

Hopscotch Modernism: On Everyday Life and the Blurring of Art and Social Science

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Figure 1. Nigel Henderson, Chisnehale Road, 1951, Gillian Alexander skipping.



Figure 2. Nigel Henderson, Chisnehale Road, 1951.

Gillian Alexander is staring up at you (fig.1), skipping. Or rather she is staring up at the photographer, Nigel Henderson; she had no idea you will be looking at this. She is skipping for him, or at least, in front of him. Behind her a boy attempts what looks like an unsuccessful somersault. The road is marked by the chalk outline of a game of hopscotch. Further back a precarious roller-skater negotiates the enthusiastic company of two dogs. This is Chisnehale Road, in London's Bethnal Green and the year is 1951. The photographer, Henderson, must be sitting on the top step, by the front door of this terraced house where he lives, watching and photographing the children play; watching and photographing his children and the neighbourhood children playing. In the next photograph (fig. 2) he must have gone to an upstairs window. The arrangement is more abstract, features are less distinct: the improvised choreography of street games speckles the flatness of the street. Spontaneity and play mark this mystic urban writing pad.

Nigel Henderson lives here, in this street in Bethnal Green, with his wife Judith Henderson (née Judith Stephen) and their two daughters. The two adults are a thoroughly modern couple. Nigel Henderson and Judith Stephen have both lived within the milieu of the Bloomsbury set before the Second World War: Judith Stephen is Vanessa Bell's and Virginia Woolf's niece; her father is the psychoanalyst Adrian Stephen. Nigel Henderson's mother, Wyn Henderson, worked in the bohemian world of independent publishing and helped Peggy Guggenheim set up her London gallery in the late 1930s. The list of visual artists and writers that Nigel Henderson knows is extensive, but even a shortened version would need to include: Marcel Duchamp, W. H. Auden, Bertolt Brecht, Dylan

Thomas, and E. L. T. Mesens. When they marry in 1943 Judith Stephen has completed a degree in economics and anthropology at Cambridge University, and has studied in the United States with the anthropologists Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict.¹ What, then, were these two moderately well-healed and very well-connected couple doing slumming-it in one of the most impoverished areas in London?

The answer to this question will, I think, make visible a trajectory within modernist culture that brings together a range of seemingly contradictory and conflicting cultural practices: for instance, documentary realism alongside the aleatory practices of surrealism, or sociological empiricism and literary modernism. This is the trajectory that I want to begin to outline by paying attention to these photographs by Nigel Henderson and by relating their 'moment' (1951) to earlier, interwar intellectual and social contexts. This is a modernism that can't be limited to a singular concern with form, nor can it be limited to just the interwar period. This larger trajectory needs to be placed within an expanded understanding of modernism, an understanding that would include sociology, anthropology, and psychoanalysis, not as intellectual materials *informing* modernism, but as modernist practices themselves. To sketch something of this trajectory will require that I hopscotch across seemingly disparate terrains: the goal is necessarily limited – a snapshot of a range of possibly haphazard connections. Yet even at this level I think it points to a more substantial imbrication of avant-garde artistic culture and the seemingly more sober social sciences.

But this isn't an exercise in discovering obscure affinities, of uncovering a network of surprising connections unbeknownst to disconnected groups of cultural agents. My claim is more modest: the argument is that one of the effects of the increasing specialization of academic disciplines throughout the second half of the twentieth-century has been to obscure the range and variety of expression for a cultural formation like modernism. What makes it hard to place a writer like Roger Caillois, say, who wrote texts that range across autobiography, surrealism, natural history, economics, and so on, is that this ranging across fields seems disconcerting for those that put such a high premium on specialized expertise.² When Caillois, together with Michel Leiris and Georges Bataille form 'The College of Sociology' (*Collège de Sociologie*) in 1937, what seems odd is the choice of such a title for a group whose main identification would seem to be surrealist literature.³ Yet it is the very fact that 'sociology' could appear as an intellectual form unfettered by generations of disciplinary sedimentation that made it habitable for modernist voices such as Caillois, Leiris and Bataille. Alongside finding literary types setting up tent in the villages of social science, we should also note the more prevalent examples of the social scientists' desire for literary modernist standing.

