the application of specific research techniques in its practice, and acknowledged limitations in both theoretical and empirical realms.

Chapter 8: Aesthetics, Environment and the Spectre of Gentrification in the Ouseburn Valley

8.1 Valuing 'Place'

The 'Placeness' of the Ouseburn Valley is often valued by my respondents in relation to difference from the 'elsewhere' – and here 'place', for my participants, imbues individual-expressive *auratic* qualities or the perception of *genius loci* uniqueness in relation to a shared social meaning amongst a community of people.

In this sense then, the meaning of place has, for many of my participants, a strong similarity to the idea of 'place' as imagined by the early human geographers (cf Cresswell 2004; Holloway and Hubbard 2001) such as Relph (1976) and Tuan (1977). 'Place' is viewed as somewhere that exists outside the 'technocratic' or 'disciplined' seen-to-be *alienable spaces of modernity and post-modernity* as described by Auge (1995) as 'nonplaces', and as was discussed in the literature review.

Place therefore, for my interviewees, is often identified as being in some ways 'marginal' (Shields 1991) as it exists *despite of* the perceived existence of *dominant spaces* in modern and post-modern societies. In relation to these views of my participants, we can see that academic discourses of the critical left have also often promoted 'space' as being formed in line with 'abstract' logics of the market or bureaucratic regulation and discipline (Lefebvre 1992; de Certeau 1996; Debord 1967; Foucault 1977). This, perhaps, further demonstrates many of my artists' critical orientations, and shows us that freedoms and possibilities of expressiveness within auratic places is key importance to this analysis.

In a strong desire to experience gemeinschaft (place-community) over gesellschaft (perceived alienable space-society), (Tonnies 1888) for my interviewees, the Ouseburn Valley is often constructed as possessing this *auratic* sense of meaning (Rojek 1997) to a specific *community* of people – a hoped for *social space* (Lefebvre 1992) as opposed to a perceived *abstract space* of bureaucratic or commercial discipline, regulation, instrumental production and passive consumption. Importantly, the desire for 'community' is often identified as an important motivating factor for 'early stage gentrifiers' often tied in with notions of rejecting the homogenous suburb for the 'authentic' community of diverse possibility in the 'inner city' (Caulfield 1989; Ley 1996; Williams 1986; Butler 1997). Early 'gentrifiers', in line with these desires for diversity and place-bound community are often identified in literature as belonging to a broader liberal middle class, and it is within this grouping that my participants can be seen to be ideologically located.

My working artists, therefore, as well as being producers of individual artworks for sale on the local, regional, national, and sometimes international, art markets are

often clearly linked to a wider social grouping of the 'new cultural class' (Ley 1996) or a 'welfare-state employed middle class' through links to and employment within public sector arts and educational bodies. For example links to the broader liberal middle class can be seen in the use of art as a social force in the wider community through its creative power of self-development in relation to disabled persons (Stephen), community participation through photography (Richard) or sculpture (Hannah) or metal working (Andy M), and educational work involving the arts (Paul, Margaret, Emma, Alex). A number of other volunteers in the Ouseburn Trust heritage group also placed 'community' as an important part of their worldviews with filmmaking (Jackie) or textiles (Rula), or oral history (Silvie) being perceived as holding possibilities for community engagement and interaction. Margaret has also been involved in arts administration for a large part of her working life, and Stephanie suggested an involvement with and 'Asian women's project' in the west end of Newcastle at the time of interview.

Broader concerns for community are then evident in the working lives of my participants and interviewees but the importance of a more hermetic and autonomous creative community, is, to many of my interviewees, also clearly evident, with many of them occupying cooperatively run, rent-capped workspaces. In this we see that the desire to perform an identity of a self-expressive creative, is tied, to a community value – and as such as was argued in the literature review, this ethic is *shared*. A vignette here is useful, as in line with the notion of a (somewhat) autonomous artistic community my creatives suggested that: "artists should be collectivised and work together" (Stephen), forging new directions and organising exhibitions as "part of a collective group" (Paul), "sharing thoughts and ideas" (Annie) and utilising the "DIY spirit" (Emma) or "the make and mend do" (Andy M) with "people lending a hand" (Alex Finnegan), such as Andy Slater who described his volunteering at the 'avant garde' independent cinema the *Star and Shadow* (found at the outer rim of the Valley). This ideal of creative community was seen as people: "doing things for themselves without grant aid" (Stephanie) whilst "engaging with the community" (Maggie) or being "*in* the community" (Stephen).

As we shall see later in this section, some of this communal-creative autonomy is seen to have been lessened through processes of formalisation and regulation, alongside a clearer commercial orientation of businesses in the Valley – as such the spirit of cooperation described in the vignette above must be viewed as a form of desired 'ideal type'. However, a placed, inalienable and meaningful community within a distinctive aesthetic and landscape of the Ouseburn Valley is often constructed as different from a perceived alienating, regulated and instrumental view of both a *massified* and a *yuppified* elsewhere by my interviewees, and the presence of a quite closely knit creative community does still exist for many of my interviewees.

The signification of community for a place-bound group of artists as part of a broader 'sense of place' is therefore important to nearly all of the interviewees. It will be argued that this importance of 'community' as manifest in 'place' exists in relation to a field of aesthetics in relation to the built form and landscape of the Ouseburn Valley. Concomitant with this, we can see that within the views of my respondents and participants are the general signifying-aesthetics appreciated by nominal 'first wave gentrifiers' identified in the literature review (c.f. Ley 1996; Caulfield 1989; Jager 1986). In this sense then, an aesthetic appreciation of the Valley's landscape and architecture marks it out as a place that is, for my interviewees, a place of possible community and a place that exists outside of 'spaces' elsewhere that are alienable and massified or subject to a particular 'generic' waterfront gentrification aesthetic, that echoes the architectural forms of previous modernism. The architecture and landscape of the Ouseburn Valley therefore has deeper significations. As we shall see, these meanings are also threatened as the Valley as a place of creative and non-instrumental freedom is challenged by the process of gentrification, increasing popularity and the focus on creative industries as economic growth engines.

More specifically, following the above, the Valley as an aesthetic environment is often contrasted favourably with substitutable, alienable, or 'mass-produced' non-places found elsewhere in the city – as such I am able to analyse the perceptions and practices of my interviewees and participants in relation to the governing

concept of self expressive and creative individuality as manifest in the Valley. These 'Other' places are deemed to be aesthetically and morally lacking, and are generally places and spaces of Fordist-modernity (bureaucratic or planned), for example the supermarket and social housing, or post-Fordist (consumer or neoliberal) post-modernity that were discussed in the literature review as often being targets of critique from the new left and countercultures of the 1960s.

In the same vein, the shopping mall and new build brownfield flats that are perceived to be marketed towards professionals are seen to be unattractive and to signify planned 'abstract spaces' with connotations of regulation, commercial orientation and passive consumption. Both the built landscape and 'greenery' of the Valley are valued by my respondents as signifiers of difference from the perceived homogeneity, and sometime 'inhumanness' of other areas of the city.

8.1.1 Landscape and Architecture

The urban fabric of the Valley, much of it harking back to the first period of industrialisation of Newcastle (Ouseburn Heritage 1999) was succinctly described as having a unique appeal of "Industrial Gothic" by local author and former Byker resident Stephen Laws at a heritage group talk at the Cumberland Arms in October of 2010. Stephen suggested that the Valley, which he used to play in as a child had actually acted as artistic inspiration for one of his novels *Spectre* (1986). It is this perceived uniqueness of the Valley's architectural aesthetic, or its aura, that proves attractive to a number of interviewees, and also to the Valley's heritage workers, who often have related interests in the creative arts. An example of the Valley's "industrial gothic" can be seen below:

**Figure 8.1 Polestar Practice and Recording Studio– Pre Displacement.
Source: Author.**

The fact that aspects of the Valley's aesthetic were left untouched by the ravages of modernist planning, which as we have seen in the literature review was heavily critiqued from the 1960s onwards by romantically inflected creatives, is explicitly valued and promoted through the heritage agendas of respectively the Ouseburn Trust, its heritage group, and the Ouseburn Heritage group, a group formed in 1993 after a fire in one of the area's industrial buildings – Mailing's Pottery Works. Both of these groupings of local heritage enthusiasts have been involved in the production of tri-annual and bi-monthly heritage journals – "Ouseburn past and present" (The Trust Heritage Group) and "Ouseburn Heritage" (The Ouseburn Heritage Group).

The valuations of Stephen's "Industrial Gothic" or from academic sources "Victoriana"[76] (Jager 1986) the "vernacular industrial architecture" (Ley 1996) or "industrial design" (Zukin 1989) are prominent in both the personal concerns, and the published journals of the members of both of these groups. The preference for these

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[76] Much of the Valley's aesthetic precedes Victorian times however.

pre-modernist forms of the built environment clearly identify the desires of many of the interviewees with a more general 'gentrifying aesthetic', found to be diffuse through varying segments of the middle classes over the years (through the process of cultural diffusion), and noted in many studies, particularly as 'sweat equity' or smaller scale, often demand led, and early stage, gentrification processes (Clay 1979; Jager 1986; lay 1996; Lees 2008;). Eric, the founder of the first, but now smaller Ouseburn Heritage group after the fire in the Mailings Pottery Works in 1993 suggested, at a regeneration meeting held in the Cumberland Arms, but organised by the group that:

"we started all of this off because of the fire-setting that was happening in the early 1990s around the Valley…we wanted to keep the place from being totally taken over by the sorts of things going on in the Quayside at the time"

The Ouseburn Trust's annual report from 2008 also stresses its heritage commitments, and subtly hints at the 'reminders of modernism' that it seeks to eradicate from the aesthetic of the Valley. In relation the "Canvas Works", an adjacent building to the Trust's (at the time of the research – they have since moved around the corner) offices on Lime Street in the Valley, now being used as an exhibition space for young artists and photographers, the report states that:

"Last year the trust secured funding from Tyne and Wear partnership to undertake selective demolition work…we have removed unsightly external concrete cladding and demolished unsafe and unsightly additions to the original early Victorian structure. The remaining attractive red brick façade is now safe from further deterioration and will make a useful contribution to the main street frontage on Lime Street by preserving the area's heritage." (Ouseburn Trust Annual Report 2008).

Here, following Caulfield's (1989) and Ley's (1996) ideas of 'counterculturally-inflected' gentrifiers' rejections of modernism, and the wider literature that we have discussed that shows the breadth of this critique in the post-war period, we see an explicit valuing of the area's industrial aesthetic and an implicit attack upon the signifiers of modern adages to the canvas works. The concrete is stigmatised as unsightly and as an 'addition', of what is described in a heritage publication (Ouseburn Past and Present 2007) as "recent various light industrial processes". This suggests that the 'various and recent' inhabitants of the building, grouped as a

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general and uninteresting Other, although seen as 'industrial', did not attain a suitable aesthetic 'eye' for the preservation of the "vernacular" and "Victoriana" (Jager 1986) valued by the group. As we shall see later, there is some evidence from my data that this grouping of mechanical workshops and light industry has suffered displacement as the Valley has become a centre of leisure and creative industry.

The denigration of 'concrete' and modernist architectural styles in general was also revealed in a walk with Kirsten, the trust's volunteer coordinator, to obtain a CRB check on my behalf, in the nearby Shieldfield area of the city. Shieldfield, although adjacent to the Ouseburn Valley, can be seen as an example of 1960s British Social Housing, with high rise and low rise, mainly local authority owned housing stock. Kirsten suggested that:

"It's just vile and not built with people in mind…it's like you are always looking out onto the back of something"

The denigration of spaces that could be read as representing common perceptions of both the 'modern' and 'post-modern' as in some ways 'inhuman', feature quite prominently in many of the aesthetic and moral judgements in relation to places outside the Ouseburn Valley, and will be discussed in further detail later on in this section. As far as valuing the dominant aesthetic of the Valley, there is a common theme in relation to its heritage aesthetic. 'Stephanie', a founder 'settler' artist in the Valley interviewed commented that:

"I sort of like industrial architecture y'know – and people like different sort of exciting stuff…I really think that the industrial heritage stuff here is fascinating."

The valorisation of the 'exciting' industrial-age architecture found in the Valley was also supported by Paul, an artist in his mid 30s working in the Valley:

"Byker bridge has got a fantastic history…I mean the industry…this particular building (36 Lime Street) I think is fantastic…there's these sort of unique buildings"

Again we see the association between the "industrial gothic" or the appreciation of industrial design (Zukin 1989) and the idea of uniqueness and placeness, and the awareness of the role of early industry in the landscaping of the

Valley in its present form. We can also clearly see how heritage agendas and the orientations of artists towards distinctive aesthetics are commensurate in the Valley. The industrial age edifice of 36 Lime Street, the building that houses the oldest artists' cooperative in the Valley and provided a good number of my interviewees can be viewed below:

Figure 8.2. The Cluny Building: Home to 36 Lime Street Artists' cooperative and studios. Source: Author.

Alex , a puppeteer and musician based in 36 Lime Street had similar sentiments in view of the Valley's buildings:

"What some people may think of as maybe being run down or old fashioned or antiquated…these buildings and these environments often have so much character"

Here we see again the validation of industrial heritage, of the industrial gothic, and with Alex's quote there is an implicit counter-identification with a perceived general other – the "some people" who aren't able to, through lacking in a particular form of cultural capital (cf Bourdieu 1984), or simply because they have bad, or perceived 'popular' taste, appreciate the aesthetic qualities of such architectural forms. Alex also suggests, as was discussed in the literature review, the aesthetic-reflexive ability of "creatives" to find qualities in what others may see as simply detritus, and to revalue the denigrated or ignored (Ley 2003). This act is important, as the creation of valorised properties, or new social meanings, in relation to previously denigrated objects, can allow for eventually, the transmission of "desire" for these objects to wider publics (Caulfield 1989) – and can begin a process of gentrification.

These themes, of appreciating the particular aesthetic of the Valley's built environment, were also revealed by Pauline, owner of Polestar practice and rehearsal studios who suggested that the industrial heritage of the Valley, and in particular the former Maling's Pottery factory gave the Valley a uniqueness not found in many other parts of the city. Pauline also suggested that it was good that "we don't have any chains [franchised outlets or pubs] down here…all of the pubs are independent", demonstrating an appreciation of the independence of the Valley from aspects of 'massification' found elsewhere. These important points of counter-identification are discussed in more detail later.

'John', a member of the Ouseburn Trust board of directors, also intimated to me at the trust AGM in 2009 that it was "the pubs and all of the industrial stuff" that gave that Valley its character, implying the importance of early industry architectural legacies for the trust as a whole, as well as an appreciation of the implicit differences that the area offers both aesthetically and in terms of leisure experiences. A casual and slightly bizarre conversation with a worker in the Northern Print Building, on Stepney Bank, also revealed that the historicity of the building in which Northern Print was located was of importance to her and made it a great place to work. This occurred after being given shelter on an exceptionally rainy day when I was in the

Valley and the same woman 'Julie' a printer and gallery worker in the building suddenly exclaimed:

"You have to see our toilet!"

Slightly confused I readily agreed and was shown a newly refurbished loo in the building that had been designed as a large scale "willow pattern" with the blue design adorning the walls of the toilet. There was a willow pattern piece of pottery (a plate) sunk into the ledge beneath the window. Julie explained that this was to do with the fact that the building had previously been a pottery. Again this demonstrates the aesthetic reflexive (Lash and Urry 1995) nature of many of the people working in, and associated with the creative industries in the Valley. This aesthetic-reflexivity is solidly rooted in a 'cultural capital of place' – a knowledge and appreciation of the heritage aspects of specific buildings and the area as a whole.

Giles, a sculptor and until early 2010 Newcastle East's Arts development Officer has a long association with the Valley through both his previous role and his more general artistic orientations. Giles commented that for him, the Valley has unique properties that cannot be found elsewhere in the city. These properties are related to the architectural distinctiveness of the area, a distinctiveness that demarks it from the "very flat, very consistent [styles of] corporately regenerated" (quote from Giles) buildings of the elsewhere. As such, we can see a clear valuation coming through here, of the distinction of the Valley in relation to the 'glass and chrome' edifices of modern and post-modern architectures found elsewhere. For Giles, although the Valley has undergone changes in recent years there is still an element of:

"charm…a bit of quirkiness…I think one of the themes about the Ouseburn has been that it's got misshaped buildings and bits that are you know different kinds of spaces and also sort of things that aren't obvious like a city farm…and it's kind of preserving that quirkiness that makes it an attractive…and still makes it an attractive setting [and] I think that the established places that are there sort of try to reinforce that individuality"

The architecture of the Ouseburn Valley then, through my involvements with the heritage group and working artists in the Valley is valued due to its intricacy, its

historicity and its difference from the elsewhere – all in this context signifiers of individuality and of *inalienable place* in the face of the *spaces* of the elsewhere. The appreciation of the industrial aesthetic firmly places my participants and respondents in tandem with 'early stage gentrifiers' as identified in literature, with associated denigrations of 'placeless' international-modernist styles. The ability to appreciate such architecture is also seen to relate to a specific levels of, and valuations of, cultural capitals. In this sense the industrial age baroque of occasional dereliction and vernacular forms takes on a specific *aura* or meaning to the group of artists and heritage volunteers in the Valley, who possess an appropriate cultural capital with which this architecture is 'appropriately' judged.

In this sense then, also, we can see that the auratic properties of place as valued by the social grouping of interest to this thesis are demarked as a territory or domain due to certain aesthetics. These aesthetics signify territoriality and place-belonging to working artists, and the broader creative and liberal middle classes. As we shall see in the section on gentrification, violations of these signifiers of territory, values and power, by those categorised by my respondents as coming from the 'Other' middle class and those who are seen to invade the Valley and bring with them the vestiges of 'mass culture' pose a threat to the ontological security of some of the interviewees. The presence of Others and their significations (chrome-glass fronted buildings, awnings advertising popular lager, suits, types of music), as we will see, more clearly signify the territoriality and fears of the loss of place, that gentrification processes can contain.

8.1.2 Environment and Greenery

As well as valuing the distinctive nature of the Valley's architecture, the Valley's green environment was also of great importance to a good number of the respondents. The greenness of the area was often seen to be important in allowing for reflection, peace and social interaction in a non-instrumental way, and has been integral to the Valley's sense of difference through greenery and animals since the establishment of Byker Farm a city farm in the 1980s. As a positive attribute, greenery and naturalness was related to me by Barry, a conceptual artist with a full

time job in the "corporate world"[77] but working out of the Biscuit Factory in his spare time:

"I used to come to Newcastle from like the age of eighteen and I eventually discovered that area – it's a bit more pleasant than the city centre 'cos you don't feel as trapped there …it's a bit more open a bit more green a bit more natural"

Barry here strongly displays a preference for the greenery of the Ouseburn Valley and also hints at its out-of-the-way feel through suggesting that it "eventually" had to be discovered, positing it as a counter-space somewhat removed from the dictates of the 'commercial' centre. This statement by Barry has strong links to valuations of the possibilities of freedom to be found in 'nature', and has strong links to notions of the commercial and corrupting elements of dominant urban spaces, for romantically inflected artists, that have long discursive genealogies (Seigel 1985; Gair 2007; Ley 1996).

With regards to the Ouseburn Valley being a valued place of difference from the rest of the city through its greenness there were a number of other views supporting this stance. 'Emma' a working artist based at 36 Lime Street, who has an association with the Valley going back for 12 years suggested a number of aspects of the 'natural' environment (I use natural cautiously as the whole Valley is really a landscape and the greening of the Valley was carried out on top of much debris and landfill over the Ouseburn Culvert completed in the 1950s) that were important to her. This is worth quoting at length as it is the three aspects of the river, the greenery and the presence of animals (see figure 8.2) that appeared as important to a number of interviewees, and people interacted with through participant observation research:

"E: I like the fact that there's lots of green fields and lovely having water here although now it's kind of still water…
JW: is that because of the barrage?
E: Yeah and erm y'know the farm which kind of disappeared but is now kind of re-emerging now…
JW: yeah
E: …so it's great to have the sound of ducks quacking outside your window so it feels quite I wouldn't say countrysideish but it's got quite a nice feel to it…
JW: so would you say it's the natural environment rather that the architectural that maybe attracts you more?
E: yes"

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[77] Barry described it as thus. He works full time in the print shop of the Newcastle Chronicle and Journal.

The "countryside feel" of the Valley was also alluded to by Jo Hodson, the general manager of the Cumberland arms who suggested that:

> "it's still got that out of town country community feel even though it's got lots of new things that are coming into it"

The idea of being out of town, again is important, as it suggests that the city centre maybe leaves something to be desired, and again we see the possibility of 'community' in such a place, outwith the instrumental and Other spaces that are presumably found 'in town. As well as the green aspect of the Valley, the connotations of reflective peacefulness to be found in this greenery was also important to the interviewees. Pauline Murray of Polestar Studios suggested that the environment of the Valley gave a certain quiet and stillness to its ambience which was attractive. Pauline also valued the river but, as 'Emma' above suggests, missed the sound of its movement when the newly installed Ouseburn barrage was down.

The barrage was a bone of contention to a number of the interviewees as it was seen to have 'stilled' the flow of the river through the Valley and is seen by a large number of people to be of mixed virtues – both allowing for better use of the Ouseburn River on behalf of existing and long term residents such as the boatclub based on the banks of the river at Lime Street, but also viewed with suspicion as a harbinger of gentrification – an aesthetic grooming allowing for more speculative waterfront property development and the intrusion of new build flats into the Valley. The point relating to the valuing of the river and its sensual qualities was made very clearly by Alex, Puppeteer at 36 Lime Street:

> "it's nature isn't it…you're within nature… to be able to work – sit and do all the boring bookkeeping, accountancy jobs and to have the window open and to hear this y'know tinkling of water……it's gone now but it was beautiful (laughs) when it was there and to be y'know you look out the window and you see a Kingfisher all like the birds and the wildlife is out there, all the different types of butterflies that you would get during the summer err it's just these are all qualities and with everything you see if you're an artist you look for qualities…"

Again we see Alex here using the idea of the environment of the Valley being especially attractive to "artists" as they are able to appreciate qualities that are found in the place – again, environment is seen to possess an *auratic* or particular meaning

to a particular group of cultural de-coders – with the appreciation of 'nature' being fused to the artistic sensibility. Julia, a ceramicist at 36 Lime Street also alluded to the feeling of uniqueness that having a river next to the workplace allowed for, and 'Julie' of Northern Print, a printers and artists studios on Stepney bank in the Valley suggested that the Valley was:

> "A little gem…totally unique and nothing like it between Leeds and Edinburgh" [by this she was suggesting that it was unique as a creative centre, but it was also special due to the presence of the farm and animals] for: "where else could you see a horse walk past your window!"

The liking for the "industrial-gothic" and the greenness of the environment, with water feature and close proximity to animals then would appear to be a strong point of identification and value for many of the people I have interviewed, and the presence of kingfishers in particular was also of interest to 'Tony' a bespoke furniture maker in the Valley. These themes also bear close resemblance to the ideas of the productions and associations of discourses of 'nature' and 'urban difference', discussed in the literature, that have been identified as positive place-imaginings through various creative countercultures in Western European discourse from the late 1700s to the present.

Figure 8.3 - A quizzical glance from one of the grazing goats in the Valley. Source: Author.

The valuing of these aspects of difference, as we shall see, would appear to strongly relate to the desire of many artists to escape the spaces and seen-to-be 'standardised' aesthetics of a perceived 'dominant culture', existing in an outer-world, and demonstrate a clear valuing of both 'nature' and urban difference as discussed in relation to deeper discourses in the literature review. In this sense then, many of my interviewees demonstrate an 'aesthetic-reflexive' orientation towards their immediate working environment. This is akin to Szerszynski and Urry's (2006) notion of 'cosmopolitan' inhabitance of landscapes; with places being attractive due to their particular, and rather abstracted aesthetic signification and ambience, rather than 'place' being linked to thick bonds of family and personal relations. As is revealed in the next chapter however, this is not only a 'cool' aesthetic appreciation of landscape and environment but is also linked to a 'hot' sense of placed cosmopolitan

community, that values the *here and the diverse* as part of an *inalienable and placed* social community (Massey 1997; Beck 2006).

8.2 Denigrating 'Space'

As well as the clear statements of value that have been discussed above, the interviews and observations that I conducted, along with the documentary analysis of policy and heritage group documents also revealed a series of, perhaps even more interesting, 'otherings' of places and spaces in Newcastle and beyond. More precisely, Other places are for many of my interviewees given the denigrated stigma of 'space' seen as either transient (Auge 1995) or 'meaningless and instrumental' (in the same vein as Relph 1976 for example). We find then that the placeness of the Valley is seen favourably against the 'placelessness' of many surrounding areas to the Ouseburn Valley, and Other places are constructed as 'space' with quite specific connotations. These otherings, negative appraisals, or counter-identifications of places (denigrated as the general Other of 'space') and people (the inhabitants of 'space') not deemed to be 'Ouseburn' are central for two main reasons.

Firstly they give a clear(ish) idea of what the Ouseburn Valley is *not*, in the eyes of my interviewees and my observations, and secondly, in relation to the section on gentrification further on in this chapter, they also hint at the fears of what Ouseburn *may become* if allowed to 'gentrify'. Many of the counter-identifications, as we shall see, involve the denigration of places of perceived 'placelessness', 'generica' or 'mass' culture that are seen to be aesthetically undifferentiated, profit driven or state planned, regulated and in some ways 'inhuman' – in other words places that signify the dominant construction of the evils of modernity, that as we saw in the literature review has a consistent genealogy in Western thought. Again these otherings also have clear links to 'countercultural Others' discussed in the literature – Others that are seen to belong to a dominant and massified cultural form (dupes), as well as a 'bourgeois' middle class.

The places, or rather spaces as they are imagined to be undifferentiated, that are derided or consciously or unconsciously counteridentified with are, more specifically: areas of 'popular commerce' (as stated earlier in the chapter

supermarkets and shopping centres); and areas of 'massified leisure'. State planned modernist functionalist (with the interesting exception of the Byker Wall) areas of social housing are also denigrated to a certain degree, as are the historically imagined 'suburbs', but 'neoliberal' or perceived to be 'globalised' (standardised) landscapes (private build inner urban housing and 'professional service sector' developments such as Newcastle's Quayside), are more of a target of negation in terms of housing development.

The people seen to 'properly' inhabit these spaces of massification (that are dealt with first in this analysis), and to value them, can be painted in vignette from a number of quotations from my transcripts. They are constructed as: "Masses in obeyance…on a different planet" (Alex) "driving to work" (ibid), and "wage slaves" (Maggie) working in "generic office blocks" (Barry), roaming "Tescoised shopping centres" (Andy S) and "soulless" (Andy S) shopping malls "with all the chain things" (Pauline), drinking "plastic-piss lager" (Barry) in "standard" (Maggie) or "corporate" (Julia) or "plastic" (Ronnie) bars and "drinking cheap trebles" (Emma) before "pissing and vomiting in doorways" (Pauline). These ideas of a 'massified-Other' are perhaps closely aligned to an idea of a 'non-reflexive' or 'unconscious' 'working class' (see Lawler 2005), incapable of suitable displays of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) or 'cosmopolitan' cultural capital (Binnie et al 2006; Szerszynski & Urry 2006; Young *et al* 2006), in relation to appreciating landscapes of perceived social and aesthetic difference. Clearly in this Othering we can see that the elsewhere areas of the city are seen as spaces, where, due to perceived regulations and massifications of cultural expression, the ethic of individual self expression is much harder to come by or to practice than in the Valley.

8.2.1 The Massified Other

In relation to perceived places of massified consumption, the 'sameness' and 'soullessness' of central city areas was often a reason for negative appraisal by my interviewees, and there are hints from Barry and Jo Hodson above that point to the idea of the Ouseburn in some ways being divorced from the popular spaces of commerce, work and leisure in Newcastle. Perhaps one of the strongest critics of parts of the city centre was Barry. Despite, or perhaps because of, working in what

Barry described as the "corporate world" Barry felt little affinity with much of the aesthetic or socio-cultural character of the city centre:

"well one of my pet hates in life is like sort of generic places, and people save up to go on holiday and go to London and see just the same places like Starbucks and McDonalds and I feel that Newcastle is just a replication of other city centres around the world and around the country"

Here we see Barry is against the aesthetic of places that are seen to be placeless or in his words "Generic". This dislike of generica is most heavily critiqued in terms of the signifiers, and perceived modular aesthetic, of global brands, and places of goods-consumption. This dislike of "generica", and a valuing as we have seen above, for vernacular forms of urban architecture is a signifier of place-preference for many aesthetic-reflexive creative workers as identified by Florida (2002), but also has a strong resonance to earlier critiques of the invasion of 'local' vernacular architectures through modernist city designs (c.f. Jacobs 1961), which sought to replicate functional machine-age urbanisms across urban, regional and national boundaries (Cohen 2007; Pinder 2005; Gold 2007; Taylor 1973; Frampton 1992).

The critique of 'homogenising post-modern' spaces was also very clearly articulated by Pauline. Pauline expressed this orientation in relation to British city centres more generally, as she had just been on tour with her band *Penetration*, as well as the specific case of Newcastle:

"y'know it has got little parts of it [that are 'different'], but the city centre [Newcastle] is like every other city centre in the country – I mean I've just toured the country and every city centre has been ripped apart…and a great big shopping centre has been put in the middle with all of the same shops and everything that is alternative is a couple of miles outside the city…all marginalized around the edges…all the city centres all have the same shops…in the same order like we've got a Marks and Spencer's a Next a British Home Stores…Costa Coffee – all of it just there, all the chain things…I've just seen cities in Britain recently and places like Bristol y'know the heart's ripped out of them…it was once a characterful city but now it isn't"

Again we see the aesthetics of the national and global brand contained in the mass-produced aesthetic of the 'shopping centre' as being the focus of dislike. Here we see a double critique of the similitude of 'great big shopping centres' seen in the 'placeless' vein of modernist-internationalism, or brutalist architecture, and a critique

of the global brands of post-modern consumerism, which also are viewed as homogenising forces. Pauline also states that the areas of interest or "alternative" to these spaces are "around the edges" of city centres or a "couple of miles outside", clearly echoing the sentiments of other interviewees' opinions discussed in the previous section that validate the 'out of townness' or 'away from the centreness' of the Ouseburn Valley. The dislike for the perceived aesthetic sameness of areas of the commercial centre of Newcastle was also clearly stated by Andy S, artist at Test House 5, who suggested that:

"I think that most of the city centre of Newcastle unfortunately is hideous…and I think that Eldon Square is such an obnoxious machine for generating cash, and I'm also kind of saddened by the I think it was fifty six listed buildings that were pulled down in order to build that monstrosity…it's utterly soulless, and aesthetically it is just an unpleasant looking building…it's just almost inhuman"

Andy was here critiquing both the purpose and the aesthetic of Eldon Square, Newcastle's central shopping centre, as a 'cash generator', and here we see, again, the preference for distinctive vernacular architecture being used to denigrate the 'soulless' nature of Eldon Square. Andy confirmed that is was the 'generic' and 'commercial' nature of the mall that were central themes to his finding the development obnoxious, in terms of the building materials used, the style of the centre and the shops that inhabit it, and it is clear that the '56 listed buildings' that he cites as being destroyed to build the centre as examples of distinctive local architecture are important.

Interestingly though, Andy did not want to deride "all indoor shopping areas" and stated that the Grainger Market[78], in Newcastle, a grade 1 Georgian indoor market which is still populated with many 'Newcastle' fruit sellers and butchers was "really nice actually", and that the act of shopping was pleasurable in such an environment. More recently locally-run more 'upmarket' delicatessens, speciality cheese shops and collectibles shops have opened in a renovated section of the market, and there is now an arts and crafts fair every month. This can be seen to demonstrate a desire for consumption experiences in putatively differentiated and

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[78] For an overview of the Grainger Market please visit the URL:
http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/core.nsf/a/market_customer_graingermarket?opendocument#arts

aesthetically 'exquisite' spaces of consumption, often with a vernacular heritage-aesthetic (Meethan 1996; Ferguson 1992), demonstrating the dedifferentiation of leisure and consumption activities for post-modern consumers in more general terms (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam 1994).

Andy, after suggesting that he enjoyed the experience of shopping in the Grainger Market, then proceeded to denigrate the banality Eldon Square in the same manner as Pauline and Barry had done in relation to the 'modular mix' of global, or non-place bound, branded outlets – or "chains":

"The shops we're seeing there are exactly the same [as elsewhere]…it's like an identikit highstreet and there's so many others…"

Here we clearly see that it is not necessarily the act of shopping that is seen to be negative, as Andy has explicitly stated that he enjoys the experience of shopping in the Grainger Market. It is the perception of the environment, to again use Walter Benjamin's terminology the "auratic quality", or the 'framing' of the shopping experience as bounded to 'place', *and* the opportunity for perusing and purchasing distinctive perceived-to-be 'place-bound goods', within this vernacular (often heritage) aesthetic that is seen to make the *experience* valuable and inalienable.

The discourses of homogenisation and commercialisation of the city centre of Newcastle, and the linking of these themes to ideas of 'loss of place' were also articulated by Ronnie, a local musician and organiser of the Ouseburn Festival, who suggested that Newcastle was increasingly becoming "very corporate" and that this 'corporateness' was linked to a "flattening" of the social and aesthetic landscape of the city. This idea of flattening of effect and a loss of distinctiveness through development was also echoed by Giles, who, in relation to 'traditional' consumption-led regeneration schemes, suggested that:

"One of the risks is that things become very corporate, very flat, very consistent…Y'know the thing is they get a big developer to come in and build a big shopping centre – the Costa's and Marks and Spencer's move in and you're sorted y'know and people come because of the big names…[but] with the big kind of Eldon Square type model you lose the kind of charm the individuality"

Here we again see the critique of shopping centres as having an alienable design "the big developer" that could in Pauline's words "rip the heart out" of any city centre, and again the population of this "flattened" aesthetic are the myriad, but modularly arranged shops of global and national brandings. Giles explicitly contrasts Eldon Square centre of Newcastle with the concept of individuality, suggesting that it is a massified and alienable form.

Alongside the critique of the perceived 'malling' of the majority of Newcastle city centre, and the concern over a loss of aesthetic distinctiveness in the centre, was a perception amongst many of the interviewees and those interacted with in participant observation research that high streets in areas outside of the city centre were also becoming more similar to others on the UK, and losing their placeness. The Massified and chained nature of the high street was negatively commented on by Maggie who stated the high street (in general) was "incredibly depressing…with five branches of next and two branches of gap…". The major British supermarket was often implicated disparagingly in relation to this process of 'massification' and in particular a branch of Morrisons on Shields Road, the closest high street to the Ouseburn Valley that had opened in 2002[79] was often negatively appraised. Ronnie Forster, a local musician, actor and Ouseburn Festival organiser suggested that:

"R: I frequent all the charity shops so I'm trying to put my money into good causes y'know not just into the huge conglomerates
JW: y'mean you don't shop at Morisons or?
R: oh yeah but y'know I always try to use the fruit shop or the other shops but they're all dying…
JW: yeah
R: 'cos they can't compete
JW: is that quite important to you top have that sense of place?
R: well I think it's important to everyone because unfortunately economically it doesn't work any more because most shops can't compete imagine a veg shop near Morrisons it just can't do it unless it's organic y'know"

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[79] Shields Road is the commercial centre of the Byker District of Newcastle. Certain areas of Shields Road were designated as regeneration areas in 2000 and the area has undergone significant transformation in the last ten years.

Although Ronnie uses the Morrisons for his own shopping he clearly adopts the discourse of high street decline as a process of homogenisation on behalf of standardised supermarkets and large commercial interests. Similarly, Pauline saw the development of a large supermarket on Shields Road as necessary for the regeneration of that particular area, and she also pointed out the growth of national and global brand outlets at the Ouseburn end of Shields Road. Pauline also felt that there was a sense of loss associated with such development also – a loss of independence:

"P: as you move up [the bank] to Byker you've got things appearing you've got Kentucky Fried Chicken
JW: yep
P: you've got a 24hr big MacDonalds
JW: yeah Maccy Dee's is there now
P: you've got a Greggs there you've got a Boots there
JW: a big Morrisons there
P: a massive Morrisons, so they're moving into Byker but I think Byker needs that 'cos it need to regenerate, but not at the cost of losing like independent shops"

The development of a large supermarket on Shields Road was less ambivalently viewed by Andy M, installation metal-work artist and owner of Test House 5 studios in what may be described as the 'outer Ouseburn Valley'. Andy viewed the development of Morrisons as contributing to the "doomed" nature of high streets, and of Shields Road in particular.

Figure 8.4 Banal consumption within a placeless aesthetic? The regenerated landscape of Shields Road. 2-5 minutes' walk from the Ouseburn Valley. Source: Author

The dislike of supermarkets, and spaces of perceived non-differentiated or banal consumption in general, was espoused by a number of people in relation to the social meaning of British retailer Tesco, and was often picked up upon in relation to discussions of places other than the Ouseburn Valley or the adjacent Shields Road. These orientations are none-the-less conceptually relevant as they are clearly tied to a negative appraisal of 'homogenised' and 'money driven' spaces. Spaces as we have seen that are often directly counter-defined against the Ouseburn Valley.

Interestingly though, although Shields Road has undergone such transformations, at the same time it has also, in recent years undergone a form of "cosmopolitanisation" to use Beck's (2006) term or "actually existing cosmopolitanism" (Cheah and Robbins 1998). We can see that the area now contains a number of establishments that are facing, in their prime orientation, towards newer immigrant and *gastarbeiter* groups in the city:

Figure 8.5 Banal Cosmopolitanism on Shields Road? Top Left: Afro Caribbean beauty; Top Right: African and South American Foodstuffs; Bottom Left: World Foods; Bottom Right: Albaik Lebanese Restaurant – with outdoor seating (Byker Wall in the background). Source: Author.

