A Pattern Language of Celtic Traditional Music and Dance for Social, Economic, and Ecological Regeneration

by

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Author’s declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the potential role of Celtic traditional music and dance (CTMD) cultures in creating more resilient, embedded, and sustainable societies and economies. It does so by synthesising the ideas of the vernacular architect Christopher Alexander and an ecological form of political economy derived from the work of Karl Polanyi. With an empirical emphasis on a historically connected diaspora of the North Atlantic, the study explores the development and place-making potential of CTMD for marginalized communities exposed to the vagaries of global markets. Grounded in distributist economic theory, drawing heavily on Polanyian ('substantivist') economics, inspired in-part by anarchist visions of decentralization and sufficiency, the analysis starts from a historical sociological approach to capitalist modernity (Weber, Marx, Elias, Bauman). Challenging the conventional opposition of individualism versus collectivism, both state and market are seen as both interdependent and dependent on an anthropology of autonomous, transacting, 'billiard-ball individuals'. For the purposes of this dissertation, and with a view to resilient local development, the counterpoint for all permutations of the State-Market is better understood in terms of the Polanyian category of 'livelihood'. From this perspective, any transition to a sustainable modernity requires the re-emergence of more bottom-up, communitarian, and localized networks of families and place-based communities. Such a partial re-embedding of social and economic life would be predicated upon increased levels of trust and reciprocity, mutual obligation, community engagement, and informal markets and market places. Although the effects of capitalist modernization are sweeping, influencing all areas of life from the structure of whole societies to our very conception of self, there do still exist vestiges of pre-modern, place-based societies. In *A Pattern Language*, ecological architect, Christopher Alexander, documented the 253 replicable architectural patterns that create gestalt beauty and harmony in buildings. In this investigation, CTMD is explored as a vernacular culture that emerges in the same way, from repeated and nested patterns. A musical style based on the fiddle (but including many instruments such as pipes, accordion, piano, etc.) CTMD grew out of the folk cultures of France, the British Isles, and Northern Europe. In Canada especially, it has had considerable exchange and influence with First Nations and Métis cultures. Starting from this premise, the thesis applies pattern language theory to CTMD cultures and social networks and associations on both sides of the Atlantic. Through 72 interviews with 81 musicians, music teachers and students, parents, festival organizers, persons in economic development and place-

marketing, i.e., the wide array of stakeholders in Celtic traditional music and dance cultures, it elucidates the social, political, and economic emergent patterns that are present in thriving CTMD cultures which constitute a ‘pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance’. On the basis of this analysis it is argued that the application of pattern language theory to CTMD provides a useful framework through which to analyse human networks and to establish a framework for societies with higher numbers of grassroots networks and associations, and in doing so offers a hopeful means for increasing social, economic, and ecological resilience in marginalized areas particularly in the North Atlantic. Furthermore, it argues that this ‘pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance’ provides a glimpse of what a new, more sustainable, ecologically benign and partially re-embedded modernity might look like as well as a framework by which to nudge society in that direction.

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Dedication

For David and Theresa.

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SECTION I: Introductory remarks and research methods

This first section contains a brief introduction of the problem context, purpose, and scope of this project, the research question(s), and my own personal research position and background. It also contains a breakdown and justification of the research methods used herein.

1 Introduction

When I was six years old, my family moved from Peterborough, ON, to a 108 acre farm in Douro-Dummer Township, in Peterborough County. Our farm is happily situated 12kms from Lakefield (population 17,060), 5 kms from Warsaw (population 2,456) and, being in the Kawarthas, is surrounded by a plethora of fresh water lakes, rivers, and waterways. At that time there were three protestant churches, each no more than five minutes from our house (being mostly of Irish and French Canadian descent, there was no expectation for us to attend). These churches had fundraisers, strawberry socials, a weekly 'yard sale' throughout the summer with live music, food, coffee, etc., and many other events at which my siblings and I were happy to volunteer. Besides, they were fun, boasting live music, a mix of generations, sunshine, fresh food, funny stories – the broad swath of properties that constitute 'folksy charm'. The socializing and activity extended beyond the churches of course, to other local events such as fairs, parades, neighbourliness and chitchat, but centred to a large degree on the volunteer activity required to keep the doors open. One of these churches, located on the Indian River, maintained a dock and made it a public access point to the river. Not only did this river provide a place to swim, kayak and canoe, fish, and, in the winter, skate and play hockey for locals, but it would also attract anglers 'in the know' as a destination spot, providing much appreciated economic income to the hamlet of Warsaw. Over the last twenty-five years, for myriad reasons, these churches shut their doors and were sold off as homes. The music events and socials stopped, the local fairs ceased, and volunteer opportunities declined and much of the vibrant, small town community life disappeared. The summer of 2021, the church on the river was sold. The new owners offered to keep the access-point to the water open for public use if the township simply paid the insurance. Considering it a waste of money, with a vote of three to two, the councillors voted against the proposal and the access point closed and with it a significant common pool resource in this locale (sensu Ostrom, 1990). Over the span of one generation I have watched this region transform. This transformation is not unique to this area. Such things happen in rural areas and small towns the world over. But in each case, the loss within the community is profoundly felt. At the most general level, this dissertation is an exploration of this tendency of modernity to dissolve the commons that are tied up in the patterns of shared culture – ritual, leisure, experiences of self-organization, and social life – that make life meaningful and engender mutual identification and taken-for-granted sense of 'we'.

1.1 Problem context, purpose, and scope of research

The purpose of this project is to develop a blueprint for building resilient communities and local economies through the culture of Celtic traditional music and dance. An effect of capitalist modernization is that rural areas and small towns often experience social disintegration and the persistent out-migration of economic capital. This leaves place-bound communities without an economic rationale and dependent upon the state (Harvey, 2006). While culture and heritage are known to contribute to the viability of these areas through the repurposing of capital, and although there are many case studies, there is no widely applicable model of how this can be done. I develop such a blueprint, focusing on the culture and heritage of Celtic traditional music and dance, as a driver of local development. Permeating eastern and central Canada, as well as the wider North Atlantic, Celtic traditional music and dance offers a promising cultural study, especially as the cultural heritage of Canada is relatively thin. Through development of a 'pattern language' (PL) (see below) of traditional music, my research provides a replicable model for socio-cultural regeneration for rural areas and small towns that addresses the linked problems of poverty, divestment, and social disintegration (McLean, Schultz, & Steger, 2002) for areas far from the metropolitan hubs of the North Atlantic, within the larger backdrop of limits to growth and ecological pressures. In what follows I provide a brief description of the problem context and subject of my investigation, my research question(s), and an overview of my intellectual perspective and position.

Social, economic, and ecological problem context: In 2009 Johan Rockström and his colleagues identified nine quantitative planetary boundaries that they argued we must maintain if humanity is to have a future (Rockström et al., 2009). By 2022 the anthroposphere (De Vries & Goudsblum, 2002) had already surpassed five of these boundaries, making it abundantly clear that we cannot proceed with 'business as usual' (Persson et al., 2022; Steffen et al., 2015; Jackson, 2009). However, even with the overwhelming evidence of ecological devastation, with the knowledge that the consumption of cleaner energy offers only a short term respite rather than any long term, sustainable option (Wang, Jiang, Zhan, 2019), and while there is a growing body of heterodox (low-, no-, de-, and a-growth) economics (Daly, 1996; Kallis, Kerschner, & Martinez-Alier, 2012; Odum & Odum, 2001; Victor, 2008), we have yet to see a large-scale system change or transition. This is due, in no small part, to our dependence upon capitalism and

economic growth: the (postwar, Keynesian) welfare state in the global north and social justice and economic development needs in the global south are both dependent upon economic growth (Quilley, 2017, p. 445). Furthermore, the very existence of the 'sovereign individual', considered the crowning achievement of modernity, and sacrosanct in liberal democracies, is both protected and born within the structure of capitalist modernity, thereby increasing the dependence on perpetual economic growth. And any such large-scale transformation requires a shift, not only in our socio-economic systems, but even our 'common sense' perceptions of self (Orr, Kish, & Jennings, 2020). Thus there is a deep tension between sustainability on the one hand and current patterns of economic development on the other. And these problems cascade through scales from the global down to the very, very local, as the logic of capitalist modernity is jealous and unforgiving.

Characterized by spatial and social mobility, capitalist modernization shunts people out of the lattice of face-to-face networks of place-bound communities and into new roles and occupations in an ever increasing division of labour. Through what Polanyi ([1944]2001) refers to as 'the great transformation', and with historic origins in the transition from feudalism to capitalism, the Market became the organizing principle of society. This process of disembedding involves the inter-related characteristics of individualization, disenchantment, and 'de-traditionalization' (Weber, [1905]2003), which emancipates the individual from the ascriptive roles of traditional society and creates a society of self-actualizing, free, and autonomous individuals (all of which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3). The current process of globalization is an extension of this element of modernity, extending to communities and economies all over the world, resulting, as Bauman (2012) argues, in the current stages of 'liquid modernity' – a society of dis-embedded persons in a constant state of mobility and change wherein, as Marx and Engels ([1848]1969) famously said, 'all that is solid melts to air' (Bauman, 2012; Harvey, 1989). This process also often threatens place-bound communities as, unable to compete with national and global markets, and, with the decline of traditional industries, rural areas and small towns have difficulty attracting inward investment and see a constant outmigration of their educated and skilled labour (Di Biase & Bauder, 2005; Sacco, Ferilli, & Blessi, 2013). Hence, economically marginal communities and small towns have an increasingly hard time finding a role in the global economy, leaving them particularly exposed to the caprice of the market. This problem is especially acute in Canada, as small rural communities have a

dearth of cultural history on which to draw for the repurposing of capital and the sheer size of the landscape leaves them geographically isolated. Thus, Canadian immigration policies target younger demographics to move to rural areas (Wiseman, 2011), but they have little draw for newcomers, who gravitate to the conurbations of Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal (Di Biase & Bauder, 2005, p. 117; Wiseman, 2011, p. 262). It can be helpful to think about this problem as a tension between the immobility of place-bound communities and their exposure to the mobility of capital flows in space (Massey, 2005).

Since the publication of Garrett Hardin's (1968) famous, neo-Malthusian 'The Tragedy of the Commons', whose central thesis is, "the commons, if justifiable at all, is justifiable only under conditions of low-population density", the commons have received increasing attention in academic, political, and sustainability literature (Laerhoven & Ostrom, 2007). The commons, not only occupies a prominent space in radical left-wing politics (Federici, 2010; Fortier, 2017), but crosses a wide political and religious spectrum (Hill, 1984; Ostrom, 1990; 2000; Francis, 2015; Sevilla-Buitrago, 2022; for a comprehensive bibliography see the "Digital Library of the Commons", https://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/). The commons "is a general term for shared resources in which each stakeholder has an equal interest" ("Research on the Commons", 2009, par. 1), which includes many, many types of cultural and natural resources. Commons can also refer to common pool resources (CPR) and common property which includes grazing areas, water resources, land tenure and use, and global commons such as rain, air, etc. ("Research on the Commons", 2009). Commons are also social practice, referred to as 'commoning', which emphasises a relationship between a social group and environment which is common and cannot be commodified by the market (Harvey, 2012).

However, despite this resurgence in interest, this concept of the commons is by no means new. Prior to capitalist modernity, the commons were an intrinsic part of pre-modern, embedded 'economies' (Polanyi, 1944). The process of capitalist modernization (see above) was also the process of mass dispossession of the commons, as land, labour, and human activity were 'fictitiously commodified' through banking and state finance (Polanyi, 1944, p. 75-76; see also 3.2). A common example of the dispossession of the commons is the Enclosure Movement in England and Wales and the Highland Clearances in Scotland. Economically motivated (whether by greed or debt), landowners would enclose common land used by peasants and tenant farmers or crofters, and turn these into property rights. This enclosure saw a shift from communal land

use to one of private ownership and took place from the 1600 to 1900s. Through this movement peasants and tenants were removed from their homes of many generations and forced either into jobs as paid labourers or to emigrate due to poverty or persecution (Prebble, 2013). This process was often politically and religiously motivated and for many, incredibly brutal. References to the Clearances came up many times when speaking with people both in Cape Breton, N.S. (as their ancestors had to flee Scotland) and Shetland (people who also suffered greatly at the hands of greedy landowners). The Highland Clearances provide a brutal and simple example of the dispossession of the commons in the process of capitalist modernization, but this process of commons dispossession continues through capitalization into more and more spheres of life (I am writing a piece tentatively entitled 'the quiet enclosure' which details the continued practice of commons dispossession through lies of omission). That being said, there have been many occurrences of successful commons in the face of capitalist modernization (Ostrom, 1990). Some really interesting examples of contemporary commons successes are digital commons, which include Wikipedia (interestingly, Alexander's (1977; 1979) pattern language theory (see below) was instrumental in the creation of wiki software, see Cunningham & Mehaffy, 2014) and open-source hardware and software (Berry, 2005; Fuster, 2010). The main point herein, however, is that commons are and have been central to human cultures and have been challenged, eroded, and, at times, eradicated through the process of capitalist modernization (this too I discuss further in Chapters 3 & 4).