The links between the social sciences and art and literature suggest that part of being modern was to live across approaches that would harden into specific disciplinary genres. When, in 1917, the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski states his claim to the modern by stating that "[William] Rivers is the Rider Haggard of anthropology; I shall be the Conrad," he is specifically connecting himself with a general ambition to provide the kind of psychological depth and complexity to cultural agents that is at once both literary and ethnographic.⁴ And it is here that the term 'everyday life' connects literary endeavours and the work of social science; everyday life signals an ambition to attend to the inchoate, pre-disciplinary world of ordinary experience and to social life in its complex and messy totality.

The cross-disciplinary attitude that is evident in the interwar and immediate post-second world war period is due in part to the fact that the disciplines, especially the newer social sciences, have yet to harden into policeable enclaves, and are still the province of amateurs as much as university professors. The history of sociology in Britain before the Second World War is a history relatively independent of universities and professional circuits of knowledge.⁵ For instance, Mass-Observation, that quasi-sociological project that began in the 1930s combined an interest in surrealism, anthropology, Marxism, Freud, 'the' mass media (newspapers, radio and TV) and so on.⁶ One of the founders, Charles Madge, who would become the University of Birmingham's first professor of sociology in 1950, was a poet and a journalist and had an ethnographic interest in finding surrealism 'out there' in the world rather than in the imaginative 'visions' of a coterie of self-proclaimed artists.

Such a generalized ethnographic perspective that can link anthropology and sociology with the artistic project of modernism might allow us to rethink the monuments of canonical modernism (*Ulysses* as experimental ethnography of Dublin, for instance) while also allowing for the re-centring of seemingly more peripheral figures. One of the challenges for a term like ‘modernism’ might be the way that it could transcend existing disciplinary norms and allow us to rekindle the sort of broad and vital engagement with the everyday world that its practitioners often hoped for. It might also allow us to recognise the problematic attitudes of modernism that are most vividly glimpsed when the conjunctions across intellectual territories are examined. Thus the sort of ethnographic authority and cultural power that anthropology continually flexes in the first half of the twentieth century might also allow us to see modernist literature as patterned by a similar muscular paternalism.

This simultaneous centring and decentring of modernist studies is evident in recent work that has focused on the year 1922 as providing an inaugural scene of modernism.⁷ 1922 is chosen precisely because it was the year that saw the publication of both James Joyce’s *Ulysses*, and T. S. Eliot’s *The Waste Land*. But if the choice of year works to shore-up a canon of modernist works it simultaneously allows the modern to spill out into a range of texts that expand an understanding of the modernist project and in many ways work to question the central position of the work of Eliot and Joyce. For Marc Manganaro, in his book *Culture, 1922*, 1922 was also the year that Malinowski’s *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* was published. Thus 1922 was the year when a particularly modern form of ethnographic fieldwork was unveiled and promoted. This move to include anthropology in the account of modernism allows Manganaro to go beyond 1922 and to draw further connections between literary critics such as I. A. Richards and Kenneth Burke and ‘literary’ anthropologists like Ruth Benedict and Zora Neale Hurston.⁸ Manganaro has argued in a previous book that “so symbiotic has the relationship become between artistic theory and anthropology that a focus upon modernism can no longer be seen as simply the privileging of literature, say, over social science.”⁹ Such connections are forged through a notion of culture that includes the process of making concentrated representations of the social world and that wider notion of culture that is synonymous with ‘everyday life’ or the ordinary. Modernism, in this expanded sense, would include aspects of psychology, sociology, anthropology, literature, urban planning, painting, and design. Such work both generates and responds to this complex notion of culture, and it is this that makes it modern. In Michael North’s extensive reading of the publications of 1922, Joyce and Eliot are sitting next to (and interestingly displaced) by a whole host of ‘modernists’ including Charlie Chaplin, Ludwig Wittgenstein, and a plethora of now forgotten writers.

