

Ethnography at a Critical Distance: A Postscript to Loungification

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Critique and ethnography: both sound complicated enough when taken separately, but it is in their intertwining where the most remarkable tensions appear. And this is probably truer when critique and ethnography are both plunged in the medium of business – that network of certainties and anxieties in which the proper understanding of the organization of economic conduct fall quite naturally under the jurisdiction of the proverbial business school. Is the ethnographic examination of business conducive to objections, scruples or concerns? Or is it rather something that would stand in the way of incisive debunking? Elaborating a critique of business reality certainly means producing first a realistic account of it. But the denunciation of the limits and operations of managerialism, capitalism or neoliberalism (to name a few standard critical targets) can also find in the qualitative realism of such an account a sort of a distraction, if not a diversion.

This old discussion, known well to the readers that have found their way to these pages, is full of paradoxes. Some are very practical, other are more intellectual. What does it mean to cultivate an interest for ethnographic research inside a business school? What is the purpose? Is it to contribute to the process of business or is it to put it to an alternative Are we inside

it, outside it or alongside? What kind of distance do we put between us and the process of business? And who is this 'we' I am referring to? Is it 'us' ethnographers, 'us' business scholars, 'us' critics of capitalism, or advocates of it? Those questions are practical insofar as they enter into academic tags, mundane alliances and hostilities, and research budgets. And those questions are sometimes paradoxical insofar as they enter into impossibilities and disorientations. One would be, for example, the alleged impossibility of being several things at once; another the confusion caused by the act of critically contributing to capitalism's best fuel, which is precisely self-critique, as convincingly argued by authors such as Luc Boltanski or, before him, by Herbert Marcuse.

The intellectual paradoxes of the interplay between the ethnographic and the critical are perhaps best encapsulated by the problem of what has been rightly termed 'critical distance'. Critique, it is said, means taking a step aside, considering something from an angle that provides some room for intellectual manoeuvre. But then with this move the object of critique becomes smaller, more distant. The details are blurred, and, we are told, we end up being critical about something that in fact wears the traits of fantasy. "That is not global capitalism! That is just an accountant working on an Excel sheet! You've been mystified by your critical distance! You are watching your own pebble glasses!" Against critical distance, some would claim, what we need is 'critical proximity'. That would be, for example, the position of Bruno Latour, who emphatically considers 'critical distance' as one of, if not the prime hallucinatory syndrome of modern thought. Others, like Luc Boltanski, would explicitly develop the idea of a sociological examination of critique, that is, an empirical inquiry into mundane critical capacities, as opposed to an authoritative academic use thereof. These and comparable lineaments lead to a praise for entanglement with the object of inquiry, or even, more extremely, an attachment to it – an idea articulated by Antoine Hennion, for example. One common enemy, of course, for all these approaches would be the king sociologist speaking from his overhead position, sitting in his elevated critical plane: a persona that often materializes in the form of Pierre Bourdieu.

From a methodological perspective, this war is fought with explicit reference to a pragmatist tradition in philosophy, to the crafts of ethnographic description, to the moral repertoire of consent and collaboration, to reflex-

ivity and to the critique of scientism. In order to become intelligent, in short, critique needs to dissolve into its object. Fine! What is wrong with that? Well, it depends of course on the point of view, as a pragmatist would have it. And the truth is that the paradox is inescapable. There are surely interesting things that you may miss if you only rely on politeness to get them. And, as anyone with hyperopia will tell you, looking at something at a distance might be the only way to actually see it. If ethnography is to produce more than a candid account of things, it seems that it needs more than ethnography: a theory, some would say, or at least an intellectual take, a point of comparison, a concern that is external to the concerns that govern whatever it is that is going on in the site of investigation. In order to develop his extraordinary critique of modernity, Bruno Latour himself had to step outside modernity itself, despite proximity. And, in order for his critique to remain intelligent, he certainly had to take the pain of not dissolving it into modernity. But, more centrally, as many critics have pointed out, consent and collaboration can turn into endorsement and collaborationism. What kind of critical proximity can the infamous 'embedded anthropologist' develop? And what about capitalism proper? Is not the accountant working on an Excel sheet something else than just an accountant working on an Excel sheet? And, in order to realise that, should we not examine the Excel sheet from a viewpoint slightly different from that of the accountant? Is not intelligence, after all, about changing positions? And is not intelligence what we are paid for, ultimately?

But then, again, the question needs to be asked: how wise is it to be intelligent, after all?

Some might find these questions silly, but they surely populate our scholarly world, and also, perhaps more irresponsibly, the minds of our students. Something should be certainly done about that, and there are of course plenty of resources to do so: to be found for example in current debates on critical performativity and, more largely, on critical and post-critical management studies, also on governmentality and on financialization, and on the challenges ethnographic proximity proper. But one can find also extremely valuable resources in ethnographic accounts proper, and there exists a remark that Damian O'Doherty offers in his ethnography of Manchester Airport that certainly deserves attention here. In the chapter devoted to the airport's premium hospitality facility known as

the Escape Lounge, the ethnographer indicates the following, almost in passing: “it took time to become an acceptable critic”.