The above must force us to see how these developments show a form of ironic bifurcation on this particular high street of both standardisation and cosmopolitanisation. It could then be argued, that spaces such as Shields Road, that are seen to be 'becoming standardised' due to large retail development, may in fact be spaces where a mundane yet more interactive form of cosmopolitanism emerges (c.f. Bodaar, 2006); for as we shall see in the next section, the Valley's form of cosmopolitanism, although distinguished by the interviewees from 'superficial' or 'inauthentic' forms of 'Other middle class cosmopolitanism' and the 'non cosmopolitan' white working class Other, appears to be fairly hermetically sealed. This notion of 'banal cosmopolitanism' needs to be treated with caution however, as such developments do not indicate forms of interaction between ethnos, as merely co-location could be present, (see Albrow 1997) and, reactions to the cosmopolitanisation of more working class British areas are not always benign[80] (Ford and Goodwin 2010)

In relation to the perceived loss of identity of the high street, 'Tesco' appeared to stand in as a generic signifier for large supermarket chains dominating various areas of British commercial life and bringing a standardised placelessness to high streets and a dullness to shopping experiences. Hannah, a recent art graduate who was a volunteer at the Trust, in a conversation about Gateshead suggested that she had heard about Gateshead Town Council's ideas in relation to redevelop the high street in the town, and that this involved the development of a large Tesco store:

"when I heard about the plans I thought it was awful…it'll just drive the small independent retailers out"

Independence and individuality here appeared to be important to Hannah, in the same ways in which the aesthetic of the Grainger Market as an example of historically constituted and 'place-meaningful' retail was for Andy S, or 'independent

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[80] This takes us into the discussion of the 'disposessed' or 'threatened' white working class subject, often Identified as an Other for the broader 'cosmopolitan middle class' (Lawler 2005; Young *et al* 2006; Bodaar 2006). This Other will be discussed later on as an important 'mythological figure' acting as a point of counter-identification my respondent group, (particularly in the use of ares of the city for 'leisure') but also for the modern middle class in general.

shops' or the 'fruit shops' were for Pauline and Ronnie respectively. The Tesco's development of Gateshead High Street was also negatively appraised by Andy Slater. He suggested that the local authority in Gateshead had "totally sold out" to the retailer in allowing the supermarket to have a large say in the redevelopment of the high street there. Tesco's and the 'non-place' retail park environment was also negatively appraised by Richard, a photographer who had worked in Byker and the Ouseburn Valley in the 1980s as an arts development officer. When helping Richard with an exhibition of his photographs as part of the Ouseburn Trust's heritage group we began talking about Tain, in the North East of Scotland, where Richard now resides. As I have some knowledge of the area, I also made the observation that Inverness had 'developed' a little in recent years, including the creation of a shopping park on its outskirts. Richard seemed a little perturbed by its mention, stating that:

"I don't really like those sorts of places…They make enough profit already…I try to support the small shops in Tain"

Again, spaces of 'large shops', 'mass consumption' and corporate profitability are negatively appraised in relation to 'locally' (i.e. of *this place and nowhere else*) perceived retailers. And this crucially links in with idea of place-bound community also.

The discussions above, then, give a good outline as to the ways in which the Ouseburn Valley as a place of distinctive vernacular-heritage architecture and green environment is often favourably contrasted with the aesthetics of perceived spaces of massified consumption in Newcastle city centre. It also demonstrates how spaces that are perceived to be 'homogenous' or 'alienable', particularly shopping malls and supermarkets are denigrated due to their lack of individuality, and the functional rather than 'intricate vernacular' aesthetic. The 'place' of the Valley is therefore contrasted with the perception of the 'space' of a dominant and general 'elsewhere' culture.

Although the above discussions display the dominant dislikes for various 'Other' landscapes within the city and centre around critiques of generally modern

and 'post-modern' architectural forms, a few of the interviewees and participants displayed appreciation of certain 'monumental' or seen to be 'unique' forms of modernist design. The Byker Wall a listed social housing development was sometimes seen to be, through its unusual aesthetic and carefully designed form a valid type of social housing development. Andy M commented that the wall was a "fantastically designed estate…that has resulted in a fairly close neighbourhood of people". As a resident of the estate Andy demonstrated considerable knowledge of the design aims of the wall and was even involved in organising tours of the area.

The Byker Wall was also favourably commented on by Hannah, an artist and volunteer at the Trust who commented that: "It's so distinctive, I've lived in flats in Heaton my whole life and they're all the same I'd love to live in the Wall." Here we see how the perception of the Wall as a unique rather than massified form of modernist design grants it an auratic quality that can then be viewed as an aesthetically valid example of architecture. This individual and special nature of the development was also commented on by Colin, a volunteer at the oral history group in the trust, suggesting that the Wall was "better than all of the old slate and brick housing that was there before". This again suggests that the building of the Wall has replaced a massified and banal form of mundane architecture that previously occupied land there.

Andy S, artist at Test House 5 also claimed some appreciation of modernist design, and suggested that he didn't want to "come across as someone who thinks that all architecture from 1960 onwards is awful". Andy claimed that the Civic Centre in Newcastle was a very interesting building. Most interestingly, Andy appreciated the architectural qualities of the now demolished Gateshead town centre car park. This building, an example of brutalism par excellence, with its bare concrete superstructure and functionalist aesthetic was made famous by the 1960s British gangster film *Get Carter* starring Michael Caine. It was locally known as the 'Get Carter Carpark' by many people in Tyneside, and was dominantly seen by many as an unattractive and unsightly example of sixties town planning. Andy displayed an aesthetic-reflexive position towards this building claiming its "monumentality" and "strikingness" as a reason for his appreciation of it.

Andy felt that the carpark had been used as a 'scapegoat' for a more general failure to plan Gateshead town centre along "human lines". Interestingly here, Andy displayed an aesthetic-reflexivity towards the car park in much the same way as Alex had displayed towards the Ouseburn Valley's buildings (see above). Andy suggested that it was perhaps those with particular sensibilities that were able to appreciate "monumental" brutalist forms rather than "maybe a lot of the people of Gateshead and councillors, haven't really got the imagination to appreciate it (laughs)."

These appreciations of mode modern architectural forms are interesting, for although they only appeared in a few of the interviews and at certain times during participant observation they hint at broader aesthetic forms of appreciation on behalf of people occupying and using the Ouseburn Valley. Although modernism and 'planning' is generally derided, we can see here, how a specific aesthetic-reflexive sensibility is employed to validate certain "fantastic" "distinctive" or "monumental" forms of modern architecture. The Byker Wall is validated as it is perceived to, through a 'human scale' allow for "neighbourhood" (Andy M). It is also validated for its distinctiveness and difference from seen to be massified forms of vernacular architecture (Hannah and Colin). The Monumentalism of the Gateshead carpark is also viewed, by Andy Slater as a distinctive architectural form rather than merely a functional carpark. Here we can see how edifices of modernism can, if they are distinctive, and hence expressive of an aura of uniqueness and individuality, and allow for 'community' (or are both) can be validated by people displaying aesthetic-reflexive forms of cultural capital.

| The Byker Wall, adjacent to the Ouseburn Valley. Seen by a number of interviewees as distinctive and socially functioning. (Source: e-architects) | The now demolished Trinity Car Park in Gateshead. A 'Monumental' building. (Source: 'Forest Pines' via flickr. |

Figure 8.6 – Special Modernisms?

The appreciation of such forms could also hint at a further point of sociological interest in relation to gentrification and the sense of 'encroachment' or 'loss' that artist groups and the 'critical' or 'welfare orientated' liberal middle class may have towards the process. Following Caulfield's argument of appropriation and 'cultural diffusion', we can see that, as the 'aesthetic desires' of artists groups and the liberal middle class towards Zukin's "industrial age aesthetic" or "Victoriana" (Jager 1986) become popularised and (following the argument of aura and place) 'desacralised' these groups may look to identify, through a particular display of lesser proliferated cultural capital, an appreciation of forms that were viewed disparagingly by previous incarnations of artist groups and the liberal middle class. This then implicitly hints at

the idea that on the *aesthetic level* (*not* necessarily at the level of the signification of these aethetics) the desires of *avant garde* artist groups and the liberal middle class, of which they comprise, are have become *too similar* (for some of their likings) to other gentrifying groups and sections of the social fabric – most clearly the more general middle class. This nascent revalorisarion of brutalism and forms of modernism then could be an indication that the 'emulatory' process of broader appreciation of the 'industrial gothic', is forming new territories of distinction, for artists and the liberal middle class, tied to reappraisals of the post-war modern.

8.2.2 The Other Middle Class

"gentrification is a useful concept for understanding divisions within the inner urban middle class" (Butler 1997, p53)

Although there may be appreciations of 'monumental modernism', as it disappears from the landscape and thus becomes an object of difference, on behalf of some of the people I have interviewed and interacted with, there is still a general and banal elsewhere that is seen to be 'alienable space' (comprising both 'massified', modern and post-modern architectural forms), and is possibly seen to be inhabited by an ideal type of a non-reflexive working class subject in possession of limited cultural capital. There is also a more spectacular and clearly recognisable type of space critiqued by my respondents. This space can be seen to be the spaces of higher paid members of the new middle class, often working in the private sector or in 'high end professions' linked to finance, property businesses, and law.

In relation to Newcastle upon Tyne the Quayside area, with as will be discussed in a little more detail later, its regenerated waterfront consisting of restaurants, bars, hotels, law courts and condominium development housing was often negatively appraised by my interviewees. Although the process of gentrification in the Valley is discussed in more detail below, there is clearly a negative appraisal by my artists of the aesthetic and meaning of the 'classically' imagined facades and spaces of 'gentrified waterfronts' and more generally 'brownfield condominium developments' found in inner urban areas in abundance across the Western world in later capitalism (see Jauhiainen 1995; Jones 1998 for a specific discussion of waterfront developments in the later 20th century).

Figure 8.7 – Newbuilds. Citipeaks Walker Road   Baltic Quays (when under construction) Gateshead

Like the spaces of the banal everyday disparaged above, these more spectacular and seen-to-be wealthier spaces of urban areas are also seen as anti-auratic by the participants, as they are deemed to contain bland and placeless aesthetics lacking in social meanings and possibilities of non-instrumental interaction for their denizens. Examples of these new build developments can be seen in the

figure below, that shows new builds in both Newcastle and Gateshead and in other cities in Britain

Figure 8.8 Newbuilds in, (clockwise, top left first) : Manchester; Leeds; Sheffield; Liverpool; Glasgow; Birmingham

Source (all photos): findaproperty.com

A collage-vignette again is useful to indicate how I am representing the constructions of these spaces through the words of my interviewees. People and 'spaces' that fall into this more specifically elucidated category are "suits" (Alex), or "solicitors" (Emma) "from the law courts" (Annie) inhabiting "totally different environments" (Emma), and "playing at being cosmopolitan" (Louise). They are seen by Stephanie as living in "bland moneymaking developers crap" or in "new builds [where] there isn't any community" (Andy M), working in buildings that are "Bland, flat, shiny [with] just a lack of character" (Barry) on the Quayside where "a different kind of person" (Annie) is found drinking in "the *Pitcher and Piano*[81]" (Annie), or eating in "posh restaurants" (Judith) in a general environment that has become "a bit over gentrified" (Stephen).

In older, 1980s vocabulary, many of my respondents engaged in a degree of 'yuppie bashing' (Rennie-Short 1996) and a denigration of the aesthetic-habitus, and sometimes moral and political framework, of these perceived lifestyles. Critically, this can be related to the discussion in the literature review around conflicts within the middle class in the processes and meanings of gentrification (Butler 1997; Bridge 2005; Ley 1996; For a slightly different view Redfern 2003). We can clearly see here, an animosity on behalf of my artists towards certain groups of 'higher end' (in terms of economic, not cultural, capital) who may ideologically inhabit very different terrains.

It is the new-build condominium type developments, such as Baltic Quays and Mariner's Wharf, often marketed towards this more professional/managerial/private sector new middle class that are often denigrated. Gateshead Quays (part of the Baltic Quays development in figure 3 above) is described as: "over 200 luxury apartments and penthouse suites [providing] a cosmopolitan residential development all within walking distance to a large choice of modern bars, restaurants and leisure facilities" (Gateshead Quays 2008). This consumption-driven cosmopolitanism, consisting of conspicuous displays of cultural capital and economic expenditure in

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[81] The Pitcher and Piano is a glass and chrome bar, and the most proximous "Quayside Bar" to the Ouseburn Valley. It is part of a UK wide chain enterprise offering 'premium' drinking and eating opportunities – see http://www.pitcherandpiano.com/

"bars and hotels" is explicitly critiqued by a good number of my respondents in the next chapter. Condominium, or new build, housing is also as we saw in the collage-vignette, heavily criticised.

A less reconstructed form of quotation can perhaps illustrate the orientation of many of my working artists to the aesthetic meanings of condominium developments. Stephanie a founder 'settler' artist in the Ouseburn Valley suggested that the property led regeneration of the Quayside area was driven by a 'cynical' developer-mentality:

"At first...it was obviously a bit grim and there were all the old dock sheds down there and so on but I think developers built houses very quickly and very cynically I thought...erm and I mean I think from the point of view of seeing the garages...which there's not enough room to get cars in erm I think y'know just unforgivable in terms of design...and totally cynical in terms of how much has been packed into this high area set opposite the Tyne...and completely y'know relentless and soulless and there was no kind of erm breaking up the residential with other little bits that would have made interest...there's no impression that you ever see anyone hanging out their washing or living real lives and there's nowhere nearby like a little corner shop or that kind of stuff"

Stephanie quite clearly sees a distinction between some of the condominium style developments that have taken place on the eastern Quayside and the heritage-vernacular of the Ouseburn Valley. The 'relentless and soulless' nature of high-cost inner city apartments are denigrated for both their aesthetic sameness "Characterless [developments from] big large-scale developers", and also due to the fact that they are not made for "real lives" (i.e. necessities of parking and hanging out washing). There is little space for interaction or the building of non-instrumental relationships – community in other words. The difference between the eastern Quayside and the Ouseburn Valley was emphasised in relation to the aesthetic sensibilities of "soulless and bland" vs the heritage vernacular and the "different" more clearly when I asked Stephanie more specifically about the differences she sees between the eastern Quayside and the Ouseburn Valley:

"JW: You mentioned character. Would you say there's a difference in terms of the architecture between here [the Ouseburn Valley] and there [the Quayside]?

S: well there obviously is and I think y'know in a way if they'd preserved as much as they could and build some exciting new stuff but mix it in with what people are valuing with what's gone…I mean the industrial heritage here is fascinating and people start talking about what used to be there five or ten years ago…and if only the council had had the vision to turn the old toffee factory [Maynards toffee factory] into something exciting but keep as much of it [as possible] and mix it in with exciting new architecture rather than…private flats…bland developers moneymaking crap"

We can see therefore the preference for distinctive vernacular architectures, relating more to the 'humanist-intellectual', or state-welfare-employed new middle class, (Ley 1996; Butler 1997), being played out against new-build 'yuppie flats' as a series of rhetorical distinctions in present day Newcastle, with my interviewees often castigating the aesthetic preferences of the latter perceived social grouping, and affirming their affiliation for the former. This clearly demonstrates how in Newcastle upon Tyne an 'intra class war' between fragments of the new middle class and possessions or not of certain cultural capitals becomes displayed through place aesthetics and their deeper significations (c.f. Butler 1997; Bridge 2005). As we discussed previously, these denigrations of these particular aesthetics can be viewed as a form of territoriality that bears great similarity to other forms of territoriality displayed in behaviours of varied social groupings in urban environments (Badcock 2002; Knox and Pinch 2012; Raban 1974; Bridge and Watson 2011). It can be argued at the deeper anthropological level that the significations of the environments then are related to the idea of 'proxy' or 'fetish' in terms of being signifiers for a group's identity and sense of control over territory.

Figure 8.9 The newbuild aesthetic of Citipeaks Apartments and the victoriana of the Free Trade Inn vie for 'pride of place' at the Valley's south east edge. Source: Author

Interestingly there was little direct discussion of the 'traditionally imagined suburb' as a bastion of the 'old' middle class in my interviews. The suburb is often seen in gentrification research as the major spatio-cultural push factor for many idealistic 'first-wave' marginal' or 'sweat equity' inner urban settlers including artists and welfare concerned members of the middle class (cf Caulfield 1989; Ley 1996; Butler 1997). Although 'Annie' made disparaging comments about Ponteland (a middle class suburb of Newcastle), as we have seen above, much of the discussions of counter-identification within the middle class was focussed on the most geographically proximous, and status-competitive (through economic not social capitals) group. Perhaps this suggests, as the quote from Butler at the beginning of this section suggests, that divisions between segments of the middle class are now as prominent in the place meanings of the inner city as they are between the various socially constructed connotations of 'suburb' and 'city'.

8.3 The Spectre of Gentrification?

When local author Stephen Laws used the Ouseburn Valley as a backdrop to some of his book *Spectre* in 1986 it was the "industrial gothic" of the Valley's post-industrial decay, experienced during his own childhood that inspired the ghostly nature of the narrative. However in 2011 we can ask if another spectre is haunting the Ouseburn Valley – that of changing place and possible displacement through gentrification. As suggested in the literature review, and as intimated in the discussion of the development of the Ouseburn Valley itself, we can view the land that makes up the area as having being once economically and culturally devalued but in the present day, and indeed for over a decade now, encountering greater demand and popularity. This demand and popularity has emanated from a number of sources including the opening of new or revamped facilities in the area, new pubs and an increasing focus on the area as a 'creative hub' for the rest of Newcastle upon Tyne.

In relation to some of the changes mentioned above, we have seen how many of my interviewees and people interacted with through participant observation still value the distinctive aesthetic of the industrial-age architecture of the Valley and also its greenery and possibilities to interact with 'natural' forms of the environment. Some changes in the Valley are welcomed by many of my interviewees, such as the opening of the Cluny Bar, the preservation and restoration efforts of the Ouseburn Trust, and the expansion of the Stepney Bank Stables. As will be discussed in the next chapter, one of the Valley's iconic pubs – The Cumberland Arms – is also seen to have been effectively maintained and changed for the better (but not too much) under its new stewardship.

In relation to architecture and landscape, we have seen how identifications between my interviewees and the "industrial gothic" can in some ways be seen to consist of a specific *auratic* orientation of a 'taste public' that has a specific appreciation of particular architectural forms and landscapes. These forms and landscapes contain deeper significations of 'place' and 'community' and are seen to exist in opposition to a massified landscape found elsewhere, and a 'yuppified' landscape found in a specific portion of the city's regenerated, or gentrified,

waterfront. In short then, many of my interviewees and participants do value the Ouseburn Valley in the present moment as a place that offers senses of creative community and distinction.

However, as I intimated to in the methodology section, many of my interviews inevitably began to concentrate around issues of change in the Ouseburn Valley, and this often incorporated a number of themes that were often viewed ambivalently or negatively by my interviewees. My simple question of "do you think the Ouseburn Valley has changed in recent years?", which came a more important question after the initial interviews, often threw up a number of consistent concerns in my interviewees that related to a number of identifiable areas of change which were then explored further. These areas, to be discussed as perceptions of a process of gentrification, allow us to view how the changing Valley is seen, through, as was discussed in the literature review 'first wave' or 'marginal' gentrifier's eyes. In essence we can see how the de-marginalising of the Valley as a 'counterspace' of creative 'counterculture' is viewed by my working artists.

To reach the above level of analysis, we need to first interrogate some of the meanings of the Ouseburn Valley in its earlier days as a creative outpost to my interviewees. It is then perhaps best to discuss and analyse these changes thematically, and the codification of my data has reached a point of two major themes of 'change' in the Valley that appear important to my artists. They can be seen as the two interlinked processes of regulation, mainly relating to greater and closer governance by the local authority, and commercialisation, involving the branding and promotion of the area by the local authority, and the activities of private property developers.

8.3.1 Regulation and Commercialisation

In a conversation with Jackie, a filmmaker and community activist in the Valley, and wider Newcastle area, she suggested to me that the Ouseburn Valley was something of a "secret garden". Similarly, Neil, a photographer and heritage volunteer at the trust suggested that "The fact that no-one knows about it is part of its charm". Although the Ouseburn Valley may adopt a lower profile than other areas of

the city, and may be even unknown to people who have lived in Newcastle their whole lives (as I have found on explaining my research to people on occasion), the Valley is seen by all of my interviewees and nearly all of my participants to have become much more visible in recent years. Even at the turn of the millennium, the Valley was seen as "much more underground" and "under the radar" by Emma and Paul respectively, both of who are working artists at 36 Lime Street.

In relation to this chronology, and as stated in the previous section, many of my artists have a longer than ten year association with the Ouseburn Valley. This may be through being an initial 'settler artist' or through being involved in the Valley as a creative area but not necessarily, until a little later, working there. This timeframe is important as we have seen in the case study description section, that in the last ten or so years, since the turn of the millennium, there have been many developments within the Valley. Many reminiscences of the earlier days of the Valley as a creative centre often focussed on its dilapidation and neglect – partially, of course, manifest in the 'industrial gothic' or romantic-follyesque nature of its (then) less polished industrial-age edifice. The Valley in the 1990s was described by Andy M as a "marginal space" with more "freedoms" than at present and it is the encroachment of bureaucratic regulation as well as property development for a more "affluent class" (Giles) that is seen to be the main driver of place-change in the Valley.

The signification of the industrial heritage aesthetic as we have seen, expresses difference from the popular commerce and leisure activities of the city centre, and the glass and chrome environments of the 'spectacular' Quayside. However, in the past this industry-age aesthetic, in a more dilapidated form, and in a more ignored and run-down general environment also spoke of an undisciplined, unobserved and 'liberating' counter-space - one may have been surrounded by junk but one was free to 'play' within in it. Stephanie, a founding settler artist in the Valley suggested that in the mid to late 1980s:

"[I]t was an incredibly different place then to how it is now…it was a kind of fairly derelict area and nobody else lived here and you were regarded with 'bloody hell you live down there?! That's daring!!'…y'know regularly there were fires, cars burned out and a lot of sort of underworld stuff going

on…there were err a lot of characters and I sort of say all that but it wasn't all that bad 'cos there was a kind of richness to that which I am actually quite drawn to – it was also very cheap."

Here we can see Stephanie suggesting that it was the 'underworld' ambiance and marginality of the Valley as an undisciplined and unregulated space of "quite a lot of criminal activity" (further quote from Stephanie) that was in many ways attractive to her as a cultural signifier of alterity. Here we see clear echoes of 'marginal gentrifiers' desires to be immersed in a form of 'authentic' urban experience (Caulfield 1989; Ley 1996), and there are also clear parallels to constructions of 'Beat' urbanity here, through valorisations of the criminal underworld – although viewed at a distance.

This opposition to the (presumably) more ordered spaces of the urban environment found elsewhere is, like the architectural styles discussed previously seen as a point of character and richness, and further supports Ley's (2003) idea (following Walter Benjamin), of certain (critical) artists abilities to 're-frame junk' as a valid aesthetic form. Stephanie also suggests that this sense of alterity previously found in the Valley has subsequently been lost as the Valley has hence become "incredibly different". The attraction of Stephanie towards urban 'disorder' is also very similar to to the critiques of the ordering of urban spaces – seen to emanate from critical creative countercultures - that were discussed in the literature section. As well as the attraction to the unregulated cultural marginality of the Valley in the mid 1980s we can also see the more prosaic necessity of the area offering cheap workspace to Stephanie.

The decayed sense of place of the Ouseburn Valley in the 1980s was also commented on by Margaret, an artist at 36 Lime Street with an association and knowledge of the Valley to match Stephanie's. Margaret commented that in the mid 1980s, around the time when the Valley's first creatives settled in the area:

"it was very derelict down here, underused - I think there was a pub and a transport company…a lot of very derelict buildings"

Further to this description of the dereliction, Margaret suggested that even before the mid 1980s, when she was an arts student, this dereliction was attractive in its marginality as:

"one was always on the lookout for erm different more exciting areas than mainstream areas"

The ambience of the Valley as a place that exuded difference from the elsewhere was also commented upon by Giles who, as a student in the city in the 1980s, would frequent the area. Giles, who would eventually become the Arts Development Officer for Newcastle East, suggested that the Valley, in the late 1980s and early 1990s had an appeal to him and his friends during this period due to its marginality:

"erm I've been aware of the Ouseburn Valley as a place of creativity since I was a student back in the erm 1980s…it used to be a place where I would go with my creative cultural friends…'cos it was a slightly er different part of the city and it was nice 'cos it was a mixture of undeveloped car traders, local people and you got a sense of it being in almost a little time warp…'cos the Cluny wasn't there it was just the Ship [Inn] and there were artists beginning to move in and it was very er I suppose a bit scruffy but quite nice none the less [and] I'm a sort of creative person and it was very different to the rest of the city at the time…and it was attractive in its sort of slight decayedness"

Giles here clearly valued the "slight decayedness" of the Valley as it began to become populated with pioneer artists. He also clearly signifies that it was a specific group of people "cultural creatives" that were drawn to the marginality of the Valley during this period as it offered a distinctive ambience and opportunity for creative working and self-expression in a less regulated and 'ignored' space that was different to other areas of Newcastle. Giles' view is that the "quirkiness" and "decayedness" of the Valley became especially valued as the adjacent Quayside area of Newcastle, and other areas of the city, were being subject to consumption-driven regeneration agendas, including a 'new-build' aesthetic.

These views of the Valley as an interesting landscape full of richness and quirkiness are in themselves interesting, and of analytical importance when we are trying to ascertain how different or not the working artists in my study are from other gentrifying groups. We can see here for example that the respondents display a form of aesthetic-reflexivity in viewing the Valley, at least partly, as an aesthetic

landscape, in a similar way to how Alex, in the previous section views the Valley as full of special qualities. This form of aesthetic reflexive attachment to place clearly resonates with other, broader practices and mindsets of the wider middle class as discussed by Szerszynski and Urry (2006), and Butler (1997; 2003) in relation to how the broader metropolitan middle classes relate to social landscapes at an aesthetic level as signifiers of 'cosmopolitanism' and 'diversity', without necessarily engaging with Other communities at the interpersonal level. This "cognitive-aesthetic-reflexivity" (Lash and Urry 1995), is of course one of the core dispositions of what Lash and Urry identify as central to the skills sets and broader 'ways of being' of the knowledge worker in post-modern Capitalism, and as such points to the fact that 'artistic ways of being' (i.e. high degrees of sensitivity to aesthetics and their significations), is a broader mode of being in the contemporary Western world.

Figure 8.10: The Industrial Gothic. The "quirkiness and decayedness" of the Valley's industrial-age aesthetic is still evident. The stains of industry mark the stone and brick of wall and building here off Foundry Lane. An exotic example of the "Industrial Gothic", this, in its intricacy and historicity is seen to differentiate the Valley as 'place' from the 'smooth' edifices – what Giles described as "New Shineys" – found in the "generica" (Barry) of the elsewhere. Appreciation of such edifices also points to the high degree of 'aesthetic-reflexivity' of respondents. Source: Author.

Returning from this broader critical point to Giles' specific critique of 'bland' cityscapes we can see that the consumption driven regeneration agenda in the city

saw the development of Newcastle's Quayside from a derelict and redundant quay into a site of 'spectacular' nightlife (Chatterton and Hollands 2001) under the broader remit of the TWDC[82], the region's UDC[83] (Byrne 2000). This development reflected and encouraged the shift from the region's traditional economic role in extraction, heavy industry and manufacture towards consumption orientated services (Robinson 1988; TWDC 1998), and the Quayside area, designated as a development zone, within the Thatcher government's UDC ideology of property led development (see Imrie and Thomas 2000), saw a boom in condominiums, restaurants, cultural and tourism facilities (Wilkinson 1992).

The aim of this process was the 'boosterish' regenerative holy trinity of residential attraction/retention, image building and tourism receipts (ibid), in an 'entrepreneurial' (Harvey 1989b) bid to stimulate both inward investment and greater fiscal revenue, in an age of footloose global capital (ibid; Harris 1997). It was this period that saw the initial creation of a community voice in the Valley, the East Quayside Group, aimed at stopping the encroachment of a regeneration/ 'condominium-gentrification' aesthetic into the area from the adjacent Quayside, and the Valley's first heritage and preservation group. Part of the East Quayside Group would eventually form the Ouseburn Trust.

The "scruffy" nature of the Valley in the past and its attractiveness due to dereliction was also commented upon by two working artists who have associations with the Valley from the early to mid 1990s. Stephen suggested that the Valley during this period:

"S:…was scruffy it was erm as you came down Tanner's [Stepney] Bank there was lots of erm second hand car dealers and beaten corrugated iron sheeting and it was great. Erm under the arches there were a number of breakers yard types of things and then quite a bit of dereliction I suppose. JW: Yeah…was that something that you aesthetically liked or disliked?

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[82] TWDC was the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation a quasi autonomous government development agency tasked with regenerating specific areas of the urban fabric in the Tyneside and Wearside areas. It ran from 1987 to 1998 and its main raison d'etre was to encourage private sector investment in its designated areas of development.
[83] UDCs were Urban Development Corporations, and implemented the Thatcher government's property-led regeneration agenda in dilapidated (post-industrial) areas of English and Welsh cities. See Imrie, R. & Thomas, H. (1999).

S: well I'm a bit nostalgic for some of that 'cos I don't want the place to become too gentrified really and I have a fear of that and other artists do as well"

The loss of such an aesthetic, for Stephen, clearly heralds the emergence of a process of gentrification, a process he clearly associates with other areas of the city and massification or the loss of auratic place. In relation to the fear of the Valley becoming 'placeless' and the expansion of drinking facilities in the Valley, that will be discussed in more detail in relation to a form of place-bound creative cosmopolitan community in the next chapter Stephen suggested:

"Some of us have raised objections to some of the development – I mean I certainly think the Cluny's a good pub and the Cumberland etc but we don't want swamping with wine bars 'cos it just gets like anywhere else"

The presence of breakers yards and scrap dealers was also, for more functional reasons, valued by Andy M, whose association with the Valley dates back to 1993. Andy as a metal-working artist viewed the Valley as a "marginal space" (quote from Andy) in the past, and with the availability of scrap metal, there had been ample resources for his work. The disappearance of such breakers yards and car dealerships / garages, for Andy has been part of a steady process of change that he himself, like Stephen, described as gentrification:

"erm the studio I was in was obviously at very good rates…and because there was a scrapyard next door then I started using scrap metal…and now there's only one scrapyard left and all of the breakers yards have shut because er gentrification occurred"

This comment by Andy, and the suggestion within the other quotes above that the Ouseburn Valley, in the past was populated by a larger proportion of garages, breakers yards and scrap dealers appears to suggest that there, indeed, has been displacement of such industries and ventures in the Valley in recent years. Although many such businesses still occupy areas of the Valley, particularly in the Foundry Lane Industrial Estate, a portion of the Valley conspicuous by its clear lack of the 'industrial gothic' and preponderance of 'non-creative' ventures, displacement is also hinted at by the Ouseburn Trust (2008), and could support literatures (Zukin 1989; Curran 2007) that suggest small scale industry and service ventures often come into

conflict with artists in the property market as both are often interested in renting similar sized work-spaces. However, it is unclear in the Ouseburn Valley if it is merely artists workspaces that may have lead to such displacement, as the overall development of the Valley and its landscaping in recent years had also more generally contributed to land-use change.

Although the displacement of the types of industries, garages and dealerships mentioned above have undoubtedly taken place in the Valley in recent years, it is unfortunately not within the scope of the present study to discuss such displacements in much detail as there is limited information available of specific instances of such movements. This is of course due to the fact that it is working artists, and not scrap-dealers, or garage ventures that have formed the focus of this research in the Valley. Other interviewees support this view however, with Emma suggesting that the Valley was "more industrial" even ten years ago (Emma meant there were more working garages and breakers), and Phil, a community activist and church worker suggesting that the Valley was becoming more popular amongst different groups of middle class consumers as "they like it when the smoke has gone"[84].

We have then seen, that the Valley is viewed, by many of my interviewees as having, in the past been a place of great dilapidation and decay. This aesthetic, whilst still present in some areas is seen to be much less prominent than it was in the past. The 'Industrial Gothic' still remains but this may be of a more polished nature due to the work of the Ouseburn Trust discussed above in relation to the Canvass Works, and due to the preservation efforts of individual businesses (such as in the unusual example of the Northern Print's interior and its toilet).

This heritage aesthetic is also valued in relation to the interior of many of the Valley's pubs – and will be discussed in relation to the Cumberland Arms in the next chapter. These preservation and heritage efforts can be viewed as relating to the general valuing of the industrial gothic by creative workers who want to inhabit such

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[84] By this Phil meant that the Valley was more appealing to some now it had become generally cleaner. Breakers yards and garage works do not, of course, produce much literal smoke.

vernacular edifices as workspaces, as they signify placeness and distinction from a seen-to-be 'anti-auratic generica' found elsewhere. Significantly though it can be argued that this aesthetic forms part of the 'symbolic economy' of the Valley, with many businesses, especially in the 'leisure sector' being well aware of the appeal of such 'authentic' interiors and exteriors to a broader 'taste public' – a clientele drawn from the broader liberal middle class, that similarly values placeness and distinction of the vernacular.

To many of my interviewees however, the decayedness of the Valley in its earlier years as an 'artists colony' held significations of the broader possibilities of a creative community in more or less unregulated space. Being able to work cooperatively, as part of a semi-autonomous creative community, as was illustrated earlier, is important to many of my interviewees. The possibilities of doing this and belonging to a gesselschaft or mechanical form of social organisation where bonds are strong and based on personal relationships of mutual interest rather than instrumental necessities was often seen to have been more possible in the past, rather than in the present, where for Andy M at least "the machine has taken over[85]".

This is important as it demonstrates the perceived effects of the Valley's increased profile and the concomitant regulations and commercial speculations wrought by local government interest and property development on the social fabric of the area. This and the increasing popularity of the Valley's facilities and pubs by the more general population[86], has for a number of my artists had certain effects. One of these effects is the loss of, or lessening of, an autonomous sense of community, where things could be done without deference to bureaucratic regulations or outside bodies – this sense of regulation is seen to have increased in

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[85] This statement was never totally clarified by Andy but in the context of the interview I have read it to mean the process of local government promotion, development and branding of the Valley aligned with property development and speculation. In short the related processes of regulation and commercialisation found within the wider gentrification phenomenon.
[86] A classic example of this is the review of the Valley's pubs in an aspirational property magazine *Collection* (Summer 2010) published by Sanderson and Young Estate Agents. The Valley is described as a "lively urban quarter [that has] grasped the word individuality". The function of such an article in such a publication is presumably to sell the 'lifestyle ambience' of the Valley to both property developers (signifying its possibilities) and broader middle class consumers alike.

recent years. Stephanie, an important 'founder' of the Valley's artistic community suggested that in the 'old days':

"There was a lot of anarchic quite creative stuff going on [with] people taking risks and doing things themselves and [the spirit] at that time was in terms of a lot of cooperation and idealism [and it was] very different to how things are now – an entirely different kind of mindset for what kind of motivated people"

Stephanie suggested that there was a "political" orientation to the artists' collective in the Valley in the early days. This was aimed at a communitarianism of creative workers that sought to exist outside of dependence upon the state or other bodies in terms of "grant aid" – in other words there was a movement towards an autonomous creative community:

"[we wanted a place] independent of say grant aid 'cos with grant aid you were always dependent on that and if you got that cut you were stumped…so it was to try to remove yourself from that a bit and provide other cheap workspace for other people like ourselves who also wanted to put in effort to make a good place that was cooperative that was cooperatively run with a vision which was about creativity and all of those things and it was set up in a very idealistic fashion…there was a great generosity of spirit which was fantastic at the time"

Although Alex suggested that there was still a "social politics in the Valley…about artistic values and people lending a hand" for a number of my respondents with perhaps longer associations with the area than Alex, this communitarian and self reliant ethic was, as Stephanie suggests above, clearly more evident in the past. Andy M suggests that there was a "make and mend do" attitude in the Valley in the early to mid 1990s, and that the Valley's artistic community was "more resourceful [with] informal networks rather than organisational structures". Emma similarly suggested that even at the turn of the millennium, the Valley had a greater degree of these qualities "the DIY spirit" (Emma), allowing for fire settings - also commented on by Giles and Ronnie as an activity of the past "that wouldn't be allowed now" (Ronnie) - at summer solstice as well as warehouse parties in empty buildings.

There was also a perception of a greater spontaneity at the Ouseburn Festival in the past with Emma suggesting that people brought their own sound systems (a

factor of the festival I can also remember when attending it a couple of times in my late teens). Andy recounted a time when for him the Ouseburn Festival, which still runs yearly in July, involved "painting a bus" and turning an old car of his into a garden and allowing a graffiti artist to create an art work on its bodywork. For Andy, the spontaneity of this activity is revealed by his description of this event as something that he and a few others simply "ended up doing" one day. The festival in the mid/late nineties for Andy clearly had an auratic property, where spontaneous self-expressive activity was more possible, and was mainly concerned with "people who lived in the Ouseburn [and] meaningful grassroots development".

