Final Report

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E·S·R·C ECONOMIC & SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

UNIVERSITY of GLASGOW

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BACKGROUND

cappuccino, intimacy, public talk, penny university, regulars

During the period of the research project the café sector has continued to expand and the time the UK population spends in cafés has also increased (Allegra-Strategies, 2004). More than ever the UK is becoming a café society. In his classic work on the rise and fall of the public sphere in Europe, Habermas (1989) emphasized the historical importance of the coffee house as a key arena for public discoursing between individuals, one full of political comment and implications (Philo & Laurier 2004). More recently Ellis (2004) has complicated this picture, although. in common with Habermas's claims about the loss of public sphere in modern times, he fears that the contemporary café can no longer sustain the civic life of substantive social encounter that arguable it once could. Conversely, though worried about the arrival of Starbucks, the US sociologist Oldenberg (1997) celebrates cafés, past and present, as one of the 'great, good places' that get us through the day. His work will be familiar to most of us through being adopted by policymakers, community developers and café companies in the idea of 'the third place', that is, a place between work and home.

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Surprisingly the social sciences have produced very few ethnographic studies of

the lifeworld of cafés or other similar kinds of convivial places, and their documentation has been left to populist accounts (Heathcote, 2004; Maddox, 2003). Useful comparative material on alcohol serving bars can be found in Cavan's (1966) 1960s ethnography, *The Liquour License*, in the US which begins to provide a descriptive and analytic account of what we do when we are socialising in ordinary public places. More recently the café as a place of sociability and social organistion has been rediscovered, indirectly, in a number of studies of internet cafés (Lægran, 2003; Wakeford, 1999, 2003), socio-linguistics (Gaudio, 2003) and new urban geographies (Atkinson, 2001; Latham, 2003a, 2003b).

Our perspective on how to investigate the café as a distinctive site of communality, social ordering, sociability, conviviality and civic life is what we have described elsewhere as 'ethnoarchaeological' (Laurier & Philo, 2004b). Simply put we try to combine the research policies and commitments of ethnomethodology's inquiries into practical reasoning with Foucault's archaeologies of knowledge. Each of these fields of inquiry are wary of high theory, seeking instead to address theoretical questions through painstaking analysis of widespread and quite ordinary methods and techniques for the organisation of society and the maintenance of social order. During the project we have also found ourselves drawing on the newly emerging non-representational theory associated with Thrift's (Laurier & Philo, 2003; Thrift, 1999) work in human geography, and also the impressive flourescence of ethnomethodology found in Blum's account of city life (Blum, 2003).

For those readers of the report waiting for an *a priori* definition of what a café is, we will not
be offering any such summary definition here since we were happy to begin with the common sense knowledge of what a café is. While there is no fixing of what the café is at this point, in effect, we have spent the last three years doing just that by exhaustively analysing this phe
nomenon in its everyday definition, constitution, organisation and value and so the rest of what follows will help us see afresh what the everyday place that is a café is.

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OBJECTIVES

1. To investigate the distinctive forms of community found in cafés and what grounds they provide for a vital civic life in the city.

This objective was met through examining the setting-specific forms of community in the café: their ‘crowds’ (Laurier, 2003); their idealisation as cosmopolitan places (Laurier & Philo, 2004a); their historical relationship to heterogenous communities (Laurier, 2005a; Laurier & Philo, submitted); the various ‘scenes’ that utilise them (Laurier, 2005a), including, for instance, international finance (Laurier, submitted); how they occasion and support regular daily routines (Laurier, 2003); and the community that exists in their workforce (Laurier, 2004).

2. To document and index the varied forms of community interaction and social categorising that are found in cafés, predominantly in the UK but also in Italy.