Celtic traditional music and dance – the cultural context: Like the commons, music and dance are central to human culture (Peretz, 2006; Walsh, 2008; Johnson, 2012). Traditional music, that is music that belongs to a larger tradition, is often part of the commons, and transmitted in an intergenerational and oral/aural manner, is often cheaper to sustain and more generative of social positives than either Classical or pop music. While often undermined or eradicated in its contact with modernity, there still persists many forms and styles of traditional music. Throughout the North Atlantic, Celtic traditional music and dance (CTMD) is one such style (I define and explain the parameters of this style in greater detail in Chapter 7). A repertoire that is typified by the fiddle but includes piano, accordion, whistles, acoustic guitar, spoons, and many other instruments, CTMD boasts many different regional styles of tunes and dances, dances which range from the Ottawa Valley step dancing, to the square sets of Cape Breton, to the Foula reel of Shetland, UK. Despite regional differences there are also many similar features and these

cultures exist in many similar contexts. For example, while the regional styles differ, CTMD cultures exhibit limited repertoires, intergenerational aural transmission, and informal contexts.

Born out of the folk cultures of France, The British Isles, and Northern Europe, CTMD has traveled back and forth across the Atlantic for centuries and thus is also heavily influenced by the First Nations and Métis peoples, especially in the Canadian locales (Giroux, 2013; Russell & Goertzen, 2012; Smith & Lederman, 2010; Wilkins, 2013). While due to the forces of modernism the context of CTMD has largely been eradicated (Fowke, as cited in Smith, 2005, p. 3), there are lasting features of this culture which make it promising for social and economic regeneration and re-embedding. CTMD is often transmitted orally/aurally in an informal and participatory context through community events, sessions, kitchen parties, and jigging. While there are formal lessons for CTMD and written notation, this informal context remains, and aural transmission is still considered the 'authentic' mode of transmission by practitioners to date (Waldron & Veblen, 2009). Usually the tunes are part of the commons and within this context creation is a social act, with respect to the tune itself and the playing and transmission of it (Gelbart, 2007; Titon, 2016). This type of music is classified as primarily for participation rather than listening, which also means that there is "room for a range of abilities" (Sparling, 2014, p. 136), facilitating a face-to-face interaction. Likewise, with the ability to provide a "space for contested point[s] of view, multiple narratives, and differently aesthetically defined politics" (Diamond, 2013, p. 162), CTMD has the capacity, not only to bond people through love of music (Trew, 2009), but also to bring people together from different regions and diverse social and political backgrounds. Where Celtic traditional music thrives it is associated with social, community values, and a deep love and sense of place. But despite these social positives, this culture still remains at the periphery of culture – overshadowed, the positives of CTMD are muted by the larger influence of popular culture.

There have been revivals of CTMD throughout Canada and the UK for the purposes of cultural and economic development, with varying degrees of success and state involvement and support. Very simply, this is done by using the place-bound culture to create more embedded communities and economies (Sacco, Ferilli, & Blessi, 2013). In Canada, many of these revivals are driven by the relentless work of individuals, often in spite of state-promoted or mainstream perceptions. For example, despite its popularity (second only to Hockey Night in Canada) the Don Messer Show was cancelled in 1969. It is commonly understood that this was done in order

to legitimize the Multiculturalism Act of the first Trudeau government in 1971. While the act was originally established to provide a bi-lingual framework for Canada (Leung, 2011-2012, p. 21), for rural areas and small towns, the effects of this act were double-edged (Rivest, Moreau, Negura, 2017). Mookerjea argues (2011) that, "rather than hiding a secret British, French, or white essence, […] Trudeau nationalism was racism emptied of all positive content but still occupying the privileged empty point of universality" (p. 51). Rural areas and small towns, and the fiddle cultures often associated with them, are often portrayed negatively in contrast to the progressive city spaces despite the diversity and open-mindedness that are often present. Cairns (2013) argues, "contemporary media representations construct rurality as a site of bigotry and ignorance, characterized by a 'backward' lifestyle that is contrasted with Canada's progressive city spaces" (p. 640). And this seems to be the case with respect to the Ontario fiddle scene in particular, where there are large numbers of traditional musicians but the culture is still very much 'underground'. By contrast, the Cape Breton revival has received considerable state and media support in addition to the work of the individuals and tradition bearers within, making Cape Breton a destination for traditional music aficionados the world over (Feintuch, 2004).

International examples in the traditional music-led economic resurgence include Doolin in County Clare, Ireland (Ó hAllmhuráin, 2016) and the establishment of Aberdeen's (Scotland) Elphinstone Institute in 1995. The institute was a significant player in what is commonly referred to as the "Shetland Fiddle Renaissance" (White, 2012). While deeply indebted to the tireless efforts of a couple individuals, namely Tom Anderson and Willie Hunter (White, 2010), in Shetland the traditional music (mostly fiddle and accordion) is supported and continues to be transmitted by widespread traditional music tuition in schools, the financial support of charity and government organizations, and a place-narrative of fishermen and crofters gathering around the family hearth which serves to both legitimize the tradition and integrate it into other areas of life (White, 2010).

In contrast to the situation in much of Canada, these revivals in the UK and Europe have higher levels of state support. It is somewhat paradoxical that there has been some reliance on the Canadian traditions for music and dance repertoires and styles as, in some respects, these traditions remained more constant in the remote locales of rural Canada (Melin, 2013). This also highlights the circumpolar connection of traditional and folk cultures (i.e. that the "North Atlantic […] is not conceived in terms of boundaries that separate and divide peoples, but rather

as corridors through [which] cultures have flowed and continue to flow in a process of exchange and communication" [Russell & Goertzen, 2012]). These revivals also suggest that CTMD offers a potentially effective but relatively low-cost method of social and economic regeneration by using place-bound culture to re-embed both people and capital (Ó hAllmhuráin, 2016; Seaton, 1996).

General research scope: While there have been some successful revivals and many comprehensive case studies (Feintuch, 2004; 2006; Johnson, 2012; Perlman, 2015; Wilkins, 2013; 2017; Lederman, 1991, 2013; Giroux, 2013; Trew, 2009), there is no substantive theoretical model for how this is to be done. My research project explores the possibility of cultivating the place-bound culture of Celtic traditional music and dance, as a means for establishing more resilient communities and economies, through the embedding of both people and capital. In the short term, the goal is to determine the current and potential role of CTMD culture in building more sustainable communities and economies in place-bound communities that are subject to and increasingly exposed to market forces. Longer term, the goal is to propose a vision of a more sustainable social configuration. This type of cultural revision or invention is not straightforward (Hobsbawm & Ranger, [1983]2000). Christopher Alexander's pattern language theory (PLT) (1977; 1979) offers the potential for a systematic and usable model of how vernacular cultural commons can be mobilized and orchestrated without sacrificing authenticity, integrity, or vitality. Alexander developed his theory with relation to vernacular architecture. This is the first application to vernacular music.

Pattern Language Theory: Inspired by what he considered the failings of modern architecture, dissenter, ecological architect, and a father of New Urbanism, Christopher Alexander (1977; 1979) developed what he called 'a pattern language' of architectural design. Pattern language theory developed from Alexander's recognition that there is often a gestalt beauty, coherence, and calm to traditional settlements that contrasts with the stark and often de-humanizing logic of modern architecture (think of the contrast that is illustrated when Soviet architecture sits beside pre-modern architectural settlements as an obvious example). In *A Pattern Language* (1977), Alexander elucidates 253 replicable and generative design elements or 'patterns' that are present in traditional societies and that can be used to build places that are 'alive'. Crossing a multiplicity of scales, these patterns range in scope from the details of a stair seat (pattern 125) to the expansive distribution of towns (pattern 2) and together form a language. As with the English

language, the pattern language can either be written as prose or poetry. In poetry, "each word carries several meanings; and the sentence as a whole carries an enormous density of interlocking meanings, which together illuminate the whole" (Alexander, 1977, p. xli). Such is the case with pattern languages. They can be built as prose, with a loose structure, lacking metre, and with a singular meaning. Or they can be built such that, "many many patterns overlap in the same physical space: [where] the building is very dense; it has many meanings captured in a small space; and through this density, it becomes profound" (Alexander, 1977, p. xli). The pattern language is not a metaphor for language, but actually is a language in a literal sense and a pattern language, "illuminates our lives, as we understand a little more about the connections of our inner needs" (p. xliii).

Relationships and context are central to this theory as it is founded on connected nature of all things: that the universe is made up of "'patterns' – of complex, interactive geometries" (Mehaffy, 2016, par. 2). Alexander argues that by adopting these patterns in our building, each person can learn to build places of beauty that are 'alive' and through developing our pattern languages we can work towards developing a 'living language' once again. By contrast, and due in no small measure to the structure, logic, and forces of modernity (as very briefly discussed above), "the languages which people have today are so brutal, and so fragmented, that most people no longer have any language to speak of at all – and what they do have is not based on human, or natural considerations" (Alexander, 1977, p. xvi). Alexander argues that, "in our time the languages have broken down. Since they are no longer shared, the processes which keep them deep have broken down; and it is therefore virtually impossible for anybody, in our time, to make a building live" (1979, p. xii). Furthermore, in order "to work towards a shared and living language once again, we must first learn how to discover patterns which are deep and capable of generating life" (p. xii). *A Pattern Language* is a breakdown of 253 generative patterns that can aid in working towards a shared and living language.

Specifically addressing the fragmenting, isolating, individualizing, and often dehumanizing logic of capitalist modernity, pattern language theory has not only been revolutionary in the field of architecture, but has been successfully adapted to many other disciplines from software design (Gabriel, 1996; Gamma et al., 1995), to medical education (Ellaway & Bates, 2015), to music composition (Schlechte, 2019). Pattern language theory is not anti-modern, but rather antithetical to the ills of modernity, and as such, *A Collection of 80*

Patterns for a New Generation of Urban Challenges (Mehaffy et al., 2020) was recently published. Applying cutting edge research in urban regeneration, technology, and system design, this collection brings together scholars from around the globe contributing patterns in aid of The New Urban Agenda adopted by all 193 countries of the United Nations (p. 11).

1.2 Research question

Bearing in mind the goals of pattern language theory and the widespread and successful trans-disciplinary application, as well as the features of Celtic traditional music and dance cultures, and the problem context delineated above, the three-part research question for this thesis is:

i) Can pattern language theory be applied to Celtic traditional music and dance cultures to provide a useful framework through which to analyse human networks through the lens of traditional music and, in so doing, establish a framework for societies with higher numbers of grassroots networks and associations;

ii) does this application of pattern language theory to CTMD provide a hopeful means for increasing social, economic, and ecological resilience in marginalized areas particularly in the North Atlantic; and

iii) in light of growing awareness and pressures of ecological limits, can the pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance provide a glimpse of what a new, more sustainable, ecologically benign and partially re-embedded modernity might look like as well as a framework by which to nudge society in that direction?

1.3 Personal position and intellectual background

What follows is the investigation of and response to this three-part question. While I think it is an eminently practical investigation, it is a foray into the unknown and unfamiliar. Any such exploration requires a willingness to let go of former certainties, humility to accept wrong turns, and courage for entering the unknown. But, it also means that some of the tensions and hypotheticals investigated and conclusions drawn are more speculative or murky than those from terrain that is well traversed. As an initial explication of a ‘pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance for social, economic, and ecological regeneration’, there are no doubt some kinks yet to be worked out, and nuances and contours to be massaged further. However, as the subject of this dissertation is complex and brings together diverse and what some might consider disparate (although I of course disagree) bodies of knowledge, disciplinary practices and tools,

and problems, what lies within is my best attempt to elucidate what a more embedded and sustainable modernity may look like and a possible framework for achievement.

Before journeying any further into this investigation, I think it is important to outline some of my own intellectual perspective and background, particularly because of the trans-disciplinary nature of this research. I sit in the middle of a variety of disciplines and bodies of knowledge, at times donning different hats from political philosopher, to sociologist, to systems theorist, to pattern language theorist, among others. I have been trained and think too much as a philosopher to be classified categorically as a sociologist, and have delved too far into sociological/social science research to belong to the realm of 'pure' philosopher. Or phrased more positively, in both training and technique, as a scholar, I am deeply inter- and trans-disciplinary. Philosophically, I resonate with the virtue ethics position of Alasdair MacIntyre which draws on the long history of the Aristotelean philosophical tradition while taking seriously the contributions and insights of Marx. A lifelong distributist, I am a proponent of a third way between socialism and capitalism, in no small measure due to a skepticism of the ability of large, centralized institutions to adequately provide the care they often promise. But throughout this investigation, I have also discovered an affinity for types of anarchism (particularly anarcho distributism) and the writings of Kevin Carson [(2010) this may also be due to my penchant for home brewing]. With respect to the current ecological crisis I am hopeful – hopeful because when people come together with a genuine desire to affect positive change, creativity, justice, and ingenuity prevail. While much of sustainability literature centres on bad news and dystopian prefigurations, I am optimistic that we can come up with real and positive solutions to the complex social, economic, and ecological problems of our day.

Book-ended by my own experience and position, this introduction may seem a little too personal, and perhaps that is correct. However, I am a big believer in the personal aspect of life – it is through the personal stories, personal struggles, and personal triumphs that we share with each other that any change happens; any transition to a more sustainable and more embedded modernity *requires* that we share experiences, stories, and ideas. What lies within is a collection of the personal stories that many people were kind enough to share with me – their experiences, insights, histories, difficulties and joys. I have brought together the patterns within these stories to develop a 'pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance'. I have also tried, as much

as possible, to let people tell their stories and provide their insights in their own words. And for each of the conversations, I am incredibly grateful.