The importance for modernism of an ethnographic approach to culture, one that challenged the scholarly distance that the observer should keep from his or her subject, is I think crucial. Famously Malinowski (and this is true in a very different way for Zora Neale Hurston) gave up the privileged position of the colonial administrator’s balcony to pitch his tent within the village life that was his subject.¹⁰ But if Malinowski’s modernism (and modernism in general) is based on a desire to see culture from the inside (from the point of view of the native) – then the forfeiting of scholarly distance is as much a problem as it is a solution. To pitch your tent in the village and participate in village life is not to magically let go of your own native-ness. Looking again at the photographs of these children playing in Bethnal Green we can see a relationship to previous visual practices that connect aesthetic concerns with broadly ethnographic ones. This is a heritage of photography that has always been caught in a web of affective empathy and social voyeurism. Most immediately, perhaps, Henderson’s photographs bring to mind the photography of someone like Humphrey Spender and the work he produced for Mass-Observation and for the magazine *Picture Post*. Within the context of Mass-Observation the photographing of children playing was a way of stressing the anthropological aspect of the work, a way of pointing to the ritualistic and totemic elements of culture still present within industrial society.

The chalk outlines of the hopscotch game in Henderson’s photographs are therefore crucial. They point to coexistence of the age-old and the temporary newness of now-time. In this, modernism is involved in the portrayal of simultaneity where tradition disturbs the new as much as the new could disrupt the traditional. The hopscotch outlines are a metonymy for the *longue durée* of the everyday:

the insistence and persistence of play and ritual as essential elements of everyday life. As Roger Caillois suggests, hopscotch points back to antiquity:

In antiquity, hopscotch was a labyrinth in which one pushed a stone - i.e. the soul - toward the exit. With Christianity, the design became elongated and simplified, reproducing the layout of a basilica. The problem of moving the stone became to help the soul attain heaven, paradise, halo, or glory, coinciding with the high altar of the church, and schematically represented on the ground by a series of rectangles.¹¹

The slow alterations of the game's meaning, and its contemporary status as part of a canon of secular playground games, posit the everyday as both improvised and rule-bound, both spontaneous and inherited, both playful and ritualistic. In the photographs of Humphrey Spender there is a similar concentration on children's play and a similar concern with elements that appear both improvised and ritualistic.

Henderson's photographs also relate to the work of a photographer like Brassai whose photographs of street graffiti, of carved hearts and faces on the stone walls of Paris, also suggest an anthropological eye. Brassai's introduction to this collection of photographs, *Graffiti*, makes the anthropological aspect unavoidable: "attracted as we are by the strangeness of primitive customs, we know more about the habits of the pygmy or African bushman than we do about a Parisian from the rue des Solitaires."¹² Nigel Henderson's photographs fit into this tradition of photography. It is a tradition that straddles documentary reportage and the surrealist elevation of the 'marvellous' within everyday life. The photograph becomes a crucial document for locating the surreal precisely because of its 'disinterested' and 'objective' status. And it is only by seeming to photograph the 'everyday', the culture most readily at hand (the culture of the street: graffiti, children playing, shop windows, market stalls, and so on) that the sociological possibility of surrealism is glimpsed. It is worth pointing out two things here. Firstly, that to understand the general modernist incorporation of surrealism we have to move beyond the explicit groups of self-proclaimed adherents to the surrealist cause and recognize how much of modernist culture is built around the privileging of chance, the unconscious, and an amorphous sense of the primitive. Secondly, we need to recognize how surrealism is caught within a contradiction between realism and romanticism. On the one hand surrealism privileges the invention and innovation of the artistic imagination; on the other hand it claims to be a realist attitude towards the world more generally. If 'the surreal' is alive 'out there' in the world, then forms of realism might be the best way of bearing witness to it: if it is 'in here', in the artists imagination then more 'exotic' performances might be necessary.