What is happening here? The ethnographer has been sitting there for months, interacting with staff and guests, participating in assignments such as the administration of consumer satisfaction questionnaires. The ethnographer has also explored other related sites, such as the back-office, but also more largely the distant sites from which this place is controlled, or attempted at being controlled. This includes the offices in which decisions are made as to whether or not this service should be developed, the bureaus in which the lounge’s business model is elaborated and discussed, the industry conferences in which its overall impact on the airport’s own business model is examined, the market research companies in which the customer orientation of the lounge is designed, and so forth. For sure, this research aims at making sense of a compound of sites, devices, persons, flows and practices that determine, to quite a very large extent, this pervasive rendering of the atmosphere of economic modernity that the author quite appropriately calls ‘loungification’. But what is loungification? We do not know exactly, as of yet. But we surely recognize the traits of a transformation of economic conduct that goes hand in hand with a transformation of anthropological disposition: comfort in estrangement, mastery of personal profile, the killing of time, the imperative of value creation, the realisation of revenue, etc.

The ethnographer is aware of the fact that one can see quite easily in loungification a sort of a cultural syndrome. And he is utterly right about that. And that is precisely why he could claim loungification as a critical concept, that is, as an intellectual vehicle that allows delineating critical distance. “I have been there in the lounge, plunged into this atmosphere, contributing to it in order to better grasp it. But now I am safely back, ready to analyse, ready to ruminate, ready to criticize”. And here is where the trouble starts. What happened? “Too quick,” the ethnographer thought.

The critical way, I want to suggest, is the way that can start from just a look at the lounge. We do not need ethnography in order to see how this reality operates. Loungification is clearly an instance of, you name it: neoliberal governmentality, for sure! The traveller is transformed into a client, and the client is transformed into an entrepreneur of her waiting time. Waiting time is accordingly transformed into an asset, and the lounge is therefore entirely controlled by the template of value proposition and value creation, that is, of capital. This inescapably goes hand in

hand with the ultimate bundle of business crafts: customization, commodification, privatisation, modelisation, capitalization, financialization. Manchester Airport buys into a solution to economic problems that fosters a new array of problematizations. And this is not all what there is. The person itself is transformed, because in order to thrive the passenger herself, now a 'customer', has to let herself conform to the persona of the lounge. We become the prototypes of the new atmosphere of capitalism: self-trained into profile management, fully aware of our sense of preferences, ready to surrender our behaviour to the data complex that makes life easier, irreducibly confined into a miniaturization of society, a space in which public existence is rendered exclusively through an earplug.

What we need is not ethnography. What we need is Foucault, Deleuze, Sloterdijk, Adorno, Marx, Leibniz and Spinoza. And Samuel Beckett, to that matter. Loungification just needs the right references in order to surpass the processes of mcdonaldisation, disneyfication, nudgification, googlification, moneyfication, queueification and goldmansachsisation that describe our world's emerging condition. But here comes the trouble, a trouble shared both by the ethnographer and the reader. The trouble is with easiness. The trouble is with comfort and swiftness in the critical position. The ethnographer is struggling with loungification, but he is also concerned, perhaps even more strongly, with the loungification of critique. Critique distilled from the user-friendly bibliometric desktop, uttered from the well-equipped rhetoric lounge.

What does it mean to write that "it took time to become an acceptable critic"? And what does it mean to write it precisely from the Escape Lounge at Manchester Airport? What problem is the ethnographer trying to solve? Perhaps a problem of attitude: attitude in writing, in part, but certainly first and foremost a problem of critical attitude within the lounge. This is where this remark comes in. But what do we mean by 'acceptable critic'? Acceptable to whom? And about what? One first interpretation is about the moral etiquette of ethnography vis-à-vis participants. The ethnographer is certainly preoccupied with the ethics of feedback, with this being both a question of respect towards participants in the field, and a question of data robustness. For critique to be acceptable, it needs first to comply with the consent and confirmation of the people that should arguably be more affected by it. The ethnographer's remark comes in a moment of the narrative in which the lounge workers

are depicted as co-workers with whom the ethnographer exchanges regularly on the vagaries of routine work. In order to be robust, the critique needs to be spelled out, submitted, or, in other words, made explicit in terms that can be acknowledged or at least recognized by the persons that live the critical reality first-hand.

But there is perhaps more to it than that. Aiming at a state of acceptable critique can also be read as a move that parallels the take that Boltanski suggested against Bourdieu. Critique is a mundane capacity. It is not the stuff that we researchers invent but the stuff that social reality is made of and that we ought to study. Every ethnography, we could claim, is an ethnography of critique insofar as its empirical matter is made of justifications, objections, interpretations and demonstrations. That is what we collect from fieldwork, after all: critique. The clerk at the lounge is a critic, and so are the marketing designer, the airport manager or the traveller passing by. The ethnographer is recording critical styles, examining their composition. His capacity to tell the acceptable from the intolerable or the fulfilling from the alienating depends on the quality of the records. Taking the time to become an acceptable critic might mean, then, doing a properly scientific job: that is, learning the critical codes that make up the situation as something socially interpretable by and for participants. To put it in the terms of Harold Garfinkel: becoming an acceptable critic can mean something like meeting the requirements of unique adequacy.