Chapter 2 Methods

Growing up immersed in a Celtic traditional music and dance culture and having a personal connection with many high-profile traditional musicians (notably Natalie MacMaster and Erin Leahy) has given me a firsthand perspective on the social benefits of traditional music and a deep love of this culture (I have step-danced for many community events and fundraisers and taught Ottawa Valley step-dancing in informal contexts). This allows for an effective balance of insider/outsider perspective for my research (De Walt et al., 1998). But this personal connection also facilitates the connection of CTMD stakeholders in the tight-knit world of traditional music.

Taking to heart that, "the questions we ask about the human condition may differ across the social sciences, but methods belong to all of us" (Bernard, 2011, p. 2), in this chapter, I explain and justify the methods of data collection and analysis used throughout this thesis with reference to the goals, problem context, and challenges herein. Through developing a 'pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance' (and thereby determining the feasibility of the pattern language framework (PL)), this dissertation has both short and long term goals. In the short term, it seeks to present a guide to setting up resilient and sustainable local traditional music cultures or reinvigorating existing ones, particularly in geographically marginal communities in the North Atlantic, for the purposes of increasing community social and economic resilience, and to decrease their exposure in the face of mobile and rootless global markets. Long term, viewed through the lens of traditional music and dance, this dissertation also aims to provide a vision of and framework for nudging socio-economic systems towards more embedded, reciprocal, informal, and distributed forms of political economy, encouraging long-term sustainability and resilience. As my goal is to determine the replicable, interlocking, and generative social patterns (see 2.4 & 6.3) present in flourishing Celtic traditional music and dance cultures, I used participant observation and semi-structured interviews and multi-sited ethnography (Bernard, 2011; Marcus, 1995). The reasons for and justifications of these methods are discussed below.

2.1 The multi-sited ethnology of Celtic traditional music and dance traditions

I used multi-sited ethnography for this research with sites in Southern Ontario, Cape Breton, NS, Prince Edward Island, Shetland, UK, and Northumberland and Tyne and Wear, UK. Writing on the 'emergence of multi-cited ethnography', George Marcus (1995) made the distinction between ethnography *in* the world and ethnography *of* the world. Ethnography *in* the world is the classic

approach to Anthropological research, where one "lives and studies in a relatively bounded set of places, within a geographic area, even while probing the ways this space is intimately, if darkly, connected to other parts of the world" (Gagnon, 2019, p. 285). By contrast, taking into account and anticipating the expansion of globalization, ethnology *of* the world, multi-cited ethnography provides "an essential link with the traditional practice of participant observation, single-site ethnography in the peripatetic, translative mapping of brave new worlds" (Marcus, 1995, p. 114). Using Tsing's *The Mushroom at the end of the World* (2015) as the epitome of Marcus' 'follow the thing model' associated with multi-cited ethnography, Gagnon (2019) explains that, in addition to interest in the lives of the individuals within the specific cultural spaces, Tsing attempts to "understand something about the present world order, particularly regarding human alienation with respect to the environment, commodities, work, and non-human species. This is especially in light of global economic and environmental crisis" (p. 290). Through this example, Gagnon highlights that the 'follow the thing', multi-sited approach does not preclude participant observation (see 2.4 below), but rather accounts for the mobility of an increasingly globalized world. Marcus cites Feld's (1994) 'mapping of world music and world beat' as an example of 'follow the thing' modality in multi-sited ethnography (p. 107), which is a relevant precedent for this research given the musical study. Rather than focusing on the minutiae of a single place-bound tradition, my research investigates the underlying and replicable social patterns that are present in vibrant Celtic traditional music and dance cultures (see 2.6). As such, multi-sited ethnography was the best option for research as it allows for pattern emergence by bringing together the data from many field sites, as well as the broad swath of stakeholders within these cultures. Furthermore, rather than obfuscating the place-specific features of the individual locations, the different sites allowed for better recognition of the place-specificity by contrast.

The sites for this ethnographic research were chosen due to their varying degrees of vibrancy and visibility of CTMD cultures with respect to mainstream culture. And, while they differ in terms of visibility, each of these locales has a high degree of CTMD practitioners and participation. For example, Shetland, UK is renowned for its music globally and has a reputation of a high per capita number of skilled musicians. This is largely due to what is referred to as the 'Shetland Fiddle Renaissance' (White, 2010). By contrast, while the Ottawa Valley has a similar high calibre of musicians, both in terms of number and ability, there is far less overt publicity and exposure in terms of global or even national reputation. Furthermore, the Southern Ontario

fiddle tradition has, arguably, been more constant than some of the more dramatic revivals. While the field sites for this research often consolidated musicians from diverse regions (e.g., people travelling long distances to a festival), because of their respective differences, they offered a view of the patterns that 'work' for CTMD cultures.

2.2 Nonprobability and snowball sampling

I used a nonprobability (i.e., non-random) sampling technique for this research, which means that this investigation does not represent "a proportion from a sample to a larger population" (Bernard, 2011, p. 143), but rather, the views of a few, knowledgeable subjects. Nonprobability sampling is common practice for "labor-intensive, in-depth studies of a few cases" and when "collecting cultural data, as contrasted with data about individuals, [as] then expert informants, not randomly selected respondents are needed" (Bernard, 2011, p. 143). As Celtic traditional music and dances cultures and the possibility of increasing social and economic resilience through them, is the subject of this investigation, I needed to speak to those who have some expertise or connection to CTMD culture, economic development, place-marketing, etc. Taking advantage of being a CTMD insider, I used nonprobability sampling, selecting participants who have some level of expertise in traditional music, music education, local economic development, place-marketing, festival organization, e.g., the wide array of stakeholders in the world of CTMD. Table 1 details the number of participants I spoke to with respect to the main area of stakeholder interest. Although, of course, many participants donned many hats: those who are listed as music teachers are also musicians in their own right. Table 1 indicates the capacity in which they mostly spoke to give an indication of the range and number of perspectives herein. As illustrated by Table 1, there are some capacities that are well represented (28 musicians) and some that have more limited representation (1 sound engineer). Given the nature of this type of qualitative research, there is an element of randomness to the participants and subsequent capacity representation. That being said, as many of the participants spoke in different capacities, and while musicians are the most represented group, there is still considerable variety and representation with respect to participants' experiences and information.

I also used chain-referral (snowball) sampling for this research, one of the main techniques for nonprobability sampling (Bernard, 2011). With this method the 'sampling frame grows' from informant to informant until the "sampling frame becomes saturated – that is, no new names are offered" (Bernard, 2011, p. 148); this saturation did indeed happen within my

research. Key informants are easily identifiable from within various tight-knit CTMD communities, but from the outside, can be difficult. And while I had the benefit of insider/outside perspective (De Walt et al., 1998), as an outsider to different locales, identifying key players could otherwise have been difficult. However, through snowball sampling, based upon referrals from participants, I was able to speak to many critical people in CTMD communities, as well as those in government or economic development positions, often facilitated by the good will and trust that participants had for each other. For example, the Chief Executive of Shetland Arts, not only recommended I speak to the Director of Development Services for Shetland Islands Council, but also sent an introductory and verifying email on my behalf. This technique also allowed me to speak with minors in the CTMD communities (as per my ethics of course) that otherwise, would have been very difficult.

Table 1: The main capacity of participants and number of interviews in that capacity

Participants' main capacity	Number
Musician	28
Music student	6
Parent/guardian/chaperone	3
Music teacher	9
Festival organizer/committee member	7
Volunteer (camp/festival)	1
Economic development	1
Community centre	1
Politician	1
Arts development/charity	7
Musical director	1
Place-marketing	2
Arts researcher	1
Sound engineer	1
Competition organizer	1
School	3
Music camp participant (musician)	8
Total	81

2.3 Semi-structured and informal interviews

My research consisted of both informal and semi-structured interviews. Commonly used in the early stages of research, informal interviews can also serve to "build greater rapport and to uncover new topics of interest that might have been overlooked" (Bernard, 2011, p. 156) throughout the all stages of ethnographic research. Informal interviews were conducted with participants during participant observation events, for example, speaking with participants over lunch at Leahy Camp, ON, or while at a session at the Lounge Bar in Lerwick, Shetland, or partaking in a seaside mussel boil at Rollo Bay Fiddle Camp, PEI. Details from these informal interviews were often noted at the time and then elaborated later, or, if the situation precluded note taking, say at an impromptu session or house party, they were noted and analysed after the event took place.

Drawing on interview guides I developed for different participant groups (see Appendix) to uncover the patterns (see 2.6) I conducted 52 semi-structured interviews with 61 participants (some of the interviews had more than one participant). At the same time, Dr. Quilley, conducted 20 semi-structured interviews with participants to which he gave me access. Dr. Quilley and I had many, many conversations regarding research questions and goals and we synchronised to ensure the co-validity of the interviews. Through a collaborative inductive method, we were able to ensure that the interviews from both data sets were in line with the research objectives of this project, and thus able to be included. In total, this dissertation draws on data from 72 interviews from 81 participants. These interviews range in length from 30 minutes to 2 hours, with the mean ranging between 1 and 1.5 hours. The majority of these interviews were conducted in person, either on site during an event or at a scheduled interview location e.g., coffee shop, restaurant, etc., although some were conducted via phone or Skype. These interviews were audio recorded using a ZOOM H4n Pro recorder and the ones from Leahy Camp using audio and video recording with Filmic Pro (when experiencing a problem with the ZOOM recorder). I transcribed the interviews verbatim and, as per the ethics guidelines, participants were given the option of anonymity in their interviews, which each declined.

2.4 Participant observation

I conducted participant observation throughout this research. As 'foundation of cultural anthropology' but with 'deep roots in sociology', participant observation requires one to both

immerse themselves in a culture and remove themselves sufficiently to intellectualize and contextualize it daily (Bernard, 2011, p. 258). Varying in length from a few days site visit (for example at the Gaelic College in Cape Breton) to a four month emersion (as in Shetland), my role oscillated mostly between observing participant (e.g., taking part in fiddle and step dance classes at Rollo Bay, PEI) and participating observer (e.g., attending house parties and sessions in Shetland) (Bernard, 2011). While in Anthropology, participant observation traditionally takes a year or so, stints as short as a few days can also provide valuable information, especially if the researcher is previously familiar with the subject (Bernard, 2011, p. 261). My participant observation included informal interviews, photographs and sketches of places and events, information on relevant sites to visit and people to speak to, as well as analytical observations and comparisons. Bernard (2011) recommends spending "time getting to know the physical and social layout" (p. 269) of the field site in order to get a 'feel' for the site, thereby contributing to a greater sense of the site and, consequently, more information. By taking photographs and doing sketches of individual sites (see Illustration 1), I was able to get a good atmospheric sense of the sites as well as collect comparative site information, which aided in pattern analysis (see 2.6), particularly because of the close association of architectural and social patterns within this dissertation (see Chapters 8 & 9).

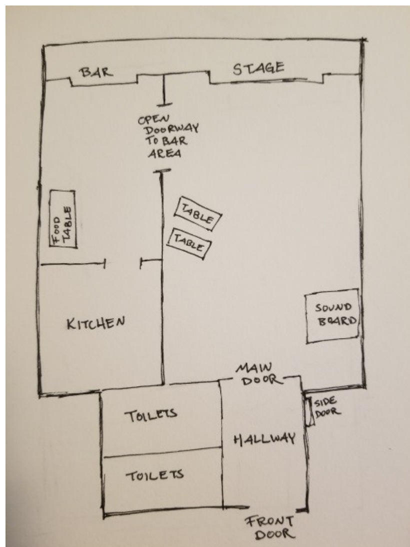


Illustration 1: Sketch of the layout of Carnegie Hall in Bigton, Shetland (left) and photo from performance by *Hersel* also in the Carnegie Hall in Bigton (right).

2.5 Language learning

Participant observation can also often include learning a new language, both in terms of local idioms, metaphors, and colloquialisms, but also actually in the sense of an entirely new language (Bernard, 2011). While not completely fluent in either, throughout my research I learned both Shetland dialect (a derivation of Scots dialect, Old Norse, and English spoken throughout the Shetland Isles, with words like *peerie* – little/small, *bairn* – child, and *muckle* – large: for a brief list see https://www.northlinkferries.co.uk/shetland-blog/shetland-words-to-know/) and Scots Gaelic. I learned Shetland dialect from months of immersion in Shetland and Scots Gaelic through An Cùrsa Inntrigidh, an online course run out of the University of the Highlands and Islands in Scotland. Having words, phrases, and a degree of conversational fluency, gave me credibility and thus access to information to which I otherwise would not have been privy, by increasing the rate and degree to which participants opened up or viewed me as something of an insider.

2.6 Pattern language analysis

After the fieldwork and interviews were conducted, the field notes and interview transcripts were analysed using the pattern language method. Pattern language analysis is a well-established method, not only in architecture, but in many fields ranging from software design to music composition (Alexander, 1977; 2002; Coates & Seamon 1984; Ellaway & Bates 2015; Gabriel 1998; Gamma et al., 1994; Mehaffy et al., 2020; Schlechte, 2019). However, the iteration of it in this thesis comes with considerable methodological innovation. As part of my research question is to determine whether or not pattern language theory is a useful framework for analysing social networks and associations as viewed through the lens of CTMD, it is difficult to fully expound on the method at this juncture without drawing on the philosophical explanation, innovation, and application that I discuss in later chapters (see Chapters 6, 8, 9, & 11 – 15). I can at this time, however, give a brief breakdown of what this method is and the way that I used it in my data analysis.