In Britain the objective claims of surrealism took precedence over versions that stressed the 'interiority' of surrealism. This sense of the surreal existing out there in the social world suggests that the best way to understand a project like Mass-Observation is as a form of surrealist ethnography or sociology, and as such it should be read as a crucial moment of modernist culture.¹³ But claiming the surreal as an objective condition of culture resulted in an intellectual crisis as the actuality of war became historically unavoidable. For Julian Trevelyan writing in 1957 and looking back to the late 1930s and early 1940s:

Surrealism lost much of its impetus during the war. It became absurd to compose Surrealist confections when high explosives could do it so much better, and when German soldiers with Tommy-guns descended from the clouds on parachutes dressed as nuns. Life had caught up with Surrealism or Surrealism with life, and for a giddy moment we in England lived the irrational movement to its death.¹⁴

Looking at the war from the postwar period the same sense of confusion is suggested by Nigel Henderson:

Houses chopped by bombs while ladies were still sitting on the lavatory, the rest of the house gone but the wallpaper and the fires still burning in the grate. Who can hold a candle to that kind of real life Surrealism.¹⁵

In the face of the conflagrations of the 1930s and 40s the objective version of surrealism achieves a terrible accuracy, while at the same time revealing surrealism's inability to register the true horror of this objective world (mere 'confections' in the face of the absolute horror of the war, of genocide, of Hiroshima). This crisis doesn't result in a turning away from surrealism but to a condition of its low level ubiquity, where it is almost impossible to see post-war culture as distinct from surrealism.

Bethnal Green was an area that had been heavily bombed during the war. If forms of fragmentation and collage are an essential characteristic of the modernist aesthetic (for surrealism, cubism, and so on), then bombing performed collage at a terribly real level. Like many men and women of his age Nigel Henderson had a first hand experience of war. He was a fighter pilot during the war and suffered both nervous exhaustion and a complete nervous breakdown as a result of it. For Henderson the experience of war permeated his post-war world and results in the impossibility of taking the everyday for granted: this street, these children, this skipping rope, these roller-skates, are here precariously. They might not have been. Here nostalgia points to an impossibility; to return to a time before such street life could have been threatened. The foregrounding of everyday life (which occurs through historical events, rather than through artistic strategy) might accord with a re-valuation of the everyday. What had been insignificant, devalued, is given a new significance a new value. Children, family life, the locality, habitat, take on a new vividness.

But while Bethnal Green offered Nigel Henderson a scene for exorcising his demons and for collecting surreal detritus, there was another more direct reason why Judith and Nigel Henderson were living in Bethnal Green and this was due to Judith Henderson's anthropological work:

Judith Henderson ran a course for the sociologist J. L. Peterson (then warden of a settlement there) called 'Discover your Neighbour', which aimed to turn the principles of anthropology to general use. A course for professional people, doctors, clergy, probation officers, to give them experience of the total culture in which they worked.¹⁶

And it was a condition of this work that the couple had to live within the area. Judith Henderson's work in the East End needs to be seen as linking a notion of everyday life and modernism. The link is forged through a practice of (modernist) social science but the problems it faces are the same problems faced by modernism in general. These problems congregate around the notions of everyday life as something that calls into question the tendency towards specialisation and fragmentation in both disciplinary and social life.

Social modernism, then, could and did incorporate forms of social life dedicated to ideas of complex totality and aimed at that amorphous terrain of everyday life. The most prominent inter-war example, and one well-known to those involved in Mass-Observation, was the Pioneer Health Centre in Peckham (also called the Peckham Health Centre, or the Peckham Experiment). Indeed it is difficult not to see Judith Henderson and J. L. Peterson's work as a direct continuation of the Peckham Experiment into other areas of life. The modernism of the Peckham health centre was aimed precisely at the totality of life in its biological, social, sensual, economic and playful totality – in other words it was dedicated to an everyday sense of the healthy human being. When the biologists Scott Williamson and Innes Pearse finally got a purpose-built building for their 'experiment,' it exerted its modernity through its architecture and through its dedication to spaces given over to social life rather than to ill-health. The Pioneer Health Centre, then, was literally a health centre dedicated to the study and production of health. For a smallish membership fee families could belong to the health centre and make daily use of its facilities, which included: a swimming pool, a gymnasium, crèche facilities, snooker, darts and table tennis, a cafeteria, covered play areas, a room for dances, a theatre (for acting

rather than surgically operating), badminton court, and so on. As well as using it for all forms of socialising and play, families could undertake regular ‘health overhauls.’