But there exist other possible interpretations. Perhaps the ethnographer is only aiming at becoming an acceptable critic to himself, in his own eyes. The burden here is on the side of exigency. The postulate would be the following: if critique is to be truthful, then it is required that it shall be difficult. Is it really true that the Escape Lounge epitomizes the atmosphere of capitalism? Is it really true that it constitutes a vehicle for neoliberal subjectification? Is it really true that what it offers as substance and content wears the marks of void and alienation? Is it not a place that I can just enjoy while still preserving my multifarious integrity? The acceptable critique is just the critique that remains attentive to the perils of critical hallucination. It is not that critical hallucination is to be banned: on the contrary, its demanding character should be acknowledged at face value. Do note here that the economic atmosphere epitomised by the lounge inherits heavily, both in spirit and execution, from

the ornamental tradition invented by Salvador Dalí, who had previously developed (perhaps in order to cope with its own aftermath) the doctrine of the paranoid-critical method as a truly critical vehicle, but one that would explicitly care for its hallucinatory key to understanding. The ethnographer in Manchester Airport is in this respect perhaps facing a task comparable to the one famously faced by Carlos Castaneda in his ethnography of psychedelic shamanism.

The notion of acceptable critic contained in the ethnographer's remark thus oscillates between several interpretations, from research diplomacy to intellectual commitment to precaution in the face of overdose. But let us now focus on two elements of this maxim that we neglected so far: "it took time" and "to become".

"It took time": time is indeed amongst the most challenging mysteries of ethnography. It is the problem that remains more incomprehensible for the non-ethnographer. Why such a length? Why months? Why years? Should not a couple of interviews do? Or perhaps ten or twenty, augmented with a couple of so-called observations, but no more? Time is also the thing that, alas, we do not have in our mutating scholarly world. Only anthropologists dare to do what others see as a blatant insult: the out-of-the-office email disclaimer that says that the person is in fact busy with work instead of just holidays. That is a treasure that should be protected by all means. "It took time to become an acceptable critic": this remark introduces a crucial temporal dimension indeed. The productive sense of 'critical distance' is perhaps not only about spatial distance, it is about temporal distance too. Accounts need to decant in order to preserve the sediment. If one wants to figure the exact opposite of this, that would be perhaps the sense of urgency and performance that governs streamlined management consultancy today, or the sense of quasi-immediate delivery that characterizes laboratory or computer-based science.

And this leads us to the "to become". The measuring instrument that the ethnographer uses in his particular blend of science is himself. It is clear from the account of the Escape Lounge at Manchester Airport that only time can serve the process of realization that the critical ethnographer requires. Taking time is what the patient student requires in order to achieve learning. It is also what the learned scholar needs in order to avoid a triumphant theoretical denouement. But taking time, as odd as this

may sound, is also simultaneously a form of resistance. Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello suggested this point in *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, where they identify an emerging critical repertoire that sees in slow motion the response to the excesses of capitalism (whatever this means). The ethnographer takes time here precisely in order to prevent critique from being loungified, that is, a critique whose main fuel would be the killing of time.

In the section titled “Being there: anthropology and the scene of writing” of his masterful *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*, Clifford Geertz writes the following:

“The ability of anthropologists to get us to take what they say seriously has less to do with either a factual look or an air of conceptual elegance than it has with their capacity to convince us that what they say is a result of their having penetrated (or, if you prefer, been penetrated by) another form of life, of having, one way or another, truly “been there.””

This is of course, as Geertz indicates in the essay, a matter of writing tricks, such as the skilful use of quotation marks. But it is also a key to the time it takes to become an acceptable critic. Acceptable critique is the result not only of having penetrated, but also more importantly (Geertz suggests) of having been penetrated by the object of inquiry. I am sure that, writing as he was about writing, Geertz was utterly aware of the potentials of that metaphor of penetration. If we read “it took time to become an acceptable critic” through this metaphor, then we obtain yet another useful insight for our interpretation: we realize that critical ethnography is or can be an interpenetration, with all that this entails in terms of trials, equivoques, malaises, confidences, discoveries and negotiations.

Perhaps after all, the key to critical distance, or to critical time, is not a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’, but precisely an ethnographic appraisal of distance: what is the distance that needs to be travelled, what is the time that needs to be taken in order to produce an acceptable critique. Can the answer to this question be provided ethnographically? Can critical distance be described ethnographically? Can the ethnographer sitting at the lounge provide an ethnographic account of the critical position he finds himself occupying *there*? I suggest that this is the intriguing achievement that ethnographic time produced in and about the Escape Lounge at Manchester Airport.

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