As described briefly in Chapter 1, pattern language theory is a design philosophy which draws on the 'timeless' design patterns present in traditional settlements. Each pattern "expresses a relation between a certain *context*, *problem*, and a *solution*" (Alexander, 1979, p. 247), which when coupled with other patterns, together form a language, with "the structure of a network" (Alexander, 1977, p. xviii). A simple example is pattern 159: light on two sides of every room (p.

746). Through a series of informal experiments spanning a few years, Alexander and his team found that people tend to gravitate towards rooms which have natural light which enters from two sides of the room, as he states, "when they have a choice, people will always gravitate to those rooms which have light on two sides, and leave the rooms which are lit only from one side unused and empty" (p. 747). People generally feel that rooms with light from two sides are more pleasant and even more conducive to social interaction and understanding than those with light from only one. Therefore, the solution pattern when building is to, "locate each room so that it has outdoor space outside it on at least two sides, and then place windows in these outdoor walls so that natural light falls into every room from more than one direction" (p. 750). This is a very simple example, but one that resonates easily with people when they give it some thought.

One can determine whether a pattern is good, that is whether it works or not, through two empirical conditions:

1) "*The problem is real*. This means that we can express the problem as a conflict among forces which really do occur within the stated context, and cannot normally be resolved within that contest.
2) *The configuration solves the problem*. This means that when the stated arrangement of parts is present in the stated context, that conflict can be resolved" (Alexander, 1979, p. 283).

Through this structured network, or language, we can build places that are conducive to human flourishing (defined and explained in greater detail in Chapters 8 & 9).

Building upon this work in *A Pattern Language* (*APL*), Alexander continued to develop his theory for living designs in a quartet called *The Nature of Order* (*TNO*) (2002a; 2002b; 2004; 2005). In addition to the *context*, *problem*, *solution* triad of patterns, in *TNO*, Alexander determines fifteen properties of 'living' or coherent/whole patterns (or *centres* as he later calls them). While some consider *TNO* a rejection of PLT, it is actually a development of it, and builds upon the principles in *APL* in a nuancing and cohering manner (Mehaffy, 2019).

In this dissertation, I apply Alexander's theory from *A Pattern Language* and *The Nature of Order* to the social networks and associations of Celtic traditional music and dance cultures (I explain the theory and process of this application in detail in Chapters 8 & 9). Through listening to and reading the transcriptions of the interviews and reading through field notes, I identified the emergent social patterns with the CTMD place-bound traditions. I kept a file of all the patterns as

they emerged, and, when going through the interviews, I copied the patterns in each interview to the subsequent pattern file. For example, I had a pattern titled: 'pubs/sessions' and then copied every example of pubs/sessions in my interviews into this category. When I was done this, I had a document which contained hundreds of pages of patterns from the interviews. I re-read each pattern and then analysed them with respect to the *problem*, *context*, *solution* trilogy as well as to determine whether these social patterns corresponded with the fifteen properties of wholeness from *TNO*. In writing these patterns, I used a considerable amount of quotations, both in terms of length and number, for these patterns, as, as I said in Chapter 1, I tried to let the participants own words speak for themselves as much as possible. I also included quite lengthy quotations as I think that they provide the necessary clarity and context for pattern exposition in a way that shorter segments could not have done. As such, for the patterns, I generally chose one rather lengthy example as an illustration, rather than multiple shorter examples. Once I had identified and analysed all of the patterns, I then discussed each with respect to the language as a whole, as well as the larger themes within this work, to determine the significance and import of these data.

In addition to a personal decades-long interest in the work of Christopher Alexander, there is good reason to investigate the feasibility of the pattern language method in social science research. While Alexander has captured the imagination of so many across a broad range of disciplines, his theory remains relatively untapped in the social sciences. At the same time, Alexander's theory speaks to wicked dilemmas in sustainability transitions and the Schumacher-esque questions at the heart of green politics i.e., nurture, care, stewardship, etc., and how we can find an appropriate pattern of response in nature. Likewise, pattern language theory applied to the social realm offers the possibility of addressing the decline (and at times obliteration) of human relationships across cascading levels of scale (an effect of Modern Market societies), while sidestepping some of the problems of 'social capital literature' (for explanation of these potential problems see 3.5).

At this point I must make something of a disclaimer. The pattern language herein (see Chapters 11–14) reads somewhat repetitively. This is in part due to following the practice in pattern language literature. But it is also because the point of this pattern language of CTMD is to offer a means of place-making, increasing social cohesion, and social, economic, and (hopefully) ecological resilience through developing a model for communities that are coherent, shared, and whole. As such, it is difficult to write a monograph on wholeness and coherence that

is not, at times, self-referential: how can one write about the mutually dependent, interlocking, and nested social patterns which cascade through levels of scale, from the very large to the very small, without reference to the other patterns in the whole? I am aware of the repetition, and I hope that the reading of it, rather than causing frustration, aids in always understanding each particular pattern in light of the larger whole.

2.7 Limitations of research

As with any qualitative research method, especially where funds, time, and other resources are limited, there are limitations in this research with respect to representation, validity, and proportion of different categories of people interviewed (see 2.2 and Table 1 above). These types of limitations apply to PhDs across qualitative methods and, in many ways, this methodological process is more akin to a good lawyer building a case in law. This limitation was also partially increased due to the COVID-19 pandemic, as some site visits, and consequently interviews, had to be cancelled due to restrictions (see also 15.2). That being said, I hope that these problems of representation will be mitigated as more people follow-up and do further research investigations in the future.

2.8 Conclusion

The investigation of this dissertation is inherently trans-disciplinary, as are the methods employed. Using multi-sited ethnology, nonprobability and snowball sampling, semi-structured and informal interviews, and participant observation, and through the good will, generosity, and welcoming attitude of the research participants, I was able to gather data that address the complex and difficult research question of this dissertation. The recognition of the need for a more embedded, 'small is beautiful' political economy is by no means new (Kohr, [1957]2016; Morris, [1890]1994; Schumacher, [1973]2010), and has only increased in popularity since the 1970s and with the increasing awareness of past and potential environmental catastrophes (Daly & Cobb, 1994; Kallis, Kerschner, & Martinez-Alier, 2012; Ophuls, 2011; Victor, 2008). The data collected in this dissertation and application and subsequent interpretation of the 'pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance' offers, what I hope, is one such 'small is beautiful' vision and a framework to get there.

SECTION II: Modernity and community

In this section, loosely titled 'modernity and community', I discuss the tensions, trade-offs, and trajectory of capitalist modernity. I also discuss the process of modernization and the effects of this on both individuals and society from an historical sociology perspective focusing on the transition from traditional to capitalist society. Then, in conversation with resilience, complexity, and commons literature, I discuss the unsustainable nature of the capitalist growth economy and the need for a new Market, State, and Livelihood configuration. Finally, I end this section with some strategies for place-making and development through arts-led regeneration.

Chapter 3 Setting the stage part one: Historical sociology and the fabric of capitalist society

> One might as well argue that butter accumulation is not limited by spoilage because the quantity of butter is measured in pounds, and pounds can be summed indefinitely in a ledger without spoiling (Daly & Cobb, 1994, p. 38).

In *For the Common Good*, Daly and Cobb (1994) begin by explaining that the fallacy of misplaced concreteness is the 'cardinal sin' of economics: "The concentration on money and market rather than on physical goods, with the concomitant decision to model itself on the methods (but not the content!) of physics, has been characteristic of the whole of modern economics" (Daly & Cobb, 1994, p. 38). The scientific modeling of economics in all their elegance favour "theory over fact and to reinterpret fact to fit theory" (p. 38). Understanding this tendency towards greater degrees of abstraction in economic theory is paramount for establishing economies for communities, "because community is precisely the feature of reality that has been most consistently abstracted from in modern economics" (p. 43). Taking the advice of Daly and Cobb, I discuss the processes which led to this wholesale abstraction of modern economics. Through the lens of historical sociology, what follows is a discussion and explanation of the transition, the structural differences, and critical assessment of pre-modern, traditional society and capitalist modernity. Beginning with the polity of traditional society, I then examine the process of modernization and the structural differences between capitalist modernity and pre-modern society. From this, I show how the current state of 'liquid modernity' (sensu Bauman, 2012) is an extension of this process of modernization. I end with a brief discussion of the literature of social capital and how it relates to the structure of capitalist modernity.

3.1 The polity of traditional society

Understood as an ideal type (sensu Weber[1905]1992), the polity of traditional, agrarian society can be roughly divided into two categories: central, dominant authorities made up of the few in a ruling class, and local, self-reliant and self-governing communities made up of peasants. Of course, there is continuity between traditional and modern societies; society does not transition from A to B bereft of similarities – history is far messier than that. But we can roughly characterize different societies. As such, ideal-typically, the ruling class in agrarian society is strictly separated from the majority of the peasant class (Gellner, 1983, 9). Favouring what Gellner refers to as 'horizontal lines of cultural cleavage', the minority ruling class contains sub-strata that consist of "warriors, priests, clerics, administrators, burghers" (p. 10). The culture of

the ruling class in the agro-literate society is distinct from the culture of the peasants. Indeed it is in the best interest of those in authority with power to create and maintain cultural divisions and 'naturalize' these strict hierarchies. This high culture of the elite has a literacy and language distinct from the vernacular (Gellner, 1983, p. 11). Even within this ruling class, cultural differentiation and stratification is encouraged to maintain harmony and clarify roles.

Below the ruling class exists the realm of the majority – a world that is made up of "laterally separated petty community of the lay members of the society" (Gellner, 1983, p. 10). These place-bound peasant communities are insular and almost autonomous. There is little motivation for cultural homogeneity (aside from perhaps a clerical interest for the ease of conversion), and these semi-autonomous peasant communities quickly develop differentiating dialects and vernacular languages; for example, the many insular Celtic languages and their sub-dialects – Irish, Manx, Scottish Gaelic, Breton, Cornish, Welsh, etc. For these semi-autonomous communities, operating insularly and face-to-face, accents and dialects abound between the different, adjacent, communities, and consequently vernacular cultural diversity abounds (Gellner, 1983, p. 13-14).

Thus, while maintaining social hierarchies and ascriptive roles that would make many moderns wince, the members of traditional, place-bound societies "belong to self-reproducing units" (Gellner, 1983, p. 30-31). In traditional society, the "key structures are those of kinship and household" (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 122), and these structures determine the role and status that every individual (for the most part) in that society inherits at birth. There is, of course, some spatial mobility through the expansion of empires, and likewise some social mobility – a slave could become a free person, a peasant a squire and achieve knighthood – but spatial and social mobility are exceptions to the definitive feature of traditional stratified society (Noble et al., 2009). Individuals each know who they are by the place that they have within this structure: what is required of them and what owed (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 122). Through 'acculturation' (Gellner 1983), the young (excluding the ruling class) are educated "on the job" through "one-to-one, intra-community training" (p. 31). An infant born into a family, tribe, or small place-bound community is socialized by the obligations and license of participation in communal life, as well as through more formal training and rites of passage, etc. As such, the "distinctive style of conduct and communication of a given community" (p. 92) reproduces itself. Economic activity does not exist autonomously, it is embedded, subject to and "subordinated to politics, religion,

and social relations" (Polanyi, [1944]2001, p. xxiv). In such societies morality and social structure are synonymous, where the virtue of an individual (or lack thereof) is determined by one's ability to act within the mandates of the social structure. One has a place in society within the network of kin, tribe, band, community, etc., and the creation of the self "is a social creation" (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 128). Exile or banishment is a grave punishment as the safety and identity of the individual does not exist outside of the social fabric of kin, clan, or community. The genealogies required to introduce the hero of the Icelandic Sagas illustrate the dependent and webbed nature of the individual in the social structure – outside of the family and communal history the heroes do not make sense. For example, these are the first two lines of *Egil's Saga* (1893[c.850-1000]): "There was a man named Ulf, son of Bjalf, and Hallbera, daughter of Ulf the fearless; she was sister of Hallbjorn Half-giant in Hrafnista, and he the father of Kettle Hæing. Ulf was a man so tall and strong that none could match him, and in his youth he roved the seas as a freebooter" (par. 1). In order to explain who Ulf is, it is necessary to provide the genealogical context. But also, in traditional society, it is through the communal customs, obligations, and cultural expectations, and rituals that the culture perpetuates itself.

In traditional society, the relationship to place is significant and often woven into 'the fabric of social life' (Basso, 1996, p. 57). The "[r]elationships to places may also find expression through the agencies of myth, prayer, music, dance, art, architecture, and, in many communities, recurrent forms of religious and political ritual" (Basso, 1996, p. 57). The culture of traditional society operates as a cohesive whole that is contextual, relational, and interlacing; for example, the Celtic ritual of the sick and suffering visiting 'clootie wells' (see Illustration 22). The afflicted pilgrim travels to the well with a piece of cloth, or cloot, and, after dipping the cloot in the well, hangs it on a tree nearby. As the cloot rots, the ailment is said to leave the body. This ritual illustrates the interwoven nature of place, religious practice and ritual, and culture in traditional societies: that the social, moral structure of these societies is often tied to place. For example, in the setting of *The Canterbury Tales* ([1387-1400]2023) as the Prologue says, "*Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote…Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages…Of Engelond to Caunterbury they wende*" (Chaucer, lines 1, 12, & 16). As Casey states, "The very word *culture* meant "place tilled" in Middle English – c.f. 'cultivate' – and the same word goes back to Latin *colere*, "to inhabit, care for, till, worship" (Casey, 1996, p. 33-34).