Emma succinctly summarised the link between the aesthetics of decay found to a greater degree in the Valley's past and the freedoms of sensibility and non-regulation that these aesthetics conferred:

"before it was quite derelict so you could do stuff…erm around the nineties and early naughties it was a lot more like DIY style…and there used to be wood barbecues under the trees and I dunno if you'd be able to get away with that now…at first it was really underground…it just felt like you could do anything you know…and I haven't felt that for ages you know"

The sense of freedom and being able to collectively inscribe place-meanings onto the Valley in relation to a relatively small and relatively autonomous group of artists through the practices described above is seen to have been lessened in recent years. This lessening of spontaneous freedoms has arguably occurred in the Ouseburn Valley against the canvass of a number of 'global' trends.

These can broadly be related to the real growth in the "aesthetic-reflexive worker" in later capitalist Western economies, often inhabiting clustered nexuses of 'creativity' to facilitate flexible project working. This growth of creative workers in the Ouseburn Valley is seen to have brought pressures on space, as well as bringing in more "business orientated" members of 'the creative class' to the area (what Stephanie describes above as a group of creatives with "a different kind of mindset" and who Giles described as "more commercially orientated"). It is also related to the increasing importance placed on this 'creative economy' by local political actors as a new regeneration mantra. A number of my interviewees have commented on the place-marketing of the Valley as both a leisure centre and as a 'creative hub'. There

is often ambivalence about these changes as a good number of my artists recognised that the popularity and promotion of the area had led to some environmental improvements (such as the removal of toxic substances) and also the possibility of more work with broader networks emerging.

As well as the growth of importance of areas of creative-production, places such as the Ouseburn Valley with a bohemian 'inner city' ambience appeal to broader sections of the middle class (as places of both residence and leisure) due to the 'diffusion of desire' (Caulfield 1989), for putatively 'distinctive' or 'unique' forms of class-bound lifestyle. Inner urban lifestyles as we saw in the literature review can be viewed as a land-based version of transmissions from cultural to economic capitals as well as appealing to demographic and work-distance rationalities of younger professionals. Denigrated space can become revalorised by artists and members of the liberal middle class – who often hold the artist and his/her lifestyle in high esteem. Once 'cleansed' and 'safened' such space is then 'opened up' to perhaps wealthier but more conservative social groupings.

It is through such transmissions that many consumption side theorists (Williams 1986; Caulfield 1989; Ley 1996; 2003; Butler 1997; Bridge 2006) describe a classic stage-model of gentrification. However in the 'real world' gentrification is a messy process with different groups often still co-inhabiting gentrifying spaces (Lees et al 2008; Rose 1984; Bounds and Morris 2006). Indeed it is in these contacts between different uses and meanings of space by different groups of people that conflict arises. The increasing popularity of the Valley as a place of both cultural production and consumption however, has for many of my artists had negative or ambivalent consequences. Alex commented:

"err personally I'm probably holding quite strong opinions but I feel like in the last year there's been more offices opening – more office space in the Ouseburn and I feel like the increase in people wearing suits has really lowered the tone"

This "increase in people wearing suits", and their symbolic representations of a more regulated and commercialised 'outside world' encroaching into the (previously to a greater degree) seen to be marginal and 'countercultural-creative'

place of the Valley as commented on by Alex found expression in different ways by some of my other respondents. Maggie commented that, in terms of places where artists have originally 'settled', "things get over developed, prices go up, the quality goes down [and] artists want to sort of unconsciously move away from these places and not be part of the mainstream". Here we again see the desire for 'auratic place' over 'mainstreamed spaces' with concomitant connotations of blandness, regulation and commercialisation.

Stephanie, although valuing some of the developments in the Valley in terms of the removal of toxic wastes and other hangovers from its industrial past also saw the Valley as becoming more regulated and commercialised: "all the bureaucracy that goes with it…[related to local authority interest in the area] limits people from doing things off their own back". Stephanie also commented on a building that had been built by a friend and then sold to a second party "who just intended to have it for an investment and just sat on it for years…and I think now that everything's just become more and more formalised, there's less room…and also all of the space is spoken for and all of the prices have gone up".

Stephanie then draws a clear link between greater interest in the Valley and both local authority regulation and commercial speculation, as pressure for space drives up prices in the previously marginalized and de-valorised urban space of the Valley. Andy also commented on the general move towards greater regulation in the Valley, ironically, citing the designation of the area as a conservation area in 2003 as one of the main reasons for this greater regulation and bureaucratic involvement in the Valley. Andy suggested that, the "make and mend do" of the Valley and 'mechanical solidarities' of earlier groups of artists and heritage volunteers had given way to deference to "organisational structures". Andy suggests that "you can't just clagg a fence together with some old pallets…you've got to then apply for money and then jump through hoops". Here we see the ironic process whereby heritage impulses and the desire to preserve 'place' and vernacular architectures on the one hand (the very aesthetics valued by many of my working artists) eventually become linked to regulatory and bureaucratic structures (the very structures putatively

opposed by many of my artists) through the incorporation of such agendas into the policy schemas of the local state.

In relation to commercialisation as well as regulation, Emma suggested, with a sense of exaggeration and irony, that the Valley was "all about money now", and for her this was linked to both the rise of the 'creative economy' and the desirability of the Valley as a leisure space (both discussed above) in terms of "countless new creative industries [and] a lot of council development and development for tourism and visitors". This nexus of leisure and creative industry growth with the council as conduit of the facilitation of both processes was seen by Emma to have had effects on prices in the Valley with rising costs of studio rentals. This focus on the area by the local authority and developers also wrought greater limitation on spontaneous and creative activities "We've had to become much more regulated and I just think it's a sign of the times with health and safety and other things".

The growth of the Valley as a tourist and leisure resource has been heralded as a great success by the local authority (with some 400,000 'visitors' seen to have 'used' the area in 2010) but for some respondents the increasing popularity of the area challenges the auratic place meanings that the artistic community holds towards the area. Alex commented that "there's this sort of beer garden mentality [appearing] and y'know it's all the excesses of consumerism…you get an influx of people who don't share anything of the cultural identity of the Valley"[87]. This invasion by 'Others' clearly heralds a dilution of place-meaning for Alex, as the Valley's pubs, in his mind, are now being increasingly used by people who maybe have differing values to his own – in the sphere of leisure this can be seen as an example of 'cultural diffusion' (Caulfield 1989), and the conflicts over the meanings of places that this can engender. As we shall see in the next chapter, however the Valley's pubs and one or two in particular are seen to hold onto the auratic properties of place very firmly.

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[87] Alex here was referring to 'the green' or 'village square' a section of grass in the centre of the Valley that separates the Cluny from the Ship Inn and is adjacent to 36 Lime Street Studios.

At the Ouseburn Community Forum in October of 2009, this issue also raised its head, and the discussion interestingly centred around the idea put forward by one of the Valley's creative workers 'Kerry' who suggested that the area had increasingly become "a place for visitors with less attention to local users". At the same meeting, Giles (who was speaking as the arts development officer) suggested how this popularity of the Valley may have in fact contributed to its loss of aura, suggesting that in some ways the Valley may have "been nicer when it was more exclusive and used by less people", a hint that the Valley was more of a "secret garden" in the past than it was now.

On a similar topic, it was clear to many of my respondents that the Ouseburn Festival, discussed above as a 'community festival' in the 'old days' with acts of spontaneous activity and (allegedly) non commercial interest had become increasingly business orientated and regulated. Andy M commented that the festival was essentially now run for licensees in the Valley's pubs:

"I've not been down there in years when the festival's been on and I've ended up calling it the "Boozeburn Festival!…'cos it's for the benefit of the license trade so there's a huge amount of drunk people turning over a huge amount and it all just becomes like on earg!…odious!…odious!…eargh…piece of shite!"

This sense of the commercialisation of a once much lesser known and auratic event to artists and 'counterculturalists' also brings its own forms of regulation. The festival, and the earlier solstice celebrations, once a site of brought-along sound systems, off-licence alcohol, fire settings, and "jugglers and fire eaters" (Emma) is seen to have been subject to the gaze of the local authority in terms of the observance of health and safety regulations, parking constraints and the inclusion of stewarding to ensure the policing of 'deviant' behaviours. For Andy, the Ouseburn Festival now signifies commercial interest on behalf of local licensees (and indeed the festival committee meetings that I attended a number of times in the summer of 2009 were often made up mainly of people from the area's pubs and business interests). For a number of participants at the Ouseburn community forum in October of 2009, the promotion of the Valley and its festival to wider groups of users has signified a "taming" of the area, and as such is seen, as we have viewed above,

viewed as an agent of the increasing popularity of the Valley, the growth of a "beer garden mentaility" the "boozeburn festival" and the general increase of leisure users and visitors of the area.

As well as the increased popularity of the Valley amongst leisure users, a number of my interviews also commented on the effects of the Valley being promoted as a creative hub, and the idea that this promotion and the influx of "countless creative industries" (Emma) into the Valley has changed its character. These ideas often related to the perception that the newer 'creative industries' in the area were more business orientated that the initial settler artists and the 'individually creative' or more purely 'self-expressive' artists that I interviewed who were often involved in the production of (auratic) works of art by hand for market sale rather than working on commission for larger organisations or companies. These orientations are important as they hint at divisions *within* the putative 'creative class' (Florida 2002) in the Valley, and suggest that many of my working artists, in terms of their desire for creative community, welfare uses of the arts and the production of auratic objects and desire for place meaning (with specific aesthetic signifiers), may in fact (following Markusen 2006) form a 'special' and quite distinct segment of the (too generally) prescribed creative class. In short it is their often critical orientations to life and art (interpreting discourses and practices from bohemian and countercultural inheritances), that are used as points of distance and sometimes counter-identification with other creative workers – seen to be closer to the 'ethical' centre of (to use Alex's words again) "outer world" society, and again for Alex people who are more likely to wear suits.

This is of course by no means a clear and fast counter-distinction, but in relation to this sense of distinction within this 'creative class' Giles commented on the development of the Valley in recent years suggesting that:

"Erm [In recent Years] a different…tier of creative workers have moved in and they're more err I suppose economically savvy…[They are] not necessarily artists that want to change the world…[they are] more commercially orientated"

The Valley as a centre of creative industry has, as we have seen in the literature review, heavily promoted by the local authority in recent years. The Valley now boasts over 400 creative businesses, and the local authority, through promotion and development can be in some ways seen to have, through public art and the branding of the area as a leisure/heritage nexus, embraced Zukin's (1989) 'artistic mode of production' to signify a post-industrial area ripe for property development and the knowledge and creative economies.

The incorporation of the Valley into 'post-modern' growth objectives, where intellectual property right (through creative industry development), the experience economy (through leisure and heritage), and the economy of symbolic distinctions (through the production and consumption of bespoke artworks) all meet, has meant greater local authority promotion of the area as a 'creative hub' for the wider city and the North East Region. As the above factors have been seen to be key to economic growth in later capitalism, it is logical that the local authority have become much more observant of this 'creative space', and as such, over the last ten to fifteen years, the Valley has been enveloped by policy objective linked to growth in these areas.

For a number of my interviewees, with longer associations with the Valley and perhaps critical/communitarian leanings this has meant a number of things. Andy M commented on the changing nature of the Valley as a place where people work. He suggested that certain interests who were keen on developing the creative industries in the Valley wanted to "remove people who make dirty things and bring in clean things such as web designers, advertisers and photographers". He ironically suggested that for his metalworking art this was detrimental, as "I might want to call on the services of an advertiser or an IT specialist but in terms of raw materials it's diminished". For Stephanie, the new kinds of creative workers inhabiting the Valley exhibit a "totally different mindset" to many of the 'individual artists' inhabiting the Valley including some of the early settlers, and Giles further commented that the types of creatives moving into the area "are less idealistic and more like small businesses".

For Andy M, the growth of the Valley as a centre of creative and knowledge working has been encouraged by a local authority hell-bent on the signifying power of the artistic mode of production. For Andy, the attempt to inscribe creativity onto the landscape of the Valley, and to consign the garages, breakers yards and light industries in the area to a reified 'dead mode of production', a relic of a dirty (and low-growth potential) past, has led to the Valley being burdened by what he described as "cultural clutter". The volume of sculpture, aesthetically infused public facilities (such as the benches on the green), and heritage-leisure-tourism linked trails and "markers", for Andy are part of a "promotion" of the Valley, a schizophrenic assemblage of items that may mean little apart from uttering the statement to potential investors, residents and businesses that 'this place is 'creative'' and that it is 'a place to be'. For another participant, a representative of the Stepney Bank Stables and Riding School, the regeneration of the area under a residential and creative industry led mantra created the possibility of a loss of green space in the Valley – a fear that was also related to the creation of the barrage in terms of stilling the water and, for Alex and Emma bringing the possibilities of higher cost housing into the Valley to the detriment of the 'natural' environment.

The inscription of the Valley as 'creative' through the use of public art is only one part of the area's re-branding however, and at the level of more abstract or represented space rather than the actual physical experienced environment the area has also seen changes. Recent ward changes have seen the area become separated as an administrative boundary from Byker, to which it was traditionally (in both bureaucratic/administrative and social space) attached and incorporated into a new ward called 'Ouseburn'. These ward changes have placed the Valley more solidly within a middle class constituency, and have made the Valley symbolically central to this wider ward - with 'The Ouseburn' in common use in Newcastle usually simply signifies the lower Valley.

Ward changes have made the task of rebranding the Valley as a creative centre easier, and the local authority, as we saw in the literature review, has, since 2007, promoted the area as a 'creative hub' for the city. Giles suggested that the Valley had to be aware of which way it was 'facing' as it developed as pushing the

Valley in such a direction and incorporating such signifiers in its promotion could end up making the Valley appeal to a more middle class rather than working class habitus:

"there are new cafes and more flats have been built to one side of the Valley and the Byker Wall sits to the other side of the Valley…so you've got this conflict of a new community who are perhaps professional who exploit things like the Centre for the Children's Book which is a kind of middle class destination…and it can push people who are less motivated to the side…successful regeneration is pushing out a part of the community"

These kinds of processes obviously conflict with the creative-community as-part-of-a-wider-community values identified in many of my welfare-concerned individual-artists earlier in this section. The 'mainstream middle-classing' of the Valley, be it through the conspicuous nature of people in suits, the different kinds of mindsets brought by new creative and knowledge workers, the growth of more expensive residential accommodation in the lower Valley and at its rim and the development of facilities designed to appeal to a generally middle class habitus were commented on by other participants in my research. Alex suggested that the Valley was becoming more "homogenised" and that artists were being priced out of the area by "other developments such as…City Road Apartments" (a new build block on the southern outer rim of the Valley).

Residential encroachment into the Valley was also commented upon by Stephen who suggested that, since the Valley had since the 1980s been a place of *working* artists and not a place where many of these artists actually lived, that increased residential space in the Valley may not be desirable. Stephen suggested, in a similar vein to Andy M above, that this was due to the fact that the creative process in art (and music) is often a noisy and dirty business: "the nice element the Valley's got is for art and music and if people start to object and put in objections about noise pollution and all that…".

The dirtyness and noisiness of some creative processes were also commented on by Barry, a conceptual artist in the Biscuit Factory who suggested that artists' workspaces were by definition messy, and messiness allows for creativity. Alex suggested that creative freedoms in the Valley were already

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becoming subject to regulation as commercial development leads to artists being merely "tolerated…as long as you're not too noisy at the wrong times of day…as long as you don't create stuff that smells".

The noisiness of creative places, has in the time I have been researching the Valley, led to one direct case of displacement of one of the first creative businesses to locate in the Valley. Pauline, the owner of the Polestar Practice and Recording Studio, and singer in North East punk/new wave band Penetration, when I interviewed her in July 2010 suggested that her business was being directly threatened by residential development in the north west rim of the Valley with 'change of use' planning directives being strongly pushed for the real estate directly next to the studios. These change of use planning decisions would allow the building and adjacent land to Pauline's studios to be developed for residential use, which her then landlord was keen on pursuing. Some months after I interviewed Pauline, she had indeed moved the studio on to St. Michael's Road in Byker, still close to the Valley but no longer geographically positioned within it. Here we can see a clear example of how the increasing popularity of the Valley as a place to live as well as work has conflicted with an early 'settler business' concerned with artistic production.

8.4 Conclusions

We have seen in this chapter that there are certain aesthetic qualities of the Valley that, for my respondents, create a sense of auratic place and 'inner world' as opposed to a massified or homogenised 'outer world'. These auratic or individual and inalienable properties of the Valley are signified by both industrial-age architecture (the 'industrial gothic') and greenery and clearly relate to the trope of individualism identified as important to moderns in general in the literature review. In this sense then we can see how the Valley is often viewed as an *aesthetic object* by many of my interviewees demonstrating their aesthetic reflexivity (Lash and Urry 1995). Further this object is seen to be (and was much more in the past) an inalienable and auratic object – and environment that *itself,* through its distinct aesthetics, signified the individual-expressive ethic.

We have seen how the Valley in its earlier days as a place of artistic invention and spontaneity had an appeal to artists because of the offer of a less regulated and less commercially orientated creative community in a more dilapidated form of the above – and in this sense we see the Valley as being (but much more so in the past) a place where the autonomous and creative-expressive aspect of our governing ethic is found. Many of my artists deem creative community to have obligations to wider society, and this is explained by many of them having links to the employment structures of the wider welfare-providing liberal middle class.

These orientations in terms of a wider belonging to a welfare concerned middle class, as well as artists, also frame the responses of many of my respondents towards the process of gentrification within the Valley. Many of my respondents talked either ambivalently or negatively about changes in the Ouseburn in recent years, as 'the Other middle class' was seen to often be encroaching onto this territory. Gentrification has been discussed here as a process involving a diffusion of once 'countercultural' places in modern economies and societies through wider incorporations into 'the creative economy', and their appeal to wider consumers as leisure spaces. Gentrification has been analysed as a process of regulation and commercialisation as well as displacement here, as these themes of regulation and increased business interest in the Valley (both for work premises and realty speculation) appeared important to my interviewees and participants. Through these processes of regulation and commercialisation we can view gentrification, as a constraining process on the possibilities of the self expressive ethic in previously 'wild' environments such as the Ouseburn Valley, and concomitantly a threat to the 'territory' of this group through the encroachment of Other's and their signifying aesthetics.

Chapter 9: 'Leisure' in the Ouseburn Valley

9.1 Introduction

In this section we will see that the leisure habits of my interviewees can be discussed most clearly in relation to the bars and pubs that they frequent, and have in the past used, in Newcastle, as these bars and pubs were consistently talked about in interviews and more generally during my time in the Valley. The deeper meanings that these bars and pubs may hold for them can be discussed in terms of conferring distinction away from the perceived 'massified Other' and the 'bourgeois' or 'yuppified' Other, seen to inhabit subtly different leisure areas of The 'divided' (Hollands 2002) city. The deeper meanings of these environments are also closely linked with aesthetic codes, and these pubs' interiors often display an aesthetic of 'lack' that signifies placeness, heritage and authenticity to my interviewees; or in other words are bestowed with the aura of individuality.

These pubs in the Valley, and one in particular, The Cumberland Arms, are discussed, in line with the guiding concepts of the literature review, as perceived inalienable or 'auratic' (Benjamin 1936; Rojek 1997) places where a cosmopolitan-bohemian identity (Massey 1997; Beck 2000), aesthetic and experience is encountered. This identity is further seen to be negatively sanctioned and counter-identified within the 'working-class masculine' (Hollands 1995) leisure infrastructures of central Newcastle, that are, in a similar vein to the previous chapter, seen to be generally 'place*less*' by my interviewees, and people I have met in participant observation. The Cumberland is, importantly, discussed as a place of creative leisure, where patrons have an active role in the provision of 'cultural'[88] experiences, and as such pursue the production and experience of 'auratic leisure', and reject the imaginings of passive leisure discussed in the literature review.

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[88] Here, culture to be understood as a 'product' of group such as an artwork, poem, piece of music, dance etc, rather than the more pure anthropological definition of 'way of life','values' or 'customs'....which is of course the more general aim of this thesis as a whole in relation to the Ouseburn Valley. The desire to creatively produce leisure experiences however, should be read as a statement of the wider values of the group that use the pub – that of consciously or unconsciously extolling the virtues of artistic-individualism.

This patron driven aspect to the pub's environment gives it a further 'sense of place' and, for my working artists, distinguishes it from ideas of more 'passive' provisions of leisure in perceived 'massified and alienable' bars found in a generic elsewhere. In essence, the popularity of the Cumberland for my interviewees and the pub's obvious affection in many of their hearts is discussed with an approach that paints the 'auratic' Cumberland as 'totemic' for many of my respondent's views in relation to leisure and wider lifestyle afforded by the Valley more generally.

A further drinking establishment in the Valley, The Ship Inn[89], is discussed as being 'out of place' in the Valley as it does not perform this place bound cosmopolitanism, and is often seen to be inhabited by, as Ronnie stated, "the wrong sort". This perceived distinct group of Others are seen to display often negatively appraised habitus (lifestyles) and tastes (cultural capitals), and as such are sometimes viewed as 'space-invaders[90]' by the Valley's 'cosmopolitan locals'.

9.2 Working Artists and the Dedifferentiation of Work-Leisure

In the literature review we saw how the denizens of bohemia, and those identifying with creative countercultures often have in the past produced and endorsed critiques of the rationalising, ordering and 'desacralising' of the subject through routinized work. The negative connotations of the workaday world were commented upon by a number of my interviewees who critiqued the notion of being a "wage slave" (Maggie), where work is a "necessary evil" of "generic repetitive processes…where people just churn out the same old shite for someone else to make money out of their slavery" (Barry). Alex also feared the possibility of having to work "9-5…in the outer world" to make a living, if his puppetry was in the future not making enough money to get by. 'Annie', a porcelain designer-artist working out of

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[89] The Ship Inn has since changed hands again since the writing of this chapter. It can now be seen to be 'more Ouseburn' than it was previously as it provides more real ales, has changed its music policy and lacks a television. Its previous guise as a more 'towny' (i.e. of the centre) pub still allows for an interesting, and theoretically valid comparison made at the end of this chapter however.

[90] By 'space invaders' what I am really trying to get at is the idea that this group is seen to, in The Ship Inn, bring more 'massified' forms of culture into the Valley, especially in the form of music, the pub's interior and the more masculine and working-class drinking habits seen to dominate the city centre. Hence they are perceived to invade the 'inalienable place' of the Valley with the aesthetics and practices of 'alienable space' – they 'invade' place with space.

36 Lime Street, clearly summed up some of the things she valued about being a working artist. This description contained a suggestion of moral courage, individuality, autonomy and creativity, and a suggestion that holding an office job doesn't hold these 'auratic' qualities. We were discussing 'difference' in the Valley when the conversation changed direction:

"JW: Erm ok well do you think maybe yourself as an artist do you value difference or?

A: I value originality in everything, absolutely everything, I admire people that think for themselves and don't just go with what's…standard…Artists especially…because they are people who are kind of sticking their necks out for something that mightn't be easy to pursue, it would be easier to get an office job somewhere than set up your own practice…

JW: Yeah

A:…but then I think if you're a real artist you haven't got an alternative but to do what…drives you to be an artist

JW: uhuh, do you think it's more a calling than…

A: mmmm a vocation

JW: so it's obviously very different from maybe an office job or…?

A: yeah. I think the whole idea of being creative is not following formula or systems or anything like that, which is a lot about what working in, within an organisation is about…y'know the whole idea of being creative is I think for me in uniqueness which you don't have in an office work type job…

JW: erm also is control important for creativity?

A: Totally, and following what's not dictated but sort of what you've defined"

Annie, then, critiques the workaday world where the possibility of the sacred act of self-expression is perceived as limited. The 'organisation' is seen as a territory of restriction where originality and its expression is difficult to attain. Annie's critique then has clear links to the discussions of bureaucratic and manufacturing work found within Fordist forms of economic production and social organisation, as discussed in the literature (Rojek 1995; Thomas 1964; Urry 2002; Roberts 2010; Rojek 2004;Veal 2004a; Veal 2004b; Wang 2000, Allen 1992; O'Neill 1986; Thompson 1967; Thomas 1964) where 'formulas and systems' (rationalizations) are paramount; these relations are judged negatively by Annie in this quote.

As well as the distain for much of the processes of work found within (to use Alex's words again) "the outer world", for my working artists, there is often not a clear (professed) distinction between times and spaces of work and leisure, and this is evidenced by the fact that many of them suggested that 'spare time' was often spent on going to galleries, events, or talking to other artists that would in turn provide inspiration for their work. In this then we can see aspects of 'dedifferentiation' between their 'working and leisure lives' that was discussed in the literature as emerging from ideological critiques of industrialism and ordered modernity (Rojek 1995).

This point was most succinctly summed up by Andy M who suggested that his leisure time wasn't really leisure time in this sense of it being divorced from work but was "holistic", in that it was integrated into his life rather than consisting of a separate sphere. In a spatial sense also, one of my interviewees was involved in the purchasing and development of one of the first art studios in the Valley – 36 Lime Street, in which she and her husband both lived and worked for many years, converting the top floor of the building into an apartment, again demonstrating the desire to unify the fracture of many modern working/living arrangements.

The rejection of these distinctions and an aspiration for a unification of the self through a live-work, or 'artisan', style of life, as an 'ideal type' is interestingly alluded to by proposed developments in the case study area for live-work artists' studios adjacent to one of the Ouseburn Valley's most iconic pubs – The Cumberland Arms. Barry suggested an interest in such a scheme, as it would give him closer proximity to his art, and Barry also intimated to me that he occasionally sleeps in his current studio at the Biscuit Factory, using it as a den as it were and a place to enjoy himself - not just a place where he does his artwork but where he also feels 'at home'.

Similarly, 'Steve' a volunteer for the Ouseburn Trust, who was working on the Trust newsletter and with an interest in working in the creative industries also suggested that for him it would be an ideal to:

"live in a loft apartment and to have an iron wroughting workshop downstairs"

Although Steve said this in a tongue in cheek and knowing manner, aware of the almost stereotypical view of artists inhabiting 'lofts', the issues of an integrated, and vocational approach to work, and the perception and desire for leisure and other activities not to be seen as separate from work, are important to many of my respondents (although the Ouseburn Valley for the majority of my interviewees is a place of work that is in fact spatially separated from house/home). This will become similarly apparent in the second section of this data analysis where I discuss the travel and tourism biographies and preferences of my working artists. We see that for many of them, the idea of a clear emotional or intellectual separation of work, home life and travel or holidays is often not stressed.

Importantly for my interviewees, leisure is, nearly unanimously, *not* seen as an 'escape' or 'compensation' for alienating or unsatisfying work but is integrated into the 'total lifestyle' of my respondents. In this sense as we shall see, the valuing of pubs without televisions or the invasions of popular musical forms ('chart music'), can be seen as a subtle critique of the 'colonisation of everyday life' by the commodity form, and a critique of perceptions of leisure-spaces as 'massified' and hence desacralised. Just as there is a desire for 'non-alienated' work on behalf of the participants, there is also a desire for 'non-alienated' and 'non-massified' forms of leisure. It is through my interviewees' conscious or unconscious interpretations of these general discourses that the perception that some of the Valley's pubs as 'non-commercial' can be seen to be played out.

In relation to the above, the aesthetics of the majority of the pubs in the Ouseburn Valley also hint at a perception that they are working outwith the 'veil' of the 'spectacle'. A 'stripped back' or 'spit and sawdust' aesthetic is often opposed to the notions of 'shine', 'commerce' and 'façade' that previous authors (Hollands 1995) and many of my respondents associate with the centre of Newcastle. However it is simply naïve, or at worst insultingly nonsensical, to suggest that in some ways the Valley's pubs operate 'outside of commerce', as they are functioning businesses, trading on certain ambiences or cultural capitals. These places *may also* contain critical orientations towards produced culture (music/art) and lifestyle. To simply refer to the Ouseburn Valley as 'alternative Newcastle' (Chatterton and Hollands 2001)

seems rather vague, and would deny the process whereby in consumer capitalism, transgressive or critical approaches to living and thinking that *may* also be oppositional to, or try and exist 'outside', consumer-capitalism are recuperated or incorporated into market systems (Ball 1987; Storey 1988).

Relatedly, many of my interviewees, as interpreters of critical discourses, view their work (here their work as art) as 'calling' or as Annie suggested above as a "vocation" and see it as integral to their sense of identity, purpose and chances of fulfilment in life. As we saw above, a number of my interviewees would be discouraged at the thought of having to enter the workaday world to make ends meet, as this would entail a separation of their working lives from the production of art-works – a process they value very deeply. However, for many of my interviewees, ways of making a living that don't perhaps involve 'pure' artistic production can also be very satisfying, and this is due to the fact that art can be central to or integrated into the 'job' in question. Again this demonstrates the idea of my respondents wanting to integrate art into their 'total life'.

Examples of this desire to use art in an integrated way with other work are numerous amongst the participants. As stated in the previous section, a good number of my working artists view a wider role for art in their lives, and in the lives of others. This is typified by Stephen who worked for many years as a carer with disabled people for Gateshead's local authority, using art as a therapeutic tool: "to bring people together socially and build confidence". This view of the vocation of being an artist in a broader sense – often in relation to welfare, educational and development, spiritual, and sometimes political opportunities for those in the 'wider community', suggests that there is ample opportunity for a holistic integration of 'art' into other facets of my interviewees lives – including other work. This idea of an 'integrated vocation' is supported by Emma, Paul, Steven, Alex and Margaret who all stated that they have used art, ceramics or puppetry in wider educational job roles.

The role of art in wider employment orientations is then important, and emphasises again that my interviewees do not simply occupy a hermetic bubble divorced from wider social forms in the realm of employment. Many of my interviewees see a wider social, welfare, or educational role for the arts where as

Alex suggested "it isn't all about making money". In this sense then, the work of being an artist, for many of my interviewees suggests a 'holistic' approach to life (to again quote Andy M) that seeks to integrate art into a 'total life', and also suggests, as has been noted elsewhere in my thesis that many of my interviewees must be viewed as having strong links with the wider public sector employed middle class that emerged within post-war Britain.

The idea that there is a distinct separation between working as an artist and what would traditionally be nominally categorised as "leisure" for many of my interviewees (or rather that they compartmentalise 'art' as a separate strand of 'life') is also problematised by the fact that many of the pubs that are frequented by these working artists are part of a 'circuit' – what was described by 'Stephanie' as "the relatively small Newcastle arts scene". This 'circuit' or 'scene', often consists of the pubs in the Ouseburn Valley (excluding, for the majority of my respondents, at the time of the research, the Ship Inn) and in a number of select establishments in town. As we shall see, these establishments again illustrate the preference for an 'authentic heritage vernacular' embedded in ideas of 'auratic' placeness. They also act as places of both generating work contacts and of socialising with "likeminded people" (Paul, Emma and Stephen all used this term) simultaneously. Put bluntly social capital is created in these establishments, and these networks can lead to work, and rumours and knowledge of upcoming opportunities and exhibitions.

The need to network (Florida 2002) then ensures the blurring of boundaries between friend, acquaintance and opportunity, and this can be viewed as either an 'instrumentalisation' of leisure time (Banks 2009), or a 'leisuring' of work depending upon perspective. Regardless of the debate as to whether the blurring of the divisions between work and leisure actually involves an encroachment of work time into leisure time or vice versa, as is demonstrated empirically above, and as was discussed theoretically in the literature review, the working artists that have participated in this research actively seek, in different ways, to integrate work and leisure time into a more total form of life. They thus are seeking, in line with many of their creative countercultural antecedents, a life beyond the orders of work and leisure.

9.3 Creative Places? Drinking in the Ouseburn Valley's Pubs

Following Bourdieu (1984), for social capital to be created and networks of productive value to be formed, people often have to demonstrate a suitable competence of cultural capital or 'taste performance' for the 'door to be opened' to a certain group or class. This 'opening' often follows displays of knowledges and practices in relation to the aesthetic appreciation of cultural products – the display of 'cultural capital'. These displays, although described by Bourdieu in relation to what he termed 'legitimate' or essentially 'bourgeois' forms of aesthetic expression, relating to the replication of certain institutions, ideologies and the capitalist system itself, can also be used as a hermeunetic device to understand any form of group identification, including the 'countercultural' (Thornton 1995) with systems of otherings working at the aesthetic level. In this sense then, a quite specific 'field' (to again use Bourdieu's terminology) called 'pubs' is investigated, to analyse the pubs used by my working artists, to see how they are valued and counter-defined, and how they represent deeper discursive orientations of my interviewees.

Also we are able to view how these establishments are inscribed discursively and through practice with deeper 'countercultural' or 'romantic' significations relating to the de-differentiation of work and leisure alluded to above. Perceptions of 'leisure' in the Valley also relate to themes of "creative" or "self-provided" leisure opportunities, and opportunities for perceived 'non-massified' and serendipitous experiences of 'the moment'. These themes are also strongly resonant of desires for placeness, (as it is romantically or humanistically imagined), creativity, individuality and autonomy that are strong themes in the nexus of artistic identity discussed in the literature review (see chapters 2 and 3 especially).

In a similar vein to the more general discussion of the architectural and environmental appreciation of the Valley on behalf of many of my respondents, the use of pubs in Newcastle by my working artists is often confined to the Valley and a 'local', alongside a number of select places in the city centre deemed to have retained individuality, placeness and a 'non-commercial' aesthetic. Many of the same themes emerge in relation to what is nominally being referred to as 'leisure' in this chapter, as were discussed previously in relation to architecture and greenery. There

is a quite clear perception that many of the Valley's pubs are distinct from both the haunts of the 'general massified Other' to be found in the city centre more generally and the 'yuppie', seen to occupy more areas of the professional-condominium Quayside offering a 'scripted cosmopolitanism (Young *et al* 2006).

The Valley's pubs are valued for a number of reasons, one of the most prominent being their 'character'. Character is often viewed in much the same way that the industrial-gothic or heritage-vernacular of the Valley's more general post-industrial architecture is seen, and one of the Valley's pubs (The Cluny) can be seen to be housed in such architecture. 'Character' is viewed as aesthetically demarking the Valley off from more 'developed' areas of the city as a place of individuality, placeness and non-massified forms of consumption. This quality of the Valley's pubs was commented on by a large number of interviewees, some of whom suggested that they never drink anywhere else but in the Ouseburn Valley. Paul is worth quoting at length, for we can see that there are a number of relevant issues as to character, non-massification and the dedifferentiation of work and leisure that the Ouseburn pubs can offer and represent. In relation to pubs he may use in Newcastle Paul commented that:

"P: [I go out] when I get a chance to go for a beer yeah…usually the Cumberland and the Free Trade, the Cluny…I don't go to the Ship a huge amount…

JW: Yeah a lot of people mention the Cumberland

P: I just think it's a good boozer…traditional, quite characterful with good ale erm good atmosphere erm yeah it's not like a typical corporate sort of [place]…you could say the Cluny is because of the sort of chain that it's linked with but I think that the guy who owns it [Tony Brooks] has been very clever and he can see the benefits of not changing something or at least providing erm realising the importance of maintaining just a good pub in the right place…I also love the Free Trade y'know it's like I think it might attract similar thinking people y'know with say creative thinking or approaches and there is a different atmosphere in pubs like that…

JW: and that would be different from the town centre or the Quayside?

PM: yeah yeah

JW: and what would the difference be you think?

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P: erm (long pause) I dunno (laughs) for me it's that people have started to move away from those corporate type pubs…I think it depends doesn't it – I mean if you want to go for a night out on a Saturday and you want to go to a club then there's the sort of town option, and if you want to go somewhere where you can kind of talk and meet like minded people and err do it in a place which is not full on with the music sort of blaring and you know have a conversation, then I'd go to a pub around here…and I also think there's kind of a networking element as well [which] is a sort of big thing in the art world y'know building those relationships with people whether it's collaboration on a piece of work or an exhibition opportunity or just telling someone what you're up to to sort of spread the word about an exhibition you're in…I suppose those sorts of people just gravitate to those sorts of boozers"

This vignette from the interview with Paul is useful as it outlines in a 'natural' flow of an interview many of the discourses, ambivalences and orientations of other interviewees in relation to the use of the Valley's pubs, their deeper significations as 'distinctive and alternative' venues, and importantly their centrality to networks and opportunities for artists. The idea of the ambivalence but ultimate validation of the Cluny above as it could be seen as part of a 'placeless chain' located in 'Other space' is interesting as it teases out the tensions between the aesthetics and meanings of 'character' and 'corporate'. The Cluny is ultimately validated by Paul because of the fact that it hasn't 'been changed'. The mention of the Ship Inn as being a place that Paul does not frequent is also an issue that emerged in a number of other interviews and as we shall see the Ship Inn is viewed by some interviewees to be a pub that, through a recent renovation (through 'changing' and destroying the interior heritage aesthetic through new wood panelling) and an appeal to a different clientele is seen as *out of place* in the Valley.

9.4 The Cumberland Arms

The pubs that Paul frequents are often mentioned as 'characterful' 'individual' and 'not corporate' by many of the other interviewees and The Cumberland Arms is often mentioned as being particularly special. The Cumberland Arms sits as the top of the eastern edge of the Ouseburn Valley, adjacent to the Byker Wall and the west end of Sheids Road. It is a two minute walk to the Morrisons, and the regenerated edge of Shields Road discussed previously.

Figure 9.1 The Cumberland Arms. Source: Author.