At the outset of the project and in agreement with the ESRC the Italian comparative study was removed from the project. This part excluded, this aim was met through the workplace study, the multi-site ethnography, the video analysis and the archival study (Laurier, 2004). These elements emphasized the

everyday categorisation generated by and generative of the cafés as settings, the material reproduction of their recognisability as such, and expectations from customers surrounding their ambience, accommodation and crowds. Furthermore, this objective was met through examining the occasioned conviviality with familiars, friends, family and other customers produced in having ‘breakfast out’, going for coffee, lunch, low key dinners and various treats (e.g. cake, hazelnut frappuccinos). The aim was also achieved in deal-

ing with the cafés’ relationship to particular communities: cafés in the financial district of London, cafés and artistic practice, cafés and shopping, journailism and ethnography, cafés and residential neighbourhoods(Laurier, 2005a).

3. To examine the methods used by staff and customers for temporally and spatially organising cafés in the UK such that public encounters and informal meetings can occur there.

This objective was met through looking at actual encounters, potentially integrative events, and the ways in which the creation of ambience, atmosphere and ‘buzz’ was accomplished collectively. Attention was paid to why and how unacquainted persons can strike up conversation in cafés and their management through spatio-temporal resources at hand (Laurier, 2005a, 2005b; Laurier & Philo, 2003); to staff providing or failing to provide hospitality to customers and customer in their turn being accommodating of other customers; to the ‘regular’ being an important form of belonging to and taking responsibility for third places, which can then become a basis for getting to know other regulars (Laurier, submitted).

4. To do multi-site ethnographies of a dozen cafés in the UK of contrasting types, drawing on commercial and other categorisations (i.e. franchise, 'greasy spoon', internet and also neighbourhood, city centre, youth cultured).

This objective was met through four strands of fieldwork. Firstly, a workplace study was done with Eric Laurier training and then working for Caffe Nero in London (Laurier, 2004). Secondly, sixteen cafés were studied through short ethnographies, and in four of the sixteen Laurier established himself as a regular (Laurier, 2005a). Thirty members of staff were interviewed and ten customers were shadowed and interviewed in their favourite cafés. Thirdly, fly-on-the-wall video recordings were made of five cafés (Laurier, 2005b) and fourthly historical precursors of ethnographic studies of cafés were pursued through literature and archival research (Laurier & Philo, submitted; Philo & Laurier, 2004).

5. To shoot, use and analyse video recordings of naturally occurring interaction in cafés.

As mentioned above, fly-on-the-wall recordings were made of typical days in the life of five cafés in London, Manchester, Edinburgh and Glasgow. The recordings allowed us to create a

corpus of customer interactions in the cafés. The corpus has been examined in group data sessions with other ethnographers, conversational analysts and cultural geographers from the University of Glasgow, and other visiting experts. The outcomes of these sessions have been used in sharing and presenting the results of the project at workshops, conferences and in publications (Laurier, 2005b).

sofa-sharing, terrace in shopping centre, post-natal group, mum & newly born, tourists

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METHODS

As noted above there were four methodological strands to the project: The first was the workplace ethnography of barista training at Caffe Nero, which was linked to interviews with café owners and café staff. The second was an ethnographic field study of over a dozen cafés in order to provide an in-depth account of them as particular kinds of places, based on the ‘documentary method of interpretation’ (Garfinkel, 1962; Wieder, 1974). The third was the video recording of everyday life in five cafés. The fourth was the literature and archival study, providing critical appraisal of theories about the rise of public sphere and comparative material for contemporary studies. Of the methods we used, video analysis remains a novelty in the textually oriented social sciences, shrouded in the mysteries of the moving image, so we will provide a little more detail

regarding our techniques.

Video recording and analysis of the organisation of activities in public space has been pioneered by Christian Heath and his associates, in their studies of the London Underground and Gallery andf Museum visiting (Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002). The project followed their guidelines, particularly in the use of fixed camera positions oriented to ‘where the action is’, the fixed camera catching the beginnings of events in ways that responsive recording with the camera cannot (MacBeth, 1999). In each of the five cafés the camera was left running un-interruptedly and inconspicuously, apart from occasional shifts of its position and the changing of tapes and batteries. The aim was to maintain the ecology of the café as a place, in so far as this was practically possible, while nevertheless not hiding the camera’s presence from customers. The various ways in which customers reacted, responded and performed for the camera are described in a collected edition on video analysis (Laurier & Philo, forthcoming).