3.2 The process of 'dis-embedding'

The internal logic of traditional society contrasts with that of capitalist modernity. The central social and economic logic of capitalist modernity is captured by Karl Polanyi's ([1944]2001) concept of dis-embedding through which, "human society had become an accessory of the economic system" (p. 79). As Polanyi states, "a self-regulating market demands that nothing less than the institutional separation of society into an economic and political sphere" (p. 74). Responding immediately to protestations, Polanyi continues, "True, no society can exist without a system of some kind which ensures order in the production and distribution of goods. But that does not imply the existence of separate economic institutions; normally, the economic order is merely a function of the social order" (p. 74). Polanyi argues that disembedding occurred through the fictitious commodification of labour, land, and money or 'human activity', 'nature', and 'the token of purchasing power' through the 'mechanism of banking and state finance' (p. 75-76).

Before discussing capitalist modernity, I first need to nuance the term capitalism the way I am using it in this thesis. Rather, this is Belloc's ([1912]1977) definition of a capitalist society, which aligns with my thesis:

> A society in which private property in land and capital, that is, the ownership and therefore the control of the means of production, is confined to some number of free citizens not large enough to determine the social mass of the state, while the rest have not such property and are therefore proletarian, we call capitalist; and the method by which wealth is produced in such a society can only be the application of labor, the determining mass of which must necessarily be proletarian, to land and capital, in such fashion that, of the total wealth produced, the proletariat which labors shall only receive a portion (p. 49-50).

Capitalist modernization has "its historical origin in the 'transition from feudalism to capitalism'" (Daly & Cobb, 1994, p. 61), whereby the Market became the "organizing principle of society" (p. 61) through what Polanyi ([1944]2001) refers to as 'the great transformation'. Prior to the 19th century, human economies were always embedded. They were not the supposed autonomous, interlocking system of markets, self-regulating supply and demand via price mechanism of market liberalism, but rather subject to "politics, religion, and social relations'. Polanyi argues that disembedding occurred by transforming 'human beings and [the] natural world' into fictitious or pure commodities, that is land, labour, and capital were abstracted from the 'totality of the natural world', life, and social heritage respectively and treated as commodities "to be allocated by the market" (Daly & Cobb, 1994, p. 61; Polanyi, 2001). Characterized by rationalization, individualization, disenchantment, and 'de-traditionalization'

(Weber, [1905]1992), this process of disembedding erodes the survival units of traditional society, replacing the face-to-face and place-bound forms of security rooted in kin, band or tribe, and place-bound community with the "abstract institutions and interdependent social relations of the modern State" (Kish & Quilley, 2022, p. 41; Elias, [1991]2001; Medaille, 2016). Very loosely, "taking place in all areas of human life from religion to law to music and architecture, rationalization means a historical drive towards a world in which 'one can, in principle, master all things by calculation'" (Weber, [1919]1946, p. 139 as cited in Sung Ho, 2022, par. 23). Disenchantment refers to the process through which any 'unifying worldview' is replaced by fragmented, incompatible, and incoherent 'value spheres'. In the first phase of disenchantment, "*ad hoc* maxims for life-conduct" (par. 4.2) were replaced by monotheistic religion "historically culminat[ing] in the Puritan ethic of vocation" (par. 42.) In its second phase, modern science 'dismantled' monotheism, relegating it to the irrational, and, in turn "dissipated" its own meaning "beyond repair" (Sung Ho, par. 4.2). Thus, while emancipating the individual from the ascriptive roles of traditional society, this spatial and social mobility, and the ever expanding division of labour, pushes towards a society of (nominally) self-actualizing, free, and autonomous individuals.

As Gellner argues, "modern society is not mobile because it is egalitarian; it is egalitarian because it is mobile" (1983, p. 24-25), and this mobility is a requirement to feed the insatiable appetite for capitalist, economic growth. The customs, rituals, and habits that perpetuate social stratification and, indeed stability, cannot take place in a mobile society. Thus in a spatially mobile society, social mobility (or at least the promise of it) is a prerequisite in order to maintain social cohesion. Of course there is inequality and socio-economic stratification, often "in extreme form" but they have a:

> muted and discreet quality, attenuated by a kind of gradualness of the distinctions of wealth and standing, a lack of social distance and a convergence of life-styles, a kind of statistical or probabilistic quality of the differences (as opposed to the rigid, absolutized, chasm-like differences typical of agrarian society), and by the illusion or reality of social mobility (Gellner, 1983, p. 25).

Essentially, while extremes of inequality and socio-economic stratification are present in modernity, the assignment and articulation of social strata are muted and more discrete. The social impact of this mobility informs the social structure, institutions, and associations. In a mobile society, the socialization and education of members of society becomes part of the division of labour, requiring those from outside the community to fulfill this role, as the 'creative

destruction' of growth and innovation dismantle the old institutions and associations. The members of large-scale, industrial society must be able to "shift from one activity to another, and must possess that generic training which enables them to follow the manuals and instructions of a new activity or occupation" (p. 35), thus, a minimal level of universal literacy and numeracy are required. The transference of information must be context free, standardized and codified, as the mobile members of society must communicate with those across large spatial scales, therefore favouring homogeneity in culture. In such a society, the form and content of education becomes paramount, centralized and standardized; specific education is required in order to produce functioning and contributing members of society. Thus the industrial society turns all culture in to 'high culture' or 'literary culture'. An individual no longer gets their membership from participation in nested sub-groups of family, kin, or clan, but rather the key traits of this society are "homogeneity, literacy, and anonymity" (Gellner, 1983, p. 138). As such, the individual exists primarily as an individual in relation to the wider culture, which is in large part produced and mediated by the state. Thus we have the birth of the individual *qua* individual within the nation-state: an individual who is autonomous, morally sovereign, and (for the most part) free of obligations or responsibility to kin or community. The mobile individual of capitalist modernity has far more autonomy, choice, and personal self-actualizing agency than an individual in a place-bound community, albeit within a limited cultural context. However, the safety and security that comes from stable, traditional society – membership within a tribe, clan, place-community, or citizenship (as in Ancient Athens) – no longer exists, and thus in the name of protection of the individual, we see the establishment of the 'Leviathan' state.

Defined as universalism, the ideological project of progress bolsters capitalist modernization. According to Nisbet (2019), "for several centuries Western liberal thought has been buoyed up by the assumption that history is a more or less continuous emancipation of men from despotism and evil" (p. 196-197). Philosophical synonyms, universalism and individualism have their historic origins in the thought of Descartes. As Ricoeur (1974) explains, and as I have elucidated elsewhere (Beresford, 2020), the articulation of the *cogito* represented a paradigmatic shift, as "the philosophical ground on which the *cogito* emerged is the ground of science in particular, but, more generally, it is a mode of understanding in which the existent (*das Seiende*) is put at the disposal of an "explanatory representation" (Ricoeur, 1974, p. 228). Presenting a new age of "the world as picture" there is the presupposition that science is synonymous with

research, with the objectification of what exists outside of the subject. In essence, 'world as picture' refers to a new paradigm in which all that exists outside the subject can be known, dissected, and understood as distinct and viewable to the subject. This contrasts with the participatory worlds and landscapes of oral cultures (for excellent discussions of this phenomenon see Ong, 2002 and Barfield, 1988; 2012). In this 'world', the existent is placed before the subject allowing for certainty of knowledge whereby this certainty and representation create the grounds for the *cogito* to be uttered; then, as Ricoeur states "with objectivity comes subjectivity, in the sense that this being-certain of the object is the counterpart of the positing of a subject. So we have both the *positing* of the subject and the *proposition* of the representation. This is the age of the world as view or picture (*Bild*)" (p. 228). Through what he refers to as 'idolatry', Owen Barfield (2012) discusses this shift to the 'world as picture' with direct engagement with Ricoeur, arguing that, "reality is assumed to consist of *things*" (p. 32). Barfield makes a distinction between the consciousness of 'primitive' and 'Darwinian' humans, acknowledging that this distinction is best exemplified with Darwinism while recognizing that this type of thinking pre-dates Darwin. The consciousness of pre-Darwinian humans was "figurative through and through" (p. 30), meaning that the "outer and material is always, and of its own accord, the expression or representation of an inward and immaterial" (p. 31), whereby the "immaterial was perceived . . . in the act of perceiving the material" (p. 32). By contrast, the "Western consciousness" has evolved to view "reality [as] consist[ing] of a collection of solid objects in space" (p. 32-33). As such, with the proclamation of the 'I think' as grounds for certainty, we have the creation of mind/body dualism and the subject/object gulf that is the preoccupation of Enlightenment thought. This creation lays the ground for the mechanism of modern science and the philosophical justification for universal human rights in the form that we have them today (Merchant, 1990).

The philosophical equivalence of universalism and individualism is best exemplified by Kant in his *Critique of Pure Reason* and *Grounding for the Metaphysics of Morals*. Largely in response to Hume, Kant's *Critique* attempts to answer the 'chief question' "– what and how much can the understanding and reason know apart from all experience? not: – how is the faculty of thought itself possible" ([1781]2007, p. 12). Spurring social, moral, political, and scientific progress, the effort of the Enlightenment to focus on decontextualized, abstract, pure rationality justifies the use of universal categorical imperatives. However, this project operates by ignoring

the complex social, economic, and philosophical circumstances and history that lead to and allowed for the birth of this ontological individual and this type of thought (Toulmin, 1992) as, "what matters is our coming to realize that the way we habitually think and perceive is not the only possible way, not even a way that has been going on very long. It is the way we have *come* to think, the way we have *come* to perceive" (Barfield, 2012, p. 50). Pure reason as exemplified by Kant is not the way that humans across time, spatial, and cultural scales think, but is, in fact, very time, place, and culturally specific. However, this Kantian type of 'universal' and purely abstract thinking bolsters the growth, expanding spatial scales, and abstract space of the capitalist economy. Furthermore, buttressed by the abstract and universal nature of Enlightenment thought (ushered in by the thought of Newton and Descartes), the push for progress, economic growth, and scientific discovery and invention, the individual *qua* individual, Modern, Cartesian individual, *homo economicus*, *homo clausus* (Elias, [1968]2000), or whichever name one chooses to apply, was born. This move towards the individual *qua* individual is a post-Christian move – possible in a society that was saturated by the idea of the *Imago Dei*. In formulating this Modern individual abstraction of rational, autonomy, and moral sovereignty, the fathers of modern liberalism drew upon "certain moral and psychological attributes from a *social organization* and considered these the timeless, natural, qualities of the *individual*, who was regarded as independent of the influences of any historically developed social organization" (Nisbet, 2019, p. 208).

In contrast to the social creation of their counterpart in traditional society, the individual *qua* individual is perceived as morally sovereign, autonomous, 'rational' and free. Autonomous freedom, typified by liberal rationalism, is the defining feature of this individual and is justified by the abstract and universal categories of Enlightenment thought. The androcentric concept of the individual is a rational and objective chooser who manifests individual destiny and views the world to be shaped, controlled, molded, explored and conquered, as Ralph Waldo Emerson (1841) in his essay "Self-Reliance" says:

> Whoso would be a man musts be a nonconformist. He who would gather immortal palms must not be hindered by the name of goodness, but must explore if it be goodness. Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind. Absolve you to yourself, and you shall have the suffrage of the world (par., 7).

While of course there are important differences between Rationalism, German Idealism, Transcendentalism, Empiricism, or other Enlightenment/post-Enlightenment philosophies, the

denominator common to them all is the rational individual *qua* individual as the foundation for philosophical inquiry. And that individual and the larger culture are in conflict with Nature. This 'mechanistic law-driven' Nature is to be controlled and 'tidied' and exploited by individuals (Merchant, 1990). Even the Phenomenology of Heidegger ([1927]2019) and Existentialism of Sartre ([1943]2021), for all of their brilliant response to the problems stemming from Enlightenment thought, both still take this understanding of the individual *qua* individual as a starting premise (for an explanation of the birth of the individual see Siedentop, 2017). With Existentialism we see the absolute glorification of this individual as a free, self-actualizing and determining willful agent. However, the point here is not to give a brief and crude history of philosophical thought, rather to argue that the understanding of the individual *qua* individual is a distinctly modern phenomenon, birthed within a very complex combination of events, and bolstered by the myth of progress, structure of capitalist societies and nation states, and philosophical thought. This individual is 'liberated' from the social, moral, and familial obligations of pre-Modern society. Furthermore, this individual *qua* individual is so habituated that is has become 'common sense' (sensu Gramsci).

3.3 Rust belts and liquid Modernity

Eroding the long-established social, cultural, and economic patterns of traditional society, the logic of capital accumulation operates at increasingly global scales, whereby current patterns of urbanisation and globalisation are extensions of this process of modernisation (Harvey, 1989). The logic of capitalism is rigid and, as such, when a society is molded by capitalism, future development is projected in the capitalist direction. As Harvey states, "This implies that though urban processes under capitalism are shaped by the logic of capital circulation and accumulation, they in turn shape the conditions and circumstances of capital accumulation at later points in time and space" (Harvey, 1989, p. 3). In essence, the dynamism of capitalism (Marx's 'all that's solid melts to air') has always played out in space – successive 'rounds of accumulation' with different geographies create imbricated layers of social and economic infrastructure, new and left behind communities, and ever polarizing relations of core and periphery.