9.4.1 The Cumberland Arms – Auratic Placeness

The Cumberland, as it is colloquially known, occupies a prominent place in Newcastle's real ale circuit and is also a centre for live folk music as well as other forms of independently performed music, poetry and comedy. The pub has a long history in the city for being an alternative music venue and I have personal memories of the Cumberland Arms going back some near 20 years now, as I would often frequent the upstairs bar of the pub to see live bands in the early and mid nineties, often as friends were playing in these bands. Aesthetically the pub adopts a 'clean but basic' approach to interior design, which, due to the fact that the pub's wooden interiors have generally been left exposed for many years could be ironically described as 'interior non-design' – an aesthetic of 'lack' that claims an authenticity of origins when compared to the (to use a phrase from Giles in the previous chapter) the 'new shineys' of the city centre. The pub has views over the Ouseburn Valley and now contains an extensive beer garden for summer drinking. Barry, a

conceptual artist working full time for the Northern Media Group suggests that the Cumberland is attractive for a number of reasons:

"JW: is there any particular aspects of the Cumberland that you value – you mentioned character before in terms of the city centre lacking it?

B: it has character, it's different, it's nice, it's friendly, good facility, good service …and it might be that the people who go in there are a little bit more open minded and don't want to go into a Yates' or a Wetherspoon's cos you can go into one of those anywhere…in the world (laughs)"

Barry here explicitly suggests that the cultural events in the Cumberland, plus its non-massified or non-chain nature, is what makes it attractive. For Barry the pub is also attractive as he has creatively been part of its cultural provisions, partaking in poetry readings in the bar. There is also an association here with 'openness' to places that are seen to be outside of the 'mainstream' or 'chained', and implicitly a 'close-mindedness' on behalf of those that may be found in chain pubs. Stephen, an artist in the community similarly suggested that the Cumberland was a bar he frequents due to the fact that it has "kept its character", at a time when much of the city centre has become "over gentrified with too many wine bars – just like everywhere else". Ronnie, an actor, musician and bookseller in the Valley commented that:

"R: The Cumberland's a mixture of students and kinda older people…and when it comes to Newcastle you wouldn't want to go anywhere else, and whereas the Cumberland I've never seen any problems over five or six years – well I've seen one incident with some idiots…

JW: Yeah

R: But there's no T.V.

JW: there's no T.V.?

R: There's no T.V. , there's no booze offers y'know and everybody knows each other…

Here we see Ronnie favourably contrasting the 'safe' ambience of the Cumberland Arms, a place where he plays music, sells books, makes contacts and runs a guitar club on Sunday nights, a place with which he is, as Barry has been, creatively involved, with dangerous "idiots" occupying bars elsewhere. The absence

of television in the pub is also a point that marks it out as special for Ronnie, and the absence of T.V. can perhaps be read as an absence of a massified and 'placeless' form of popular cultural expression. The lack of "booze offers" also points to the aura that the pub possesses of being outside of the loss-leader ideologies of larger, corporately owned pubs. As was suggested above, these facets also hint that the pub is in some ways under the radar of popular commerce, bestowing on it a particular 'auratic' quality in that it is seen to be 'characterful', 'individual' and inalienable – akin to an almost sacred object for a particular identity community, understood here as my working Ouseburn artists. Again, the notion of the Cumberland as being a place where "everybody knows each other" is present.

Julia (J1 below), an artist working out of the Lime Street Studios and her friend Judith (J2 below), who also has an interest in the arts and frequents the bars in the Ouseburn Valley, also commented upon these aspects of the Cumberland Arms as a pub of individuality and community:

"J2: We've been out at the Cumberland and the Cluny the last couple of weeks

JW: yeah

JW: would you say that they're different from other places in Newcastle?

J1: yeah

JW: and what would you say makes them that?

J1: I guess the Cluny it's for me because I work here it's somewhere I might go out for lunch but the Cumberland is very very particular type of pub…you know it's like the Free Trade and places like that. It's almost a spit and sawdust…and there's lots of interesting people go there…and it's not really really loud and bashy music where you can't here what everybody's saying…

J2: and it's not commercial

J1: yeah

JW: It's not commercial?

J2: no it's not commercial in the same ways as other bars in Newcastle

JW: what would you say is different?

J2: Well it's like the sports bars kind of have a theme

J1: and a telly

J2: and the Cumberland does have a theme but it's not that kind of commercial theme

JW: and you say no commercial theme? What does that mean?

J1: it doesn't have a television does it…it doesn't have anything like that, people just go along with their musical instruments at night and play and you're guaranteed to meet someone there who can play an instrument and who'll play an instrument with you y'know and it's kind of a meeting place really"

Again we can see the Cumberland Arms, along with the Free Trade Inn that offers a similar aesthetic but is located at the opposite end of the Ouseburn Valley, as representing a number of motifs of 'countercultural' discourse including the desire to escape from massified forms of cultural expression. The special or auratic nature of The Cumberland is again alluded to by the lack of a television and television here is clearly equated with a 'corporate' and arguably 'placeless' (there are Sports Bar**s** but only one Cumberland) aesthetic - a cultural manifest of inauthentically themed 'sports bars' with a 'commercial and corporate' orientation that perform the 'spectacle' of mass consumption elsewhere. This aesthetic of inauthenticity and placelessness is quite clearly in the above quotation counter-acted by the idea of the Cumberland and some of the Valley's other pubs as being 'spit and sawdust'. The implicit fact that the Cumberland *is* compared to places "like the Free Trade" however does suggest that The Cumberland is not as "particular" as it may be suggested to be.

Other respondents also commented on the nature of the Valley's pubs and the Cumberland Arms in particular. Maggie a visual artist with a long association with the Valley and the studios at 36 Lime Street suggested that the Cumberland Arms was a place where networking could be experienced, all within an environment of placeness and authenticity:

"It is run by individuals, it's not part of a brewery group, it has a particular personality, it err keeps its beer and its drinks very very well, it's clean – it's scruffy but it's clean…there's a certain sort of, for the use of a better word, creativity about it, difference about it…and it has I suppose that word 'authenticity' about it"

Here again we see the 'scruffiness' of The Cumberland Arms as being equated with its uniqueness, individuality and for Maggie, authenticity. Scruffiness here can be equated with the perception of the bar to be of a 'spit and sawdust' nature. The 'stripped back' aesthetic or 'basic' look of the Valley's pubs then is viewed favourably by Judith, Julia and Maggie and this interior 'design' (or rather the appeal is based on the notion that it *hasn't* been designed) offers an evident parallel with the industrial-vernacular of many exteriors of buildings in the Valley. 'Spit and sawdust' in this sense then can be equated, through its connotations of a traditional pub interior, to the appreciation of heritage aesthetics found in the exterior aesthetics of the Valley's buildings.

This 'look', better described as a perceived 'lack of look' is clearly seen to occupy a realm of greater 'authenticity of place' in terms of the experience of the bar when compared to the 'corporate-commercial' aesthetics and the significations of these aesthetics found elsewhere. We also clearly here see the importance of the Cumberland as a meeting place for the Valley's artists and creative workers, again suggesting the generation of social capital in the Cumberland alongside its role as an identity-affirming 'place of aura', for my Ouseburn artists within a wider perceived 'sea of generica'.

The 'character' of the Cumberland and its appeal to a broader, often non-local B & B clientele, is also confirmed by peer review websites that I have visited. For example, reviews on Tripadviser.co.uk intimate similar themes such as describing the pub as having "real character and tradition" (Kencarol27 2011), where the "ambience is peerless – a great traditional boozer with great character" (Damichan 2010) that is a "great change from tacky chain hotels - great character" (Fallon11 2011), and "much better than in some swanky, anodyne place with huge vases of inedible apples at the reception desk" (Tango_Tastic 2011), that is "not a place for poseurs" (CliffMarsden 2010). Again we see an implicit Othering based on the

character and tradition of The Cumberland (intimations of placeness and intimacy) with the chained, tacky, plastic (appled), poseur-dom of the elsewhere.

The Cumberland Arms, alongside another Valley pub The Free Trade Inn, was also mentioned very favourable by Alex, a working puppeteer at Lime Street Studios. Alex, originally from Northern Ireland has lived in the North East of England and in Newcastle specifically since the early 1990s. Alex suggested that he had often used the Quayside area for drinking and socialising when he was first in Newcastle as this had contained a "mixed indie crowd" in the early nineties, suggesting a group of young people into 'alternative' popular musical forms. Now this area had become progressively more popular and was now "how the Bigg Market was in the early nineties"[91]. Alex suggested that it was a number of themes, including again individuality and a perception of placeness bound in the heritage aesthetics of interior 'non-design' that attracts him to both the Free Trade and more specifically the Cumberland:

"You asked me where I would go out and socialise – this is where I socialise – the Cumberland Arms is my favourite pub of any pub anywhere…it's very…it's an individual, just as I'm an individual and I bet all of the other people that you've interviewed are individuals, y'know there's only one Cumberland Arms – it's just like with the Free Trade to a certain extent…and my dad was up and he used to be in the Merchant Navy and go to the Free Trade so we went on up there one day and he said "oh it hasn't changed a bit", and I'm sure somebody's had the same experience with the Cumberland Arms – they'd probably say the same"

As well as the appreciation of the Cumberland as a pub of place and of historicity, Alex is obviously keen here to show how the pub demonstrates the deeper discursive notions of individuality that the pub represents. For Alex the authenticity of the Cumberland Arms is bound up in not only its visual aesthetic and its auratic individuality but also the creative-musical aspects of the pub with people sitting and playing real instruments in the bar's back room, in a spontaneous manner, and where at any moment "you have the rapper dancers coming in – the

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[91] The Bigg Market is often seen to be the central drinking area of Newcastle upon Tyne, and is viewed by some authors (see Chatterton and Hollands 2000) and many of my interviews as being the centre of 'corporate' nightlife in the city. As is discussed below, these central areas of Newcastle are also seen to possess a violent edge and the tolerance or promotion of a drunken masculine gaze.

sword dancers storm into an already packed bar"[92]. For Alex, again the idea of character is important, but he also stresses the idea that the Cumberland Arms is a home to 'characters' – people that can essentially be related to on an individual level and who, for want of a better terminology stand out from a crowd, or can be viewed as perceived 'non massified subjects'. Alex suggests that the Cumberland is totemic of the qualities of the Valley in terms of it possessing 'characters':

"In much the same way as in the Valley you could be confronted by somebody on a horse you could (laughs) y'know be confronted by people going around or rambling or doing a history walk and if you spend time here you'll meet all of these characters and the Cumberland Arms is the same thing"

The Cumberland then, for Alex, and as we have seen a good number of my working artists, a place that is just that – a 'place' in the sense of early humanistic geographers' conceptions – individual and inalienable. This perception is true for a number of the Valley's other pubs and bars and as such the Ouseburn Valley is often viewed as an alternative environment for drinking in relation to 'generic bars' in the centre of the city. Interestingly here though, Alex's view of the 'characters' of the Valley such as ramblers, people on history tours and people on horses may in fact have implicit links to leisure *habitus* of generally more middle class consumers.

9.4.2 The Cumberland Arms – Creative Leisure

From many of the quotes above, we can see that the Cumberland is valued for its character, 'auratic individuality' and a lack of signifiers of 'generica'. Maggie, also hints that it has a degree of "creativity" about its ambience, and Alex, above states that it is the serendipitous spontaneity of live music that is attractive. A good many participants commented, following this theme introduced by Maggie and Alex, that the provision of leisure was being a 'work of the self' or 'self provided' by the patrons of the establishment, and this implicitly aligns this practice with critiques of leisure as a passive or alienated practice of mass consumption. This self provision is implicitly contrasted with 'television', by a number of respondents, as a form of entertainment in other, more 'corporate' bars. The idea of creative leisure, as

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[92] The Rapper Dancers are nothing to do with hip hop but are a troop of North Eastern clog and sword dancers that dance occasionally in the Cumberland Arms.

discussed in the literature review is, I argue, closely related to a desire, through forms of creative practice, to pursue identity affirming 'serious leisure' (Stebbins 2004). Further to this, creative leisure as an extension of 'work' as an artist is closely related to the desire to engage with the self-expressive individualistic ethic, and to attain an 'auratic' presence.

This version of agent-driven, putatively non-commercialised, and creatively 'worked at' leisure is at critical odds with the notions of leisure as an 'alienated' practice merely found in the realm of passive commodity consumption favoured by 'orthodox-critical' stances from the mainstream Frankfurters through to the Situationist International and the Marcuse influenced Anglo-Saxon New Lefts and Countercultures. This creative leisure stance on behalf of a good number of my interviewees also marks them out as possible interpreters of such critical discourses as to the negative impacts of passive leisure (McDonald 1957; Debord 1967; Jones 1977; Rojek 1997; Banks 2009). Of course this creative display is also bound to commerce in another way however – through providing nominally 'non-commercial' leisure to other like-minded patrons, and thus attracting people to the establishment (Rapuano 2009).

This sense of 'DIY leisure' is implied by the lack of a reliance on TVs and Juke Boxes in the Cumberland and also points to the value of autonomous cultural production that is valued (you might say obviously – as they are cultural producers) by my working artists, and this supports findings by Hollands (2002) in relation to the importance of creative leisure for this group. This also points to emerging trends in consumer activities in post-modern economies where people are increasingly involved in the *creation* of objects of cultural consumption through creative and non-passive 'serious leisure' (Stebbins 2004).

Emma, a working artist in the Valley also suggested that some of these qualities made the Cumberland special, stating that:

"It's great 'cos it's totally independent and that's quite rare…and it has traditional music and a culture of people coming together to play music…you know you'll be sitting there and they all come in with their fiddles y'know…and so it does have that bit of charm and it's like you meet your friends

there not that you've necessarily arranged to though – it's just like a bit of a small world the Newcastle arts scene"

Again the independence, and associated autonomy outwith the dictates of a 'corporation' or massified and authoritarian organisation, of the Cumberland Arms is stressed as being important to Emma, as well as the spontaneity of the environment in relation to creative-cultural experiences. The idea of people using the pub as a meeting place for social and work contact is also important again pointing to the possibility of fusing together the modern-produced spheres of leisure and 'speculative sociability' in relation to the possibility of generating work. Similarly, Barry commented on the creative and 'self-authored' nature of the pub's activities, suggesting "lots of things happen there like music and poetry events". Barry has been involved in poetry reading at the pub. In a similar vein Ronnie commented that, as well as playing music in the pub regularly himself, the creative atmosphere of the bar is extenuated by the fact that: " the staff are all musicians and there are a lot of actors and artists".

We can see then that the aesthetics, experiences and networks offered by the pub are all important to my interviewees. The former two of these can be clearly linked to previously discussed critical discourses in relation to the modern world centring around massification, alienation and passivity.

9.4.3 The Cumberland Arms – Hermetic Cosmopolitanism

The *type* of person seen to often inhabit the Cumberland is also alluded to by Stephanie, a working artist with a long history of involvement in the Lime Street Studios, and a patron of the Cumberland Arms, suggesting that these discourses have resonance with particular groups of people. Stephanie suggested that the people who often frequent the Cumberland are "quite mixed" and that, echoing the above theme, in the pub there are "quite a lot of creative things going on". Stephanie though was quite clear that although the pub allowed for a mixing of people, this 'mix' and atmosphere of 'difference' was in its own way quite limited and contained certain general social boundaries:

"JW: Yeah you mentioned the mixture of people that you get maybe in the Cumberland Arms - is that something you would say that you sort of value? That mixture of people?

S: yeah I mean you say that they're different but they're not that different really I mean if you kind of think of the people that you know in your social circle…They believe in the same sort of [things]…you don't get a lot of people who work in industry, y'know so you sort of think that it's mixed but it isn't that mixed really – it tends to be social workers, doctors, teachers, artists writers, poets…it's a bit more mixed than that but it's not as mixed as you'd like to think that it is"

This statement by Stephanie is important as it points to the idea of a generally welfare concerned public sector employed middle class (the social workers, teachers and doctors) that are seen to occupy the same spaces of sociability as artists, writers and poets. This suggestion has clear echoes of the idea that many of my creative workers, through their primary or secondary modes of employment often occupy a more general class fragment in relation to socially concerned or 'humanistic' leaning employment areas within the public sector. This idea of an almost hermetic difference or 'difference with boundaries' also has implications in relation to people who may be seen as Others on behalf of this general group, with the important observation by Stephanie that not many people in 'industry' are seen to occupy the placeness of the Cumberland.

This again points to the useful insight by 'Stephanie' above that the Cumberland Arms and the wider Valley may in fact not be as diverse and eclectic a mix of people as it might at first appear, but is in fact a place that is generally aligned with the discursive and practical orientations of a segment of 'the new middle class', discussed as often 'early stage gentrifiers' in the previous analysis section. This points to the fact that the Cumberland, far from being a place of challenging difference, where ontological securities may be breached, is in fact an environment where a degree of 'uniformity of diversity' is expected. Again this support previous work on early stage gentrifiers that suggest that although diversity and cosmopolitanism, in rejection of mythical spaces of suburbia and modernism may be desired in the 'inner urban', the liberal middle classes in these spaces spend a great deal of time interacting with each other, in a quite hermetic sense, rather than interaction with other groups that may be present (Lees *et al* 2008; Butler 1997; Williams 1986). The fact that the Valley may have an appeal to a certain habitus of

the 'welfare' side of the new middle class was also suggested by Giles and Andy M who both suggested that the stables and the Seven Stories centre for the children's book[93] had particular appeals to middle class parents.

This point further suggests the idea that the Valley, with the Cumberland being totemic of the Valley's wider ambience and values is an example of "clustering" (Knox and Pincer 2010) or congregation with others of similar persuasions to foster senses of physical security, ontological security and place ownership. In this sense then, the activities of the people in my interviews and participants within more natural participant observation settings are displaying human behaviours that are found in many other contexts, where social groups seek security and the imprint of their values and worldviews upon place and space (Raban 1974; Badcock 2002). Although the Ouseburn Valley is certainly not a gated community (see Baumann 2002 on these) and there is no obvious interdictory architecture (Flusty 1997) (indeed these things would be, one imagines, antithetical to the left-liberal politics of many in the Valley) signification of the area as a realm of the liberal middle class through its 'aestheic of lack' (Bourdeieu 1984), is clear due to (to risk a tautology) the 'likeminds' that congregate in the area. When these significations become threatened by the aesthetic of the social 'Other', as we saw in the last section, we see more clearly how aesthetics are related to identification and territoriality.

As is made clear above, the Cumberland Arms is seen as a place where "Interesting People" (Julia) "Different People" (Stephanie) and "Characters" (Alex) can be encountered. It is also viewed to be bounded by Stephanie, and to contain the friendship and networking opportunities of the "relatively small Newcastle arts scene" (Emma). After it became apparent that the Cumberland Arms was important, for a number of reasons discussed above, to my interviewees and other people I had met and interacted with in the Valley I decided upon a number of visits to the pub itself, a pub I hadn't been to for a long while in Newcastle (probably nearly 15 years

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[93] Andy described Seven Stories as the "centre for the middle class child".

had passed). These experiences and impressions form part of my introduction to the pub above.

The centrality of the pub to the Valley's voluntary and organisational networks is also alluded to due to the fact that I have attended meetings and talks there for the Ouseburn Heritage Group, the Ouseburn Trust and the Festival Organisation Committee. As it seemed to occupy such an important place in the leisure practices of many of my interviewees, I also arranged an interview with Jo, the general manager of the Cumberland to ascertain why she felt that the pub, under her management, had become such a popular and iconic venue in the Valley.

Jo had become general manager of the pub around eight years ago (from when I interviewed her in May 2010) and had a number of interesting insights into the reason why the pub had become so successful in recent years. Part of the success in her eyes was due to the fact that the pub had maintained some of its previous associations with what can be seen as perceived 'non-massified' forms of consumption that claim the 'pre-modern'[94] as part of their aura - things such as real ale and folk music – and as Cal, a fellow volunteer at the trust had intimated to me once "Real ale and Heritage go hand in hand!".

It had also, under her and her father's management (Jo's father is the owner of the pub) maintained an aesthetic of 'lack', or the 'scruffy' or 'spit and sawdust' interior alluded to by some of the interviewees above. Jo suggested that on first taking over the pub it had been "a little run down", and this is consistent with some of the other interviewees' comments that it had in the past been "dour" (Stephanie) or "used to be an interesting bar but crap – and now is a interesting bar but very good" (Maggie).

The bar has then, as suggested by Jo, undergone some renovations in the past few years to make it more habitable. At the same time, this development has been carefully carried out so as to not impact the character and stripped-back aesthetic of the pub so valued by a good number of my respondents, demonstrating

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[94] Really 'reverse engineered' through the gaze of the living – a heritage construct.

a clear attention to the appeal of this certain aesthetic presentation. As well as the maintenance of an aesthetic of 'scruffy' or 'spit and sawdust' or 'characterful' or 'not changed' interior in the Cumberland, Jo was keen to keep its association with folk music as central to the pub. As we have seen this "non bashy/non commercial" (Julia and Judith) participatory, sometimes serendipitous and individually creative and skilful show of musical ability is what attracts many of the respondents to the pub as a particular form of cultural experience and/or expression.

As well as the aesthetic and the music in the bar, Jo was aware that the Cumberland was a meeting place for people, and envisaged that the bar "could be a really cool community place". Interestingly however, the idea of community envisaged by Jo, involved, in the first place a monitoring or regulation of behaviours not seen to be acceptable by the new management. This appeared to be in a similar vein to Ronnie's notion of the Cumberland and the Valley's pubs more generally representing a 'safe' space (or rather, as we have been looking at the notion of *place* as important, a number of inalienable and safe places) outwith the remit of "idiots" and their behaviours. This also illustrates Stephanie's point about the pub having social 'types' and de-facto boundaries. I asked Jo about when she and her father initially took over the bar:

"JW: were there any concerns of the people that drank in here that it might change in any ways with new management?

J: yeah I think so, I think there were changes that they were quite looking forward to like the bad element not drinking in here anymore and what we did was we closed the doors and opened them with our own rules as it were "anyone can drink in here but they have to abide by our rules"

Jo stated that the goals behind the new rules of behaviour were to allow for a different and more open environment, a place where women especially could feel comfortable:

"J: Well you know there wasn't so much bad stuff but people were allowed to kind of do what they wanted and you know I wanted to run a place where everybody felt welcomed but there was no sexism no racism, no idiotic behaviour, keep your swearing down a bit, where families and anyone from all walks of life can come and drink…and it doesn't matter who you are or what your job is

y'know…I wanted somewhere where women could come and sit and have a drink and not feel like they were going to get hounded

JW: is that different from other bars in Newcastle?

J: Yeah I think that everybody who works here really strives to make it a place where it's not just about pouring drink down your neck and getting really drunk – you *can* come and sit and nurse a coffee all night or have a lime and soda"

Jo's intentions for the Cumberland Arms, although involving the production of it as a, to borrow from Beck (2006) a 'rooted cosmopolitan place' of inclusivity, has clear echoes of broader liberal attitudes that are arguably held by many people in contemporary British society. Arguably, increasing acceptance of 'difference' at legal, civic and institutional levels and latterly in the sphere everyday life represent the success of 'identity politics' and 'new social movements' in gaining equalities and liberties for previously marginalized groups in modern society (see Farred 2000 and Bernstein 2005 for a discussion of these themes). The promotion of a place where non-drinking women can be comfortable also points to the discursive associations with non-male gender and cosmopolitanism discussed by Nava (2002).

Orientations of acceptance towards difference, as well as being the outcome of minority struggles for legal and cultural acceptance, are also seen by certain authors as essential outlooks and competencies on behalf of 'new middle class' populations especially (Lawler 2005; Binnie and Skeggs 2004; Szerszynski and Urry, 2006; Butler 2003) based on broader liberal precepts (Vidich and Bensman 1968) and with strong links to 'creative workers' (Florida 2002; Ray and Anderson 2000). As such, the interior of the Cumberland Arms putatively possesses a normative and progressive 'cosmopolitan' agenda where difference is accepted and encouraged. However, this cosmopolitanism is bounded to place, and seen by my respondents as an auratic, inalienable and unique sense of 'the here and nowhere else'. This place-bound cosmopolitanism can also act as a mode of distinction, with in-group members displaying suitable cultural capital.

Is the Cumberland Arms and its bounded cosmopolitanism then representative of other more general ambiences within the Valley? The Ouseburn

Valley itself does contain further hints as to an outward and accepting, indeed positively encouraging approach towards lifestyles of difference and cosmopolitanism. One institution, the Star and Shadow cinema, can be viewed as a popular venue for 'foreign film', and recently hosted a 'gender-bender' night where patrons were encouraged to dress in a putatively transgressive manner (see flyer in appendix 2). The picture house encourages interest in non-Hollywood film and local creativity behind the camera, and, as being entirely volunteer run is another very good example of 'self-provided' leisure in the Valley (www.starandshadow.org.uk).

The Ouseburn Festival, the Valley's main cultural event of the year was still seen by some interviewees as offering an interface with 'difference' in terms of foreign creatives performing or exhibiting at various venues – and giving some of my interviewees an 'inspiration' through exposure to new methods or ways of approaching art. The festival is seen by a number of my respondents who had longer associations with the Valley to have been steadily commercialised over recent years "I call it the boozeburn festival!" (Andy M), and this will be discussed in relation to gentrification later. There was an implicit linking to the Valley as a place of gay and lesbian lifestyles on the festival's Saturday in 2009 when I was working as a volunteer at the trust. When in conversation with a volunteer from the trust about why the Valley seemed quiet she suggested:

"there's a gay pride march going on in the town – that's probably why it's quieter down here today"

Even though Newcastle now has its own place-marketed 'pink triangle' there is therefore an association with 'tolerance[95]' towards minority sexualities in the Valley. Alex also alluded to this sense of acceptance towards difference in relation to what could be termed "artistic-expressive" difference, in the Valley:

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[95] Although Richard Florida uses 'tolerance' as a word to describe orientations towards difference and the term is used as an indicator of 'creativity' in a city the term is arguably unfit for purpose. Those drawn to cosmopolitan bohemias are actively *seeking* difference and environments that putatively encourage creative identification and sometimes transgression rather than just searching for places where it is 'tolerated'.

"I can go out and walk around and play my mandolin and nobody bats an eyelid…my wife can walk around wearing fairy wings and a tutu and that's acceptable here where maybe it isn't in the outer world"

Here Alex sees the Valley as a place that is accepting of affected forms of playful difference, as well as stating that the "outer world" is maybe less accepting – The idea of an outer world is interesting as it implies a hermetically sealed quality to the Valley's social makeup, in a similar vein to Stephanie's notion of the "bounded mix" of the Cumberland, or Emma and Paul's idea of the Cumberland as a place to meet "like minded" people. Other interviewees were less sure that the Valley necessarily represented a place where difference was encountered on a basis of 'traditional' and rather essentialist cultural/racial categories – this however was often not due to the fact that the Valley would be unwelcoming to such 'racially-heteronormative' encounters but due to the "whiteness" of the city and region in more general terms.

In relation to further literature that deals with broader gentrifying groups, this exclusion of 'non cosmopolitan locals' at the Cumberland brings up some interesting points. Young *et al* (2006) investigate the othering tactics of gentrifying groups in Manchester; groups that would be seen generally by my artist participants as the middle class Other, as they in Young *et al*'s words (p168) occupy new developments that have been constructed through "private sector place-marketing [that] articulates particular discourses in producing the 'cosmopolitan' city-centre lifestyle". Young *et al* describe how these groups, attracted to the chrome and glass cosmopolitanism critiqued by my respondents above, enact similar performances of cosmopolitanism that are claimed by the respondents. For example the ability to perform suitable displays of cultural capital in relation to differences of gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity are used in this case study to demonstrate 'cosmopolitan competence' whilst at the same time implicitly and sometimes explicitly creating a 'foil' of an 'abject Other' unable to read the script – the archetype of the non-reflexive, and often assumed to be reactionary, white working class subject.

It would appear then that although the Cumberland is constructed as a place that is very much for the 'likeminds' of the creative and liberal middle class, and that

the professional middle classes are Othered into the elsewhere – the mythical realm of chrome and glass – that these groups, in the construction of a broader and shared other, may in fact be much closer in the social spectrum than the statements of distinction encountered above (and below) may suggest. Of course this takes us back to Bourdieu and the idea that it is *because* of the socially proximous dwelling of the 'new' and 'old' 'bourgeoisie', not despite of it, that the desire for distinction is found – as both groups contest the levers of economic, social and cultural power through conflicting values, habitus and territory (both spatial and ideological).

9.5 The Centre Fails to Hold (any particular charms)

"Even the punters seem like a friendly bunch with barely a trace of Big [sic] Market scum or lounge bar style-victims." Jones (2006; p217)

This quote from a book on 'alternative' Tyneside drinking holes *The Burglar's Dog* (2006), in relation to the Free Trade Inn in the Valley, conceptualises the 'dual othering' of the city centre as a realm of 'dangerous locals' and 'false cosmopolitans' that we will discuss in this section. As in the previous chapter the significance of the Valley to my respondents can be best illustrated by the process of uncovering explicit and implicit counter-identifications in relation to other parts of the city and the people seen to inhabit these areas. In terms of leisure we can see that the non-Ouseburn Valley areas of the city centre are othered according to two general inhabitants corresponding to a more professional middle class or an aspirational sensibility and a more general and massified group.

These two general groups, which in reality undoubtedly blur into one another at the edges especially through the pursuit of aspirational drinking in 'higher end' establishments such as the previously mentioned *Pitcher and Piano,* form part of a general distinction within the "divided city" of leisure opportunities and lifestyles (Hollands 2002). This divide is seen by Hollands to occur between professional middle classes occupying "upmarket and safe" nightlife spaces and those on lower incomes in "routine and lower order service jobs" who are confined to "commercial provisions in the mainstream" (Ibid). It is these two general groups, who are essentially the 'massified Others' and the 'Other middle class' of the first chapter who

are counter-identified by my interviewees and many Ouseburn Valley users in relation to leisure spaces in the city.

9.5.1 False Cosmopolitans

The notion of the Valley more broadly as being a place that is perceived to be more accepting of 'difference' than the generic elsewhere was also reinforced conceptually by an encounter with 'Jane', a chef at the Cluny in the Valley and an organiser of the Ouseburn Festival. In a festival organisation committee meeting, taking place at the Cumberland Arms in May of 2009, I was talking to Jane about the general scope of my study. I suggested that it was related to ideas of 'cosmopolitanism' (as it was more focussed in this particular direction at the time). After saying that (in more prosaic language) I had initially been interested in the 'spectacular' area of consumption-led regeneration at the Quayside, but was now more interested in the Ouseburn Valley, Jane suggested that:

> "Cosmopolitan on the Quayside is all about drink but we're cosmopolitan all the way through down here"

Although not said without humour this insight was of analytical interest to me as it suggested a 'deep versus shallow' orientation to 'cosmopolitanism' in relation to the Ouseburn Valley and the central city respectively on Jane's behalf. It supported what a number of other people in more formal interviews had suggested when we were discussing the idea of Newcastle, and specifically NewcastleGateshead, branding itself as a 'cosmopolitan' centre for 'sophisticated' consumption. Notions of the city as a whole as 'cosmopolitan' were often greeted with either ambivalence and confusion over the meaning of the term, but also with derisory humour or cynicism such as Ronnie's use of the term "plastic pubs" to refer to the Quayside's bars. In a way a good number of my interviewees were wary of such claims as being 'false or a 'façade', and nearly all of my interviewees viewed suggestions that the centre of Newcastle was cosmopolitan with suspicion – viewing it as either a type of scripted consumption-driven cosmopolitanism (Young 2006) or an outright falsehood propagated by 'boosterish' place marketers.

Figure 9.2 Too Much Gloss? NewcastleGateshead's Spectacular Quaysides. Source: Gordon Simm 2010.

The creation of the term NewcastleGateshead to 'place-inscribe' and market semi-internationally facing cultural developments on the Gateshead bank of the Tyne (the Baltic and the SAGE) alongside the 'cosmopolitan' Newcastle Quayside also caused consternation amongst my interviewees. Many of them felt it was a 'construct' of local developers and boosters, in many ways a corollary of a symbolic version of Lefebvre's (1991) abstract-space, or a commodification of 'total urban space' on behalf of place marketers. This is seen as an attempted new creation of high end tourist-leisure consumption driven space over Newcastle and Gateshead's somewhat distinct and historic identities. For example Emma suggested that:

"I've got no problem with these two place being linked 'cos they're very close but not to think of it as one place 'cos it isn't it's two places"

Margaret also clearly linked this procedure to planned and marketed space over local cultural concerns. For Margaret, the consumption driven policies of NewcastleGateshead's cultural push over the last decade was ambivalent:

"I think that in some ways it is useful for planners and policy-makers [to market the quaysides as 'NewcastleGateshead' and under a 'cosmopolitan' heading] and can make for some interesting venues and things that happen but what I also see is a loss of authenticity in that you know it's full of Starbucks and Café Nero but where can you get a decent cup of tea and a ham and pease pudding stottie?...There's a lot lost there and I think it's all tied up with the whole global culture"

Here Margaret clearly contrasts the promise of having larger cultural centres on the banks of the Tyne with the loss of authenticity of local culture and the invasion of 'placeless cosmopolitan brands' such as Starbucks and Café Nero. This 'inauthenticity' is also implicitly tied to the planned-spaces of consumption promoted by local authorities and regenerators as opposed to a space where 'authentic local cultures' may have been performed – eating stotties and drinking tea. This idea of a placeless and shallow cultural-cosmopolitanism was also hinted at by Alex. Alex suggested that local development bodies interested in promoting the 'spectacular' Quayside had ignored local artists and creative workers in favour of festivalism and short-run, meaningless media spectacles:

"NewcastleGateshead is a funny thing 'cos they've come together to try and rebrand in many ways but most of it's in Gateshead! There's also no legacy whatsoever 'cos it's just events and I've got a chip on my shoulder 'cos I've put in bids for funding only to get them turned down and to see things coming in from other parts of the UK which just doesn't mean anything – the bamboo bridge over the Tyne which you couldn't walk over and was gone within a blink of an eye...err people eating dinner hoisted on a crane in the air...the idea of a hotel up in Grey's Monument...all these things it means nothing absolutely nothing...it's just media hype so that they [place-marketers] can put in their brochure [and say] – oh look at all of these glitzy things that have happened!"

In a sense then, the "posh restaurants" (Judith), and glass and chrome drinking establishments on the Quayside such as the *Pitcher and Piano* derided by Annie, combined with media facing events, represent a generally negatively appraised space of 'bland cosmopolitan consumption'. These are the same spaces seen to be occupied by the professional middle class identified previously as a significant Other for my working artists. Although this form of othering of certain

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types and displays of cosmopolitanism again, therefore, hints at the desire of my respondent group to distance themselves from the 'Other middle class', we can see later in this section, as we saw in relation to the 'bounded cosmopolitanism' of the Cumberland Arms, that a desire to gain distance from the 'nonreflexive working class' (Lawler 2005) is a shared aim of both the 'Other middle class' (Young *et al* 2006) and my interviewees and participants (as a fraction of the liberal middle class). As such, we can see that this broader and more generally shared form of middle class othering points to the fact that my working artists can be viewed as sharing territory with other gentrifying groups in Newcastle – in short, the liberal middle classes may be closer in orientation to the 'middle class Other' that they claim distinction from, than they may profess.

Returning specifically to Newcastle's 'cosmopolitanism', there was clear ambivalence over the term both between respondents and within their own individuated views. Paul, Julia and Judith suggested that Newcastle had become more cosmopolitan in its everyday ambience in recent years, due to higher numbers of particularly African and Eastern European people living in the city and a decrease in its 'whiteness'. Stephanie suggested this process had also occurred but this did not really make the city 'cosmopolitan'.

Pauline Murray of Polestar Studios suggested that the regenerated Quayside could in a way be seen to be 'cosmopolitan' but that this was however a 'look' and in reality was related to the tie in with Gateshead's regeneration funding: "It's all to do with money – everything". Emma suggested that the claim to this status was simply "false", a sentiment echoed by Ronnie who suggested that "it's the emperor's new clothes…there's improvement's but it's just superficial" and Stephanie stated that if anyone was to try and brand Newcastle as 'cosmopolitan' "They would be lying". Christian, a design lecturer, musician and drinker in the Ouseburn Valley, and his friend Jenine, a photography lecturer, a photographer and Ouseburn drinker, suggested that the marketing of the city in such ways was inauthentic – there were cosmopolitan areas of the city, places of high concentrations of ethnic minorities and social mixing but these places were never mentioned in regeneration scripts:

" C: I think it's odd in a way that you can go "well yeah! We'll have a bit of that cosmopolitan lifestyle going on thank you very much!" and I think that Newcastle's really tried to buy into it in the last few years…and you can almost see where members of the planning committee have gone to London and to some effectively more naturally cosmopolitan places and they've gone "Yeah we need to get us some of that cosmopolitan shit going on! That's what cities are all about!" (Laughs)

J: It's just a bit of a façade though isn't it? Cosmopolitanism is like a façade…it's like they've frozen something and it's not real – just how we'd like it to be…"

These quotes suggest that there is a perception amongst some in the city that such branding exercises have increased returns through consumption at their core, and that they offer a reified and inauthentic form of encountering difference through a placeless form of identikit cosmopolitanism. It can be argued then that this perceived 'scripted' or 'façade' nature of the 'consumptive cosmopolitanism' is contrasted with the 'bohemian cosmopolitanism' of the Valley. The putatively 'marginal place' of the Ouseburn Valley is seen to in some ways possess a 'deeper' orientation to themes of diversity and 'cosmopolitanism' than elsewhere in the city's leisure infrastructure – it claims a place-bound cosmopolitan authenticity. This is clearly outlined through the 'progressive' or 'liberal' attitudes of Jo towards the Cumberland as an 'inclusive place', when compared to other areas of the city.