The Peckham Experiment represented a sea-change in thinking about health provision. In its focus on play, and the necessity of exuberant social practices and learning through play, it connects with a tradition of progressive pedagogy stretching back to Friedrich Fröbel and the kindergarten movement in Germany in the early nineteenth century, but in its ‘ordered anarchy’ it sought to extend this provision to everyone. Scott Williamson designated his practice as the study of ethology – which he describes as “the study of the state of order and ease which is the opposite of the state of disorder and disease that is called ‘pathology’.”¹⁷ The Pioneer Health Centre was designed to deal with the human subject in its totality and continually attempted to weave together work and play, science and art, in a way that should see it as an example of total modernism at its most ambitious and necessarily contradictory. The Peckham Experiment coincided with the birth of Mass-Observation and while these two projects were quite distinct there are connections between them in their attempts to attend to the complex and messy totality of life. The synergies between the projects can be glimpsed in an exhibition that was organised by Julian Trevelyan and Tom Harrison (both of Mass-Observation) in 1938 and shown at the Peckham Health Centre. This was an exhibition of “Unprofessional Painting” that included the work of a miners’ group from Ashington, various Sunday painters from the East End, as well as an assortment of other lay painters.¹⁸ This was part of a radical expansion of art – “Anyone Can Paint a Good Picture – says Scientist”.¹⁹

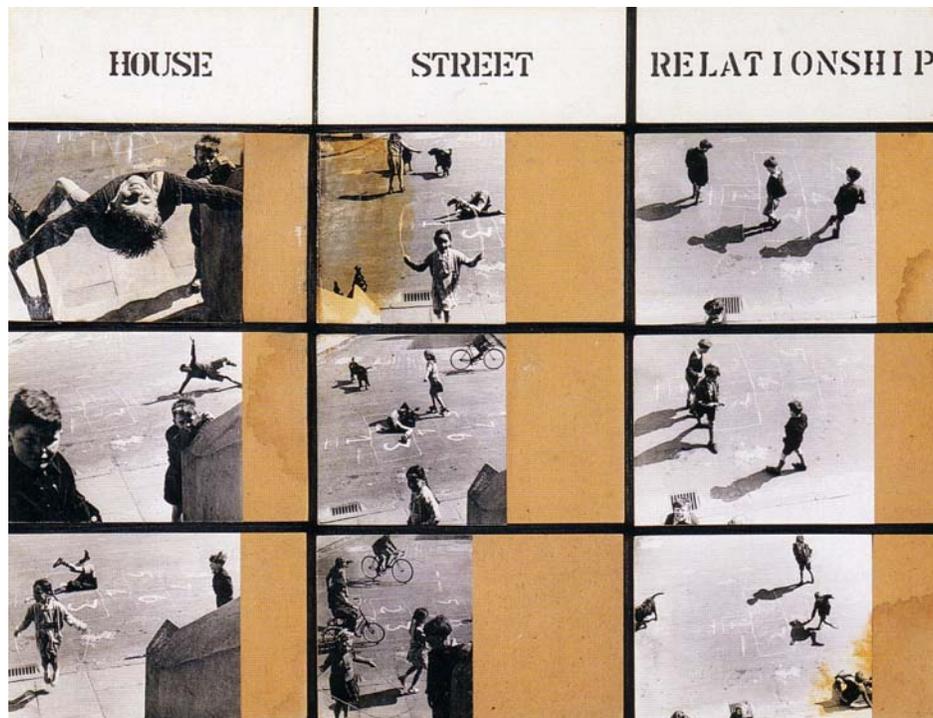


Figure 3: CIAM Urban Re-identification Grille, Aix-en-Provence, Alison and Peter Smithson, photographs by Nigel Henderson.