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EL filming in Caffe Nero

Analysis of the video footage proceeded on a roughly five step process not dis-similar from the work of feature film editing (Ondaatje 2002):

1. 1. *Rushing*: As soon as possible after shooting EL would playback all the video, gaining a first feel of what was there, sections that were of unusable quality or where the camera was recording nothing (e.g. an empty table or unopened door for five minutes). The end result was tidied footage and a basic grasp of what was on tape.
2. 2. *Highlighting*: A first serious editing and organisation of the recordings was made by selecting out highlights for a film of the ‘day in the life’ (see DVD) and trailer of that footage (see DVD) for each café. Eight hours of continuous footage in each café would be reduced to half an hour of clips.
3. 3. *Indexing*: A second ordering of the tidied recordings was constructed as the footage was clipped into thirty second to ten minute episodes, which were then organised into thematic categories as part of constructing a corpus based around customer activities in the café (rather than ‘a day in the life’). Using html pages with links to the clips, a visual index was constructed (see illustration

below)
4. 4. *Group analysis*: With a corpus in place, clips were reviewed in data sessions with collaborators and visiting experts on a weekly basis. Over a two hour session, the clips were replayed many times over as the group developed close description of what was happening in each clip, considering how it was being 'naturally' organised by those present with the materials they had at hand.
5. 5. *Writing up*: Not all of our data sessions would or could be developed into papers: many just re-examined the same clip several times, trying out different possibilities. Once the writing of a paper was underway, the clip would be re-

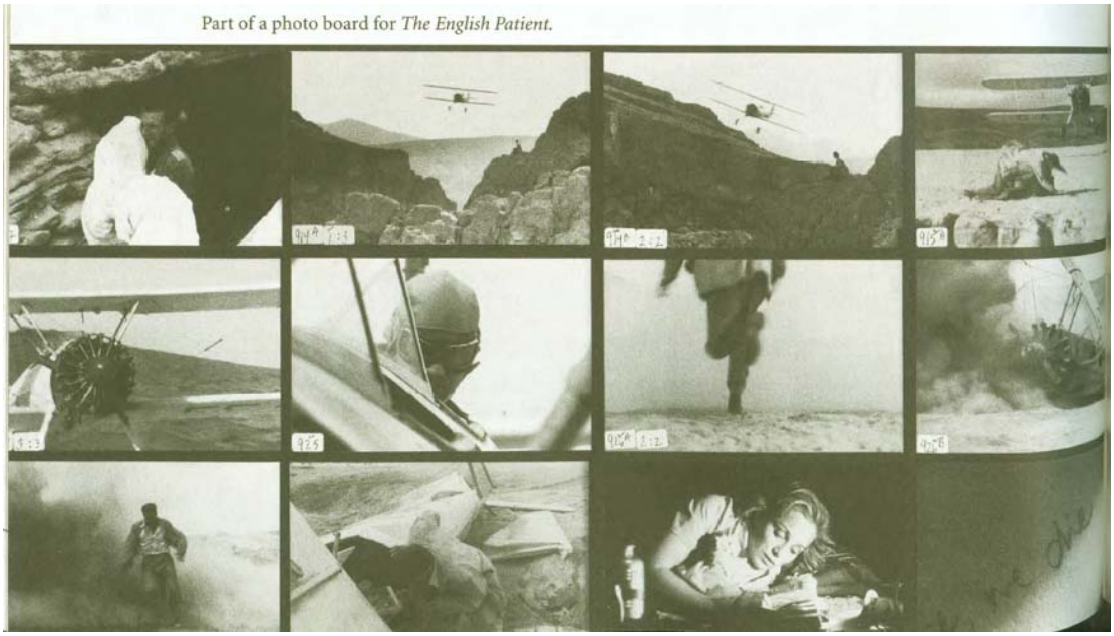
visited to keep our theoretical postulations of what was there in touch with what was actually there. At other times, the clips would serve as aids for our sluggish imaginations.