The notion of the Valley as "cosmopolitan all the way through" is strongly related to literature suggesting that 'creatives' are drawn to and of course create places and spaces of 'difference' and social libertarianism – Florida's (2002) 'tolerant bohemias'. Indeed as we saw in the literature review, the original Parisian bohemia, and those bohemias that have since emerged have often been viewed by their inhabitants, and other commentators as 'marginal places' – being places and spaces of 'erotic' virtues, internationalism (Williams 1985), 'subjugated knowledges' (and practices) (Foucault 1981) and creative 'difference' more generally – for example see Witts' (2006) description of the transgressive creative cosmopolitan bohemia of the Velvet Underground's New York.

This sense of Bohemian-cosmopolitan place alluded to by Jane, in the contemporary 'global age', and through the idea of the heritage-aesthetic-placedness of the Cumberland Arms alongside its policy of encouragement of diversity, is also

strongly related to ideas of 'rooted cosmopolitanism' (Beck 2006) and a 'global sense of place' (Massey 1997) – a place that is 'here' and nowhere else but also open to otherness, difference and a degree of inclusive, politically 'progressive' and cosmopolitan 'vision' (Beck 2006). However, as stated above, this sense of cosmopolitan place *does* have its Others – and as we have seen one of these others may be the 'consumption-driven' 'cosmopolitan' who is seen to occupy the façade of the gentrified quayside are of the city. A strongly imagined and more generalised Other can however be identified in relation to leisure in Newcastle city centre more generally – the Geordie male.

9.5.2 Dangerous 'Locals'

Regardless of the progress made by minority-group agendas since the 1960s through processes of identity politics, and the recovery (and construction of) 'subjugated knowledges' (Foucault 1981), ideas of inclusion and exclusion, and acceptance or not of difference do still exist at the level of everyday discourse and practice in Newcastle. This is evidenced by the sometimes fearful apprehension of the city centre's nightlife that is alluded to by many of my interviewees. These discourses and experiences of the centre, although of course only partial, are perhaps more relevant in a city like Newcastle upon Tyne that is often seen to have a dominant legacy of white, masculine, working-class working and leisure practices (Hollands 1995).

The quotes from Jo and Others above that paint the Cumberland and the Valley more generally as a 'safe space' that encourages moderate drinking, and sanctions racism, sexism and homophobia are interesting for the fact that they contain implicit assumptions about the general nature of the city's nightlife environment outside the Ouseburn Valley and in the city centre more specifically. We have already seen how certain areas of the city and of neighbouring Gateshead are seen to contain inauthentic representations of cosmopolitan lifestyles through the consumption of place-free brands. The centre of Newcastle more generally however, is viewed by my respondents, and of course has a much broader perception (see Hollands (1995), and Chatterton and Hollands (2001) for a good overview of this), as being a centre for 'partying' and excessive and energetic 'vertical' drinking, dancing

and hedonistic behaviours mainly appealing to and marketed at a youthful clientele (Chatterton and Hollands 2001).

Newcastle, in its aggressive-entrepreneurial attempts to switch towards service provision and a consumption economy (Wilkinson 1992; Robinson 1988; Chatterton and Hollands 2001), has been for a number of years marketed by the local authority and other private concerns as a 'party city' with a vibrant and in some cases aspirational nightlife[96]. This marketing can be seen to both complement the marketing of the area alongside the NewcastleGateshead brand of aspirational cosmopolitan consumption, but also threatens it through associations with problem drinking and violence. This aggressive promotion of the city in such a way has led to some of my artist interviewees as viewing considerable negative effects upon the city centre, including its aesthetic degradation due to 'corporate development' and perceptions of it as a space of male gazes (encouraged through the specific tranche of the nightlife economy dealing with stag and hen parties) and possibilities of drink-fuelled violence. It is through descriptions of the dangers and placelessness of the city centre, and the discriminatory gazes of its denizens, that we see the identity of the Valley played out more clearly through counter-identification with a massified, dangerous, tasteless and non-cosmopolitan Other. Ronnie gave a colourful description of his experiences of "idiots" in the city centre:

"I mean they [generally here Ronnie was talking about place-marketers, which would include local authorities, regional tourism boards and development agencies] promote the Quayside as a vibrant nightlife but it really should say "violent nightlife" 'cos it's a hellhole 'cos I play guitar down there, on the bridge [the Millennium Bridge, not the Tyne Bridge], on a Sunday for tourists, and sometimes I go down there on a Friday night and play for the drinkers and it's like a Fellini movie and there's stag nights and hen nights and they're all off their head man…and you've got as good a chance of a kicking (laughs) as anything else…and there's idiots flying around with bottles, 'cos after a certain time it just goes mad, it's not safe I mean even I'm apprehensive!"

Here Ronnie clearly sees the Quayside area of the city as being almost a no-go area at its peak 'party times', and this view was shared by Annie who perceived

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[96] *Prima-facie* evidence of the aspirational lifestlye marketing of various 'hotspots' and 'desirable areas' in the city can be made by looking through the lifestyle magazine *Accent*.

the Quayside to be "more about drinking" that the "cosier" Ouseburn Valley. This notion of drink-fuelled leisure, and its encouragement by local policy actors actually discouraging certain residents from going to certain areas has been noted elsewhere (Roberts 2006) This perception or sense of danger in relation to the city centre also backed up by Paul who suggested that:

"I think there's always an element or an edge if you're going to go to a pub in town".

Alex also recounted a story about another area of the central city that he then related to the present Quayside. Alex seemed to suggest that openness to transgression and difference in terms of dress and bodily presentation would not be tolerated under the 'non-cosmopolitan' gaze of some city centre drinkers:

"erm I had long hair at the time and dressed up sort of quite outrageously and I can remember being taken by a group of people up into the Bigg Market to see what the Bigg Market was like and they literally had to stand in a ring around me to walk me through this area as it was just quite intimidating and now I think progress means that the Quayside area is pretty much (laughing) how the Bigg Market was in the early nineties"

Alex suggests that as well as feeling physically intimidated in the city centre, he was aware that this intimidation was clearly linked to his own self-perception as in someways being different or transgressive – this is in clear opposition to the safety he feels about displaying difference in the Valley outlined in an earlier quotation from this transcript. 'Judith', an Ouseburn patron with an interest in the arts recounted how the Quayside area of the city, was in the past, much more of a marginal space, under the radar of developers and place-marketers. I was talking to Judith's friend Julia (who I had originally arranged the interview with) about why she maybe valued the Ouseburn Valley, when Judith took over the conversation for a while and gave an interesting insight to her perceptions of how the Quayside area of the city had become a centre for spectacular consumption:

"JW: so do think that as an artist you maybe value that difference and different lifestyles?

Judith: yeah I don't want to go out with loads of Geordies

JW: no?

Judith: (laughs) even though I'm a Geordie myself I maybe do different things from them…y'know one track little things that people enjoy, whatever, y'know…just stop me talking!

JW: no it's interesting…

Judith: well a long time ago (laughs) the Quayside was a place where it was a really neglected place…and we used to go out drinking there for the same reasons [as Judith and Julia now drink in the Ouseburn Valley]…'cos people involved in music and the arts would go down there to places like the Baltic Bar, and there was nothing there apart from those old bars, but it was still a meeting place for those involved in culture and now that's been subsumed by the city into making it a nightclubby type place for young people and the Tuxedo Princess and posh restaurants and more touristy kinds of things…so it's not so interesting for people who live here or who are more interested in meeting people than…

Julia: Just getting thoroughly pissed!!"

Here Judith associates 'Geordies' with heavy drinking and nightclubs, on a regenerated waterfront that has eradicated the previously marginal "old bars" of the arts-scene drinking circuit. There is also a suggestion that the Quayside has become more appealing to those with money due to the growth of "posh restaurants" in the zone. Implicit within this quote is a theme of gentrification, and that the Quayside, an adjacent area to the Ouseburn Valley has seen a change in the social and economic profile of its users in recent years as the city has "subsumed" it and aggressively promoted it for tourism and drinking. Emma also suggested this link between pathological heavy drinking and the city centre, associating it with the consumption of "cheap trebles" and revealingly, Pauline associated the Bigg Market in the city centre (one might say the ground zero of Newcastle's party economy) explicitly with 'non-cosmopolitan' behaviours when we were discussing the city more generally as 'cosmopolitan' or not:

"I wouldn't say the Bigg Market is very cosmopolitan on a Friday night…with people puking up and pissing in doorways – I mean that is not cosmopolitan!"

As we can see from the above quotes, even though (and probably because) the centre of Newcastle and in particular the Bigg Market and Quayside areas of the city may have been marketed as 'party areas', they are also viewed to contain quite specific and masculine orientations. These include the objectification of women and

'creative difference', and related racist, drunken and "idiotic" behaviours. There is a perceived lack of 'cosmopolitan' orientation towards acceptance and validation of difference in the city's more central leisure areas. This is part of the reason, alongside perceptions of placeless aesthetics, mass leisure and over consumption of alcohol that makes this realm of the Other unattractive to many of my respondents. Although outlining a quite specific Other for the interviewees and participants in my research, this Other, due to its being shared by the broader middle class (Lawler 2005; Young *et al* 2006) hints at the fact that (as was discussed above in relation to the Cumberland), the liberal middle class share a good deal of territory with the broader middle class that they claim distinction from in other, more subtle ways. This process of Othering a mythical and archetypical "massified and non-cosmopolitan" subject is illustrated in the section below, on the Ship Inn.

9.6 The Ship Inn – Space Invaders Come to the Valley

The final part of this analysis section looks at a pub in the Valley that was occasionally commented on by my respondents when I asked them about their leisure habits, and in particular places that they drank in Newcastle (assuming of course that they did 'go out drinking'!). More often though it was treated with silence (i.e. wasn't mentioned as part of their drinking circuit). This was despite the pub assuming a geographical centrality within the Ouseburn Valley. It was also often the second closest bar to many of my interviewees' studios, beside the Cluny, and considerably closer to their studios than the Cumberland Arms. The Ship Inn, despite its proximity and centrality was ironically often implied to be out of place, and as such can be viewed as a pub that doesn't embody the placeful-bohemian-cosmopolitan habitus of the Valley more generally. It was often mentioned either very briefly, like a stigmatised relative never to be spoken of, or sometimes more revealingly as a place that had brought 'bad elements' into the Valley, and had betrayed the place-aesthetics of the Valley through refitting it's interior and often playing 'popular' music loudly through large sound systems.

The Ship was sometimes talked of fondly in terms of its past incarnations when it had spoken of the placeness of the Valley, and when it had shared a 'spit and sawdust' interior with the Cumberland Arms and the Free Trade Inn. This was,

to the majority of my interviewees who had an opinion on the pub, lost in recent years, and the Ship can be read as totemic of a generalised Other, bringing *placeless* cultural forms into the Valley and polluting its *placeness*. This different environment of the Ship was also perceived to contain the threatening and possible violent edges of working class masculine identities, that as we saw above are seen to occupy the majority of the city centre but are tempered, or excluded, in the Valley.

Unlike the Cumberland Arms, the Ship Inn has television – a flat screen digital television that has been showing Sky Sports News on the occasions that I have been in the bar. It also has a fruit machine and a larger proportion of 'standard' drinks and lagers to 'real ales' on the bar than in the Cumberland Arms or the Cluny. The bar also differs slightly in the array of popular snacks and branded crisps and chocolate bars that it stocks and displays behind the bar. On entering the Ship Inn you are more likely to hear 'popular' forms of music emanating from its juke box and live performances are more limited than in the Cumberland. There are certainly, as well as I am aware, no poetry readings in the Ship. The interior was also renovated some years ago to a style of dark wooden panelling that covered over the 'original' aesthetic and reordered the lay out of the pub. The pub's beer garden is shaded by a large outdoor umbrella bearing the logo of Foster's Lager. Margaret recounted how the Ship Inn had changed, and how this bar had initially brought her to the Valley:

M: I suppose my first introduction to the area was a quaint bar which was called the Ship Inn…

J: oh - it's still there!

M: It's still there but it's very different to what it was in those days…

J It was ripped out wasn't it?

M: …Well not just physically erm the atmosphere as well. It was run by an old guy called John and his wife Lynne and it was a cheap friendly bar…

J: Yeah

M: Very individual…It may have been owned by a brewery but the landlord and landlady put their own stamp on it and it was very much it was…I suppose I wasn't aware of this at the time but – non

corporate if you like…it was quite individual and it was cheap and you know artists always gravitate to cheap things. They used to do home made broth and chip butties. They had a great dog and you could buy chocolate bars behind the bar to give to the dog and it was just interesting you know it was…I suppose it wasn't mainstream I suppose artists are always – are they always I don't know? – artists always seem to be going against the mainstream so I suppose it wasn't just a creative thing it was a social thing as well"

We see here then how the Ship is viewed to have changed from being an environment where individuality and character were prominent, in a similar vein to the character and individuality that the Cumberland is now seen to occupy, to a place that had seen its aesthetics and atmosphere change for the worse. The 'good' Ship Inn is talked of in the past and the 'bad' Ship Inn is intimated as occupying the present or more recent years. Relating this to my description of the bar above we can possibly see that the very 'non-mainstream' character of the bar has in some ways been challenged by new interiors, standard lagers, the invasion of a wider screen television often showing popular sports, and opportunities for more 'popular' pub past times such as playing fruit machines and operating the juke box.

Emma also suggested that the Ship had changed "loads" in recent years and intimated that "I'm not sure that they still get the same people going in to the pub", suggesting again that the pub was once a place where artists searching for a place outside of a 'mainstream', in common with Margaret's idea above of the pub being a "social thing", had prominently congregated. Stephen also intimated that he was not keen on the bar as "I didn't like the beer it was selling", and Stephen's preference, as one who suggested he enjoys the real ale bars in town and the Cumberland would again point to the idea of the bar selling more standard lagers that was supported by my observations on visiting the establishment. The Ship was also commented on by Jo, who suggested that the bar had had a number of problems recently including the poor decision to change the spit and sawdust interior to new wooden panelling. I asked Jo about the bar:

J: it's changed hands a lot in the last few years…I mean when I came here it was still the same people that had the Ship – Lorna and ohh I can't remember his name – and she'd had the Ship for years and years and years and years, and people loved it…it was what it was and people loved it for that

JW: what spit 'n sawdust?

J: yeah it was even more than the Cumberland is y'know and then it got taken over by somebody else they changed it and they ripped out stuff they changed it all…and it's just silly business mistakes and that was one of them and 'cos I think people immediately looked at it and went "awww – don't change something that doesn't need changing – there's not many bars like this left!" and I think that it's just changed hands so often and even in the last eight years it's had five or six different owners and I think because of that it's never managed to bed itself back into the Valley…I don't go in the Ship at all - well not for years"

Here again we see the idea that the Ship had made a mistake in 'updating' its interior, and how this disappointed the existing patrons through destroying its individuality, placeness and non-massified aesthetic. The high turnover of the pub's management also makes it more difficult to integrate into the community of pubs in the Valley on business terms. It is of course ridiculous and totalising to suggest that the Ship is completely shunned in the Valley – on the occasions I have visited the bar there have been people I recognise from the artistic community in the Valley drinking in there. On summer days the Ship's beer garden is especially popular due to its open nature and proximity to the Ouseburn River. Emma suggests that she goes there infrequently and Barry suggested that he likes the bar and uses it quite regularly.

However, the general perception that the Ship isn't quite 'of the Valley' and that it embodies a negatively appraised habitus is enforced by a number of clearer observations that it is responsible for bringing the masculine massified gaze into the Valley. There is an association of the pub with a certain danger due to this also. One of my respondents who jokingly (?) suggested that they weren't sure if this should "be recorded" told me in tremulous and hushed tones that the pub was "developing a bit of a gangster reputation…well you hear little bits and pieces, there was a fire bombing in there recently!", and it was noticeable that a number of other respondents didn't wish to comment upon the Ship Inn's clientele or what they felt about the place. This may have been through an unease of talking of the Ship in pejorative terms as it has a "gangster reputation" or it may have been due to a fear of revealing class snobbery in relation to the changes in the bar and its newer clientele. One of my interviewees was however very forthcoming and their perceptions may

also illuminate the reasons why the bar is thought of negatively or treated with silence by some of my interviewees. In keeping with reticence and hushed asides of other interviewees I have chosen to keep this person anonymous for this quote:

"[I]: Originally the Ship Inn used to be a spit and sawdust pub y'know… it changed a bit but we still used to do some sessions in there and the woman that had it was – she was a nutter y'know…and it was all y'know people with anti-social elements would come down the pub y'know but the Ship is not a place I'd drink in y'know we've done a few open mics and we've had a few sessions in there [music not drinking sessions] but the clientele are a little bit on the y'know…Pringle sweater and charver hats y'know

JW: What you mean now or?

[I]: oh still yeah yeah…I mean they put sound systems on sometimes during the bank holidays and it attracts the wrong…well in my opinion the wrong element drinking and running around…it's not a place I'd drink…I mean I either come in here [The Cluny] which very rarely has a band on, I go to the Cumberland, the Tyne occasionally has a band on and other people have their loyalties, but the Ship is a place I would avoid just speaking personally"

Here we can more clearly see that the Ship is associated with a "wrong element" that is aligned with a quite specific and class related dress sense and cultural sensibility – "Pringle sweaters and charver hats". This 'element' is possibly the same type of person that was excluded from the Cumberland by Jo in an effort to 'cosmopolitanise' the pub's social environment. This group is perceived to 'invade' the Valley and congregate around the Ship Inn to listen to loud music and engage with 'antisocial' behaviour. For this interviewee in particular this particular type of person and their associated mores is to be avoided, as is the post-spit-n-sawdust Ship Inn.

The Ship can then be viewed as a reverse totem of the Cumberland Arms in terms of it resembling the generic 'out there' of a massified and threatening anti-social city centre leisure environment. The Ship Inn then, due to its closer links with a perceived popular male working class drinking culture, is often avoided or negatively appraise by many of my working artists. It is seen to be a place inhabited by Others who are sometimes seen as threatening, and it is also seen to be a place that has in many ways renaged its *placeness* through bringing signifiers of generic *space*

(through refitted interiors, wide screen televisions, juke boxes, popular music, fruit machines, higher proportions of standard lagers and branded awnings) into the Valley. In this sense then the Ship can be viewed, to stretch a metaphor as an alien-mother-ship-inn, from the generic 'out there' space (Alex's "Outer World"), bringing 'space invaders' – or those embodied with a perceived massified and generic culture of alienable 'space' to the Valley's perceived *placeness*. As is suggested in the introduction, the Ship Inn can be viewed as a pub that invades *place* with *space*.

9.7 Conclusions

This analysis chapter then has reviewed a number of interrelated themes in relation to the 'home' lifestyles of my working artists and some further creative workers and users of the Ouseburn Valley. We have seen how the divisions of work and leisure commonly attributed to Fordist working patterns are challenged by my working artists and how the aesthetics of the totemic Cumberland Arms and the leisure environment in that pub offers opportunities for creative leisure and experiences that are viewed to be outside of perceived massified and placeless opportunities elsewhere. We have seen how, in relation to these seen-to-be-dominant forms of leisure, that the Cumberland and the Valley more generally is considered to be a place of bohemian and bounded cosmopolitan practices and discourses that are counter-identified with the perception of a massified, male orientated city centre. The city centre is viewed as often containing either superficial 'scripted' opportunities for consumption-driven 'false cosmopolitanisms' or as a space that is inhabited by 'non-cosmopolitan' locals keen to censure expressions of difference and creative transgression. The Ship Inn has been analysed as a pub that is often viewed negatively by my respondents and that is often seen to be out of place in the Valley.

Chapter 10: Travel and Tourism Biographies and Preferences: Anti-tourism, Getting off the Beaten Track and the Inspiration of the Elsewhere.

10.1 Introduction

In the literature reviews we saw how creative countercultures from the Romantic period onwards have often sought 'solace' in the elsewhere. The elsewhere and mobility itself have often been viewed as ways of escape from disciplined and rationalised modernity and have been constructed as ways to experience secular spirituality within nature. The elsewhere has also been seen as a realm where a sense of communitas or Rousseauian 'non instrumental' states of nature can be reconstructed through gazing upon constructed primitives and/or in the company of like minded 'counterculturalists'.

Places outwith of, or marginal to, perceived modern and postmodern social forms of social organisation, have also often been integrated *into* Romantic, and then transcendental, Beat and more general post-war countercultural imaginings in poetry, prose, aural and visual art. In this sense we can see that the practice of mobility and encountering the elsewhere and the Other is often heavily integrated into the practice of cultural production, and self expressive individuality, for many inhabiting discursive terrains of 'counterculture'. This hints at what will constitute some of the discussion ahead; that the mobile biographies of the working artists who have aided in the production of this thesis often have an integrated sense of the 'home and away' environments in their lives in that they are both, more often than not, integrated into the vocation of 'artist'. Mobility, travel and tourism then are not seen as an escape from the home life but are often 'used' as forms of learning and inspiration that feeds into artistic production. Often heavily imbued with the romantic impulse however, travel and corporeal mobilities *are* practiced by my respondents and participants as an attempt to escape the 'massified' landcapes of tourist consumption found in the enactment of the 'collective gaze' (Urry 2002). In this sense, then, we can see a further integration of practice when 'home and away'; desires to avoid tourist urbanisations (Mullins 1991) and to seek auratic placeness in

the elsewhere, mirror the constructions and uses of bohemia in the home environment.

Following the above, this chapter analyses the interview and participatory data that I gathered throughout my research in relation to my respondents' and participants' 'uses' of the elsewhere and mobility. These 'uses' can be seen to relate to processes of identity formation in relation to appropriate displays of 'countercultural capitals' through reminiscence of experiences, their meanings and specific practices whilst away from the 'home' environment. These practices and their representations will be analysed in three major categories.

Firstly the denigration of perceived popular and non-reflexive tourist practices, as signifiers of passive, produced experience that due to massification lack spaces of auratic experience will be investigated as a general theme. Secondly the desire to get 'off the beaten track' in a search for 'authenticity' of local, and sometimes primitive, cultures and solitary 'Romantic' environments will be investigated. This section will importantly look at the lesser-analysed theme of attempting to get off the beaten track in urban environments. Thirdly, the use of the elsewhere and mobility as a form of integrated and inspiring experience and learning to be incorporated into my respondents' artistic productions will be investigated. This last section, in a similar vein to the last chapter's discussion of the desire for a 'whole life' through the denial of Fordist demarcations of 'leisure and life' will also attempt to analyse these practices as implicit if not explicit critiques of the 'fracturing of the self' found within modern divisions of labour and social life and points towards a further 'cosmopolitan' orientation of the working practices of the artists and creatives I have interviewed and spent time with – and as such this section concentrates on the integration of 'home and away' in interviewees and respondent's lives.

10.2 Anti-Tourism

Many of my interviewees and participants were keen to distance themselves from the moniker of 'tourist' (c.f. Buzard 1993; McCabe 2005). This was often recounted as a realisation of 'not being a tourist' in relation to experiences of institutional tourism (Cohen 1972; 1979) within 'environmental bubbles' (Bauman

1990; Jacobsen 2003; Weaver 2005) in primary-function tourism urbanisations (Mullins 1991) or 'vacationscapes' (Gunn 1997), or 'enclavic tourist space' (Edensor 2007, p208). A number of interviewees had experienced such places and spaces in their earlier tourism/travel careers, but they were often not remembered fondly and were now distanced from their senses of self. Giles, a sculptor and now Arts Development Officer within Newcastle, on being asked if he takes holidays replied "I take lots of holiday yes (laughs) I love travelling". Here we see that Giles initially identifies himself with the practice of 'travel' rather than 'holidaying'[97]. Upon further interrogation however, the subject revealed that, he had in the past, taken a package holiday, and recounted that:

"I once went on a package holiday… to the erm Algarve…and that was the only time (laughs) and after that I thought 'nope I'm not a package holiday person'!…I was about twenty yeah…and it was great y'know 'cos you arrive at the airport and you get on the bus and then you arrive at the hotel and everyone sits around the pool and gets pissed and the beach is only one hundred and fifty yards away and you seem to be the only one that goes to it…I felt that I was just at the Bigg Market by the sea"

Here we can see Giles had difficulty in enjoying this type of experience (I have assumed from the intonation and the context of the use of 'great' here that Giles was being ironic). The idea of an institutional bubble (Cohen 1972; 1979) or encapsulating 'cave' is suggested through the account of transfer from airport to bus to hotel. The interiors of the institutions of touristic modes of transport and residence appear to be the only offerings to gaze upon for Giles here strongly echoing Edensor's (2007) account of such 'mass-tourism spaces' or 'smooth consumptionscapes' as managed and disciplined often through architectural design.

We also see that the hotel is an environment not to be ventured beyond by 'the tourists'. This physical encapsulation clearly carries a strong dimension of cultural insularity, with the Bigg Market (discussed previously as one of Newcastle's most popular 'mainstream' leisure environments) to another country. The perceived passivity of the experience is also alluded to by the idea of "just sitting around the

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[97] "I take lots of holiday" is assumed to refer to simply having time off work. I am interpreting this utterance as being semantically different to for example "I go on lots of holidays".

pool" and not even venturing out to the beach. We see then that for Giles, the package holiday represented a version of passive, culturally hermetic and institutionalised form of 'leisure-plus'.

Giles describes how he and his friend attempted to 'escape the institution' upon realising that it wasn't for them:

"Myself and the person I was with hired a car and we drove to the other side of the motorway into the barren lands (laughs) where there was just nothing and it was fantastic"

Here we see that Giles had initiated an escape plan from the hotel, and in doing so rejected the collective gaze (Urry 2002) of the package itinerary in favour of the solitude of uninhabited space. This freedom is gained through venturing 'beyond the motorway' and hence beyond a major signifier of modernity.

Other ambivalent and negative appraisals of mass or packaged tourism were evident in nearly all of my interviews on travel and tourism preferences. The rejection of Fordist holiday patterns was also commented on by Paul. Paul suggested that he hadn't been on a package holiday since he was twelve years old. The avoidance of such 'traditional' vacations was due to a number of reasons:

"We tend to avoid them [Paul's concept of package holidays] and go self-catering, just to give more flexibility and in villas rather than big hotels...where you can sort of decide your own time table...maybe it's about avoiding crowds and wanting to discover things for yourself"

Again we can see the desire to avoid itineraries set by others is strong as is the desire to avoid the collective gaze. Annie, who, as we will see later, values 'authenticity' (as a variant of 'local', sometimes 'primitive' culture) and attempts to encounter it by getting off the beaten track suggested that she was very unhappy with her experiences of 'being a tourist' in the past. In Annie's account we can clearly see how the spectre of modernity, wrought into the tourist system through varying degrees of instrumentality, is seen to bring, for Annie, a falseness to the experience of being a tourist. In line with the ideas discussed in the literature review (c.f.

Boorstin 1961), the institutions of organised tourism are seen to act as the interiors of the platonic cave:

A: Yeah – I hate being a tourist…I mean I get on with it you know but…I went to Italy a few years ago and I hated it…I went to the popular places and…oh god what's that sort of coastal…those islands off Naples…but anyway so I just hated it…it was like being on sort of Disneyland… the area itself was beautiful, absolutely stunningly beautiful…but I hated it because I just felt like I was in a play you know playing like y'know a tourist and not actually kinda getting to know people you'd always be a customer or a client or…a bit of trade, and not actually getting to know people as a person

JW: So how do you feel about places like Benidorm for example you wouldn't want to…?

A: I wouldn't go anywhere near it yeah

JW: So what is it about traditional places that you wouldn't like?

A: It's just mixing with people from the country you've left isn't it or and what I'm picturing is one of these multi storey hotels…and beaches where people lie and drink, and I don't like sunbathing and I want to visit a country to see the local towns and meet the people uhuh.

Here we see for Annie, that the viewing of "popular places" becomes an experience akin to "Disneyland", and her use of the allusion here I am interpreting to mean a form of simulacrum (see Bryman 2004), that due to the instrumental nature of the organised tour (Oliver 2001; Adler 1989) appears to Annie like being in a "play", a role of "tourist" that doesn't allow one to get into the "authentic back regions" of a cultural form and is imbued with bodily passivity. Again we clearly see a desire to avoid the tourist bubble of 'cultural sameness' that is viewed to inhabit the "multi storey" hotels of the Spanish Costas – themselves representations of modern architectural forms discussed earlier in relation to the 'home' environment.

In a similar vein when asked about their views of mass tourism resorts in the Spanish Costas a number of other interviewees were very negative in their appraisals. Stephanie suggested that the type of tourism urbanisation typified by Benidorm would be "Hell" whilst Stephen suggested that he "wouldn't go to those sorts of places" and similarly Maggie stated very firmly that she "wouldn't go there" [I had asked her about large resorts on the Spanish coast].

Andy S also stated that although he was contemplating staying in a tourist hotel on an upcoming trip to Mexico he had never been on a package holiday and was "against the whole taking Brit culture abroad thing" and Jo, Manager of the Cumberland Arms also suggested that she had been on a couple of package holidays but "They weren't really for me" and itinerised tours were unappealing due to having to follow "a crowd of sheep that are just going everywhere".

The signifiers of modernity, that to Annie appear in the guises of instrumentality (being a "bit of trade") simulacrum ("Disneyland" roles of tourists) and mass-modern signifying aesthetics ("Multi storey hotels"), which permeate the dominant idea of tourism and "being a tourist" are also alluded to by Emma. Emma suggested that she tends to avoid resorts, but had in the past been to smaller resorts in the Canaries that were quieter, and hence more enjoyable than larger resorts that:

"are just a lot of tall buidings, centred around a long beach so it's kind of that new build place…erm I mean it depends why you're going away – I mean if you're going to get some sun then erm…but I imagine Alicante, Benidorm and Llorett de mar are very much influenced by German and British culture and they'll have this sort of English breakfast stuff and they're the sort of place I wouldn't particularly want to go to myself"

Here Emma is essentially equating such mass resorts with the undifferentiated modernist and later 'new build' aesthetic found to be critiqued by many of my interviewees in the first analysis chapter. We also see a critique of the tourist bubble here and interestingly it is not only dominant 'home' (i.e. British culture) that is seen to be unappealing here but German culture abroad also. This could suggest that it is in fact the existence of *any* form of insular and displaced tourist culture that is seen to be unappealing or Northern European cultures in particular – and again this demonstrates Buzard's (1993) point that tourism cultures, in the eyes of romantically inflected individuals are, of themselves, representative of an alienated-modern form of inhabiting the world. Emma further suggests a view that cultures are often bifuricated into 'local' and 'tourist' at destinations. In relation to visiting Asia (Thailand and Bali), Emma suggested that the local culture is "really separate" and although she desired to "meet people who live there rather than just

speak to other holiday-makers" this was difficult in a short stay as you "meet people who are part of the tourism industry".

For both Annie and Emma then the desire to escape the tourism industry is a concern but is not always seen to be possible. Ronnie, a local musician and actor described to me how he had travelled extensively in his younger years. Some of his accounts resembled practices of tramping discussed in the literature review (Adler 1985) and will be discussed in the next section. Ronnie, through having lived and travelled in Spain also gave me some insights into his views of the mass tourist resorts found in the country. For Ronnie, large leisure based destinations such as Benidorm, Alicante and Llorret de Mar represented the same 'dangerous leisure' as he described in relation to Newcastle in the previous chapter, and echo Giles' sentiment above of the Algarve as "Bigg Market by the sea". Although describing himself as an "independent traveller" Ronnie recounted when he had been on a package holiday to Alicante "with a couple of mates":

"I went with a couple of mates and we stayed in I think it was Alicante – Blackpool in the sun – and what it is is the Brits go there and they want the Brit cultures, they want the pubs and the fish and chip shops and the pool table…and they don't care about the Spanish…and they feel safe with their own…but these places they're not Spanish any more…and after a certain amount of time they (the Brits) would start hitting each other"

Ronnie then, suggests that tourist culture is opposed to Spanish culture, an 'authentic' and hermetically sealed form of cultural existence that is found in "villages" outside of touristic centres where for Ronnie "you find stuff half the price, and there's no idiots and there's Spanish culture". Ronnie also suggested that mass tourists, found in the Spanish Costas in peak season were "hordes of idiots" that were merely tolerated by the Spanish workers in the tourism industry in such urbanisations. For Ronnie then, as for Giles and Emma, mass tourism resorts represent a disjuncture of local landscapes and cultures, a hermetically sealed bubble of British leisure practices taken abroad, and, as with the centre of Newcastle in the home environment, this is a bubble to be avoided.

10.3 Becoming an 'Anti-Tourist': the Role of Educational Capital

This theme became interesting and relevant to me as it became obvious, through my interviewing, that the tourism careers of many of my interviewees had changed over their lives. This was often due to having gone to university and, essentially, having undergone, through the transmissions of cultural capitals, the process of 'diffusion' of countercultural orientations that has been a central theme, in one way or another to many of the processes in this thesis.

In relation to this, the collective and hermetically sealed nature of mass tourism practices were also commented upon by Janine (a photographer and design lecturer) and Christian (a musicial and technician in the design school of Newcastle college), users of the Ouseburn Valley and self described as a photographer and a musical respectively. Both Christian and Jenine described themselves as coming from working class villages in County Durham, and as they recounted their childhood experiences of package holidays, and "local club trips" (Christian), or "going away for two weeks and staying in hotels with all kinds of games".

 It was clear that as they had reached adulthood their desires and preferences had changed. Christian described how such vacations, where large numbers of people from the same village would take coaches to the continent and decamp for two weeks, was "my idea of hell" and how he "couldn't think of anything worse". Janine described her early experiences of tourism in the same way telling how she had "gone on a holiday to Magaluf with eight girls and just thought 'what am I doing here'!"

It is clear for Jenine and Christian, that the importance of acquiring new cultural capitals and taste *habitus* were formed at university and through the pursuit of liberal arts and creative courses whilst there. The critique of previous preferences and experiences was clearly formulated in relation to these knowledges and desires gained whilst at university, and this was explicitly commented upon by Christian and Jenine:

"C: [W]e come from the same sort of class backgrounds and the same kind of [geographical] area…but then we've all been through university…

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J: We've done arts degrees

C: Yeah we've done arts based courses and I think that's affected us in broadly similar ways also – it's not quite "wow I've had my eyes opened by the big city" but y'know at the same time you know that there's more out there.

J yeah I think that when you branch out from your town and go to university or whatever it's like a whole new world is opened up for you, and I can't imagine myself ever doing that [going on a package holiday] again."

Here we see how the transmission of an aesthetic-reflexive sensibility (Lash and Urry 1995) through exposure to higher education plays a role in the creation of broader rejections of perceived 'standard' or 'passive-leisure' orientated vacations. This, in a similar vein to David Ley's (1996) theorum of the importance of the expansion of higher education in the post-war era to opening realms of cultural capital and personal orientation towards acquiring it in the area of gentrification bears broad commonalities with other taste terrains – in this case the critique of 'Fordist' (Lash and Urry 1995; Sharpley 2008) holiday patterns.

These themes were also strongly echoed by Dave, a friend of Christian and Jenine's and at the time of interview an out of work architect, whose account of changing holiday and travel preferences was strongly related to the expansion of knowledges and interests at university:

" I grew up in a village…and I kind of grew up in the kind of mainstream bracket of going away for two weeks to lie on a beach scenario…so sort of into my early twenties I was still really sort of doing that…so I did go away on a couple of laddish holidays for a few weeks, but the older I've got , and as Christian mentioned about going through art college and university I've kind of broadened my horizons…I'm going back to the south of France again, it'll be my third time, erm but the reason I go there is to soak up the culture and the wine and the food…the only other time I've been to Spain [Dave was planning to go again in the near future] was to Barcelona and that was to see works by Salvador Dali and buildings by Gaudi and things like that…more art related, and related to the profession I do."

We see here that, again the rejection of the 'laddish holiday' is founded though the experience of university, the exposure to different perspectives found

there, and the validation of these perspectives and practices. Dave also mentions how his interests when abroad are now informed by his profession as an architect, and this point will be revisited in the final section of this chapter – the 'cosmopolitan' integration of interests and inspirations from the elsewhere with the home life, and working life at home.

We have seen, then, that packaged or mass destinations are often viewed negatively on behalf of many of the people I have interviewed. They are seen to be hermetically sealed and crowded with essentially 'massified Others', as discussed in the previous analysis sections of this thesis. It became obvious however, that nearly all of my interviewees had had some experience of these kinds of holidays in the past. These experiences have often come at the beginning of people's travel and tourism careers, and often, as discussed immediately above, before or during the acquisition of further and different cultural capitals gained in higher and further education.

10.4 Tensions within the Lifecycle

The desire to get 'off the beaten track' (a phrase as we shall see below that is used commonly by many of the interviewees) and away from institutionalised, mass or packaged settings is often challenged however by the appearance of children. This tension again echoes the tensions found within the cultural desires and reproductive strategies found within the new middle classes in relations to other aspects of *habitus* as discussed by Bridge (2006a) in relation to the effects of children on the 'ideal' housing preferences. This demonstrates how these fields are linked to an overall taste orientation (and, of course, the use of economic capitals) for the new middle classes more generally and how 'stages' in the 'lifecycle' can challenge these priorities.

A good number of my interviewees suggested that the arrival of children in both budgetary and in a clearer sense safety and practical concerns greatly limited the scope of their leisure mobility. Ronnie, who has a very broad and lengthy travel career, and has spent much time working abroad, described the taming of his travelling days as related to the birth of his daughter:

"when she was born I thought I'd better stick around you know...if it wasn't for her I'd probably be on a beach Barcelona probably – drinking wine and playing guitar with the gypsies (laughs)"

This illustrates how having children affects the travel careers of many of the interviewees. Children, whilst not always heralding the 'end of going away', as in Ronnie's case were often alluded to as the reason why a more 'institutionalised' or packaged vacation may be sought. When I asked Paul about what he did in terms of travel and holidays he responded: "there's two answers to that question – erm before children and after children". Paul suggested that the birth of his first child had had a great impact on the scope of his destination and activity choices when planning a holiday, as did Alex, who also has a young family. Pauline suggested that holidays in the sun had been a good option for her and her children when they were young, but really her preferences lay elsewhere – with cities and galleries within Europe. Jo also commented upon this tension:

"JW: Do you like travelling?