Fifty years ago Schumacher (1973) argued that evolution had influenced every sphere except development. This largely remains the case today, as the unforgiving logic of capital accumulation continues to shape future conditions and development. For example common development practice begins by converting peasant and communal land titles into individualistic

property rights, consequently destroying community values, rather than building upon the values of generosity, obligations to kin, and other values common to peasant societies (Medaille, 2016; Soto, 2003; Webb, 2009). As such, the role of urban entrepreneurialism is to “lure highly mobile and flexible production, financial, and consumption flows into its space” (Wood, 1998, p. 121). A function and a driver of economic growth, the capitalist economy operates on larger and larger scales by subjugating the particulars of place to increasingly faster flows of people and capital in the abstract space of the global economy (Harvey, 1989; Massey, 2005).

These disembedded markets however, create a deep tension between the immobility of place-bound communities and their exposure to the flows of capital in space (Massey, 2005). This tension highlights, as Polanyi ([1944]2001) argues, the de-humanizing and utopian logic of the disembedded market and the devastating implications of disembedded markets on place-bound communities. Because of the utopic and de-humanizing logic, he argues that society protected itself through market regulation, and in doing so, undermined the self-regulation of the market. Polanyi states:

> Our thesis is that the idea of a self-adjusting market implied a stark utopia. Such an institution could not exist for any length of time without annihilating the human and natural substance of society; it would have physically destroyed man and transformed his surroundings into wilderness. Inevitably, society took measures to protect itself, but whatever measures it took impaired the self-regulation of the market, disorganized industrial life, and thus endangered society in yet another way. It was this dilemma which forced the development of the market system into a definite groove and finally disrupted the social organization based upon it (Polanyi, [1944] 2001, p. 3-4).

Polanyi’s thesis argues, paradoxically, that dis-embedded markets are required for growth, while simultaneously undermining the social organizations and associations upon which the market is established (Kish & Quilley, 2021). The result is “the familiar oscillations between deregulation of markets and the extension of state protections” (Kish & Quilley, 2022, p. 39). Through state regulation an ‘artificial ecosystem’ was created “to which large-scale, mass-production industry was best ‘adapted’” (Carson, 2010, p. 18). Capitalist modernity strips the nested scales of social relations, leaving only (generally speaking) the individual at the small-scale and the massive market/state scale. The survival unit in traditional society is overlapping layers of family, extended family, and place-bound community, whereas, in modern society, the arrangement is now the individual (and residual family) and either/both the state (welfare, etc.) or market (job, private insurance, investment) (further discussed in Chapter 4).

Place-bound communities, rural areas and small towns are particularly susceptible to the pressures and whims of the Market. Note that using the proper noun here – the Market – I am appealing to a kind of Weberian ideal type of Polanyi's 'Market Society'. Such an ideal type is an "*accentuation* of one or more points of view" (Weber, [1904-05]1992, p. 90). I use the Market here to accentuate and illustrate the negatives associated with Polanyi's Market Society, generally speaking, while acknowledging that one can find empirical examples of rural areas or small towns that are not struggling against the forces of the market. As "urbanization is a policy of the growth economy" (Spash, 2017, p. 11), the social networks that underwrite rural livelihoods are ultimately destroyed by this process of dis-embedding. These areas experience a constant outmigration of educated and skilled labour due to the decline in traditional industries and the inability to compete with national and global markets (Biase & Bauder, 2005; Feintuch, 2004).

Historically, geographically isolated, remote, and economically poor areas rectified these hardships through adaptability, self-reliance, and high levels of community engagement and reliance on neighbours, facilitated by local cultural events (Feintuch, 2004; Perlman, 2015). For example, in the Ottawa Valley in Ontario there still exists "the survivalist ideology of being a 'Valley lad' or a 'Valley gal' [which] includes traits of adaptability, self-reliance, charity, industriousness, and closeness to the land" (Trew, 2013, p. 24). However, the social, cultural, and economic patterns, institutions and associations of these areas were dismantled by the "forces of modernism" (Fowke as cited in Smith, 2005), inhibiting the existing high levels of community engagement required for resilient place-bound communities. Likewise, the decline of traditional and extractive industries, movement of labour and capital further contributes to these areas being characterized by high unemployment, dependence on the state, social disorder, and substance abuse. Examples include areas of Cape Breton, rural Ontario, old industrial regions of England and Scotland (Hudson, 2005; Hudson & Sadler, 1985), the northern isles in the UK such as Shetland, and the eponymous Rust Belt area in America (Martin & Rowthorn, 1986).

Just as there are social positives and negatives associated with capitalist modernization, so too for the individual within capitalist society. While capitalism emancipates the individual from social obligations and networks of traditional society, this emancipation is double-edged. One might be tempted to conclude that the negative aspects of capitalist modernization are accidents that, once identified can be overcome. However, as Bauman (2012) points out, these

negatives are not accidental but rather, "[i]n short, modernization then was a road with an *a priori* fixed, preordained finishing line; a movement destined to work itself out of a job" (Bauman, 2012, p. xii). Modernization is individualization and "now, as before – in the fluid and light as much as in the solid and heavy stage of modernity – individualization is a fate, not a choice. In the land of the individual freedom of choice the option to escape individualization and to refuse participation in the individualizing game is emphatically not on the agenda" (Bauman, 2012, p. 34). The individual is "condemned to be free" (Sartre, [1946]2005, par. 12). In the early modern period, having disembedded from the 'estates' of premodern society, the task of re-embedding fell to the individual and was managed through the 'self-identification' of "class-bound social types" (p.33) and required daily renewal through following the norms and benchmarks of the individual's social class. Considered "facts of nature" both class and sex bound members nearly as tightly as pre-modern hierarchies. However, in the current 'risk society', there are, as Bauman argues, no beds in which individuals can re-embed – any such promise is marked with 'fragility' and 'vanishes' before re-embedding can occur as modernization perpetually individualizes; any previous rules, norms, and mores are constantly questioned, undermined, and redefined. In essence, there is "a gap growing between individuality as fate and individuality as the practical and realistic capacity for self-assertion" Bauman, 2012, p. 35).

In this fluid state of modernity, the "socially dense" city is first assembled and then dismantled by capitalism (Rae, 2002, p. xiii). Bauman argues that "we are witnessing the revenge of nomadism over the principle of territoriality and settlement" (p. 13) as the majority of the population is settled and ruled by "the nomadic and extraterritorial elite" (p. 13). In order for power to more easily flow across the globe, global powers must rid the world of any territorial borders or roadblocks to ensure fluidity as it is "their principle source of strength" (p. 14). As such, "[a]ny dense and tight network of social bonds, and particularly a territorially rooted tight network, is an obstacle to be cleared out of the way" (Bauman, 2012, p. 14). Consequently, while ever the shape shifter, individualization continues in order to dismantle any place-based forms of social security that may inhibit the fluid, free-flow of power (Bauman, 2002). If Bauman is correct and the gap between the 'fate' and 'capacity for self-assertion' is growing, then it is apparent that this hyper-individualization results in the increase of neuroticism, anomie, mental

health problems, and consumption whereby in the 'Church of Economic Growth' the road to salvation of every kind "lead[s] through shops" (Bauman, 2012, p. xvii-xviii)

3.4 Human relationships and social capital

It is not surprising that the establishment of the capitalist societies and the process of modernization have direct and significant bearing on the types, quality, and number of relationships between people. However, for my purposes herein, it bears explicit discussion.

Initially recognized through its loss and decline, Hanifan (1916) first defined the term 'social capital' in the paper "The Rural School Community Centre". It was then popularized by Robert Putnam (1995) in the 1990s in "Bowling Alone". Social capital has become a widely discussed, debated, and attributed term for which there is still no consensus of definition or character. Identified by Claridge (2020), the five most frequently cited definitions are from Putnam (1993b, 1995, 2000, 2007; Putnam, Leonardi, & Nanetti, 1994), Bourdieu (1984, 1985, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), Lin (1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2008; Lin, Fu, & Hsung, 2001), Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998), and Coleman (1988, 1990, 2000). Loosely, social capital refers to the positives that arise from sociability. But beyond that, there is little consensus. Claridge (2020) identified the most commonly cited definitions as:

- "By analogy with notions of physical capital and human capital – tools and training that enhance individual productivity – 'social capital' refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1995, p. 67).
- "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248).
- "resources embedded in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions" (Lin, 2001).
- "the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit" (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998, p. 243).
- "Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: They all consist of some aspect of social

structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure" (Coleman, 1990, p. 302).

The main differences between these definitions is that some authors view social capital as possessed by the individual (e.g. Bourdieu), some as belonging to the group, and others as belonging to some combination of both (Claridge, 2020, par. 19).

Increasing human and physical capital and facilitating productive activity, social capital is widely considered a necessary but not sufficient condition of a functioning society. Putnam (2000) argues that social capital facilitates both the "*bridging* (or inclusive) and *bonding* (or exclusive)" (p. 22). Bridging refers to the connection of individuals or groups of people via 'thin trust' who have different socio-economic or ethnic backgrounds (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). Built on higher levels of trust and reciprocity, bonding works to strengthen bonds within an established group and "is good for undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity" (p. 22). A simple example of the difference would be enclaves of minorities with different distinct languages and cultures, each with high internal bonding but little to no bridging across each other in wider society. While high levels of social capital are associated with healthy societies, there are negative aspects as well. Bourdieu (1986) argues that social capital is a way to fortify the establishment and favour those who are already in positions of privilege, perpetuating inequality through forging 'old boys' networks. Likewise, high levels of bonded social capital can often be present in groups that espouse racism, xenophobia, or discrimination (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). Conversely, inadequate bonding of social capital at the level of the 'imagined community' (sensu Anderson, 1983) of the state can undermine the possibility of welfare distribution. An example of this is the difference between the "exceptionalism of the American welfare state (Quadagno, 1987) and, for example, the operations of the welfare state in Sweden (Larson, 2013). America has very little mutual identification, and as such has a welfare state that is basically non-existent, as members do not sufficiently recognize each other as 'in the group' and exhibit lower levels of trust between members. However, because of this, the culture is diverse and America houses more varied food, culture, music etc., through the broad range of cultural manifestations. On the other hand, Sweden, particularly throughout the 1970s displayed incredible conformity in culture and high levels of mutual identification and trust supporting a strong welfare state that typified what is referred to as 'the Nordic welfare model' (Arter, 2013; Larson, 2013). However, because of the high levels of mutual identification and cultural homogeneity, there is considerable

difficulty integrating immigrants and refugees – meaning anyone who is considered outside or different from the dominant Swedish culture – and “since the early 1970s immigration policy is aimed to reduce immigration to a minimum” (Westin, 2003, p. 3; Wessel et al., 2017). This is difficult because there is no distinguishable difference between ‘Swedish’ as ethnicity or citizenship (Westin, 2003, p. 7), revealing the high level of mutual identification for welfare distribution, but incredible difficulty of immigrant or refugee integration. Hence, social capital is widely considered a necessary but insufficient measure of a healthy society.

However, there is consensus that social capital is associated with many positives. The publication of *Bowling Alone* (2000) was followed by increased research on social capital. Identified by Clark (2014) positives associated with social capital include economic growth (Fukuyama, 1995; Knack & Keefer, 1997), education success (Coleman, 1988), community wellbeing, engagement, and good government (Kawachi et al., 1997; Putnam, 1993a; Wilkinson, 1996). Lower levels of social capital are associated with increases in income inequality and even mortality (Kawachi, Kennedy, Lochner, & Prothrow-Stith, 1997). For example, higher levels of social capital were associated with lower death numbers in the COVID-19 pandemic from January 2020 to January 2021 (Borgonovi, Andrieu, Subramanian, 2021).

Coleman (1988) uses the example of the wholesale diamond trade in New York to illustrate how high levels of social capital ease market transactions and support economic growth. The family ties and intermarriage, common location, and religious affiliation and worship practices ensure high levels of bonding and facilitate market transactions, providing security and insurance far exceeding the level that could be achieved by the market with much lower cost. Likewise, with the Hawala networks or informal Funds Transfer Systems that operate upon ‘good faith’ and facilitate large sums of money to transfer easily across boarders (Hariharan, 2012). As it is embedded in social, religious and community relations, and facilitated by trust and reciprocity, this economic activity takes place more efficiently and ultimately more profitably.

Intergenerational social capital is associated with higher levels of success, health, and wellbeing in human development and ultimately healthy societies (Coleman, 1988; Neufeld & Maté, 2013), although levels that are too high could limit engagement in civil society and thus be in tension with wider civic social capital that is associated with citizenship (Nauck, 2001). Drawing on Bowlby’s (1969) ‘attachment theory’, Neufeld and Maté (2013) argue that

"relationships [of] unconditional love and acceptance, the desire to nurture, the ability to extend oneself for the sake of the other, [and] the willingness to sacrifice for the growth and development of the other" (p. 11) are required for the healthy development of children. Beginning primarily with parents, these relationships extend outward to form the 'attachment village' constituted by extended family, parents of friends, teachers, etc. However, if a child's primary relationships are peer-to-peer (as is often the case in modern capitalist societies), their emotional development can be stunted and result in behaviour such as high degrees of immaturity and aggressive behaviour, harmful sexual activity and bullying, and an incapacity for intimacy (p. 164). In addition to parent-child relationships, larger attachment networks also influence a child's development and success (Coleman, 1988). It is not simply child development and wellbeing that is influenced by social capital, but human health and wellbeing generally speaking. Thus, as a social necessity, any decline in social capital is troubling.