Borrowing from the techniques of film-editors, (e.g. Walter Murch's editing boards illustrated below), we created a visual index to help give us and subsequent viewers of our visual data an overall grasp of what the corpus contains, and as an index to particular customer activities and typologies.

one page of the visual index

While we did not wish to supplant analysis of the material with the endless management of a baroque qualitative dataset, we nevertheless wanted to prepare the video footage, to make it ready-to-hand for this project and for revisiting as part of the projects of other researchers. In many qualitative analysis software packages, the emphasis is on coding procedures based in transcripts of interviews, but our aim in the video analysis was to maintain direct access to the visual data through indexing it. Moreover, given the textual basis of the social sciences, its typical procedure is to render visual materials into text as soon as possible and to analyse from there. By contrast, the ambition of this project was to stay with the visual evidence and ordinary methods for displaying and recognising what is happening in any setting as it happening, right there and

then. The video-analysis makes first steps, then, in a visual analysis of public space and the ordinary methods by which anyone visually analyses public spaces (Lee & Watson, 1993; Livingston, 1987; Luff, Heath, & Jirotka, 2000).



One of the photo boards used by Walter Murch to layout the clips for editing the "English Patient" from (Ondaatje, 2002) and borrowed as a format by the project for laying out its visual data.

Fieldwork Ethics

Overall we followed the ethical protocols of the American Anthropological Association. More specifically, as with its indexing and analysis, the use of video raised novel issues in terms of informed consent. In practical terms, whenever we were interviewing individuals either on audio only or on video as well, we provided them with the project's FAQ sheet (see annex) and asked them the kinds of uses to which they were willing to have their interviews put (see annex). When videoing in the cafés themselves, consent comprised a more distributed matter because it was the managers and/or owners who were giving overall permission for filming to occur. In assessing the acceptability of the camcorder's presence, customers have to take into account that the café has approved of its

being there. Nevertheless, it was appropriate that customers should, not so much consent, as still be able easily to object to being recorded by the project.

With this in mind, filming a day in the life of each café raised interesting problems for us in at least two ways. Our aim was to produce records of 'naturalistic' conduct by customers and staff, but stopping customers at the door to inform them of what was going on, and asking them to sign permission forms in advance, would have heightened their orientation to our presence as researchers (potentially threatening the ordinariness of their conduct) A second problem was that there were large numbers of customers and usually only one field researcher, and so it was simply impossible to approach everyone to ask their permission. Our solution was to have posters put up in the windows and interiors of the cafés for a fortnight preceding the filming, warning that it would happen. On the day of filming, leaflets were left on every café table (see annex) informing customers of what was happening, and assuring them that they could have any recordings of them erased if they wished. Eric Laurier was constantly present, wearing a Glasgow University T-shirt to be recognisable, and whenever he moved the camcorder he would ask if neighbouring tables minded being filmed, explaining that their conversations might be audible (as it happened very, very few conversations were audible due to the levels of background noise in the café). While these procedures were somewhat at odds with naturalistic recording, they allowed us to minimise disruption to customers' routines as much as was practically possible while keeping them informed of what was occurring that day.

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In terms of objections, in each café there were never more than about five customers that asked not to be filmed, either due to not wishing to appear in front of a video camera or because they considered their 'business' in the café that day to be private and confidential. During the entire course of filming in the five cafés, only three customers asked to have sections of tape erased, in each case because they were supposed to be at work on the day of the recording (and they

were not). Only one customer complained about the filming being intrusive: interestingly, he was a university lecturer at our own institution.

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RESULTS

historical

Re-examination of secondary and republished primary sources from the Early Modern English coffee house offered substantive resonances for the project's contemporary investigations. Rather than being predominantly the spaces of calm rational debate Habermas (1989) work, the coffee houses changed their ambience by time of day, day of week and by individual coffee house. Customers were as likely to be talking butchery or flower-selling and gossiping about personal scandal as they were debating politics. Moreover, coffee houses were as often places of highly embodied licentious and even criminal behaviour as they were of cerebral