The Peckham Experiment's insistence that the health of the total human being includes forms of play and lively social interactions is mirrored in a decisive intervention in the history of modernist architecture. The main organization for promoting modernist architecture and urbanism was CIAM (*Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne*). Founded in 1928 and directed by two of the most prominent promoters of architectural modernism, the architect Le Corbusier and the cultural historian and critic Sigfried Giedion, CIAM formed the discursive core for modernist architecture.²⁰ Two years after they were taken the photographs of children playing in Chisenhale Road found a very specific audience within CIAM. These photographs dominated the panels of the Urban Re-Identification grille that the architects Alison and Peter Smithson (close friends of the Hendersons) prepared for the ninth congress of CIAM at Aix-en-Provence in 1953 (fig. 3). The playing children serve a specific function for the Smithsons. The polemic thrust of the Smithsons' 1953 Urban Re-identification grille is a critique of the abstractions of CIAM, a critique that might well be précised by the judgement that CIAM's four functions (dwelling, work, recreation, and transport) are inadequate for registering the particularity of everyday life. For the Smithsons, the lived-ness of urbanism falls through the net of functionalism. A year later the Smithsons and others in the newly formed 'Team 10' wrote: "Urbanism considered and developed in the terms of the *Charte d'Athènes* tends to produce "towns" in which vital human associations are inadequately expressed. To comprehend these human associations we must consider every community as a particular *total complex*."²¹ "Vital human associations" and the "particular total complex of a community"; these are the cognate terms that are in play here for that fluid and contested category 'everyday life.' Children's playing in the street offers a vividly condensed image of 'vital' and 'total' everyday life.

The end of CIAM was in some way announced by these photographs. They didn't in themselves cause CIAM to collapse of course, but they did, I think, point to an aspect of CIAM that had lost sight of the ambition of modernism to attend to the messy totality of everyday life. In this context Henderson's photographs could critique the rationalism of CIAM not because they fell outside of aesthetic modernism but precisely because they fell on the side of objective, ethnographic modernism. It was as an objective document of everyday life that they could work; challenging the functionalists by those that wanted to continue the project of modernism in its messy attention to the everyday. Alison and Peter Smithson saw themselves as protecting this inheritance of modernism. The challenge, as they saw it, was maintaining a link with the everyday while aiming for the future. It was a problem because the energies of the everyday seem to be oriented more towards the past than to the future. This is Peter Smithson describing these street photographs of Nigel Henderson's:

The 'life-of-the-streets' in these pictures is a survival from an earlier culture - and a subsistence culture at that. But we have not yet discovered an equivalent to the street form for the present day. All we know is that the street has been invalidated by the motor car, rising standards of living and changing values. Any revival is historicism. In the uninhibited organization of the children's games we are seeing a valid pattern, and in this is an indication of a freer sort of organization.²²

The energies and freedoms that are offered by these forms of residual culture are difficult to incorporate into modernism's orientation towards the future. The danger they pose is a slipping back into nostalgia, or worse historicism.

The problem faced by two self-consciously modernist architects is one encountered in a number of contemporary sociological and ethnographic projects. At the time that Henderson was taking his photographs in Chisenhale Road, and Judith Henderson is lecturing to professionals in Bethnal Green while also doing closely detailed ethnographic work in their street, the social ethnographers Michael Young and Peter Willmott were conducting their studies of the East End. They walked the same streets, talked to the same people. The results were published in 1957 as *Family and Kinship in East London*. It was a hugely influential book, campaigning against the sterile sociability that resulted from East End slum clearances, as traditional working class communities were broken up and people shipped to new suburban mass housing complexes. In *Family and Kinship in East London*, 'family'

consists of brothers, sisters, mums, dads, grandparents, aunts and uncles, and so on – in other words ‘the’ family is an extended working class family. But it is also all those ‘aunts’ and ‘uncles’ with whom there are no direct blood connections, but where there are reciprocal child caring arrangements, social ties and friendships. *Family and Kinship*, like the Urban Re-identification grille, and like Jane Jacobs’ *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, privilege locality, immediate human associations, and spontaneous forms of sociability.²³ This is Young and Willmott:

On the warm summer evening of the interview, children were playing hop-scotch or ‘he’ [‘it’ or ‘tag’] in the roadway while their parents, when not watching the television, were at their open windows. Some of the older people were sitting in upright chairs on the pavement, just in front of their doors, or in the passages leading through to the sculleries, chatting with each other and watching the children at play.²⁴

You could find exactly the same sentiments (and the exact same wording to some extent – including the mention of hopscotch) in Jacobs’ book (and for that matter in a host of writing about the city, about children at this time). This is the family of the street, of informal yet stable forms of care and community, of safety and monitoring, but not policing. It is an image that in the 1950s was in danger of fading - a concentration on this aspect of everyday ‘family’ life, signalled a warning that new forms of habitat and environment (and both Young and Willmott, and Jacob’s books were intended to do just that) would wipe out something absolutely fundamental to human sociability: a space of care, play, and community.

The Hendersons, the Smithsons, Young and Willmott, and Jacobs, form part of a modernist heritage. But they are also explicitly critical of elements within culture that also claim to be modernist: the rationalist urban solution, the sterile city plan. They all flirt with a nostalgia that isn’t neatly relegated to the past but provides the energies and awkward residues that the present and future have to measure themselves against and in fundamental ways have to measure up to. For all of these modernists hopscotch, one of the oldest and most universal of childhood games, seems to hold out the challenge of registering the complex totality of the everyday.²⁵

As the title of this journal (*Modernist Cultures*) suggests, modernism is many. To understand the modernism of these photographs of children playing requires gathering together a web of diverse yet connected modernisms. Some of the diversity and conflict is played out in the photographs themselves: for instance the values of aleatory sociability and atavistic play that are displayed by the children are in tension with the sort of amateur and informal sociology that records this scene. If one aspect of this work values spontaneity and surprise, then another welcomes the semi-scientific practices of codifying and quantifying culture. This is a tension that animates the photographs and equips them to play a role in partly dislodging the quickly ossifying functionalism of modernist architecture. But just as Henderson’s photographs aren’t fully explained by seeing them either as quasi-sociological or as self-expressive surrealism, the modernism of CIAM, or of Le Corbusier, is not explained just in terms of the rationalism of functionalism. Henderson’s photographs of children playing could intervene within modernism only at the point where the dialectical negotiation of the modern has failed, where it has ceased to be many and was only being one – in other words when the impossible task of attending to the totality had been dropped.

It is precisely this temporal and dialectical negotiation that hopscotch offers modernism. As Michel de Certeau was to point out in 1980:

If, in every society, games make clear the formality of its practices for the reason that, outside of the conflicts of everyday life, it no longer has to be concealed, then the old game of hopscotch becomes a kind of map in which, on a series of places and according to a sum of rules, a social *art* unfolds a field of play in order to create itineraries, and to make use of the surprises that lie ahead. It is a scale model, a theoretical fiction. In effect, culture can be compared to this art, conditioned by places, rules, and givens; it is a proliferation of inventions in limited spaces.²⁶

Modernism is most alive, most productive – but also perhaps most caught in networks of power – when it throws itself into the midst of this social art.

Notes

¹ The biographical account is indebted to Victoria Walsh, *Nigel Henderson: Parallel of Life and Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001).

² See Claudine Frank, ed., *The Edge of Surrealism: A Roger Caillois Reader* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003).

³ On the college see Michèle H. Richman, *Sacred Revolutions: Durkheim and the Collège de Sociologie* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

⁴ Malinowski from his Trobriand Islands diary (1917) quoted in George W. Stocking, Jr, *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888-1951* (London: Athlone Press, 1996), 268.