Intergenerational social capital in particular illustrates the connection of social capital with place and social structure. Putnam (2000) argues that the decline of social capital is attributed to time and money pressures, urban sprawl and commuting, excessive and privatized watching of TV, and finally the replacement of the older 'civic generation' by their disengaged children and grandchildren (Steger, 2002, p. 261-262). However, the criticism of Putnam's assessment of the decline of social capital is that these arguments do not account for the structure of capitalist society and the influence this has on levels of social capital (Steger, 2002). Putnam recognizes the decline but not the proclivity of capitalism to create and then *dismantle* the socially dense city (Rae, 2002; Steger, 2002). The deference of space over place, the push towards greater individualism, the dismantling of place-based forms of social security of capitalism, all effect both the existence and degree of social capital, whereby "the relationships and intersections of these exoduses that intertwine and create an urban fabric, and placed under the sign of what ought to be, ultimately, the place but is only a name, the City. . . a universe of rented spaces haunted by a nowhere or by dreamed-of places" (Certeau, 1988, p. 103). In addition to eradicating place-based forms of social security (liquid modernity), capitalist society also segregates people by age, causing a decreased intergenerational social capital, as is seen by modern methods of education, elder care, and even social activities segregated into age of majority events, children's events, youth culture, etc.

3.5 What's wrong with 'social capital'?

I think the term social capital itself is inherently problematic and antithetical to my purposes in this thesis of establishing more resilient and embedded communities and economies. The problem with social capital is the term itself, not the underlying concepts *per se*; the term submits aspects of life to a capitalist economy over which such an economy should not have a claim. Social capital assumes these aspects of life are a form of capital, subject to all the assumptions inherent in this idea of capital. As such, using the term 'social capital' is ultimately antithetical to fostering resilient communities, the re-embedding of economic activity, and the facilitation of a modality of Livelihood (to be defined in the following chapter). As Claridge (2019) argues:

> Capitalism won when the concept of 'capital' was extended to virtually every aspect of social action. Under the 'plethora of capitals' framework, all social action is reduced to the accumulation of capital to give the individual or organisation a competitive advantage. The capital may be human, social, cultural, symbolic, or psychological, but it is capital nevertheless (par. 29).

Claridge then states that, while it is unfortunate that capitalism has won, there is nothing we can do about that. According to Claridge, the best way to encourage growth of social capital is to advocate for the import of social capital by highlighting its monetary and measurable gains. On the first point, I agree with Claridge: using the term social capital signifies that capitalism does win and that all areas of life are subject to the Market. While Polanyi ([1944]1957) argues that the Market has become the "organizing principle of society" (Daly & Cobb, 1994, p. 61), by referring to human relationships, education and intelligence, and life experience and skills in terms of social, cultural, and human capital respectively perpetuates the measure and subjugation of all areas of life to the crude, inadequate, and inhumane logic of the Market. However, the logic of the Market operates through transactions and fungibility; it cannot measure, or be the foundation of measuring human relationships which are unique, ideally uncalculating, and deeply personal. The term social capital has its own definition and it is disingenuous to equate or imply that the term is used solely in terms of crass capital gain. However, I suggest that the logic of capital accumulation is so pervasive, molding all to itself (Harvey, 1989), that to use the term 'capital' with respect to human relationships subjugates – or at the very least taints – the beauty and complexity of human relationships with the logic of capital accumulation. While I appreciate Claridge's point, that society as a whole operates on the accumulation of capital and lacks appreciation of the value of human relationships, to try and argue for the value of relationships

by highlighting their Market value and functionality within the Market undermines the goal of seeing them as valuable in their own right.

Connected to this semantic problem, ‘social capital’ is often spoken of as if possessed by the person or persons in question as a means of acquiring some desired good or goods (recall in particular the Bourdieu and Putnam definitions above). In this sense too, the concept of social capital is flawed. A relationship between persons is not something that is possessed by one or even a group of persons, but rather the relationship is how these persons “stand to one another” (Cohen and Reeve, 2021) and is therefore not able to be possessed in that sense. The possession and productivity or functionality presented by social capital literature manifests a similarity between social and physical capital, even in areas where it is only meant to be nominally analogous.

For these reasons, I argue that the term social capital does not capture the beauty, complexity, and import of human relationships. Consequently, throughout this thesis I will not use the term social capital to refer to human relationships unless I am referencing a specific article or passage which uses the term. While this is perhaps a hard line to draw and may produce awkward phrasing at times, I think it would be disingenuous to use the term social capital while trying to show the value that social relationships have in their own right that cannot be measured by the Market. Furthermore, as my purposes herein are to nudge society in the direction of more embedded economies and resilient communities, to use the term social capital to refer to human relationships while trying to embed economic activity within the dynamics of human social relations seems antithetical to my object.

3.6 Conclusion

The shift to capitalist modernity saw dramatic changes in human society. Newly freed from social obligations towards kin, tribe, and place-bound community, the modern individual of capitalist modernity experienced unprecedented levels of spatial and social mobility, autonomy, and freedom. Furthermore, the all-pervasive logic of capitalist modernity informs and influences the different spheres of society even down to our very sense of self as an independent agent. The newfound freedom and mobility of modernity is double-edged. The logic of capitalism undermines the forms of security of traditional society, pushing people towards greater levels of mobility and individualism, leading to the current stages of ‘liquid modernity’, the breakdown of social cohesion, and decline and loss of human relationships. Due to place-bound communities

being exposed to the flow of capital in space, geographically marginal places have an increasingly difficult time finding any place in the global economy and often suffer the outmigration of educated and skilled labour. The first of two 'setting the stage' chapters, this discussion of the contours of capitalist modernity analysed the social and economic positives, negatives, and trade-offs of capitalist modernity, with respect to place-bound communities, and human associations and networks. In the following chapter I discuss in more detail these trade-offs with respect to biophysical limits to capitalist growth, the operation of the State-Market survival unit, and introduce a potential third-way.

Chapter 4 Setting the stage part two: The need to rebalance the State, Market, and Livelihood domains

In this second ‘setting the stage’ chapter, through the lens of sustainability and resilience, I discuss the social and economic problems and trade-offs associated with capitalist modernity and the structure and operations of the welfare state. I also propose a more sustainable socio-economic configuration that is more aligned with ecological and biophysical limits. Beginning on the global level, I explain the biophysical limits and problems associated with unchecked capitalism and large-scale consumption with reference to the simultaneous dependence of the modern individual upon capitalism. I finish with the proposition of a new Market, State, and Livelihood configuration and a discussion of the commons. Each of the sections of this chapter provide context for the investigation that follows in the rest of this thesis.

4.1 Biophysical limits, capitalism, and the State-Market

In 2009, Johan Rockström and 28 colleagues identified nine planetary boundaries, the crossing of which increases the risk of ‘irreversible environmental change’ (Rockström et al., 2009). This article was highly influential in “science, policy, and practice” (“Planetary Boundaries”, n.d.). By 2015, we had already crossed four of the boundaries, and as of January 2022, the ‘novel entries’ boundary was exceeded further indicating the necessity to change our operational course (Persson et al., 2022; Steffen et al., 2015). To date there is considerable visibility and involvement in environmental movements, protests, and policy (for example, Extinction Rebellion has 1193 groups in 86 countries and the 14.4 million Instagram followers of Greta Thunberg). But in spite of this growing awareness, “nowhere do the strategic dilemmas of ‘de-growth’ inform the ping-pong debates of mainstream politics”, as “the future ‘politics of scarcity’ (Ophuls, 1977) is not an enticing prospect” (Quilley, 2013 p. 262). Despite an increasing body of heterodox economics proclaiming the urgency and necessity of transition to a de-, low-, no-, or a-growth economy (Daly, 1996; Kallis, Kerschner, & Martinez-Alier, 2012; Victor, 2008), with only a few exceptions, proposed corporate or government ‘solutions’ are little more than greenwashed pitches for increased government spending and corporate-promoted consumption (Burger et al., 2012; Dauvergne & Lister, 2010) because no one makes money when the consumption decreases.

Despite the imminence of irreversible environmental change and the low prospects of de-coupling economic growth from material throughputs (Jackson, 2009), the capitalist growth

status quo remains. The dependence on capitalist economic growth has created an incredibly deep 'basin of attraction' as, the infrastructure of the welfare state in the global north and the imperatives of social justice and economic development in the global south are predicated upon growth (Quilley, 2017; Walker et al. 2004). 'Basin of attraction' is a gravitational state space metaphor used to explain the resilience of any given social and ecological system, wherein:

> a 'basin of attraction' is a region in state space in which the system tends to remain. For systems that tend toward an equilibrium, the equilibrium state is defined as an 'attractor', and the basin of attraction constitutes all initial conditions that will tend toward that equilibrium state (Walker et al., 2004, p. 3).

Even propositions as seemingly revolutionary as the Green New Deal with their purported shifts to green energy, as extensions of Keynesian economic theory, both require and maintain the *growth* status quo. This is problematic, for as Schumacher wrote with respect to Keynesian economics, "There are poor societies which have too little; but where is the rich society that says: 'Halt! We have enough'? There is none" (1973, p. 23). What is required is not a cleaner consumption of greater and growing quantities. While this can be effective as a short-term belay (Wang, Jiang, Zhan, 2019), real transformation or transition requires a shift in the taken for granted production-consumption model which permeates the modern psyche, ever since our common sense perceptions of the self were linked to capitalist economic growth (Orr, Kish, & Jennings, 2020). The most difficult aspect of adopting an ecosystems approach to sustainability is "changing in a fundamental way how we govern ourselves, [and] how we design and operate our decision-making processes and institutions" (Kay & Schneider, 1994, p. 10).

Subsisting on perpetual capitalist economic growth, the modern *State* and the *Market* are mutually reinforcing and mutually dependent pillars of capitalist modernity (Carson, 2010; Kish & Quilley, 2022). The French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in England begot these new social, ideological, and political configurations: the creation of new social classes and tensions (the working class versus the bourgeois), the creation of new ideologies (liberalism, conservatism, and socialism), and new politics (Left/Right). This era saw a new political spectrum overlaid onto a tension between the Market and the State wherein, both the Market and State relate to people as individuals, rather than as nested sub-groups of kin, tribe, or place-bound community. On the contrary, divisive and polarizing politics have effectively masked the reality of the mutual dependence of the State and Market. From social democracy, to liberalism, to neo-conservatism, to libertarianism, what is always protected by political position is the

Cartesian individual, and, as such, each of the above political –isms requires the maintenance of the State-Market status quo. While politics may swing along a one dimensional space either left- or right-wing, and the arrays may be more market- or state-centred, the State-Market as the primary survival unit protecting the Cartesian individual subsists (Kish & Quilley, 2022; Orr, Kish, & Jennings, 2020). The one constant in all of these apparent fluctuations is the continued erosion of the realm of *Livelihood*; where Livelihood consists of the "informal processes of exchange, familial care, place-bound community, mutual aid, and reciprocation" (Kish & Quilley 2022).

Introduced by Norbert Elias (1978), a 'survival unit' "is a particular form of figuration which provides security and the material foundations for life such as food and shelter" (Kaspersen & Gabriel, 2008, p. 370), into which every person is born. It "is a relational concept which cannot be conceived outside a relationship with other survival units" (p. 370). In contrast to the pre-modern past where survival units "were represented by city-state or the inhabitants of a stronghold" (Elias, 1978, p. 138), in our current society, the survival unit is the nation-state (Elias, 1978), and the residual family. With survival units of the state (health care, welfare, education, citizenship) and the market (employment, investment, private insurance) the ascriptive roles (occupational, sex, class, etc.) of traditional society are replaced by the 'liquidity of modernity' (Bauman, 2012) and the freedom which is an imperative to become a self-actualizing, autonomous agent. The birth of the Cartesian individual corresponded with and is dependent upon the structure of capitalist modernity. Atomization and individuation of individuals in society is a function of energy flows, allowing for the increase in movement of energy across expanded spatial scales constituting what Bauman calls 'liquid modernity' (see Chapter 3). Under the protection of Hobbes' 'Leviathan', the responsibilities and obligations to kin and band of traditional societies are removed, allowing for unparalleled levels of freedom of (prescribed) choice and freedom from responsibility and obligation. But the creation of such a 'Leviathan' requires the mutual interplay and leverage of large-scale corporate and political power.