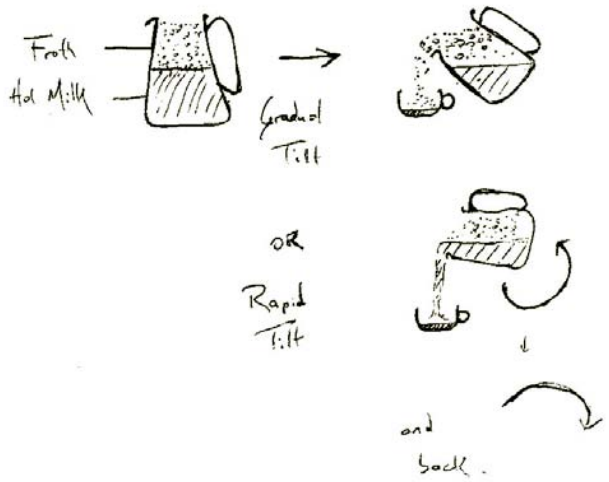
Hogarth: A Midnight Modern Conversation

polite conversation. What coffee houses did provide, however, was a space where the public could appear to itself and to inquirers into the public and its opinions. As such, the coffee house became the place for journalists and proto-ethnographers to record the public lives of various crowds and individuals in the city, and so it is that we find those very same recorders of public life at work there as in the present period (Doward, 2004; Heathcote, 2004; Maddox, 2003; Okanak & Dalrymple, 2002). Through our historical traverse, we have also sought to reconfigure Habermas's problematic - recasting its senses of space, sociability and practices - as a provocation for interpreting public life, including the potential affective democracy (Thrift 2005) of contemporary cities (Laurier & Philo, submitted).

occupational

The novelty of the title 'barista' both hides a longer history of serving customers and reveals the new, slacker-cool job of making espresso-based coffee (Simmons, 2004). The importance of quasi-theatrical performance in the service sector is well documented (Crang, 1994), but the barista's work is also about making the volatile complex liquid product, we know as espresso and its related

drinks. If baristas cannot consistently and adequately make espressos, cappuccinos, lattes and so on, then, while an audience might stay for the theatre, the custom goes elsewhere. The standardistion that produces the appearances of globalisation, as exemplified in Starbucks, is reliant on the supply of ingredients, skilful use of equipment, the coordination of a team, recognition of types of customer and crowd and more, as Eric became well aware of during his time with Caffe Nero. The best baristas are a part of the cast of street



from Eric's field journal: the first latte/fresh jug problem

characters identified by Jacobs (1961) in the *Life and Death of Great American Cities* and
more recently by Duneier (1999), although the barista's special job is to recognise those of us who return regularly. In other words, they are amongst the de-anonymisers that make our public lives livable.

ethnographic

In the explosion of cafés there is a concomitant ongoing transformation of the space-time of the city. In an epoch obsessed with speed, the café is a place of rest in both senses: those who are mobile stop-off, and indeed it is ideal for the

absorption of delays (particularly in Lon

don), and those who are tired refresh themselves there. Meantime there are also those grumbling in slow moving queues and those rushing along the street, sitting on trains and so on with emblematic cardboard cups. We have documented an assortment of forms of 'work' into cafés - the work of everyone involved, servers and served - and there are immensely varied in their uses of the café space,

transport café

in part because their use is relative to the other spaces that they have available (Laurier, 2005a). Homeworkers go to the café to get away from isolation at home, officeworkers for an energising change of scene (Laurier, submitted), mobile workers because on a daily basis they lack a fixed address, lorry drivers because they have always needed a break in their journey for food, toilets, showers and company (Hollowell, 1968). Varying with the crowds that constitute them cafés have their insiders and outsiders - and the possibility of showing hosptiality or not. The cafe is a place of social mixing quite distinct from the street, allowing a differently ordered set of encounter, fleeting gazes can be built on into encounters, the duration of proximity stabilising a sense of being with friends, familiars, strangers and others in public. Moreover in a country that has, for too long, treated the pavement as only for footfalls, we have learnt how, in city centres and villages, cafés have begun to re-colonise and improvise what in France would be called the 'terrace' and bring the street to life as a place of mutual regard, dwelling and encounter.