J: Yeah I do very much so I mean I would always go not on a package holiday and organize everything myself…but that gets harder with a child…but I do plan to take her on a longer trip when she gets older…but I mean even if you do end up going to Lanzarote it's like about looking for the best local restaurants and trying not to do the mainstream parades that everybody else does."

Here we can see that the arrival of Jo's daughter has led her to more 'traditional' spaces of tourist consumption. However she is keen to stress that even in such environments there is scope for exploring and engaging with local culture. The concern for child friendly vacations was also evident for Simon and Deni, who suggested that the 'safeness' of packaged holidays was explicitly related to the birth of their child:

"D: I'd like to go on a holiday where it wasn't necessarily as planned as the norm…I mean we've been on a couple of things where you kind arrive and it says 'Chambers' or 'Thompsons'…packages…and I would really like to get away from that but it would be difficult with us having him now – maybe when he's a little bit older…

S: [we would like] something where it's not planned…where we're not exactly sure what we're going to be doing every day…

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D: we don't want a package holiday"

Here, for Simon and Deni, we can see that the arrival of children and entering a new stage of the 'life cycle' creates a tension between the (presumably massively prioritised) care and responsibility for the child and the pursuit of less regulated experiences whilst on holiday. The need for institutionalised, packaged, itinerised, planned and generally perceived to be 'safe' environments becomes then more central to the planning of a trip. However, for Simon and Deni, as with Jo, the arrival of their young "bambino" (as Deni referred to the baby) does not necessarily mean that the bounds of the imagined tourist institution are always needed. Deni revealed:

"Y'know we're going to Sorrento for a wedding and everyone's booked into this big hotel free function, they've got a bus to the hotel y'know and it's all organized, and we've booked some flights to this crazy B and B on top of the hill…and we're going to arrive just the baby or us…and we like to do that sort of thing"

Having the baby then does not necessarily preclude all attempts to avoid the 'institutional signifiers' of modern tourism, and for Paul, although having a child may have limited the possibilities of going to certain destinations, even the pool holiday is organised at the villa of a friend, not a large hotel. Similarly for Julia, a pool holiday with her family members still allows for experiences of "local food and culture". In this sense then, the arrival of children for a number of the participants in the research may have moved some of their preferences towards institutional forms of holiday making, there is still a desire to avoid the archetypical imaginings of such venues.

We can see then that in the preceding discussions, what have been discussed in the literature section as 'mass', 'institutionalised' or 'packaged' resorts and itinerised tours are generally viewed negatively by many interviewees. Nearly all of my respondents and participants however have experience of such tourism urbanisations . These experiences are often talked about in the past and as such are relegated to a time of naivety, when certain tastes and activities were perhaps less critically engaged with. They are often seen as a negative learning experience (as in

the cases of Giles, Annie and Jenine) – a going on holiday by mistake – never to be repeated.

More 'institutionalised' or home-culture-centred forms of holidaying however do perform useful functions for a good number of my respondents. The ambivalences towards such destinations are brought out in different stages of the 'lifecycle', and particularly the arrival of children changes the possibilities leisure mobility. There is, then, a certain ambivalence in relation to the delineated leisure spaces of 'traditional' resorts, but nearly always in the interviews, they are not seen as 'ideal' destinations if engaged with, but as 'necessities'.

10.5 Off the Beaten Track

We have seen above that the respondents tend to negatively appraise perceived 'planned' or 'institutional' 'vacationscapes' (Gunn 1997) or 'tourism urbanisations' (Mullins 1991) or 'enclavic tourist spaces' (Edensor 2007) but find value in them in relation to the perceived safety these institutionalised spaces may offer in terms of being child friendly destinations. Even when engaging in these more 'institutionalised' modes of holidaying however, they will also often be looking for 'day release' from such environments. Much more common in my interviewing and participant observation research however, when not 'restrained' by the necessities of childcare, or the 'naiveties' of youth, was the stated desire to get 'off the beaten track' and to engage with 'anthropological-everyday' cultural forms at the destination or to experience solitude in nature.

The term 'off the beaten track' was explicitly used by a number of the interviewees to describe their travel and tourism desires. The phrase was used by Maggie, Annie, Paul and Alex to describe their leisure mobilities, and the desire of escaping signifiers of 'tourism' as a massified and institutional practice was alluded to by all of the interviewees without exception. This term can be deceptive however, and as was discussed in chapter 6 of the literature review, the desire to get 'off the beaten track' is often a shrouded signifier of those romantically inflected individuals high in educational and new-middle-class cultural capitals to avoid 'massified' and 'non-reflexive' Others – 'tourists'.

The phrase 'off the beaten track' also has clear ties with the concept of authenticity, discussed in chapter 6, section 3.2, as central to some interpretations of *some* tourists and travellers' motivations (MacCannell 1976; Cohen 1972; 1973; 1979; 1988). Thus, this concern with 'authenticity' both of objects and of social formations, and most importantly of *experiences* at the destination identifies my respondents as performing the role of explorers or individual mass tourists (Cohen 1972) at times (using the tourist infrastructure as a 'base' but then using time at the destination to explore). Some of the respondents also hint at backpacking or drifter identities also, and these particular biographies and their meanings for the participants they are attached top are discussed in further detail below.

As Cohen (1973; 2008) suggests a parallel set of institutions often caters for nominally 'independent travel', and this sense of 'minority institutionalisation' of such travel was summated in a two sentence exchange from one of my interviews with Deni, a design lecturer at Newcastle College and user of the Ouseburn Valley:

JW:"[When you're on holiday/travelling] do you want to sort of get off the beaten path?"

D: "Yeah – Lonely Planet guides are brilliant."

As was discussed in the literature review therefore, ideas of 'not being a tourist' and of being 'independent' have to be treated as a system of rhetoric (McCabe 2005; Welk 2008) that is not necessarily played out in practice (Kontogeorgopoulos 2003). It has as much to do with identifications – both belongings and Otherings – in the 'home culture' as it does with places visited and experiences garnered whilst in the 'elsewhere'. To use Edensor's (2001, p75) words this is a "normative enaction", and the role of 'independent traveller' requires knowledge of meanings and practices that demonstrate one's competences in this adopted role. In direct relation to 'getting off the beaten track' Maggie commented that:

"I usually try to get off the beaten track…say if I was going to New York I would be interested in going to the MOMA and the Guggenheim..but I would also be interested in going to some of the galleries on the Lower East Side…I'd go to Brooklyn and to Williamsburg…I just like different independent cultures and that's part of the joy and pleasure of travelling and going somewhere

else…say if I went to Sweden and I went to Malmo I know there's a sort of small Indonesian sector and I'd be looking that out…we always try to get out of the area [that we may be based in]… I do like to go off tangentially"

Here Maggie suggests that she (as will be discussed in the next section in more detail) takes her vocation of art with her on her travels but, as well as visiting the larger and more well known galleries of an area, also likes to search out 'cosmopolitan' places that are lesser known and to engage with 'minority ethnoscapes' (see Shaw *et al* 2004; Conforti 1996; Anderson 1987 on the construction of such districts) even when away from home. The desire to visit Williamsburg (see Curran 2007 on the district's artist-led 'development') suggests an interest in the creative quarters and bohemias of other cities echoing identified trends on behalf of certain tourists to search for the 'creative-everyday' of the elsewhere (Richards 2011). Maggie strengthened this interest by suggesting that if she visited Liverpool for a weekend she would be more interested in visiting the Bluecoat Centre than anywhere else – described by Maggie as Liverpool's "better resourced" equivalent of 36 Lime Street[98].

Barry similarly commented that he would always try to organise his time away in an independent manner. For Barry, this involved what he described as "couch surfing", a way of networking and finding cost free accommodation sometimes in artist squats or in the homes of like-minded individuals who were also keen on independent travel. Barry commented that the practice is:

"[F]or travellers who want to go and stay in another country and who want to go and stay but haven't much money but want to meet like the real deal rather than stay in a Travelodge."

Here we see Barry clearly desiring to reach a form of 'authentic' relations with people at the destination – to experience the "real deal" – as well as identifying himself as a traveller. This reality is explicitly counter-defined with the 'chained and standardised' (arguably perceived as placeless and anti-auratic) environment of the "Travelodge" (see Edensor 2007 for a discussion of such nodes). The invoking of the

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[98] Please see http://www.thebluecoat.org.uk/ for more information.

'Travelodge' as a 'non-place' (Auge 1995), interestingly echoes the perception of the Ouseburn Valley and the Cumberland Arms in particular, discussed in the previous chapter as auratic and placed. In the previous chapter we saw that the Cumberland is explicitly contrasted with the 'Travelodge' by Jo, the Cumberland's bar manager, in a place-non-place dialectic. The desire to avoid the 'Travelodge' environ and its putatively 'non-placed' or standardised tourist signification further implies that a particular *habitus* is carried by my interviewees when both home and away.

Although Barry shows a desire to avoid the Travelodge and its significations of generica, the engagement with 'place', this does not necessarily mean the gazing on and interaction with 'immobile locals' with 'hot' ties to the city; many people involved in 'couch surfing' are themselves travelling through. The "multiculturalism", as Barry termed it, of the city, was, along with this sense of mobility, also part of the attraction and this points towards as with Maggie above, a strong 'cosmopolitan desire'. Barry commented on his experiences in Berlin:

"We just had a wander about and met some nice people who are still good friends…some were from elsewhere who were travelling through and some people were living there, and some people had been there a long time…and I like to try to find the more sort of autonomous things being set up with anarchists groups…[people who are] doing things themselves and doing them autonomously – rather than being spoon-fed orders…just doing things yourself"

Here we can see that Barry is clearly engaging with a culture in Berlin that is as transient as it is settled. There is a desire to view and, through the creation of his own networks of accommodations, participate in a cultural form that is in some ways self-generating or at least not reliant upon broader 'traditional' or instrumental institutions for its organisation and practice. Autonomy and self-direction whilst away from home are thus important to Barry – and the practice of 'wandering' suggest a non-itinerised way of looking upon the elsewhere – possibly even a form of 'flanerie', (Tester 1994; Seigel 1986) an artistic-critical mode of looking at modern urban life that through its immanency invites the unexpected – arguably a parallel to the inalienable 'tourist moment' (Hom Carey 2004) – an irreplaceable happening of the 'there and then' seen to be less possible when the gaze is guided (Adler 1989; Oliver 2001) by itinerary and 'convention'.

The practice of wandering also bears similarity with the derivé or 'psychogeography' of the situationists (see Merrifield 2002; Solnit 2001) and 'auratic walking' described by De Certeau (1984) in terms of how literal walkings off the beaten urban pavement can represent a 'sacred' reconstitution of the self through the reclamation of practice from 'planned authority'. Both of these latter critiques can be clearly seen to be, in different ways, founded in new left and 'countercultural oppositions' to the 'technocracy' of high Fordism.

The idea of a self contained and autonomous group of (as Barry described it) "Good anarchists – not the bad ones smashing up store fronts" is also inflected with a degree of primitive desire, and a desire to engage with social relations that are at some level non-instrumental (and at least not driven by primary commercial goals). These ideals that have much in common with the accounts of the early Ouseburn Valley as incorporating non-institutionally reliant artists collectives are further echoed by Barry. We can see that in some ways, Barry, a user and validator of the Ouseburn Valley, when away from Newcastle is seeking (as was Maggie in relation to New York and Malmo), similar cosmopolitan-creative environments in Berlin. As such they are arguably taking their 'mundane' (Edensor 2007) practices at home away with them when 'away':

"One of my favourite places there, it's a great place, and it's like an old department store that was partially bombed in the war…Tacheles…it was turned into like an art squat and now it's a nice little cultural hub for people to come and chill and there's an open studio there, cinemas there and bars there and a chill out area there"

Here we can see that creative spaces in Berlin are one of the main attractions for Barry, just as he is drawn to the Ouseburn Valley in his home life. The desire to engage with such placed cosmopolitan bohemias whilst away suggests that bohemias themselves are attractions for creative minded individuals and working artists whilst travelling or on holiday. In these examples then we can see that there is, arguably, a desire for a liberal middle class, or creative cosmopolitan 'bubble' whilst away – a bubble that echoes the desire for placed cosmopolitan community 'at home' discussed in the previous chapters, and echoes Edensor's (2007) perception

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of tourism in many ways being an extension of the 'everyday' in the home environment, as part of an overall *habitus*.

The desire to pursue more autonomous travel itineraries and to 'get off the beaten track' in urban areas was also strongly echoed by Giles. Giles, who as we saw above, mounted an 'escape plan' on taking his first (and last) package holiday in the Algarve suggested that urban centres were particularly attractive to him:

"I quite like natural environments but it's the urban spaces that tend to excite me and I have visited European cities American cities and ones further afield…erm I like to see that side of the city that you see from trains 'cos you always go through the worst places because trains go around the back of everything so it's the bit they haven't made nice and shiney y'know so you probably get to the underbelly of the place…but I'm probably not (laughing) a typical tourist…there might be bits of graffiti there or whatever it might be…I like to look around the back at a bit of the underbelly…it's like when I went to America yeah you see all of the big nice shineys but you know if you get in a car and drive long into Washington or you take the train two or three stations further than people recommend then it starts to get interesting…you're seeing what actually makes it work – it's because of what happens here [in the back regions of cities] next to you know the bit that they want to show off and it happens because of all of these tiers underneath them"

This extended quotation from Giles demonstrates very clearly that, like Barry and Maggie above, it is the 'lesser-known' (as compared to imagined 'stage-fronts' with 'massified' subjects following 'prescribed itineraries') areas of cities and the districts outwith of the "shineys" found in the city centres that harbour most attraction. The underbelly, for Giles is inscribed with signifiers of 'urban authenticity' such as graffiti and the "backs" of buildings that lie behind the 'facades' of the shiny centres. Arguably this semantic nexus can also be viewed as imbued with a certain degree of primitivist desire. We see that for Giles, graffiti is associated with urban[99] authenticity; it is also in the popular imagination associated with urban 'negritude', and blackness. Blackness, as we have seen in relation to the Beats and other creative countercultures has often been in the West constructed in a way as being

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[99] 'Urban' has in fact become increasingly synonymous, and not uncontroversially (partly because of issues of appropriation and commodification), with 'black' youth culture in recent years. (see: www.dontcallmeurban.com).

imbued with a *sauvage noblesse* – and hence this 'authentic urbanism' bears close semblance to such constructs (see also Lury 1996 for how this social meaning is played upon within broader consumption habits).

More prosaically and perhaps less speculatively, we can clearly see echoes of MacCannell's (1976) idea of the quest for authenticity here in Giles' account and how this authenticity is imagined to inhabit the 'non-presented' parts of cities and the desire to see 'how things work' behind the surface. Authenticity and substance, for Giles, is clearly found behind the "parts they want you to see". It is clearly the 'mundanity' of the elsewhere here that is sought – and this for Giles, as the Ouseburn Valley is for other interviewees as discussed in chapter one, a signifier of reality and 'authenticity' outwith of the 'generica' of 'presented' areas.

This kind of 'off the beaten track urban tourism' is often neglected in the extant urban tourism literature in favour of discussions of hermetically sealed entertainment complexes (Hannigan 1998; Judd and Fainstein 1999) festival market places and the "serial reproductions of cultural tourism" (Richards 2011). It does suggest, though, that 'lesser-known' areas of cities where the 'authentic relations' of the everyday can be viewed and experienced are becoming increasingly more attractive to liberal-middle class consumers.

This disposition also supports Maitland's (2007, 2010) research into emerging urban tourism destinations, and many of these 'destinations' exact similitude with gentrifying bohemias discussed in chapter two – creative spaces that due to their multi-functionality and creative-productive natures assume the role of 'heterogeneous tourist space' (Edensor 2001), and perhaps due to this (not being total spaces of consumption) they generate a sense of experiencing an 'authenticity of real, working life' also. Although Giles here does not explicitly state that he was searching for bohemias whilst travelling in these urban environments we will see in the next section that engagement with creative practices in these environments has also been important for him.

Similarly, Jo, manager of the Cumberland Arms, recalled that she too, liked to get away from the centre of cities and from their more 'tourist facing' edifices and

spectacular attractions, to find lesser known spots that shared similarities with the Ouseburn Valley. Jo suggested that:

"I like cities all over really…I like to go into the centre of cities but I also like to find all of the other interesting places I suppose…Ouseburn type of areas of cities that are slightly more diverse places where it's not just 'oh you come to the city and go to the Bigg Market' and all that..."

Jo further commented that it was "Local Neighbourhoods" that were amongst the most interesting aspects of cities to experience. And again, as for the previous interviewees discussed here it is often the lesser-trodden sections of cities that are encountered outwith of their respective centres that are alluring. Again we can read this as a desire to experience the 'authenticity of the everyday' in these environments that exist outside of the more heavily promoted and spatially concentrated 'tourist enclaves' of cities' central 'presentations'.

This search for 'local neighbourhoods' and ' auratic community' outside of the 'placeless', 'malled' or 'disneyfied' centre can again arguably be read as a correlate of the concept of primitivism. Looking for such 'place' is an activity in which the non-instrumental relations of urban lives can be gazed upon outside of the institutions and (re)presentations of seen to be 'tourist' sites. This can be inferred due to such 'realms of spectacle' in the centre of many cities (as was discussed in analysis chapter one) being perceived by certain members of the liberal middle class as signifiers of, 'spurious' (MacCannell 1976), instrumental and disciplined modernity and modular post-modern consumption where one, in Annie's words becomes a "bit of trade" cosseted within a prescribed 'tourist role'.

Christian commented that part of this task of searching for the lesser known is, as Barry, Maggie, Jo and Giles imply above, to ditch the (at least 'popular') guidebook and not follow mass-prescribed modes of being and seeing whilst away from home. Christian suggested that he also likes to get away from the 'facade centres' of urban tourism presentations and to experience lesser known areas of the urban everyday:

"I do really quite like just not going to places that I've been told by a guidebook I should go to sort of thing, just wandering around and getting lost in a city or anywhere, which could like be a backwater somewhere. Like some of the best kinda experiences I've had tend to be places that aren't on the map...a small little town that's in the south west of Germany somewhere and you're seeing what they [the inhabitants] do everyday...and y'know it's not got a tourist trade and I like to find my own version of the place"

Here we can see that Christian wishes to get behind the guide-book representation of places to experience the everyday of the elsewhere. This practice is clearly linked to finding his own, lesser mediated, experience of other places that is seen to be found in a more 'authentic engagement' with the elsewhere through the disavowal of prescribed gazing, described as a reified and often passive-institutionalised act by Oliver (2001) and Adler (1989). For Christian this is found in smaller and less significant urban environments, where (quote from Christian) "there's no tourist industry, things aren't written in English for the tourists and you just feel completely foreign", rather than the less central sections of metropolitan cities alluded to above. The act of wandering, as for Barry, in search of the new and the real of the 'authentic', inalienable and serendipitous 'tourist moment' (Hom Carey 2004) is also important here and is in text and practice opposed to the idea of 'itinerary'.

Significantly, we also see here how the presence of other tourists (again as signifiers of alienated and inauthentic modern relations) and a tourism industry is syntactically juxtaposed within this quote as negating the possibilities of experiencing the everyday of other places. This again hints at the idea that tourism experiences, alongside other tourists, signify a lack of 'authenticity' to romantically inflected tourists/travellers, as the aura of the elsewhere place becomes destroyed by signifiers of massification, modernity and 'manufactured experience'.

The desire to experience 'the real' of the elsewhere through the pursuit of the lesser trodden path, away from 'other tourists' was also explicitly commented upon by Annie, who again stated her desire to experience an 'authentic-lived' metropolitan environment:

"I like quirky places...places that aren't on the common popular tourist trail...it's nice to go somewhere a bit off the beaten track...and I know that a lot of places once off the beaten track are now on the beaten track but there you go that's life...I like seeing how the average person lives in everyday life and how they go about their everyday lives...I would like to go to New York [but] I would need to know someone there erm 'cos they would give me an insider's view of things but I don't know anyone in New York at the moment..."

Again, in accordance with the other quotations above, we can see that there is a desire to engage with the everyday when away from home (Maitland 2007, 2010; Richards 2011), and that this 'real' everyday is explicitly defined as only being possible outwith the "common tourist trail" – read in its most spectacular form here as being in an urban context, the world famous markers (MacCannell 1976) that such centres may be known for, and now possibly viewed themselves as 'spurious' due to their associations with expected tourist roles and gazes. The need to engage with 'locals' was also stated by Simon and Deni, who suggested that when away there was avoidance of 'the English':

D: "We'd like to go abroad and do a little bit of backpacking and I'm not sure that it would be easy with the bambino...but we do like doing things that are just a little bit outside the norm...if we go on holiday and see a touristy restaurant we're less inclined to go in..."

S: I wouldn't I wouldn't want to go in no...

D: like if we go to Spain and there's loads of English people in a restaurant then we won't go in but there's a restaurant full of Spanish people then we go in – that's where I want to eat"

We see here that 'the norm' is aligned with the 'collective gaze' and the presence of culturally-familiar Others; the tourist culture of the 'English abroad'. The idea of avoiding itinerised tours and infrastructures of the tourism industry such as hotels when away from home, and gaining an 'insider's' view of places was also allude to by Stephanie. She suggested that there are many places in the future that she would like to visit and experience, Cuba and Havana being one example. The allure of experiencing the everyday of the elsewhere, for Stephanie is explicitly, as it is for Barry also, counter-defined with the idea of staying in a 'brand standard' (Edensor 2007) hotel whilst away:

"There are loads of places I would like to go to...I mean I've never been to Cuba and things like that, and again it's partly being interested in the way of life there and politically...and I'd like to stay with families in and around Havana rather than a hotel to get that view"

The above, then, has discussed how cities, generally metropolitan centres but also lesser know urban areas, can be explored in the search for 'authenticity', often seen to exist in 'neighbourhoods' and 'bohemias' found outside the 'spectacular and scripted' centre. It has been argued above that these searches are representative of the working artists' desires to experience and view 'other bohemias' – placed cosmopolitan environments that echo the appeal of the Ouseburn Valley (especially in its earlier days) in the elsewhere. In this sense then it is not so much the difference of the elsewhere that is sought but an equivalent 'cosmopolitan-bohemian bubble' that renders ontological security through a certain *habitus* and arguably performs a similar function to the much commented upon tourism bubble (c.f. Edensor 2007). Perhaps then we can suggest that following Urry's (2002) romantic and collective gazes there is also a 'cosmopolitan gaze' at once not founded in either solitude or the company of 'cultural familiars' but, as in the case of the Ouseburn Valley when at home, in the search for urban diversity. If this diversity echoes diversity found in the home environment however we may be more simply be talking, to echo Cohen (1973) of a 'parallel collective gaze'.

Arguably, this seeking of 'difference' away from the 'flattening effects' of non-place (1995) is also related to a degree of primitivism, or constantly evolving 'golden-ageism' with the authentic social relations of the elsewhere that are being sought signifying 'real life' and often (through seeking neighbourhood and placed bohemias) an imagined set of mechanical and less instrumental social relations. Gazing upon and being immersed in these constructions of 'community' can be read as positions that (in terms of discourse and identity if not behaviour and practice) implicitly, and often explicitly, critique the 'tourism industry' as a base of instrumental, passive, massified and regulated consumption.

As well as the allure of the lesser known urban places discussed above, many of the people who I interviewed and participated with during my study showed preferences for other environments that, can similarly, be understood as

representing desires to 'get off the beaten track' and away from the institutions of popular tourism spaces. Stephanie suggested that she has, in the past, often gone on holiday to Italy. For Stephanie the solitude and beauty of landscape combined with a non urban setting is appealing and Stephanie's desires for 'off the beaten track' locations with a degree of solitude are apparent in the quotation below and intimate a clear orientation towards non-crowded, and non-touristified landscapes – a classic concern of Romantic-tourist (Urry 2002; Buzard 1993; Feifer 1985) desires:

" In the past twenty years I've probably gone to Italy two or three times a year...to a little village in northern Italy...a little medieval village which didn't have erm, it wasn't a tourist place and I wouldn't choose to be amongst loads and loads of other people on holiday...and this year I was in a Scotland in and went to a cottage in Ardmadrochan just off Mull...there was one shop and the nearest supermarket was forty-five miles away – it was all single track roads and there wasn't a lot of folk there or stuff going on really...and [recently] I also went walking in Derbyshire...so I'm not talking package holidays here – I suppose I want to be in more remote or independent or different places which err feel authentic in whatever they are as much as possible"

Again, in commonality with the attempts to walk the lesser trodden paths in urban environments discussed above, we see that for Stephanie, this act of getting off the beaten track is tactically formulated in more commented upon (in tourism literature and polemics of travel writing) depopulated non-urban environments – here, echoing strongly the 'places of romanticism' (c.f. Feiffer 1985; Buzard 1993; Cardinal 1997; Watson 2006) archetypically represented in the Romantically inscribed landscapes of the West of Scotland and the European south.

We also see here the re-iteration of the 'authenticity game' being clearly recounted again by Stephanie. The mention of crowded touristic landscapes is clearly counter-defined with the search for authenticity, which for Stephanie is found in "remote or independent" places, where, significantly, in relation to her last visit to the West of Scotland the nearest supermarket is "forty five minutes away" and temporally and symbolically separated from the cottage in Ardmadrochan by a primitive "single track" road.

Stephen also commented upon the appeal of Scotland and Scottish coastal villages in particular. Stephen suggested that he doesn't take many holidays abroad

or if he has it has usually been to visit relatives living in Canada. Whilst holidaying in the UK however, certain landscapes, again of a Romantic colouring are attractive:

"I guess 'cos we're living in the city – although it's quite peaceful down here [in the Ouseburn Valley] – I value the peace and quiet and the solitude especially on the west coast (of Scotland) and it's a real attraction and the silence there I find really erm quite profound...and it's also the beauty of the environment on the west coast and on the east coast [again of Scotland] as well"

Nature and solitude, with their clear echoes of the romantic imagination, as discussed in the literature review section then are present within Stephen's accounts of his holiday preferences, and again we see how a preference for peacefulness 'at home' is also 'taken away' when Stephen leaves Newcastle. As we shall discuss in further detail below these landscapes, and the effects of solitude (for Stephen) in relation to creativity are valued as inspiration for his art.

In a similar vein, this 'spirituality of the elsewhere' founded in solitude and the Romantic landscape was also commented upon by Jamie. Jamie, a working artist and illustrator who works and lives in Jesmond in Newcastle, but who displays and sells his work though galleries in the Valley, as well as using the Ouseburn for leisure on occasion, suggested that he had from an early age been attracted to both rural and sublime landscapes, and that these vistas still inform many of the themes of his illustration and watercolour work. Jamie described to me his view of the natural and rustic worlds:

"I used to be a volunteer up in Scotland, up in a place called Inch...it was great to be in the outside, well in nature really...I remember once me and the other volunteers were fixing some fencing up, it was like autumn time and the trees were beginning to turn – well the non evergreens – and the wind suddenly fell...it was quite magical...I would say I'm quite a spiritual person and this moment to me like felt quite erm almost transcendental...I also love mountains I would like to visit for example Tibet...It's so unpredictable when you're walking up a mountain say in Scotland 'cos the changes in weather and like warmth can be amazing – it's also solitude, I feel like I work best on my art when in silence and alone and y'knar ya get this same kind of feeling and possibly inspiration when you're out in nature I guess."

Here we see for Jamie, in a similar vein as for Stephanie and Stephen above, it is solitude within romantically inscribed landscapes that one can attain a sense of

peace and possible inspiration. Jamie also ties some of these experiences in nature to a spiritual dimension and this is directly related to the emergence of secular spirituality in nature discussed in the literature review in relation to the early romantics (Wedd 1998; Solnit 2001), the transcendentalists (c.f. Thoreau 1856) and the later beats and 60s countercultures (Heath and Potter 2005; c.f. Kerouac 1958). Alluding to similar themes as the above, Emma suggested that she too, as she had stated in relation to the Ouseburn Valley also, was drawn to 'nature' rather than the urban:

"Erm I don't take loads of holidays but there's various things like camping in the Lake District and camping up the beach and going to Asia – so a real mixture y'know...erm I've been to Thailand and I've been to Bali so again it's nature really and i'm also interested in religion"

Emma thus also hints at possible a spiritual dimension here, but in this case in relation to 'the Orient'. Getting out of the city was also stated as a preference by Andy S who, himself being Scottish, suggested that going to Kinross in the Scottish highlands was a great attraction to him and that he loved nothing better that to "scramble up hills" with friends on weekends. The attractions of 'nature', interestingly, and in accordance with the attraction of the Ouseburn Valley as a 'green space' in the city was also commented upon as a practice of 'non scripted leisure' and in some ways autonomous and self-starting-landscaping by both Giles and Andy M. Both Giles and Andy commented upon the practice of 'guerrilla gardening' that they had participated in in the past, and for Andy was a present practice at the time of interview. Andy described discovering this practice when in New York:

"You were just beginning to get this movement of green guerrillas and you'd go and take over a site – it's beginning to happen here – where there's a site where development has been planned but nothing has happened...and they'd try to turn it into allotments or they'd turn it into a garden even if it was for a year or two years...and then [when development started] they'd take the trees or whatever and pick them up and go to a new location"

Although this act may have echoes of critical urban practices carried out in the past in efforts to 'humanise' the 'abstract spaces' of modern-capitalist cities, and the situationist practice of psychogeography and detournement spring to mind as well as

the related slogan of 'sous la paves la plage'[100] – but in this case on the pavement the grass. These kinds of practices are now clearly integrated into some forms of local government growth strategy, Giles commenting that the 'guerrilla' greening in New York was in fact carried out in conjunction with the city authority, and that it many have indirectly aided the construction of 'ambience' in soon to be developed areas, further aiding in desirability and gentrification trajectories.

The idea of bringing nature to the city is of course not a new phenomenon and was a central element of Victorian planning (Briggs 1963) and also inflects the liminal ideology of suburban development (Hannam and Shurmer Smith 1994) – the idea of bringing beaches to the commercial centre or cities however, once a figurative statement of new left critical protest has now become a literal integration into the leisure economies of a number of cities in recent years. 'Nature' then, in terms of offering solitude and respite from modernity is often attractive to many of my interviewees, and as many of them value the greenery of the Ouseburn Valley when at home, 'nature' is often sought when away.

As has been discussed above, there is a hint of primitivism in the search for placed community in the urban environment. Primitivism was also hinted at by a number of other experiences recounted to me by the working artists who have contributed towards this study. Ronnie described that many of his earlier years were spent travelling, and for Ronnie this had involved on occasions sleeping on beaches and sleeping in caves. Ronnie described to me how he had often played guitar with 'gypsies' in Spain and would go "wherever the wind" took him in search of "cultural escape" and these experiences are similar to Adler's (1985) description of tramping.

Andy S had some lengthy, very interesting and quite critical insights into the romantic ideals of primitivism, which are of theoretical interest to a number of concepts in relation to romanticism, and counterculturally-inflected practice, and are worth discussing in some depth here. Andy described how he had been on a

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[100] Translates as 'beneath the pavement the beach' a situationist inspired slogan that was commonly seen in the Paris riots of 1968. It is often interpreted to mean that there is hope in the city, and that it may still be a place of pleasure if only' regulated and disciplined' urbanism and be overcome. The statement also has clear romantic inheritance with an idealisation of nature as a realm of freedom.

residency trip to New Zealand in the recent past. The premise of the trip was in some ways to explicitly interrogate and experiment with primitivism and to "see how artists can live without modern technologies".

The trip according to Andy involved a journey "with fifteen artists down the Wanganui River in canoes", a trip of six days. Initially we can see that such trips explicitly embrace a 'primitive' and discursively placed pre-modern form of transport, as well as due to their small size allowing for possible experiences of 'communitas'. Further, according to Andy, the trip down the river involved a number of stop offs at 'marae', traditionally a building for Maori meetings, and spiritual and cultural expressions.

The maraes acted as accommodations for Andy and his fifteen other artist tourist/travellers on this trip. Andy recounted, in an explicit reference to the relations of institutions to perceived objects of 'traditional' 'auratic' or 'authentic' expression how one of these maraes was geographically placed directly next to what Andy described as "An institutional building, with shower blocks, and 'no-smoking' signs everywhere – even *made* from institutional materials, belonging to the department of conservation the COD" of the New Zealand National Government[101].

This juxtaposition of marae and "institutional hut" as Andy described it was to his eyes "slightly bizarre", and this 'clash' can be viewed as a concretised (in relation to the DOC building literally) form of discursive contradiction between on the one hand tradition and aura, place and authenticity and on the other modernity and the institution, placelessness and inauthenticity. For Andy the experience developed a further ironic pose when, after being greeted "in a traditional way" by "two women in Maori dress" they then, again in Andy's words "put on their DOC hats and gave us all of the instructions of how to use that accommodation and the health and safety etc". These meetings of social roles, in a similar way to the stark contrast the buildings offered seemed to Andy to represent a certain irony in the whole experience – and this irony here is useful to us as it demonstrates how these roles of 'pre-modern' and

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[101] See http://www.doc.govt.nz/

'modern' do not fit comfortably in to dominant representations (discourses) of order when they are seen to interlope one another.

Although Andy suggested a reflexive and critical orientation to many of the experiences he recounted on this trip, he suggested that perhaps many of his fellow artists on the river who he described as "basically hippies", and who were older than him, were more inclined to unquestioning romanticism and primitivist utterances in relation to these experiences. Andy recalled arguing with his fellow travellers:

"some of them were saying, like when we were in the more basic maraes, that 'oh I would love to live like this' and 'the simplicity of this is just great'...but I was thinking 'really?' cos I think that a lot of the time we just take a lot of stuff for granted technology wise and I think that it's a bit naive to think you could actually enjoy living without it for too long"

Andy recounted two more specific occasions when the romanticism and primitivism of some of his fellow artists on this trip in his words "got me really angry". The first was a stop off at a failed post First World War farming settlement on the banks of the Wanganui. According to Andy, the heritage spot was a site where the New Zealand government had, in the '20s and '30s encouraged migration from Britain for unemployed often ex-soldiers and their families with the offer of free land to be farmed. According to Andy this attempt at encouraging growth in agricultural productivity through 'Anglo-Celtic' emigration had failed because the migrants had lacked suitable skills and knowledges to farm the land, and had created subsidence and shifting soil problems through tree clearance. Andy described his anger at the "gloating" on behalf of some of his co-travellers that "the colonisation had failed and nature had taken over again".

To Andy this view was almost inhumane and involved a naive branding of 'ordinary' émigrés as oppressive colonists, and as harbingers of destructive modernity. Andy suggested that he had thought "How dare you! How dare you take pleasure in the failure of these people who came here and gave everything for nothing!" This visit, where the failure of one settlement was viewed as a positive outcome by many of his romantic/primitivist fellow artists was brought into stark contrast with another stop off at a place called Jerusalem, similarly situated next to the river on the South Island.

Jerusalem had been the site of a commune, established by New Zealand poet James Kier Baxter in 1968. By this time Baxter, whose poems contain attacks upon bureaucracy and modernity and contain strong romantic tropes, had grown a long beard and wore long hair, he had also garnered an interest in Maori pre-contact cultures and substituted[102] his name for the Maori 'Hemi' an etymological parallel to James. Upon Baxter's death in 1972, the commune could no longer fund itself and disbanded. Andy described the visit to the site as creating very different emotions from the "gloating" that had taken place at the farmers' settlement:

> "everyone was looking around kind of wistfully and saying 'oh it's such a shame this didn't work – it was such a great idea' and everything and I was just looking around thinking 'this is a total tip' they've just left everything here I mean there were kind of old chairs just lying around and bits and bobs of things it looked like a total tip. I just got quite angry actually and said 'well if you're gonna do this kind of thing then you should have the courage of your convictions and follow it through – you should also be more respectful of the environment and not just leave all this crap lying around if you leave'"

Here we see Andy's trip had revealed to his mind a kind of hypocritical stance within some of his fellow travellers. On the one hand a settlement of white-western farmers was deemed to be morally lacking due to its associations with government and colonialism, on the other hand a settlement of white-western counterculturalists in search of communitas, asceticism and 'primitive Rousseauian' social relations was given a valedictory lament.

Andy's trip and his critical reflections of it then serve to usefully outline some of the ironies and problems associated with primitive desire for 'romantic tourists'. Importantly, although Andy as discussed above was quite exasperated by some of his co-travellers' 'romanticism' this did not negate the powerfulness of the experience which he described as "totally amazing", and this demonstrates that such experiences can be valued and seen to be very worthwhile even when a more critical sensibility accompanies them - a sensibility that does not bear the weight of a search for existential or object authenticities.

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[102] Ironically 'James' has its etymological roots in the Hebrew for 'substitute' or 'supplanter'. The Maori word 'Hemi' is an equivalent of this meaning.

10.6 Integration of Travel, Tourism and Life

We have discussed two main themes above – the desire to avoid being called a 'tourist' and to avoid the perceived practices of 'mass tourists', and the search for the 'off the beaten track' destination. These desires have further been discussed in relation to important themes in tourism studies such as traveller-tourist distinctions, authenticity, romanticism and primitivism. It is argued that these constructs of being 'a traveller' and searching for signifiers of 'authenticity' in object, existential and gazed upon cultural forms are more of a concern to aesthetic-reflexive members of the new middle class, of which my working artists form a specific segment.