⁵ See for instance, David Evans (1986) “Le Play House and the Regional Survey Movement in British Sociology 1920–1955,” unpublished MPhil Thesis, City of Birmingham Polytechnic / CNAA (available at <http://www.dfte.co.uk/ios>).

⁶ For a representative sample of Mass-Observation material see Angus Calder and Dorothy Sheridan, eds *Speak for Yourself: A Mass-Observation Anthology 1937-1949*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985. Documents produced for and by Mass-Observation are kept at the University of Sussex, Brighton. The Mass-Observation website is at <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/library/massobs/>.

⁷ Michael North, *Reading 1922: A Return to the Scene of the Modern* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), and Marc Manganaro, *Culture, 1922: The Emergence of a Concept* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). Those interested in methodological issues and how they relate to the study of modernism might want to note a certain rise in the ‘study of simultaneity’ (what used to be called the study of the synchronic) and might also want to note another perhaps even more ambitious study: Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *In 1926: Living on the Edge of Time* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

⁸ For a particularly compelling reading of the literary aspect of anthropology see Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

⁹ Marc Manganaro, “Textual Play, Power, and Cultural Critique: An Orientation to Modernist Anthropology” in Marc Manganaro, ed. *Modernist Anthropology: From Fieldwork to Text* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 5.

¹⁰ This isn’t to claim that this freed Malinowski from his colonial relationships – though it has to be said that the discomfort of such a relationship was felt intensely by Malinowski.

¹¹ Roger Caillois, *Man, Play and Games*, trans. Meyer Barash (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 82 – originally published in France in 1958.

¹² Brassai, cited in Marja Warehime, *Brassai: Images of Culture and the Surrealist Observer* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 89.

¹³ James Clifford has done much to bring the terms surrealism and ethnography together, see his “On Ethnographic Surrealism” in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 117-52. I give a more detailed account of Mass-Observation as a form of surrealist ethnography in chapter 6 of my *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge), 2002.

¹⁴ Julian Trevelyan, *Indigo Days* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1957), 80.

¹⁵ Henderson, quoted in Walsh, 50.

¹⁶ Nigel Henderson, “Notes towards a chronology based on conversations with the artist,” *Nigel Henderson: Paintings, Collages and Photographs* (London: Anthony d’Offay, 1977), un-paginated.

¹⁷ Scott Williamson quoted in Alison Stallibrass, *Being Me and Also Us: Lessons from the Peckham Experiment* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1989), 23.

¹⁸ On the Ashington painters see William Feaver, *Pitmen Painters: The Ashington Group 1934-1984* (Ashington and Manchester: Mid Northumberland Arts Group and Carcanet Press, 1993). Examples of these paintings can be found at <http://www.imadge.demon.co.uk/AshGrp.htm> The relationship between the Pioneer Health Centre in Peckham and Mass-Observation are further explored in Nick Stanley *The Extra Dimension: A Study and Assessment of the Methods Employed by Mass-Observation in its First Period 1937-40*, PhD thesis (CNA), 1981.

¹⁹ This was the byline of the South London Press’ report on the exhibition (11.11.38) – quoted in Calder and Sheridan, 63.

²⁰ For the history of CIAM see Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).

²¹ Bakema, van Eyck, van Ginkel, Hovens-Greve, Smithson, and Voelker, “Doorn Manifesto” (1954) in Joan Ockman, *Architecture Culture 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology* (New York: Rizzoli), 183.

²² Alison and Peter Smithson, *Urban Structuring* (London: Studio Vista, 1967), 10.

²³ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

²⁴ Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), 38 – originally published by Routledge & Kegan Paul in 1957.

²⁵ Here we should also mention the modernism of Peter and Iona Opie working in the 1950s as folklorists collecting the massive archives of nursery rhymes and children’s games: see Peter and Iona Opie, *Children’s Games in Street and Playground* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

²⁶ Michel de Certeau, *Culture in the Plural*, trans. by Tom Conley (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), viii – from the 1980 preface.