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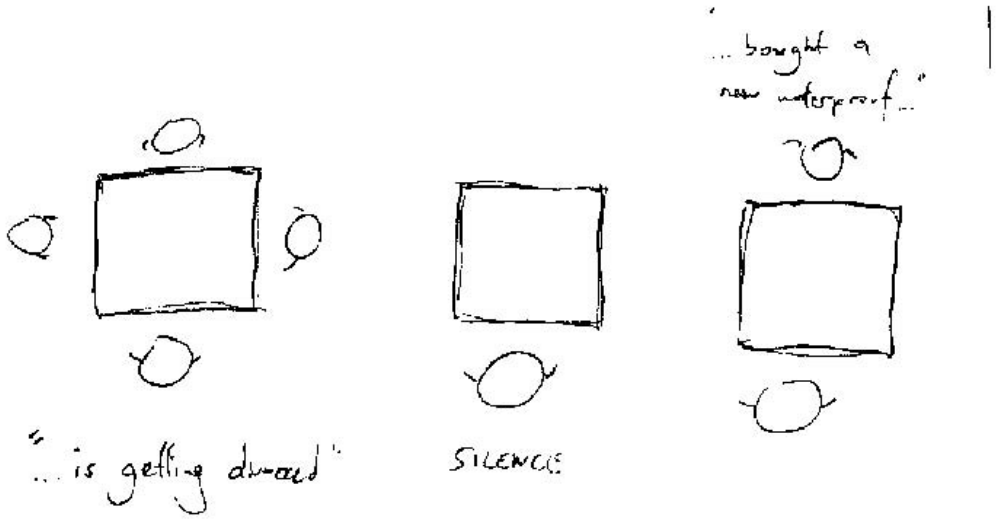
Unsurprisingly, we have been told and observed that cafés are key gathering places for neighbourhoods, and we have been constantly aware of the comparison with the British pub. Unlike the latter they do not de facto exclude babies, children, teenagers, women, seniors, the ill, religious minorities nor local ethnic communities (Laurier, 2005a). They do not hide their habituees behind frosted glass, and they are arguably resources for mixing and meeting where neighborhood residents see one another and bump into one in unintentional and unplanned ways (Harris, 2003). Before we over-idealise cafés, however it is important to bear in mind that this openness to all is reliant on their heterogeneity and the lack of there being a template café. Cafés are incredibly diverse in their types, their crowds, their versions of service, their intimacy, ambience, scene and so on, and it is their very variability and mutability that allows them to accommodate others and accommodate themselves in all manner of communities and neighbourhoods (Laurier 2005a). While they are not sufficient to guarantee political democracy or social reform (Amin & Thrift, 2002), they put in place a conviviality that is essential to, and makes possible the enjoyment of, being with others (in a way that a underground train or public library does not) and in a different way than, say, does a sports club or Boy Scouts hut (Putman, 2000). Social theorists such as Habermas (1989) have raised expectations of the café which underplay the importance of enjoyment in being members of the public, thereby overstating the significance of serious discourse over a lighter mode of being together (Laurier & Philo, submitted).



sketch from field journal: overhearing others

Cafés provide places for the appearance of cosmopolitanism in the city in terms of their crowds, products and brands, and yet also of locality through the same features (Laurier &

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Philo, 2004a). In the era where criticism of Starbucks is commonplace, and its cafés are icons of globalisation on the high street, they raise cosmopolitanism and local identity as communal problems. Yet Starbucks functions within the city much as other cafes do. As such, as hosts cafés provide places for 'scenes' (e.g. film, literary, business, design, goth, gay and so on) which by their ephemeral nature are otherwise hard to locate. They are places of hospitality in the city for outsiders, and each time an outsider arrives it is an occasion to produce hospitality or not. They are places of glancing mutual observation and half-grasped mutual overhearing. In the café, customers, contra Goffman, are not centrally concerned with managing the impressions that they are making, and nor are they proper audiences. Indeed, it is the breakdown of the audience/lecturer pairing that has made them favourite sites of populist literary and philosophical societies (Laurier, 2005a), causing reliable annoyance for musicians as their 'audience' persist in clattering their cups and ordering fresh rounds of cake.

video-analytic

The café project picked up on the minimalist analysis of public space begun by Lee and Watson (1993) in relation to pedestrian flows, queuing and browsing at market stalls allying that

business women - regulars at Spoon lone customer smoking

work with the more recent video-based studies by Goodwin (2000), Mondada (forthcoming) and Heath Hindmarsh (2002). Echoing the findings of Lee and Watson, we found that summons-response pairs, activity-generated categories (e.g. enterer/seated, first in the queue) and the projectable flow from one category to another were ubiquitous and ordinary methods for the ordering of action in the cafés.