There is perhaps, however, a further aspect of signification found within these mobilities that applies more specifically to the interviewees and participants in this study than to the broader 'liberal middle class'. Quite conclusively, and for nearly all of my working artists and creatives the purpose of travel and experiencing the elsewhere was nearly always related back to artistic practice, learning new methods and/or gaining inspiration from new and different places. In this regard then, mobility for these artists was often linked to their working practices, and integrated into a 'whole' creative lifestyle – in Lash and Urry's (1994) words a 'dedifferentiation' (see also Uriely 2005) of the spheres of travel and home, and leisure and work and for many. These practices also echo Uriely's (2001, 2005) work on blurring distinctions between tourism/travel and work 'at home', and Edensor's (2007) argument that travel and tourism often form an extension of 'banal practice'.

In similarity with the ideas of creativity, non-passivity, and integration of leisure into the 'total lifestyle' at home, is linked to the desire to actively experience and make contacts and networks with people elsewhere. 'leisure mobility' is *not* talked about in terms of escaping alienation in the home environment[103], as suggested by MacCannell (1976); and in relation to Cohen's 'counterculturally inflected' ends of his 1972 and 1979 tourist typologies, but in a constructive and 'cosmopolitan' manner integrating the ways and inspirations of 'difference' into the

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[103] By this I really mean that the 'escape' from perceived alienating environments and roles at home has, of course, already been partly achieved by many of my interviewees through actually becoming artists and pursuing (as far as possible) a 'holistic' type of life and leisure often centred around the Ouseburn.

'one life' of working creative practice (see Richards 2011; Uriely 2001; 2005). This practice was usefully summated by Andy M, who suggested that, using an identical phrase in answer to my questions of him in terms of his leisure practices that his tourism and travel practices were "holistic" and in tune with other aspects of his life.

Many of my artists suggested that their travels had in fact been related to residency and learning from others abroad. This finding, that mobility amongst the working artists that partook in my research was often related to work-travel was explicitly commented upon by Andy S. Andy suggested that "a lot of my travel has been related to residencies...it's like the only real affordable way of travelling – so the way I try to do it [travel] is to incorporate it into my work". Similarly, Alex also suggested that holidays with his young family would essentially be working ones, with him performing puppet shows in the south of England during the summer holidays in recent years.

This dedifferentiation of home and away was also commented upon by Emma who stated that being an artist was a strongly held vocation: "what you do all of the time, so it would be quite weird if you didn't take that interest away with you...it tends to be in your mind all of the time so it's not like you can switch off". Emma further stated that this was "totally different" to an "ordinary job", which in some ways implies that for Emma "ordinary jobs" do contain degrees of alienation and separation between travel and tourism and work.

Giles, in relation to his trip to New York, commented that this trip had work as a sculptor at its centre, and this experience of working abroad was particularly fulfilling:

"New York's great and I was really lucky 'cos I spent six weeks there based in Spanish Harlem and I did this sculpture thing [for the Dean of a cathedral there] and they said 'oh do you want to work in the stoneyard?' and all the people working there were down on their luck and unemployed and the whole thing was like a training program and they were making fine stonemasons out of these people...that was a fantastic way to be in a city...it gave you the confidence to go off out into Queens and Brooklyn."

Here Giles clearly valued the involvement in a creative or artisan programme whilst in the city, and it was his role as a sculptor that had in fact taken him to the city on this occasion. Clearly again, this engagement with 'locals' also facilitated a greater confidence to get off the beaten track in New York and demonstrates how involvements in creative activities in destinations can often generate links into the 'urban everyday' through facilitating integration with 'locals' rather than 'tourists' (Richards 2011; Aoyama 2009), outside the 'spectacle' of the city centre "shineys".

We have seen in the discussions above that New York has exercised an attractive pull over a number of the other interviewees. As a modern art centre, Maggie suggested that she would visit the more spectacular galleries in the city but also venture into newer bohemias such as Williamsburg. For Maggie these ventures are not of a passive nature however, and she often aims to integrate trips away into her artistic practice:

"M: I love cities yeah and when I'm around a gallery I'm always looking for new work and for new artists...I find it very easy to visually over dose and get a migraine! I suppose it's the researcher and the visual artist in me that always wants to follow that up wherever I am...ermm I've worked as a designer before and I was very interested in Kappa shoes (laughs) and I visited the factory when I was there in Mallorca – I do that sort of thing you know...erm I enjoy the sort of visual culture of Spain

JW: so you're taking some of your interests from your working life abroad when you go away?

M: I nearly always do yeah and it does get the family down sometimes (laughs)"

Here Maggie is suggesting a close integration between her work as an artist and the possibilities of engaging with new directions in art through travel. There is clearly a quite developed degree of aesthetic-reflexive sensibility at work here as demonstrated through the desire to view the design and production of specific items of apparel. Maggie further suggests that the desire to engage with the visual culture of the elsewhere sometimes becomes a little overpowering and this 'way of seeing' is to a degree given a 'weight' or 'essence of being' through the idea of being an almost autonomous act, a lack of volition founded in 'the visual artist in me'.

Paul similarly commented upon the allure of prominent art cities, and how his holidays and travels in the past had integrated mobility for enjoyment, but at the

same time combined with a desire to learn from and gain inspiration from the elsewhere:

"New York's just a buzzing place which I've been to a few times to see art...and I went to Venice this year and that was with a couple of friends...and [in these places] it's just about trying to absorb as much as you can and that's really why I do it...it's responding to good and bad work and trying to pick out where you are in the bigger picture but also to be inspired by these places...even if we go to say Greece and we say 'oh we'll try to relax' there still well might be something of interest – whether that's a building or a door or something you know which I just love the look of you know and I'll photograph it...it's just a different kind of absorbing things"

Here we again see that particularly when visiting prominent art cities, Paul is demonstrating a desire an ability to critically engage with work he has sought out when there. He also suggests that this type of visit can generate inspiration and motivation for his work back in Newcastle and Gateshead[104]. Again here we see that even when Paul has tried to take a 'holiday holiday' and pursue a more relaxed state whilst away, he is still critically and aesthetically active, viewing objects and forms in his environment – significantly in relation to the 'authenticity of the everyday' discussed above, these are in the quote nominally 'banal' objects – through a 'frame' of artistic orientations.

The integration of the 'artistic gaze' or the aesthetic-reflexive sensibility into the mobilities of the working artists and creatives who participated in this study was also alluded to by Stephanie, who suggested that other places have an appeal because she is "interested visually in what things are like" and this interest is generated through "who I am which is also being an artist I suppose". Andy also stated that whilst he may try to take time out to travel or holiday simply to relax he found this:

"really difficult, as part of me's always thinking about work...I love to go to Brussels 'cos my brother lives there but I love it 'cos it's got a fantastic art scene and the architecture's amazing"

Here we see, as with Paul, the desire to search for art and to carry out an aesthetic-reflexive form of gazing is present for Andy when away from home. Annie,

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[104] Paul lives in Gateshead

also explicitly commented upon the desire for the 'one life' or non-fractured existence. I was asking Annie about her travel and tourism experiences and if she visited galleries whilst abroad and took her "interests from work to other places". Annie commented:

"A: I think if you're an artist it's not work...it's part of you...

JW: So there's no separation of like...work and leisure or holidays?

A: No I don't think so, I think I'd be depriving myself personally, if I didn't continue to create and explore – I just think it's a continuous thing that I'd do anyway...I mean it's like a vocation it's like of kind of a priest – you can have holidays but I mean you don't stop believing in god and praying (laughs)"

This eloquent metaphor from Annie suggests, in line with Maggie, Paul, Andy and Emma above, that being an artist is a 'calling' and the conviction of this vocation means that disjuncture in neither time nor space can fracture or derail the focus of the reflexive aesthetic orientation. For Annie, 'being away' is an active pursuit of creativity and exploration, it is clear that the difference of the elsewhere in terms of artistic practice is also important as a process of learning or viewing new directions:

"I like to take brief holidays y'know...erm to go and...well...experiencing other culture and cultures...kind of recognising that things can be done differently and there's no one way to do anything"

In a similar mould, Janine, a photography/design lecturer at Newcastle College and self-described as a "photographer or an artist", suggested that her vocation and concern with visual aesthetics often accompanies her when away from home. This concern ties itself into, for Janine, the documentation of the everyday elsewhere thought photography in relation to what Janine might value in terms of experiences and activities when away from 'work' and in other places Janine commented that:

"[It is] looking at absolutely different cultures...in the sense that from a photographic point of view, observing what happens in the everyday and recording that. I think it's part of being a photographer in general though – that you're y'know observing things and I think that you find that a lot with photography in general...like you *could* stay indoors all day but I'd have to go out to take

pictures...and I don't know much about history or geography or anything so it's the desire to take pictures really that motivates me to see things"

Again, the 'way of seeing' when in the elsewhere is informed by an artistic practice. In this example, Janine is often, literally, seeing through a lens, and this lens is focussed not upon the spectacular tourist markers of 'must see' itineraries but on the, often urban, everyday (Janine had described her preferred destinations as "Krakow, Prague, Nice, Rome, Berlin – Just in general anywhere that easy jet will go (laughs)". Although Janine here suggests that she "doesn't know much about history or geography" it is clearly the aesthetic meaning brought to capturing the forms of the everyday that bring meaning to her corporeal mobility.

For Julia, travel also is desired as an integration with her work as an artist, rather than escape from the working environment of the home life. Julia suggested that she would like to visit America in the future, and this be to "do a residency out there...and to look at the market and see if there is anywhere I could get my work out". Similarly for Barry, going to Berlin is an opportunity to gaze on new art and to meet other artists "I like going there to get pissed and meet people – having a laugh and checking out the art are the main objectives when I go there." Leisure and his work as an artist are then clearly integrated for Barry when on a sojourn.

Art cities then have a clear pull factor for a good number of the artists I have interviewed and spent time with. New York would appear to be particularly prominent in this hierarchy of urban desire, but Andy, Paul and Maggie also cited Venice as an important destination for inspiration and network generation. Non urban environments too proved to be inspirational, and sites where work could be carried on as part of time away. Jamie suggested that even though he lives in the city that "nature and countryside environments appear in lots of my work – I think I'm, basically inspired by those sorts of places and you can see that in what I draw and paint." Similarly, Stephen, who as we saw above values the "silence and solitude" of non urban places suggested that when away, often in Scotland, his practice as an artist would still continue. Stephen at the time of interview was working on a project involving the depiction of boats and was talking about a plan to visit Scotland:

"If I was taking a holiday it would be a working holiday...I would go up [to Scotland] and stay for a couple of days and move on and take some photographs and do some sketches and just gather some more information – a lot of the inspiration came from and still does come from boats in the Ouseburn and things up at Beadnall[105] and places like that"

Here we see a clear link between inspiration being found in the home environment and then further inspiration being sought elsewhere. Stephen clearly planned to practice his art on this trip also. Ronnie, in the days before becoming a father limited his mobility somewhat, recounted how being a musician had led him all over Europe and even further afield. As well as having been to Greece, Spain, Poland. Malaysia and India as an English teacher, Ronnie told of how he had toured America, Scandinavia, France and Belgium with bands. Ronnie, still a busker in Newcastle described busking in such places also. For Ronnie, it is clear that his mobile biography is not to be seen as a series of 'holidays' but as a process of working and learning whilst abroad:

"they're not really holidays 'cos a holiday is like from work y'know...but this was like working y'know I mean you're working the streets in France and on the beach and I lived in Granada for a bit 'cos all of the guitar makers were there...I think I was always interested in music and wanted to see how other people did it you know – not to take my culture but get somebody else's really to see what I could get from that you know be it flamenco guitar or Eastern European things like Polish burkas or whatever...I went travelling to learn."

Ronnie's corporeal mobilites have then been informed by a constant relationship with work (also as an English teacher) and his desire to expand his knowledge of guitar playing as a musician. Although nearly all of the artists discussed are primarily visual artists (although Alex had been in a semi successful industrial-metal band in the 1990s, Pauline is of course a singer and Barry was also learning guitar and making 'experimental' music), Christian, self described as a 'musician' also recounted as to how aesthetic, networking and creative impulses informed his travels suggesting that gigging with bands has been the reason for much of his travel and how this opens a door to the everyday of the elsewhere:

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[105] Beadnall is a village / small town on the Northumberland coast.

"A lot of the travelling I've done has been though playing music and that tends to be places that aren't on the map particularly, literally you've got a gig in that town and there's someone there that will put on gigs and you're sleeping in their house and you're seeing what they do every day"

Again, Christian demonstrates how his orientations as a musician have informed his travel history and how this identity and practice as a musician are integrated into both 'home' and 'away' lifestyles as an overall way of being.

10.7 Conclusions

We have discussed a number of themes in this chapter. We have seen how the role of 'tourist' is often negatively appraised by the working artists who participated in this study. This negative appraisal of 'being a tourist' has been related to ideas found within tourism studies such as the idea of institutional environments being related to the scripted and 'collective' nature of mass tourism. Critiques of such experiences can be seen to emanate from critical and countercultural discourse where the pejorative term 'tourist' depicts a 'managed' and 'massified' subject whose leisure mobility is often deemed to be a passive occupation of a platonic cave or environmental bubble that shields him or her from a 'reality' or 'authenticity' of auratic place found behind the spaces of tourist production. The tourist is also seen as a quintessentially alienated modern subject stuck in a realm of instrumental relations as a "bit of trade".

Although the moniker of 'tourist' is viewed pejoratively, and the places and spaces of 'collective' tourism are generally avoided and derided, we can see that a tension emerges in many of my interviewees with different stages in the life cycle. The very 'safeness' and institutionality of such tourism urbanisations can in fact become, for reasons of child care and practicability, appealing upon the arrival of children. This tension of wanting safety for children but the adventure of the ex-collective elsewhere however does not stop the artists attempting to reach autonomy and authenticity, but to a lesser degree when on holiday.

Importantly, we have analysed from qualitative standpoint how the urban everyday acts as a strong pull factor for many of the interviewees. We have seen how they attempt to 'get off the beaten track' in cities and how this often involves

removing oneself from the centre of such places that are deemed to have tourist facing edifices. In this point we can see how the 'placelesness' of urban centres discussed in relation to Newcastle in analysis chapter one is also carried as a critique into other city environments. This discussion has pointed to a number of the artists seeking out a 'bohemian bubble' when in the elsewhere – a parallel to the 'tourist bubble' or collective space inhabited by constructed Others. In line with other studies the presence of 'tourists' in an environment is perceived to be inversely related to the degree of 'authenticity' or 'placeness' that presents.

It has been conceded that many of the destination preferences and experiences sought by the working artists when away – especially the desire to seek 'authenticity' and to engage with local community as a manifestation of this construct – are shared by a broad liberal middle class. However, it has been argued that a specific type of aesthetic-reflexive 'integrationism' is at work to orient and give order to the participants and interviewees 'gazes' when away from home. This desire for 'holism', that has thick tropes founded in the romantic and later countercultural critique of 'fractured life' in modern divisions of labour and time, means that when 'away' my respondents are nearly always 'at work' and reflecting on aesthetics and new forms and seeing how the art of other places, and connections with other artists, can be integrated into their practice in the Ouseburn Valley. Journeys to other places then do not act as much as escape but as inspiration.

Chapter 11: Conclusions

11.1 Introduction

In this thesis I have discussed a number of lifestyle aspects of people who have been categorised as belonging to a 'core' creative class (Florida 2002). Aspects of artists' lives when at home and when away have been discussed. We

have looked at these aspects of lifestyle as being informed by an ethic of self expressive individualism that emerged in Romantic discourses and practices in the late 18th century in Western Europe and can be detected in practices and discourses in the present day. In this section I wish to summarise the findings of the thesis, and again reiterate how the three aspects of lifestyle that have been investigated are bound together.

11.2 Place and Gentrification

We have seen how many of the working artists I have interviewed and spent time with find the unique and inalienable environment of the Ouseburn Valley attractive. The fact that the Valley is seen to be, in landscape and architecture, distinctive and different from other parts of the city, or the "outer world" as Alex termed it is important, as it leads us to look at the Valley as in some ways an 'auratic' object of art (Benjamin 1936). This inhabited object, with its "industrial gothic" (Steve Laws) aesthetic, embodies, through its distinctiveness and uniqueness, a clear signification of the ethic of individual-expressiveness. The Valley is viewed *as an individual object* within a reading of other architectures and environments in proximous zones of the city as being banal, ubiquitous and lacking in individuality. As such this aesthetic shares many commonalities with validated aesthetics of 'early stage gentrifiers as identified by Jager (1986), Zukin (1989) and Ley (1996). 'Newbuild flats' are seen to embody a 'placeless aesthetic' to many respondents, and in many ways are a mishmash post-modern equivalent of the 'generic modernisms' and 'bland suburbias' so heavily critiqued by post war counterculturalists and social commentators (Ley 1996).

The changing nature of the Ouseburn Valley, wrought through processes of gentrification is seen however, to challenge both the placeness of the Valley, through fears of the encroachment of the above aesthetic into its space and through curtailing the Valley's earlier promise of autonomy, spontaneity and non-regulated expressive practices. The Valley has, even though having a conservation area status in place since 2003, seen much development at its fringes and within its bounds. It has become a focus of interest of the local authority in its desire to engage with the creative economy (Newcastle City Council 2003; 2012), and has become

increasingly popular as an 'alternative' leisure environment for broader segments of the liberal middle class in the city (Chatterton and Hollands 2001). These developments, on a number of levels challenge the 'auratic' property of the Valley, as a lesser known "secret garden" (Jackie) as it moves from being a 'marginal' to a 'popular' and in some ways 'institutionalised' space.

The concomitant effects of such moves from the figurative periphery to centre result in a loss of autonomous and 'mechanical' forms of social interaction as behaviours have to increasingly be sanctioned by referral to the institutional actors of the local state and/or private landlords. No longer is the creative and expressive spirit of painting a car in a spontaneous manner in the middle of the Valley, or creating fenced areas, fire setting at the solstice or the arrival of impromptu sound systems at the festival, for an informal 'rave' possible; a regulative gaze now surveys the Valley. In this sense then this thesis has provided, in my opinion, a new perspective on the meaning of gentrification. Although displacement is evident in the Valley, and as we have seen, Polestar Studio, one of the earliest creative enterprises in the Ouseburn has, during the time of this thesis encountered it – gentrification in this thesis has been viewed in a slightly different way.

Gentrification, as a process that, through increasing private and public interests in previously 'derelict' or largely ignored and underused spaces such as the Ouseburn Valley, challenges the attractiveness of settler artists to such places in that it is these places' marginality and freedom from regulation (as well as of course their price aspects) that allows for the pursuit of the self-expressive ethic. The pursuit of this ethic becomes less and less possible as, through a cultural diffusion of this ethic (Caulfield 1989; Ley 1996), and the associated increasing popularity of such places for leisure consumption it can begin to 'cannibalise' its own foundational sense of 'aura' and "become just like anywhere else" (Stephen). This combined with the focus on such bohemias as part of the creative city thesis leads to the regulation and commercialisation of bohemias such as the Ouseburn, leaving many settler artists with the sense that the possibilities of spontaneous creative expression through the "DIY spirit" (Emma) is lessened with the arrival of "The machine" (Andy M).

Gentrification, then, in specific relation to its *meaning* to artists, is, in part, a process that challenges the possibilities of 'secular-sacred' self expressions with the 'profanities' of bureaucratic regulation and the transformation of 'places' into 'spaces' where exchange values dominate. The gentrification process then, in line with previous writings, has observable effects upon the material environments of places such as the Ouseburn Valley - through improvements in infrastructure, in increased workspaces and residential stock and the increased costs of property and services, and associated social changes with increasing use by higher income groups; "suits" as Alex described certain 'incomers'. It does also however have effects 'in the mind' as well, that aren't simply related to the presence of Others, or rising costs – it challenges, through the arrivals of regulations, commercialisations, and massifications, the possibility of the pursuit of the self-expressive ethic.

We have also seen in this section how the desire to 'protect territory' in the Ouseburn valley from encroachments by both the Other middle class and the seen to be 'massified' subjects of more popular working class culture is predicated on a system of distinction (Bourdieu 1984) founded in particular aesthetics and the reflexive-aesthetic ability to engage with certain aesthetics (particularly the valorisation of the industrial gothic). This practice brings us to broader interpretations of the actions of inhabitants of the Valley and forces us to ask how outward looking or 'cosmopolitan' the orientations of inhabitants really are, or if, in fact, the desire for diversity and difference is really the realm of a particular group ideal that is in fact quite hermetically sealed, and desires distance from Others. In this regard we have looked at the idea of Shields Road, adjacent to the Valley, as possibly encapsulating an emergent 'banal cosmopolitanism' in Newcastle, as distinct from the creative cosmopolitanism claimed to exist in the Valley. In broader summation then we can suggest that the territorial orientations of many of the interviewees really underline human behaviours in relation to place and space that are found in many other times and places – with aesthetics being used to signify ingroups and outgroups.

We have also critically reflected on the idea that the artists in the study, due to having a common Other with the 'Other middle class' (i.e. the construct of the non reflexive and anti-cosmopolitan working class subject (Lawler 2005)), are really quite

close in social space to other gentrifying groups found further up the 'gentification food chain'; perhaps this closeness to the 'bourgeois middle class' increases the desire for distinction on behalf of those with bohemian aspirations rather than abating it (c.f. Bourdieu 1984; Siegel 1986)? In relation to the last point, some very interesting issues relating to the revalorisation of modernist and brutalist architectures have been revealed, particularly in relation to Andy S's discussion of the 'monumental' Trinity Car Park (since levelled) in Gateshead. The suggestion has been put forward that, as these structures disappear from the landscape, they too can become heritage constructs.

The rejection of the mass adoption of modernist and brutalist building projects by local state architects in the 1950s and 1960s, so oft critiqued by the creative countercultures of those times (and in reactionary discourse also) as 'inhuman' and lacking in auratic individuality can thus be repositioned as auratic presences, speaking of a certain age and style. The revalorisation of the concrete aesthetic of brutalism may also serve to show us that more critical (and/or perhaps younger) artists can use such aesthetics as a foci for tactics of distinction; as the popularity of places such as the Ouseburn Valley and concomitant industrial age aesthetics become, through cultural diffusion, increasingly popular with broader groups of place-consumers, the stark, vertiginous exteriors of modernist-brutalist forms can serve as social palimpsets for the inscription and transmission of newer cultural capitals.

11.3 Leisure

As well as valuing the placeness of the Ouseburn Valley as a distinctive and auratic 'inhabited object' and discussing the way the Valley has changed and this aura has been challenged in recent years we looked at the meanings and practices of leisure in the Valley, and in one of its pubs in particular – the Cumberland Arms. This section looked at the Cumberland as totemic of the wider values of many working artists in the Valley. Its 'character', including the heritage-aesthetic of 'lack' in its interior, its bounded cosmopolitanism, and its provision of creative leisure were analysed as being attractive to many of the working artists that I interviewed and spent time with. These aspects of this pub were analysed as appealing to my artists as they embody many aspects of the individual expressive ethic – the perceived individuality of the pub's aesthetic, its environment that allows the difference of Others to be expressed and appreciated (apart from out of bounds non-cosmopolitan Others), and the possibilities of encountering self-authored creative expressions in the fields of music, dancing and poetry.

The Cumberland was discussed as embodying forms of creative leisure, some of which are actually produced by some of the artists I interviewed. This aspect of the pub as providing 'non-massified' forms of leisure and entertainment can be seen to be a fairly new terrain in the areas of leisure studies. Although creative forms of tourism (Richards and Wilson 2007; Richards 2011) have recently been focussed on as points of new (or rather increasingly popular) 'expressive consumption' very little was to be found in the literature on the idea of creative leisure, where self-authored production and consumption of 'auratic' cultural 'moments' is deemed to be important.

Relatedly, in showing that creativity is sought in both work and leisure for many of these people, the discreet modern categories of work and leisure (Veal 2004a; 2004b; Rojek 1995; 2004) are also challenged by practices that pursue an integration of work and leisure into a 'total life'. 'Leisure' and 'work' blur in the Valley's pubs where networking and socialising with "likeminded people" can generate possible opportunities for collaboration, jobs or exhibitions, but also can provide stimulation for new directions. As such we can see that the practices of

working artists in the Valley relate to post-modern dedifferentiations of the modern-Fordist notions of neatly categorised compartments of leisure and work and pursue a form of vocational or artisan work-leisure relations.

This point does however bring up some interesting critical (and ironic) issues. If bohemia is 'traditionally' seen to be a realm of hedonism and non-utilitarian social relations, outwith of the 'boulevards' of regulated, commercial 'bourgeios' modernity, we can see that the idea of networking and dedifferations of the social and opportunistic point to an inconsistency in this logic. The desire for networking, founded on mutual appreciations of aesthetics and shared perceptions of their significances (such as the Valley's greenery and industrial gothic buildings offering an environment of difference from the instrumental and commercial edicts of the city centre) can be viewed as a form of cultural capital, that through the formation of social capitals can lead to the generation of opportunity for work and hence remuneration, in the final equation. Instrumentalism then, one of the key signifiers of modernity, far from being relegated to the 'outer world' can arguably be seen to be integral to the operations and functions of social interaction within the Valley.

At a more 'meta-social' form of analysis, we also discussed how the Cumberland, and some of the other pubs in the Valley represented a 'safe and authentic' environment for the working artists and broader segments of the liberal middle class. This discussion, in a similar way to the discussion on 'place and space' in the first analysis chapter looked at the way the Ouseburn Valley is positioned as a centre of 'placed-cosmopolitanism' (Massey 1997; Beck 2006) by counter-identification with other areas of the city seen to be inhabited by 'false cosmopolitans' (Young *et al* 2006) – the yuppie (Rennie Short 1989; Smith 1986) habitus; and 'dangerous locals' – contemporary 'working class' habitus (Lawler 2005; Hollands 1995). These two quite distinctive Others were discussed as representing 'identity-foils' to the liberal middle class habitus of the Ouseburn Valley, that many of the working artists inhabit; as stated above however, the liberal middle class does appear share a closer social space to the Other middle class, than to the shared constructed Other of the non-cosmopolitan white working class subject.

11.4 Travel and Tourism Biographies

This section analysed the utterances and recounted practices of my participants within the discourse of 'anti-tourism' seen to have its origins within Romantic constructions of the elsewhere (Urry 2002; Buzard 1993; Feifer 1985). Here we saw how 'mass tourism' was often perceived to be the realm of an Other with less concern for perceived 'authentic' experience (through keeping to the 'beaten track') and less amounts of 'countercultural capital'. This Other is broadly comparable to the one that is seen to dominate the central leisure space of Newcastle in the 'home' environment. Desires to experience the 'authenticity' of the elsewhere by engaging with 'local' environments whilst away was often pursued through the tactic of attempting to 'get off the beaten track' or getting away from the 'facade' of the tourism institution whilst holidaying.

This desire to avoid 'massified' and institutionalised (Cohen 1972; 1979) forms of tourism, was often talked about through the representation of the self as a 'traveller' (Buzard 1993; McCabe 2005; Kontogeorgopoulos 2003; Larson *et al* 2011) with a high degree of aesthetic-reflexivity (broadly comparable to cultural capital). This way of being in the elsewhere, as we saw in the literature review, has strong connections to the imaginings of certain 'primitive' and 'natural' environments on behalf of Romantic authors as realms of spirituality and authenticity, and seen to be 'escapes' from the limits of modernity (Wedd 1998; Welk 2004; Solnit 2001; Pratt 1992; Cardinal 1997; Butler 1998). This desire, to pursue 'authenticity' through off the beaten track wanderings, as well as clearly placing the participants in the research as bearers and interpreters of romantic imaginings of the elsewhere also clearly relates to the perceptions of the Ouseburn Valley in the home environment as a place that is a 'lesser known secret garden' that is distinct from the signifiers of (post) modern consumer capitalism found in Newcastle city centre. As such we can see that practices of being in the elsewhere in one sense relay the desire to gain distance from the seen to be 'replicated' or 'generic' environments of the modern world, what Auge (1995) describes as 'nonplace'; environments that the Ouseburn valley is seen to be distinct from in the home life of the working artists. These desires

then, clearly hint at an integration of 'home and away' practices as bearing great similarities for the respondents and participants.

The desire to be a 'traveller' as opposed to a 'tourist' is not always seen to be possible by many of my respondents, however. Stages in the life cycle are often cited as reasons for holidaying in more institutionalised settings, as is it the very perception of these environments as 'safe' that warrants their use when young children are to be taken along. Institutional tourist environments are also often relegated to the distant past before my participants had a choice in terms of their travel and tourism preferences – i.e. when they were children themselves. The role of education in transmitting Romantically inflected values about how and why one should inhabit the elsewhere are also shown to be important, as university for a number of my interviewees is seen as the place where they left aspects of their old selves behind and embraced traveller, rather than tourist roles.

The idea of getting off the beaten track is often alluded to by participants in relation to urban environments. Many of the participants desire to visit cities, and to engage with the urban everyday whilst there. As a practice, this often involves 'wandering' in search of the 'authenticity of the everyday' rather than sticking to itineraries and prescribed tourist sightseeing. This urban wanderlust supports Maitland's (2010) research into emerging urban tourism practices and 'destinations', where engagement with banal-urbanism rather than 'scripted' experiences are sought. This desire to engage with the 'behind the scenes' areas of cities often also brought out accounts of many of my respondents visits to bohemias in other places. These bohemias are sought for many of the same reasons that the Ouseburn Valley is valued in the home environment – as distinctive, auratic and non-massified realms where creativity and cosmopolitan-difference can be encountered. As such these practices appear to allude to a replication of banal practices at home for this group and supports work by Edensor (2001, 2007) that suggests tourism and travel is at least, for this group, as much an extension of aesthetic-reflexive practices and habits at home as it is a break from them.

The elsewhere, following from this above point, is not seen to be a space of 'release' from 'alienation' in the home environment for my interviewees and

participants. The elsewhere and experiences of it through travelling and holidays is seen, in the same vein as 'leisure', as an integrated part of a 'whole life'. Just as leisure in the Valley can be seen as an engagement with a broader community of practice, travel is often seen in the same vein. Many accounts of travel from my participants actually have 'work' as a central component, be this through residency, or, through the engagement with the aesthetics and artistic practices of the elsewhere when travelling for 'fun'. In this section then, we viewed how the separation of 'home and away' for the participants in the research is diminished, as vocation of artist is carried, practiced and integrated into the experience of the elsewhere also.

The desire for, as Andy M phrased it, a "holistic" existence permeates many of the practices of my participants to a large degree: in terms of integrating art with broader work in welfare occupations or creative enterprise; in desiring an autonomous and integrated creative community in the Valley; in including creative practice in leisure (and really pursuing a dedifferentiation of leisure and life); and, through integrating experiences of the elsewhere into the critical construction of art. Within Andy's quote, then, lies a subtle critique of the rationalising and atomising processes of modernity that many creatives from the Romantic Movement onwards have charged with assailing the 'aura' of the whole individual (c.f. Cantor 2004). In it we can see a clear similarity to the sentiment of the poem that, early in the literature review, was used to illustrate the romantic critique of emergent modernity: William Blake's *Mock on, Mock on Voltaire, Rousseau,* and as such we can see how core orientations of artists, from the late 18th century to the contemporary world have sought to preserve the auratic, autonomous, whole, self-expressive subject.

11.5 Concluding Remarks

This thesis has argued that the value systems and practices of artists in the modern and post-modern world have consistently been informed by an ethic of self expressive individualism. This ethic, Romantic in origins, and reiterated through subsequent critical-creative discourses, sees the individual as an integrated entity, capable of authentic self expression through creative acts. These acts become wedded to an idea of the artist and his or her works, as capable of expressing forms

of secular-spiritual 'truth' about life within modern cultures and societies. These expressions are decoded (and produced) by increasingly culturally literate sections of the populace as the 19th and 20th Centuries progress. Within the consumer culture of post-modernity, or accelerated global capitalism, this ethic has become closely bound with the practice of expressive consumption, where being an individual rests upon the modular display of material goods, and the collection of 'experiences' and cultural capitals.

This ethic, of centred or integrated individuality and expressiveness, can be seen to be in play in all of the specific aspects of lifestyle that have been discussed in this thesis, and relates to theoretical propositions within discussions of place and place change; leisure practices and the meanings of travel and tourism. We can see it weaved into discourses of valuing place – in this case the 'placeness' of the Ouseburn Valley in Newcastle upon Tyne – as a distinct and unique *oeuvre* bestowed with historicity, unique architectures and greenness. We can see it being challenged through the onset of regulation, commercialisation and massification, as places such as the Valley encounter processes of gentrification. It can also be discerned as an important guiding value in the pursuit of integrated, creative and distinctive leisure in the Valley. Finally, discourses and practices of the elsewhere on behalf of my working artists are imbued with desires for 'inalienable experience' through getting off the beaten track and engaging with 'authentic elsewheres' and creative spaces of other cities; these desires hint at the pursuit of the construction of a uniquely authored 'self' – the self as a work of art, an embodiment of aura.

11.6 Recommendations for Further Research

This research process has thrown up many more questions than answers, and the word limit does not seem large enough to discuss them all. Points of interest that arose through the study, but were simply too tangential to pursue at depth, were such topics as the revalorisation of modernism discussed in relation to the disappearance of 'monumental' form of post war architecture such as the Gateshead car park. Will the disappearance of such brutalist-modernist forms from the landscape see an ignition of nostalgia? Will a desire to heritagize previously denigrated architectures such as this occur? Other questions in relation to

gentrification processes also seem important – if young artists in the region are not able to find workspace in the Ouseburn area where will they go? There are rumours that areas in the West of the City and in Gateshead are seeing the formation of small groups of creatives – will gentrification processes occur here, or are we, due to the current economic crisis, that was majorly formed through speculation within the "secondary circuit of capital" (property), seeing an end to gentrification 'as we know it'?

In the realm of leisure, does the blurring of work/leisure of the 'artisan' lifestyles of many of my artists suggest that in an economy increasingly reliant upon 'creative' output this is to become a much more ordinary form of life? Just as the Fordist/industrial mode of development shaped the normative expectations of work, life and leisure in the post war era, will the creative and informational modes form new norms? In terms of creative leisure, the phenomenon of self-provision could be investigated further to try to interpret its breadth and meaning to contemporary 'middle class' consumer/producers.

In the area of travel and tourism, the ideas of educational capital in forming traveller roles is perhaps an interesting direction, as is further investigation into 'off the beaten track' tourism in relation to urban environments. All of these questions and more – not least the validity and breadth of the idea of the "self expressive ethic" – lead to further paths of interest that could be fruitful for future research. This thesis though has only been able to offer some limited and partial theoretical and empirical views upon aspects of lifestyle of artists in Newcastle upon Tyne's Ouseburn Valley. It is hoped that this investigation though has proven to be interesting, theoretically plausible, and empirically valid.

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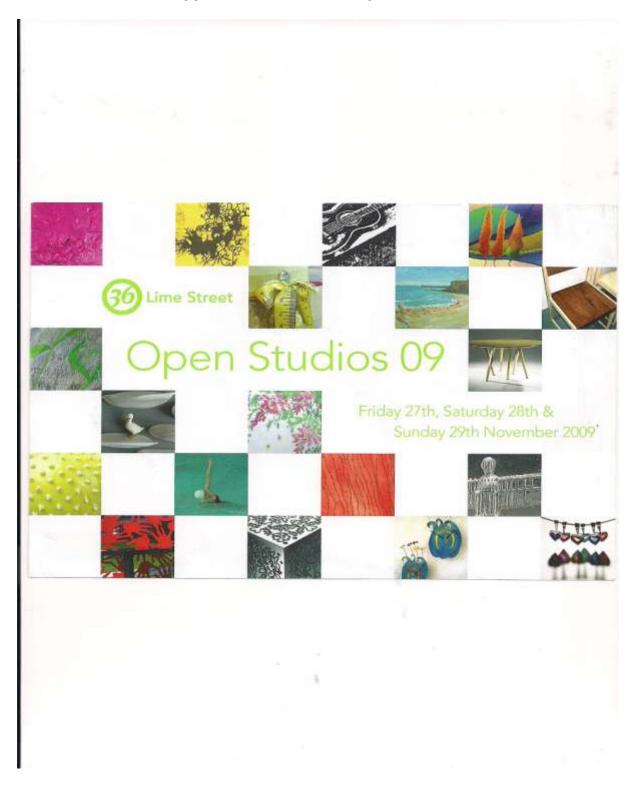
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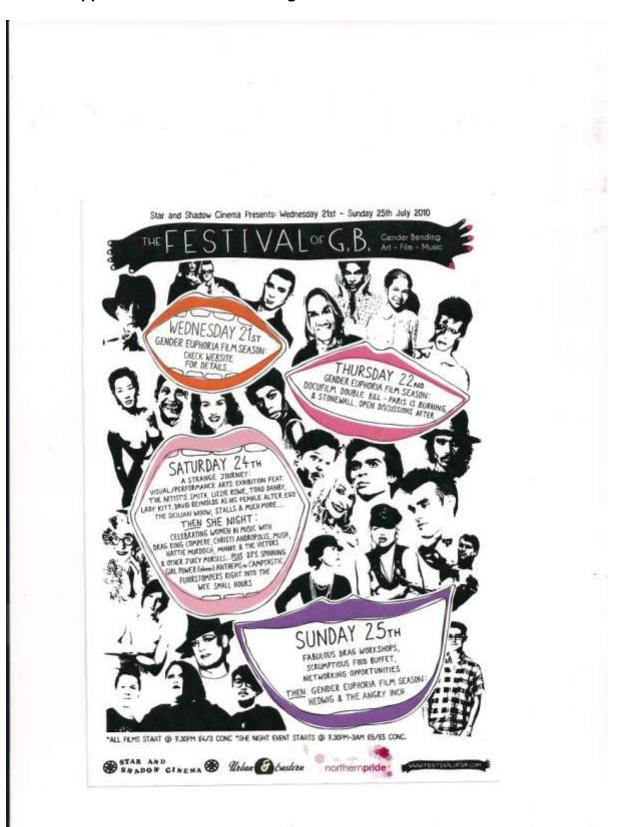
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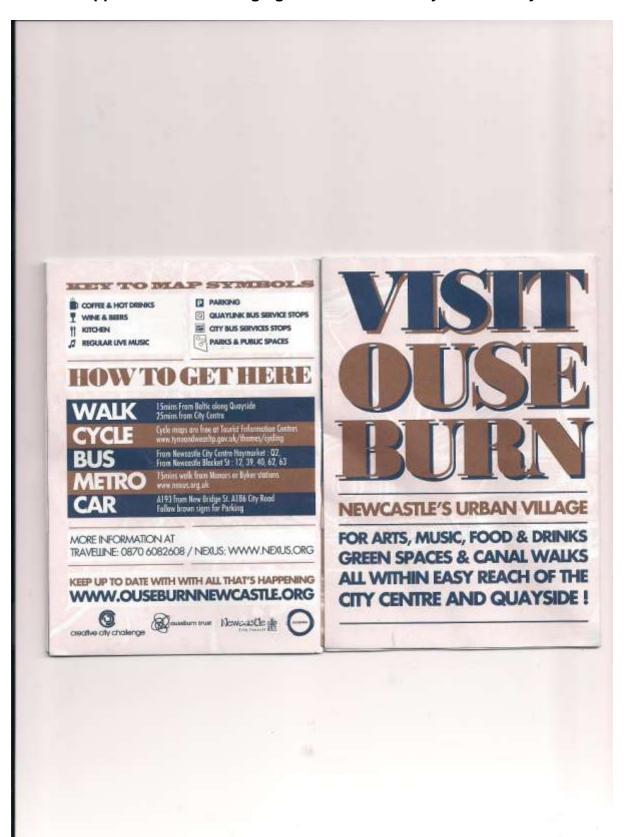Zukin, S. (1995). *The Cultures of Cities*. Blackwell: London.