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regular arriving at the counter

Central issues that emerged in our results here (Laurier, 2005b) included the movement of customers through the space of the café in relationship to its mundane architecture (e.g. the doorway, the counter, tables, the back, the front and the nooks) which locally produced the intelligibility of what was going on in the café at any point in time. We viewed the ordinary and often skilful organisation of the visit as a sequential object with a beginning, ordering, seat-

selecting, occupying the table and leaving, examining that organisation not as a formal analytic model but rather as the lived work of customers. We detected the conventional recognisability of customers as occupying minimal categories: a lone, a couple, a group and regular(s) and we considered the particular problems raised by these categories in the café and how they were dealt with as courses of conduct (e.g. the performative elements of being together in the café).

We examined the ways in which quite mundane events such as borrowing a newspaper or spilling a cup of water were potentially integrative (or divisive) and how such encounters were then handled by customers. We uncovered how ambience and affect were collectively ‘cold shoulder’ or a ‘warm response’, and we documented various ways in which custtomers orient to, inquire into and make relevant a video camera’s presence in the café (Laurier & Philo, forthcoming).


"MORNING SIR"


"LADIES & GENTS"


"HI:: BRIANY"

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ACTIVITIES

The project:

Hosted several visiting experts who assisted in analysis and developing the pro-ject's relationship to interaction design, including: Alexandra Weilenmann (Viktoria Institue Gothenberg) Oskar Juhlin (interactive institute, Stockholm) and Alex Taylor (Microsoft, Cambridge, UK)

Hosted Ignaz Strebel on a Swiss National Science Foundation Post-doctoral Grant, 2003-4

Collaborated ongoingly with Barry Brown, Areti Galani (University of Glasgow) and Fabienne Malbois (University of Lausanne, Switzerland).

Organised a week long workshop with Barry Brown (University of Glasgow) and Oskar Juhlin on filming in public space, analysis and design at the *interactive institute*, Stockholm.

Organised a further day workshop on analysing video at *Glasgow School of Art* for pos-graduate design students.

Ongoing engagement with the *Ethnomethdology & Self-reflection group* at the University

of Edinburgh.

Participated in the workshop on *Approaching the city: alternative methodologies*, IN-CITE, University of Surrey.

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Participated in and presented findings to the *International Network on Mobile ICTs* established by Utrecht University and Ohio State University at Doorn, Netherlands.

Participated in the *Open Futures Roundtable* at the Institute for Advanced Studies, University of Lancaster.

Participated in the *Video Analysis: Methodology and Methods. State of the Art and Prospect of Interpretative Audiovisual Data in Sociology*, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG, TCU, Berlin.

Presented papers at *British Sociological Association Annual Conference* in York 2003; *Royal Geographical Society, Institute of British Geographers Annual Conference*, London, 2003; *Association of American Geographers Annual Conference*, Denver, 2005; the *International Society for Gesture Studies Bi-annual Conference*, Lyons, 2005; the International *Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis Bi-annual conference*, Boston, 2005.

parting, EL talks to regulars, parting, looking in, CP at the counter

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OUTPUTS

looking for a table, at lunch 1 & 2, evening at Offshore, project flyers on tables

The project has created a video *corpus* gradually and painstakingly compiled throughout the project stored in MPEG4 encoding on a large external hard drive (250gb). The thematic corpus has been successfully deposited at the *ESDS Data Archiv*e, one of the first video depositions of its kind. The corpus is an under-utilised form in the social sciences, where emphasis remains on transcript collections and their coding schemas. It provides a solution to using visual materials that are part of the project's objects not as their sub-ject's object (e.g. studies of popular photography.) Our corpus was created with a Foucauldian sensitivity to creating an archive of the project and ethnomethodology's sense of corpus as occasioned

(Garfinkel, 2002).