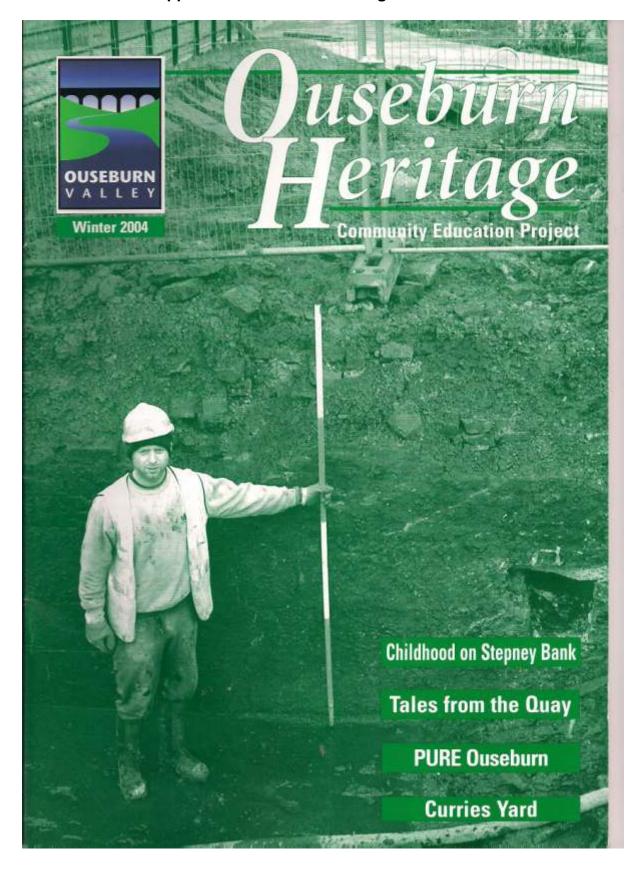# Appendices

Appendix 1 Lime Street Open Studios

Appendix 2 – Gender bending at the Star and Shadow Cinema

Appendix 3 – Encouraging the visitor economy in the Valley

Appendix 4: Ouseburn Heritage Publication

Appendix 5: Interview consent form

Interview Consent Form
School of Business and Law
St Peter's Campus
Sunderland SR6 ODD

University of Sunderland

Name of Interviewer: James Whiting
Contact Details: Tel: (0191) 281 0757; james.whiting@sunderland.ac.uk

The information from this interview is to be used by James Whiting in the pursuit of his PhD project. The area of study that James is interested in relates to creative lifestyles, creative communities and the working and leisure practices of artists in the Ouseburn Valley area of Newcastle upon Tyne. James is also interested in emerging 'cosmopolitan' identities.

For the purposes of this interview please read the conditions below:

1. I agree to be interviewed for the purposes of the PhD project described above.
2. The purpose and nature of the interview has been explained to me.
3. I agree that the interview may be tape recorded.
4. Any questions about the interview have been answered to my satisfaction.
5. Please circle a) b) or c):

   a) I agree that my name may be used for both PhD research and for future academic publications

   b) I agree that my name may be used solely for the purpose of the PhD research and not for publication

   c) I would like to remain anonymous and will be referred to in the PhD / future publications only as "*pseudonym (i.e. Janice etc) – an artist working in the Ouseburn Valley*" etc.

James is also a volunteer in the Oral History Group at the Ouseburn Trust. Some views and perceptions of artists in the area may also be of interest to the trust. Would You be willing for information generated in this interview to be shared with the trust? Please circle:

1. I agree for my views/perceptions to be shared with the Ouseburn Trust including my name
2. I agree for my views/perceptions to be shared with the Ouseburn Trust but wish to remain anonymous
3. I don't want any information from this interview to be shared with the Ouseburn Trust

Name of Interviewee...... GILES CAREY

Signature of Interviewee........

Signature of Interviewer.... James S. Whig ...Date 02/06/10

Appendix 6: Example of a Transcript

Interview with Maggie. Artist at 36 Lime Street. 05th August 2009.

(??????) = Unintelligible

+ = talking at the same time

Grey = my comments (whilst transcribing)

/ = sentence is cut off

…= slight pause

M: So how does the tape recorder work because I might be doing some research myself?

J: Well it's half an hour on short play but you can flick the switch at the bottom and it's for an hour

M: Ah right yeah (sounds intrigued)

J: So shall we switch it on for an hour just in case?

M: That's fine yeah

J: Ahh thanks yeah…so erm your occupation is would be an artist yeah? It would be an artist would it? Or…?

M: It would be an artist but erm but I'm also an erm in arts management.

J: Arts management.

M: Yeah

J: Right

M: I erm really don't make a living being an artist…erm I subsidise my work as an artist through my work in arts management and researching arts (??????) that sort of thing.

J: ahh right is that working for the council aswell or private?

M: No erm who have I worked for…who have I worked for? I'yvve worked for this organisation for 36 Lime Street before I've worked for an organisation called (Brandon May?) err which is a sort of a

communication network and a team of professional development providers for designer-makers in the region…

J: right

M: eerm I've worked for the National Glass Centre…learning and skills council, actually I've done a little bit of work for Northumbria (University) aswell, sort of facilitation of new creative businesses

J: ahh yeah right…well do you want to start on the actual questions then?

M: yeah fire away

J: ok well the first question is basically – do you think that the Ouseburn is different from other places in Newcastle?…or in Tyneside…for whatever reasons you might think?

M: eeerm its sort of like a creative urban village I suppose aaand erm the founder of this building erm Mike Mould – it might be interesting for you to talk to him actually – he bought this building and (rented?) most of it to a small theatre company…saw the potential of the area I mean it was very derelict down here, underused – I think there was a pub a transport company…a lot of very derelict buildings…so I've been aware of this area almost from day one of its creative potential if you like through, through knowing that founder…

J: yeah

M: and erm also actually I suppose errr as an arts student in the 70s one was always on the lookout for errr different more exciting areas than mainstream areas…

J: uhuh

M: errm and…I was also keen…it would be very easy if you were a student to…just to be part of academia if you like…

J: yeah sure…

M: I was quite keen to be part of Newcastle if you want and erm to be part of that life and not to be just a student living in isolation in Jesmond…

J: Yes

M: It was very important for me to engage with the community I suppose is what I'm trying to say…

J: with the community yes…would that be a community of artists or just the community here?

M: well erm both – community of people – I wanted to…I was interested in what Newcastle was…I I'm originally from Middlesbrough which is about 45 miles away from here and I feel very much a part of a north-eastern tribe. I was very…I became aware I suppose that Newcastle was the North east cultural centre of the North East of that North Eastern tribe…

J: Yeah

M: Erm and erm and I suppose…I've not realised this since you've asked me actually, then on finding that regional cultural centre I was looking unconsciously to gravitate towards the creative centre of the regional creative centre if you like – or one of those…

J: Yeah – that's very interesting

M: uhuh

J: So you're saying, you said it wasn't a mainstream area down here - was that in the 70s it was becoming a place for artists?

M: No not in the 70s – in the 70s there was a…I suppose my first introduction to the area was a quaint bar which was called the Ship Inn…

J: oh it's still there

M: It's still there but it's very different to what it was in those days…

J It was ripped out wasn't it?

M: …Well not just physically erm the atmosphere it was run by an old guy called John and his wife Lynne and it was a cheap friendly bar…

J: Yeah

M: Very individual it had

J: a very individual bar?

M: I think it was. It may have been owned by a brewery but the landlord and landlady put there own stamp on it and it was very much it was…I suppose I wasn't aware of this at the time but – non corporate if you like (again escaping the mainstream and the desire for the inalienable) it was quite individual and it was cheap and you know artists always gravitate to cheap things. They used to do home made broth, chip butty they had a great dog and you could buy chocolate bars behind the bar to give to the dog and it was just interesting you know it was…I suppose it wasn't mainstream I suppose artists are always – are they always I don't know? – artists always seem to be going against the mainstream so I suppose it wasn't just a creative thing it was a social thing aswell…

J: right

M: …because it was important to me to be I've mentioned that word tribal before y'know perhaps not knowing how important it was…it was important for me to become part of the the…some sort of authentic…I can't say that it's ridiculous…

J: no no

M: Newcastle tribe if you like (laughs)

J: what…an authentic local culture? Do you mean…

M: Yeah and it was important to me at home in Middlesbrough…wherever I've moved outside the region it's been important for me to make that connection as you could be anywhere and if you don't make that connection yes I suppose you could be there short term and not worry about it but for me it's always been err intrinsic to my social life…

J: (??????) but do you think in relation to other spaces like the Quayside in Newcastle…do you think that this place is different to like the Quayside in terms of leisure experience or maybe work as well?

M: eerm well it's very different I mean the Quayside is very expensive y'know for an artist to operate on the quayside would be almost impossible because of the rent and rates. This organisation that is Lime Street is a not for profit organisation that sublets spaces out to artists at a very cheap rate so err price is always an issue. The quayside is sort of errm in the 70s when I first became part of this area as well arts students were always looking for err well an experience socially outside of academia outside of the university union and standard bars and music venues so…

J: was that places like the old Riverside in those days? (I meant the 'alternative' music venue in Newcastle – now closed – but I think Maggie though I meant the actual riverside on the quayside etc)

M: In the 1970s the Newcastle Quayside was derelict…it was there was a couple of old bars – you had the Baltic (an old bar not the gallery…obviously…) that was an old bar which was quite a dive and a bit scary and y'know arts students sort of like those sorts of places d'y' know what I mean and I'm trying to think of another bar that was down on the Quayside…all I can remember is the Baltic which was down on Broad Chare which is now no longer there and that was sort of an old bar with a pool table and habituated by the odd sailor that you still got in Newcastle and it was a little bit gangsterish and a little bit scary and that would add to the frisson if you like…

J: So it was something you said – you described getting away from mainstream bars you described them as standard bars?

M: Away from the city centre – I mean in the 1970s Newcastle was quite boring in a way. There wasn't much – Jesmond has always been quite dull for bars apart from the recent developments on Osborne Road. The city centre was in the evening very quiet…

J: Yeah

M: The 1970s was the time of the CIU club…so there was a thriving community of CIU clubs across the region and across Newcastle, so the social possibilities errm were much narrower then if you like there was no "Club A Go-Go" then there was the music at both universities the poly as it was then there was those two music venues. There was I think perhaps Rockshots and The Mayfair it was quite a different social experience…

J: Yeah that's great…

M: So I suppose that because I was young and my creative impulses, drives if you like were very mixed up with my social tribes…

J: You were what, looking for something different or exciting in that?

M: Yes you know something that wasn't y'know something that Scottish and Newcastle provided for you or that academia had provided for you, it was making that connection and errm looking for a bit more excitement I suppose...

J: That's great well thanks a lot...well I've got another question for you here about cultural difference errm do you think that the Ouseburn is a place where cultural difference is encountered or is more accepted than in perhaps other parts of the city?

M: Errm cultural difference – what do you mean?

J: well it could be anything – different lifestyles; alternative lifestyles different gender expressions...

M: aarm I've always found Newcastle a very friendly and accepting place anyway erm particularly the East End erm I don't know very much about the West End I did live in the West End briefly but lets say Jesmond was full of students erm not quite as many as when the student numbers have grown exponentially haven't they and to what they were in the 70s probably 3 or 4 times as there were then so erm Jesmond, the East End, Byker I always found quite interesting and I suppose I always was looking for that typical Byker connection because I come from a working class background er so I suppose when I moved to Newcastle I was looking to replace that in a way...

J: erm right well erm we're getting through this quite quickly which is good

M: good cos I can talk (Laughs)

J: No it's brilliant

M: No I'm just trying to think what you mean by cultural differences...

J: well I suppose like this building for example, does it have like a women's theatre group or something like that? That is here but might not be based elsewhere in the city? Or is there a special ambiance down here..?

M: possibly..erm I can't remember how long they've been here possibly less than five years but I suppose the Ouseburn is a bit, now it is a creative centre is more accepting of different cultures...

J: that's great so we're getting on to – I'm actually in the tourism department at Sunderland so I'm interested in some ways how artists view their leisure time as well – so the next question would be do you have or take holidays?

M: errm according to the opportunity yeah (laughs)

J: is that with expense then yeah?

M: well you know it depends one can have a good year or a bad year and this year I'v found things pretty tight erm I won't be travelling I don't know I can't see myself travelling out of the country this year whereas the previous years I might go to the Venice Biannale

J: the Venice bienalle the cultural event?

M: yeah, I might go to Barcelona I might also have a little short holiday that I do 'cos I think it's important to travel and but if you're part of that sort of err financially risky area that is an artist you cant afford to…

J: yeah so that's something you mentioned like Barcelona or Venice, the Venice Bienalle the cultural festival in Venice…is there certain things you would look for when you do, when you have been on holiday or been travelling?

M: I've just always wanted to wherever I go on holiday whether it's a family holiday or. I will always be looking for I do a lot of research before I go things like that I get the guide book the newspapers and I suppose that's the bit of the researcher in me as well I want to know where the good public galleries are especially twentieth century and contemporary art are and I want to know where the commercial sector is as well 'cos I do have a gallery background as well so I'm always interested in that sort of commercial and gallery sector as well.

J: Yeah ok that's great. You mentioned something about wanting to experience maybe local or authentic life in Newcastle do you maybe look for that in other places as well or?

M: I usually do try and get off the beaten track you know say if I was going to New York ohh what's it called the big art gallery there…The Armory…say if I was going there I would be researching a little bit around that, but I love to eat and I love to…I just like different independent cultures and not well…certainly in New York I would be interested in going to MOMA and the Guggenheim but I would be interested in going to some galleries on the Lower East Side or the Lower West Side but I'd, I'd go to Brooklyn as well I'd go to Williamsburg I would do that sort of thing, to me that's part of the joy and pleasure of travelling and going somewhere else yes…

J: So would you actually see what did you say places that are off the beaten track?

M: off the beaten track that have some sort of erm I like to make connections with the visual art but I also love food I might be looking for say if I was in Sweden and I went to Malmo I know there's a sort of small Indonesian sector in Malmo and I would be looking that out and I dunno how I'd find it I might find it in the guidebook or somebody might say something to me and we always try – I travel with my partner – and we always try to get out of the area get out of that like…I like to be secure where I'm staying

J: yes in a hotel or…

M: in a hotel or a B&B or an apartment. I like to research that and feel safe but then I do like to go off tangentially

J: right so is that mainly cities that you're attracted to or…?

M: I love cities yeah but I do like a mixture yeah when I'm around a gallery I was always looking for new work for new artists and find it very easy to visually O.D. and get a migraine so I can get a bit overenthusiastic on occasions and it's nice to get away from that to the beach or somewhere and my family say we are going to so and so and there'll be no galleries there…and you know yeah…I suppose it's the researcher and the visual artist in me that always wants to follow that up wherever I am…

J: yes so we're talking about holidays and travel so how do you feel about traditional places such as Benidorm and places like that?

M: I wouldn't go there. I would go to Spain I would go to Mallorca but I would be looking for something in the north east or north west of Majorca I would be looking to, I've worked in design before and I was very interested in (laughs) kappa shoes and I visited the factory in Mallorca when I was there I do that sort of thing you know umm…

J: so basically you're taking some of your interests from your working life abroad when you go abroad.

M: I nearly always do and it does get the family down sometimes (??????) (Laughs)

J: Well that's great that's very interesting…errm ok well in the future do you have any plans to go anywhere or would you like to visit any other places that spring to mind?

M: I would always like to timetable something in

J: yes

M: errr I enjoy Spain and the cultural sort of visual culture of Spain and it's…I'm always on the lookout I suppose so I would be always looking for opportunities and I would like to stay open-minded on that I wouldn't want to say "oh I must go to Florence next year" or whatever, I do read newspapers and follow the arts press and what's going on and…I'd love to go to Helsinki for instance but I can't see an opportunity, it sits in a little list in the back of my mind I like to stay open to other opportunities as well…It sounds kind of like I don't like the natural world at all but I do…

J: You do like natural environments as well?

M: (Laughs) I do like natural environments as well but I always like to erm (??????) but if the family insist on that sort of holiday I will always be looking for you know the nearest small city or vibrant town…

J: Ok it's brilliant so it's basically about leisure as well in Newcastle – so what areas do you use or have you used in the past…I think you mentioned the Ship before and do you still use the bars around here or…?

M: errm I'm an older person (Early 50s I would guess…I didn't want to ask a lady such a question…) now I'm a much changed person, I don't go in the Ship, I can't remember the last time I was in The Ship. I occasionally go to the Cluny bar…not very often, because my tolerance of noise is much less than it used to be erm I err as I've got older I've developed a bit of a music interest and I like to go to venues where there's a bit of music be it the SAGE or…the Cumberland which is part of the…which used to be an interesting bar but crap it's now an interesting bar and very good, so for instance I wouldn't go to the ship or the Cluny might be a bit noisy but I might go for a bite to eat there, I might even go to a gig there but for socialising I would go to the Cumberland, we used to drink in the Free Trade…

J: Yeah

M: Don't go there any more. It's always I suppose are artists part of a I mean it's a cliché now, part of call it whatever you like erm I don't know in redevelopment and regeneration terms they're always there first aren't they?

J: Yes

M: So often when other people have discovered it the artists have moved on not in a not that artists always want to be cool but they just want to be away from…not away from the crowd but it's that always what can I say sort of unconsciously not wanting to be part of the mainstream, not that to be unfriendly, you just usually things get over developed, prices go up, the quality goes down so you would be looking for the next place…

J: that's erm so do you have any fears that this place may be subject to that process as well?

M: It's a possibility but I think the recession might have stopped that in its tracks, erm but we're, this organisation, 36 lime street, is going to undergo an organisational strategic review to look at the future to support decision-making (??????) to look at the potential of buying the building from the regional landlord that sort of thing, so we're very, for the past few years we've been very aware that if we didn't have such a nice landlord who was the founder of the building that if a developer got in here we'd be out.

J: right

M: so we're very aware that that is a, well some of us in the building are very aware that that is a danger, maybe less so at the minute but one shouldn't be complacent, so you know we don't know what's going to happen five years hence so if you're in business you've got to plan and you've got to think ahead like that

J: as you mentioned before I was reading something some weeks back that was saying that artists are the stormtroopers of gentrification the idea that artists often come in first not that they have in any way a conscious desire to gentrify the place but after that people want to be in the area…

M: Well they're looking for cheap space and for interesting places to socialise erm their finances and income is always inconsistent and they choose to live that life erm rather than erm they choose that inconsistency because what they do is important to them and they'd rather have less money and more freedom…

J: so is that freedom from constraints of a boss or an institution or an organisation…?

M: Errm well it's the freedom from being a wage slave I suppose and creative freedom. You don't necessarily even if you work within an art institution y'know necessarily have err creative freedom.

J: Yes

M: You've got everybody who is suppose has a wage if you like is a wage slave who's got to ermm I use the term with a little bit of a sense of humour I have been a wage slave in the past, you've got to align y'know…

J: So do you think that creativity is very close to control and autonomy?

M: I think it's as I've got older it's great not to be in debt…

J: Right

M: you know it's great not to have er a mortgage not…er I mean I've sort of come through this sort of financial cycle in a way erm I've been involved in I used to be part of an art transport company we ran that for 20 years I had the gallery for 8 years and we were reasonably well off and I suppose I got to a certain age and thought what do you want to do and I decided that I wanted to make some work and I knew that there would be a financial risk there (??????)

J: Yeah well going back to the Cumberland Arms, you said you use the Cumberland Arms sometimes is that a place that you think is maybe different to other pubs?

M: Well it's run by individuals it's not part of a brewery group, it has a particular personality, it err keeps its beer and its drinks very very well, it's clean, it's scruffy but it's clean erm the people there…there's a certain sort of for the use of a better word creativity about it, difference about it and I think it is now on the tourist trail because they do B & B they do bed and breakfast…

J: yeah when I was there the Landlady was talking about converting the upstairs floor

M: hmm well I think it's done and I think it's in operation and it has I suppose that word again an authenticity about it…

J: A certain authenticity of place is it or…?

M: Place and what it has to offer – its drinks and its food and its experience…it has its music programme and it has a lot of creatives and a lot of people who work in the Ouseburn or who aspire to work in the Ouseburn will go there…

J: Right so we're onto the last question now you'll be pretty glad to hear -

M: (Laughs)

J: This is basically a question about NewcastleGateshead as Newcastle and Gateshead are sometimes called and its "NewcastleGateshead along with many other cities is or are marketed as a cosmopolitan city and areas of cosmopolitanism and what do you feel about such marketing campaigns?"

M: I think that in some ways it's sort of focussing on something like that is useful for planners erm and policy-makers erm and can make for some interesting venues and things that happen but what I also see is a loss of authenticity in that you know you can't move for Starbucks and Café Nero but where can you get a decent cup of tea and a ham and pease pudding stottie, y'know it's that sort of erm there's erm there's a lot lost there and I think people are becoming aware of that and y'know I think it's also tied up with the whole global culture and (??????) whenever I visit a place I'm looking for that something, something that is made there – a local dish, a local drink erm a local experience and if I want to buy something to take away I don't want something that's made in Hong Kong or China I want a piece of pottery from that area or something and I think we…have had difficulty in offering that I think that there's a change about erm that people realise that erm that sort of experience is important but we have no manufacturing industry left…

J: yeah

M: …and the work of designer-makers per-se or craft people tends to be quite expensive if it's of any quality so erm that is quite difficult, that is a particular problem of tourism in this country.

J: So what do you think if you say went somewhere like Liverpool or say if you weren't from Newcastle – we'll your not originally but if you didn't live here I mean – would you be interested in for example perhaps visiting the regenerated Quayside area? Or would you be more interested in other experiences of…?

M: errm I always overdose on places and I would want as much experience as I could possibly have and erm I would have done a bit of research before I went and I would have made a list of potential cultural things uhm ten years ago when I shopped a lot I would have been looking for retail sort of authenticity – that awful word again – erm retail experiences as well but I always look for erm (??????) in some way – good food, interesting things to look at whether that be high culture or low brow…erm (Maggie looks for) what makes the place special 'cos what's the point in going?

J: yeah yeah

M: You know the high street is incredibly depressing, it has been for a long long time and now it is suffering greatly but I mean ten years ago you would go to the high street and there would be five branches of Next…

J: yep

M: …y'know and two branches of gap and erm I don't want that with my y'know if I go to Prague or Krakow or whatever I don't want to go to gap over there

J: So you'd like to get out of places that are similar?

M: I mean I would note flagship stores and things like that and say "oh I wonder if it's cheaper over here?" and I might look in the window but I wouldn't look at something that I can't get at home.

J: Yeah

M: that's what I'd be looking for. I mean if I went to Liverpool I'd be looking to go the Bluecoat centre…

J: yeah is that a shopping centre?

M: no no it's an artist thing like this but much more advanced, much more err, well advanced isn't the right word…much more resourced, let's say that than this sort of place…I would be going to the Liverpool Tate erm I would be looking for I mean anywhere with a riverside or a port is often interesting y'know because historically people often congregate in these sorts of places…

J: well that was interesting and that was pretty much the whole

M: It doesn't take me long to talk yeah

J: no that was great and you brought up some very interesting themes especially about authenticity is often a thing that's looked at in certain parts of literature that's erm maybe looked at

M: what do they call the that philosopher who did a book on travel I can't remember his name Alain de Boton…

J: Alain de Boton yeah was it the art of travel was it?

M: yeah yeah I haven't read it but got it from a friend and glanced at it and thought "what is this?" y'know.

J: Yeah 'cos I think he talks about that sort of stuff as well

M: and not going somewhere

J: yeah there's one chapter where someone goes on holiday around their bedroom I think

M: I didn't get that far, I think I read something where somebody gets ready and does the whole preparation of going away and then doesn't go away and err which is quite interesting and I suppose a lot of people are doing that now where they haven't got the money to travel…I'm just thinking now that whenever the family have gone away or me and my partner have gone somewhere else we've always thought "why are we having a relaxing time?" apart from having that spare time in order to be able to do things…

J: yeah

M: and we've always tried to bring erm incorporate a part of that when we come back

J: yeah ok

M: and one of them was years ago it was a coffee experience that we would come back and we had err we decided that we weren't going to have any more shit coffee and that we were going to have very nice coffee, and that became part of our thing at home and erm I'm trying to think of other…that's the only sort of concrete thing I can think of that is part of you know how do other people live and what good things do they do that we could do easily or with little effort when we get home 'cos that's what the whole cultural thing is…

J: so it's about not having a pure separation of like this is your holiday this is your home life?

M: bringing stuff back, not just concrete stuff but it's about bringing ideas back and I mean I suppose that reflects into when I go places and look at visual arts, because I'm in visual art that's always going to influence me in that way consciously or unconsciously, but all those other experiences as well y'know…

J: so it's like when you're abroad it's more like possibly learning?

M: it's about learning and erm…yeah

J: rather than just relaxation or sitting on a beach? It's more like erm not like you're necessarily working when you're abroad but you're…

M: you're cogitating and you're assimilating what people do and you know it would be nice to bring the theatre back here or have the climate you know and it's be nice to bring the sunshine back, but sometimes I bring dishes back that y'know I will sort of if I'm having something out somewhere I'll think "oh I could make this quite easily" or I'll research the recipe when I come back y'know that sort of thing, and I've often had evenings like that y'know when I've come back from somewhere and text people or e-mail y'know "it's tapas tonight" and that sort of thing

J: would you say your tastes are quite open towards difference or trying different things,

M: I… would think so yeah

J: Do you think that is more prevalent amongst artists?

M: I don't know, superficially I would think so but it might not be y'know I don't know. Perhaps artists to do with visual art, to do with the eye they're going to bring visual things back with them aren't they and…

J: things that are different and they maybe haven't encountered before?

M: yeah I mean a friend of mine is married to a person who worked in transport for instance in the north east and worked I think for the county for Northumberland…

J: yeah

M: …and so he was doing erm scheduling of transport, of public transport, so whenever he goes abroad he's always interested in what their public transport scheduling is so it's not an artistic thing but you're gonna do that you know

J: (??????)

M: yeah, well you'd be looking at services and stuff like that and I mean thing like it's not just individuals that do it but businesses do it I mean the free newspaper is Scandinavian isn't it y'know the Metro that we get – that originated in Scandinavia and that sort of totally revolutionised how people (??????) absorb news, well that and the internet and the decline of the newspaper…

J: yes like the evening chronicle and the local press

M: yes the local press are having a hard time yes…

J: well that's great that's lots of stuff…

M: oh I'm sorry I hope I haven't talked too much

J: no I mean I want people to talk as much as they can really (laughs)

M: (Laughs)

J: it means a bit more transcription but it's great 'cos there's lots of interesting themes you've brought up there.

Appendix 7: Extract from field diary - these extracts show how analytical concepts and contacts were encountered 'in the field'

07 June 2010

Today I went down to the Polestar rehersal studios to interview Pauline Murray the owner and singer in the band penetration. I was waiting for Pauline and talking to Charlotte the girl who was working at the reception I was telling her about what my PhD was about and the various topics that I was interested in and this turned into a mini interview in its own right. She was talking about how the opening of the Culny on Lime Street as a bar had in her opinion really changed the atmosphere of the Ouseburn Valley and "Kicked it back in to life" as it was in her opinion becoming a little dead before the Cluny opened. She was interested in the ongoing developments in the Valley, unsurprisingly so as it is the proposal to build residential housing next to the studios that is in one way or another forcing Polestar to move to Byker. Charlotte suggested that Northumbria Uni was "Sliming its way into the area" through its student development proposals (the uni is to my knowledge in the process of building flats next to the valley), does this indicate a kind of unhappiness at development? Pauline Murray turned up to the studios with the plans for the new

building in Byker and Charlotte was excited but railed against the "bureaucrats in the council" who would be responsible for holding things up with the building's development.

July 17th 2010

Went down to the Ouseburn festival this afternoon just to see what was going on. I arrived at the "village green" as it is known (the bit of grass outside the Cluny which in effect now serves as a beer garden, and sure enough as Andy Merrick had intimated there was a lot of booze being sold in the bars – more than on an average Saturday mid-afternoon I would think. When I turned up there was what appeared to be Capoiera dancers performing just outside the Ouseburn Farm . There was a chant on behalf of some of the dancers and there was tambourine and stick-hitting to keep a rhythm. An interesting conflict occurred when a number of horses came through from the stables with children riding them. One of the horses was startled by the noises of the dancing and reared up. It nearly trod on someone! The woman leading the horses (I'm not sure if this is the owner of the stables) 'had a word' with the capioera dancers to ask them to be quiet as there were "children about" that might get injured by the horses. After the dancers had finished, there were poetry readings. There seemed to be a mix of local and extra-regional accents in the readings and I didn't really know anything about any of the poets to be honest. They were part of a local collective it seemed and they were reading into a mic attached to a P.A. system outside Ouseburn Farm. I recorded some of the poems, and a couple seemed to me to be of analytical interest with one woman having a poem called "incongrous on a council estate" which seemed to be about how (she?) was judged by her neighbours for being different in terms of listening to radio four and wearing 'weird' clothes (having a 'liberal middle class habitus?'). There was also another poem about high

street mannequins that seemed to be railing against plastic consumerism of central city areas. I ended up speaking to a guy that seemed to maybe have learning difficulties who had to head back to Forest Hall to go to his Karaoke night. Silvie was also there and I spoke to her for a little while about some of the upcoming oral history interviews.

Probably the most interesting part of the afternoon was when I got a half pint of Hadrian bitter from The Ship (which does really have a different feel (i.e. a more 'ordinary' type of pub to other places in the Valley, playing dance music, puggy in the corner, sky tv on, perhaps more 'local' accents), and went to sit outside on one of the benches next to some graffiti art that was going on. I ended up speaking to one of the artists – Barry Fox – who was milling around. Barry is an artist who has a studio in the Biscuit Factory. He described the Biscuit Factory as "Glossy and the high end of the Street" I explained what I was doing etc. and Barry gave me his contact details.

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There was also a discussion about graffiti art with a guy called frank who is part of a project in Sunderland. Frank was saying that the only way to really get better at graffiti was to practice and that this inevitably meant "doing it illegally somewhere" I asked if there were any places around where you could do legal graffiti, and Frank said there were some but not many. Barry suggested that "doing it legally took the edge off in some ways". There was some 'tagging' on one of the benches outside the Ship where we were sitting and I asked Frank what the difference was between graffiti art and tagging. He suggested that there was quite a big difference and that "Tagging and graffiti are generally done by different types of people" I'm not exactly sure what was meant by this but it could well suggest that graffiti is seen as 'art' and tagging as just a way of delineating territory –almost like there is an artistic value to graffiti but not to mere tagging. Barry suggested that graffiti had "more depth to it" than tagging, again suggesting an "aristocracy of culture" within public spray painting? Graffitti almost being a legitimate form of expression and tagging not?

I explained that I was interested in the Ouseburn festival as an expression of the Ouseburn as a centre of "counterculture" in Newcastle and Barry suggested that it had maybe become more "commercialised" in recent years (Barry is 32). He also described his own art as being something that didn't really have a commercial edge, and as being different to much of the art in the Biscuit Factory. Barry suggested that his own art was something that allowed him to give creative expression in different guises, and the act of creative expression seemed (obviously…?) quite important to Barry as an artist. He was also going to give a poetry reading on the Sunday at the festival. Barry suggested that the "Side Cinema is a place that still has some of that countercultural edge to it". Barry also talked of a website he had one made which consisted of people standing in different positions. He described how this idea had, after he had made the site, appeared in the Reeves and Mortimer show sow fifteen years ago in almost exactly the same format. He was convinced (with good cause by the sounds of it) that it had been ripped off by the comedy show and was pained that his boyhood heroes had been exposed as "Thieves!". Again does this point to the sacred nature of personally

produced original art in the eyes of an artist? Originality and individual creativity being something of great value?

I also asked Barry if he came down to the Ouseburn much and he suggested that he did like the place and used it for leisure. He intimated that "Yeah I come down here quite a lot. It's better than the city centre which is a bit…" I never really got what he exactly meant by "a bit…" but it would suggest that for a number of reasons perhaps the Ouseburn Valley is a preferred leisure space.

I said to Barry that I'd be interested in interviewing him and that I was also interested in the travel biographies of artists. He told me that he basically goes to Berlin for trips and suggested that "I don't go there for any particular reason, or to see anything in particular, but just to be in the city…the ambience". Again in relation to graffiti art, Barry suggested that it was more tolerated in Berlin as a spontaneous form of public decoration if you like, and that "this is good as it allows people there, local people, to interact with the city and to portray their own stories in the fabric of the place". Again do these orientations suggest a love of 'urbanism' on behalf of working artists? A desire to experience the authentic everyday of urban places and a valuing of local expressions of this urban culture? Possibly. Barry invited me to an open event at the Holy Biscuit (a new gallery near the biscuit factory) next weekend.

I finished off my jaunt by going up to the Tanners arms. There was a band setting up with a whole array of effects pedals, and I got some of the literature that the tanners always has hanging around including the stool pigeon and a flyer advertising a "gender" crossdressing? Night at the Star and Shadow, also a flyer for the programme at the Star and Shadow – very much art-house-looking European movies. Didn't stay long enough to hear the band though…

This morning I went to the "Holy Biscuit" Gallery opposite the Biscuit factory to see the exhibition that Barry had told me about. It is an old, what looks like semi-prefabricated community resource type building with the kitchen and toilet facilities that you get in those kinds of places. It had two rooms which seemed to be offering different kinds of art. Advertised as a "folk art festival" the first room I went into seemed to have more landscape type art in it with craft goods on sale such as earrings and necklaces for sale. There was an acoustic guitar in the corner with a capo on the first fret also. This room had a central table and some of the artists were sitting around talking about various things. There wasn't much of analytical interest that I heard apart from perhaps a conversation that illustrates artists' sensibilities towards individualism. Two women in their fifties were talking about cars that they had owned and one of the women made the statement that she had bought a white car a few years ago when nobody had white cars. After a couple of years more people seemed to possess white cars so she:

"Naturally got rid of it and got a different colour as they were becoming too popular!"

The second room that I went onto had more artworks on the wall and and some of Barry's work there, which appeared to be more conceptual and had titles such as "if cans of sweetcorn had legs". Barry wasn't there but I picked up one of his flyers and he advertises himself as a conceptual artist. There was a book under Barry's flyers that mayube looked like it had been placed there on

purpose (I.e. the book and his flyers looked like they had maybe been arranged a la an instalment) on higher consciousness…perhaps an ironic suggestion of what Barry's work can do for you/entails. In this room there were some younger people dressed in what appeared to be goth-pop outfits (to my eye they seemed to be a mix between goth and boy band aesthetics) and they were doing animation art on a computer beaming to a large screen ion front of them. There then seemed to be a differentiation in both terms of age and artworks between these two rooms at the holy biscuit.

After visiting this gallery I went across the road to the Biscuit Factory to see what was happening in there. As Barry had suggested there was much more of an upmarket or "glossy" feel to the whole place with the "Byker Vista" café and the immaculate interior. Much of the artwork in here was quite expensive, and much consisted of impressionistic landscape and portraiture. Some of the works were selling for the low thousands