In order to make the data accessible to the cafés that had hosted our fieldwork, we created short videos for them (see attached DVD in annex).

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To provide a resource for writing future academic papers and to offer a less analytically and theoretically dense access to results, *three interim reports* were produced and are available from the project website (see paper print-out of website).

During the project's course we were interviewed by broadsheet (*Independent, The Herald & Scotland on Sunday*), tabloid newspapers (*Edinburgh Evening News*) and an Italian café magazine. We have been slated for Radio 4's *Thinking Allowed* on submission of our final report and intend to submit press releases to the *Guardian, Independent, Times* and *The Economist*.

The two academic pieces of significance at this stage are *Ethno-archaeology and undefined Investigations* which sets out our conceptual approach to materials and *Cold shoulders and napkins handed: gestures of responsibility* which examines the part gestures play in expressions of recognition and accommodation in the café. A full selection of the project publications is included as part of the project website.

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IMPACTS

Theoretically the project has progressed on two fronts: firstly, the marrying together of elements of Foucault's archaeological work and ethnomethodology's research policies; and secondly, the re-specification of Habermasian and similar foundational theories of the spaces of reasoned debate and, relatedly, of third spaces/the public sphere. We have engaged with non-representational theory in human geography emphasizing the value of investigating real-worldly practices in detail for solutions to intractable philosophical problems. We have contributed to the debate over what convivial cities might entail and though with caution as to whether the community of the cappuccino can fulfill the political hopes that are bound up with affectual developments (Thrift, 2004, 2005).

Methdologically, we have continued the integration of low-cost digital video technologies into the array of techniques and tools available for social scientists suggesting that they have been under-used by human geographers. More significantly, we have developed the corpus as a way of organising and accessing video clips. We have brought the data session format, developed in conversation analysis and video analysis, into human geography research. We have spread the use of the project's video methods to other disciplines, such as business studies and design, through the data sessions and the two project workshops.

In terms of commercial uptake, Field report 1 has been added to Caffe Nero's training materials for their staff and downloaded by numerous other café from the project web-site. Allegra Strategies, the main market analysts of the café sector, have requested copies of the reports for use in their annual commercial 'Project Café' reports. Scottish & Newcastle Retail and Café Media have requested copes of the final report. We have also had our reports and online papers used by the designers from Intel, Microsoft and the Equator Project.

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FUTURE RESEARCH PRIORITIES

Trans-national research on cafés, picking up for instance on the establishment of Starbucks (Simmons, 2004) (Schultz & Jones Yang, 1997) in countries with weaker and stronger existing café cultures.

Histories of the twentieth century changes in café across the UK the 'greasy spoon', the early cappuccino bars and department stores (Heathcote, 2004; Maddox, 2003).

Examination of convivial places taking different forms (pubs, clubs, sports clubs, gyms, parks, cinemas) in terms of crowds, ambience & affect (Amin & Thrift, 2002).

Further methodological developments in video-based ethnography and the analysis of social action in real-time, as the digital technology and e-social science infrastructure continues to become more affordable and accessible to social scientist. Development of methods for organising and retrieving video data.

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The Cappuccino Community : cafés and civic life in the con-temporary city.

Final Report

ANNEXES

1. 1. Copies of FAQ sheets and consent forms for interviews & video recordings of individuals. Project flyers that were put up as posters and as A5 leaflets on every cafe table during filming of customers.
2. 2. A sample DVD of the short films gifted back to cafés for participating in project and used for elicitation of further commentary (playable on PCs, Macs & home DVD players).

3.A sample *Data* DVD of the visual index of the thematic corpus, double click any of the “start xxxxx.html” files (playable on PCs & Macs with Quicktime 6.5 upwards installed).

4. CD containing a copy of the project website, double click “index.html” to begin (playable on PCs & Macs with a web browser such as Firefox, Mozilla, Netscape etc. and Quicktime 6.5 upwards installed).