Contrary to the vision of a dis-embedded, self-regulating market of market liberalism, what we have are artificial markets where "the state artificially aggregated the demand for manufactured goods into a single national market, and artificially lowered the costs of distribution for those serving that market. In effect, it created an artificial ecosystem to which

large-scale, mass-production industry was best 'adapted'" (Carson, 2010, p. 18). Carson uses the example of the creation of the American railways to illustrate this point. In the 1850s, the railroads were built by 'land companies' who were given land grants by the government upon the promise to build railroads. These land grants consisted of millions of acres, and as America moved westward, towns sprung up as the newly completed railroads were built (with land purchased from these land tycoons). And the land, in addition to containing valuable timber, skyrocketed in value. In addition, to use one example, those running what would become Central Pacific, by using bribery, local petition, and fear mongering of communities, convinced local governments to buy stock in these same railroads ranging between $150, 000 to $1,000,000 (Carson, 2010). However, without these "land grants and government purchases of railroad bonds" (p. 18), the railroads would have been composed of "many local rail networks linking communities into local industrial economies" (p. 18). This network, in turn, would have favoured a "natural pattern of industrialization [that] would … integrate small-scale power machinery into flexible manufacturing for local markets" (p. 18). Within this paradigm, the operations of the Market rely on the laws and contracts secured by the State, and the State relies on the "fiscal transfers from a growing [and artificial] market economy" (Kish & Quilley, 2022, p. 42). In a more recent example, Amazon and Walmart grossed a 56% increase in 2020, largely due to the policies surrounding the pandemic which forced the extended closure of many small, local businesses. These then failed because of the enforced closures (Kinder & Stateler, 2020). Perhaps the best example of this interplay that demonstrates the reality of the State-Market is the government monopoly of the LCBO. Not only does the LCBO have monopoly control over alcoholic beverage sales in Ontario, but alcoholic beverage producers have to pay a premium to get their product on the shelves. This premium favours large-scale, corporate producers, who regularly pay the LCBO in order to occupy close to eighty percent of the shelf space, thereby minimizing the visibility of small-scale, local producers (Bradley, 2023). To obtain LCBO placement approval, a distiller must i) commit to thousands of dollars in potential advertising and ii) show a minimum sales number at each LCBO location (Bradley, 2023). Regulations such as these clearly favour large, corporate interests over small-scale, local breweries, wineries, and distilleries; wealthy corporations can easily pay governments the requisite amounts for selling allowance and, governments provide the regulations needed to supress any small-scale competition. In both of these examples, the American railroad and the LCBO, the lattice of

place-based entrepreneurialism and community is undermined or supressed for the sake of large, corporate interests through the existence of zoning laws, regulation, subsidies and grants, high overhead or insurance, or the ability to flood the market through underselling. Through licensing and regulation, familial and social obligations are removed and an artificial and novel ecosystem created whereby reliance on the State becomes necessary and in so doing, the consumption/growth model is bolstered by State regulation and increasing bureaucracy (Carson, 2010).

Predicated upon the logic of perpetual growth, and given this mutual dependence of the State-Market, any plateau or contraction of the Market will have cascading societal effects, or at the very least significantly modify the taken-for-granted operations of liberal democracies. On the other hand, the biophysical limits of the ecosystems of the planet indicate that precisely such a contraction is required and indeed, imminent (Daly, 1996; Kallis, Kerschner, & Martinez-Alier, 2012; Meadows et al., 1972; Victor, 2008).

Over a hundred years ago, Belloc ([1912]1977) argued that, because of the "conflict between its social realities and its moral and legal basis" and "the insecurity and insufficiency to which it condemns free citizens" (p. 9), as the capitalist state grows, it grows increasingly unstable. Coined 'creative destruction' by Schumpeter (1942), innovation and development progress in abstract economic space and necessarily erode and then destroy longstanding, established associations thereby freeing up energy and resources (Hellwig, 2021). Both the pressures on established associations and the concomitant instability of capitalism have increased, demonstrated by growing income inequality, the creation of 'dual cities (Harvey, 1989), the outmigration of educated and skilled labour from rural areas to urban hubs (Di Biase & Bauder, 2005; Feintuch, 2004), monopolies of power, and others. Historically the process of dis-embedding (see 3.2) elicits response in the form of an increased public sector and increased extension of the welfare state (Moscovitch, 2006/2022; Polanyi, [1944]2001). While often presented as political adversaries, these Market- and State-driven operations are both essentially elements of the society of individuals (Elias, 1991) and undermine the realm of Livelihood. Stated another way, rather than a nested set of social relationships cascading outwards from the household of individuals, families, extended families, friends and community, regional groups to the nation, in its current iteration the relationship between the State-Market and individuals erodes the nested social, political, and economic levels at all these scales. The resulting cultural

systems operate at expanding global scales, obviating the role of information and innovation from those smaller more intimate scales (Livelihood) required to sustain social, cultural, and economic resilience (Ostrom, 2009).

This erosion of resilience makes these emergent large-scale social and economic systems incredibly vulnerable and unsustainable; they do not have the requisite connection and interaction with other systems across levels of scale. To help understand and, to some degree, manage the dynamics of complex social and ecological systems, Gunderson and Holling (2001) proposed the panarchy framework. Inspired by the capricious nature of the Greek god, Pan, "the panarchy framework connects adaptive cycles in a nested hierarchy" (Resilience Alliance, n.d., par. 3). These nested adaptive cycles interact with each other across different levels of scale. Interactions between different levels of scale are mutually beneficial as, "the smaller, faster, nested levels invent, experiment and test, while the larger, slower levels stabilize and conserve accumulated memory of system dynamics. In this way, the slower and larger levels set the conditions within which faster and smaller ones function" (Resilience Alliance, n.d., par. 3). Without the stabilizing feature of the larger scale, the small-scale systems lose the stabilizing conditions in which to function; without the small-scale, the larger scales lose the requisite innovation and novelty.

This dynamic is precisely what we see with the push for greater and greater social and economic systems and the role of the State-Market of capitalism, which erodes the nested social, political, and economic levels of scale (Belloc [1912]1977; Carson, 2010; Kish & Quilley, 2022; Pearce, 2006; Rushkoff, 2016; Schumacher, 1973). As the socio-political and economic levels of scale are increasingly eradicated, the State-Market system of capitalism grows increasingly vulnerable. Instead of a socio-economic panarchy, we have massive social, political, and economic scale and the individual at the small scale with little to no social, political, or economic adaptive cycles between.

Due to the nature of this bloated capitalist society, limits to growth (LTG) scholars are increasingly concerned about 'collapse' (Bardi & Periera, 2022; Meadows et al., 1972), which could, as self-proclaimed pessimists argue, lead to catastrophic events. Furthermore, "failure to act soon and effectively could lead us into the apocalyptic collapse – wars, plague, and famine – predicted by the early demographer and political economist, Thomas Malthus" (Ophuls & Boyan, 1992, p. 3). In this thesis, I take a far more hopeful approach – that we are not *necessarily*

headed for a dystopian future – that through innovation and ingenuity and alternative and shared ways of life we can create a more sustainable and just future. As I have argued elsewhere (Beresford, 2017), while couched in environmental concern, this ‘limits speak’ often presents as policy solutions that favour the wealthy and those living in developed nations and disparages the poor and those living in the least developed countries – deeming it more ‘efficient’ to decrease the populations of the poor rather than change the consumption habits of the very, very rich. [For example, the forty-six least developed countries in the world are driving population growth (United Nations Population Fund, 2022), and the response of ‘limits speak’ environmental concerns is commonly to allow people to *purchase* child licenses (for example see Bognar, 2019; Daly & Cobb, 1996). I do not see how this can be other than a favouring of rich over poor.] The salient point is that our bloated capitalist system is growing and, as the “capitalist state grows it grows unstable” (Belloc 1977, p. 9).

The erosion of the realm of Livelihood is more apparent in poorer and economically peripheral areas. The increased urbanization required by capitalist modernity perpetually undermines the long term viability of rural and peripheral areas (Spash, 2017). The tax base in these areas is commonly insufficient to rectify the constant outmigration of education and skilled labour, high levels of social and economic dysfunction and need, or to replace the forms of security and aid that come from the mutual obligation and reciprocity of face-to-face society. This illustrates what one intuitively knows: that a faceless institution cannot reproduce or replicate the positives of an embedded face-to-face society since they lack what Hayek (1945) refers to as the knowledge of ‘circumstances of time and place’ (Pennington, 2012).

With any contraction of the Market, the first, obvious, response is that the State steps in and rectifies where the Market contractions produce failure (Kish & Quilley, 2022). However, due to the dependence of the State on the tax revenue derived from the Market for the programs and social services it provides, and the fact that “the more the government intrudes into the life of citizenry, the more burdensome and *expensive* it becomes” (emphasis added, Ophuls, 2011, p. 131), this State-intervention cannot provide a long-term, viable option. Any contraction of the Market also entails an eventual contraction of the State precluding an extension of state services (Kish & Quilley, 2022). As such, any such contraction could result in a neo-traditionalization and more embedded society, possibly including the return of ascriptive social, class, and sex-specific roles, and the re-emergence of social hierarchies with many or most belonging to

peasant classes, and most likely accompanied by a large amount of violence (Quilley, 2013). Many have detailed prefigurative attempts regarding the nature of a de-growth polity (Kish & Quilley, 2022; Ophuls, 2011; Quilley, 2013; Zywert, 2021), but societal minutiae aside, any such transformation is contra liberalism and threatens the highly free and individualized individual of modernity (Quilley, 2013; Orr, Kish, & Jennings, 2020).

Thus the salient questions become:

- If or how we can maintain the social and rights-based positives of modernity, not least the sanctity of the individual with a contraction of the Market?
- Is it possible to transition to a more sustainable modernity without losing the cherished freedom and autonomy of the modern individual?
- Could this new modernity address the socio-economic ills explicated in the previous chapter i.e., of divestment, poverty, income inequality, and decline of social relationships, especially intergenerational relationships?

The following sections and rest of this thesis respond to these questions.

4.2 A rebalancing of the State, Market, and Livelihood domains

In *Ecological Limits of Development*, Kish and Quilley (2022) propose a new State, Market, and Livelihood configuration – a rebalancing of a retracting State-Market with a re-expanding domain of Livelihood. They argue that "collectivist regulation (common good at [the] global societal level)" (p. 43) with respect to large scale associations (state, national or global market, etc.) and "libertarian viz-a-viz [the] state (re-embedded livelihood)" (p. 43) at the small scale (family/individual, local markets, etc.) allows for "a *partial* retreat from globalization and *some* movement towards more embedded markets in the context of an overarching commitment to *subsidiarity*" (p. 156). The key is that this configuration is a (re)balancing of Livelihood and the State-Market (p. 156). It is not an eradication of the State-Market, as such eradication would undo years of social progress and most likely result in a resurgence of tribalism or pre-modern social configurations. The point is that there are certainly social, political, and economic positives that come with having regulatory states and formal markets (human rights, equality, freedom, mobility, etc., see 3.2) that we do not want to lose, but that the current State-Market iteration is problematic and unsustainable (for the reasons outlined in 4.1 above).

Kish and Quilley's articulation of the need for the distribution or rebalancing of the State-Market and Livelihood in which Livelihood "leavens" the State-Market, allowing for a more embedded and sustainable modernity, provides a helpful conceptual schema which I adopt herein. However, I do diverge on some of the particulars they suggest. They argue for increased imposition of progressive tax and tighter regulation on large-scale corporations alongside libertarian (with respect to the state) de-regulation at the small-scale, community level. Regarding the libertarian-type de-regulation, I agree. But I question the tightening regulation at the large-scale. While in the context of this thesis I have no a priori objection to a progressive tax per se, or higher tax applications for wealthy corporations; I do doubt whether such schemes can be applied justly, as opposed to on paper only. For example, in 2021, 123 of Canada's largest corporations' pre-tax profits rose by 60% while they simultaneously avoided paying $30 billion in owed taxes (Canadians for Tax Fairness, 2022). From the examples presented above – American railway and the LCBO – that show that the State "created an artificial ecosystem to which large-scale, mass-production industry was best 'adapted'" (Carson, 2010, p. 18), I do not think there is necessarily a need for a progressive scale of regulation and de-regulation. I argue instead that by removing regulations, subsidies, policies, and laws (zoning laws in particular) that favour large over all scales, and corporate interests over local businesses, that the small-scale business and entrepreneurs would actually compete favourably and that capitalist organizations would lose their government-buttressed monopolies. Given a choice, most people in a community would rather get family photos developed at a local business rather than a large box store such as Walmart. However, Walmart receives billions in government subsidies per year (Americans for Tax Fairness, 2014), allowing this company to provide less expensive services and products, thereby precluding small competitors from offering competitive rates. I argue in this thesis that stopping this process of state-mediated artificial ecosystem creation is a first necessary step in the (re)emergence of Livelihood.

The second point of departure I have from the Kish and Quilley view is with respect to cognitive dissonance. These authors argue that "any real transformation of our systems of political economy depends on problems of meaning and culture" (2022, p. 157). I agree. But then they continue by arguing, that:

> this new kind of complexity turns on embracing a *conscious, creative, cognitive dissonance* and cultivating a capacity to operate simultaneously in different cognitive and ontological worlds,

> operationalize contradictory forms of rationality, and actively seek out and enjoy the associated psychological dissonance (p. 157-158).

I agree that real transformation hinges on meaning and culture, but I do not think that this requires cognitive or psychological dissonance or contradictory forms of rationality. I rather agree with Steinbeck (1961) that:

> We're all, or most of us, the wards of that nineteenth century science which denied existence to anything it could not measure or explain. The things we couldn't explain went right on but surely not with our blessing. We did not see what we couldn't explain, and meanwhile a great part of the world was abandoned to children, insane people, fools, and mystics, who were more interested in what is than in why it is. So many old and lovely things are stored in the world's attic, because we don't want them around us and we don't dare throw them out (p. 75).

As I have argued elsewhere in a discussion of the philosophy of Christopher Alexander (Beresford, 2023a), the mechantistic, 'rational', scientific vision of the cosmos is limited, not exhaustive. While it is undoubtable this type of science is really good at what it does – airplanes fly and smart phones allow us to communicate – it is problematic to assume that this provides an exhaustive explanation of reality. I do not think that Kish and Quilley would disagree with this as stated. However, although modern science can only provide a partial understanding of reality, I do not think that working towards a more complete one requires cognitive or psychological dissonance or 'contradictory forms of rationality'. I instead argue for more a comprehensive understanding of the limits of scientific knowledge and a willingness to re-adjust and re-order such a worldview. I return to this point more fully in Chapters 8 & 9. For this discussion, my point is that I do not think that cognitive and psychological dissonance or 'contradictory forms of rationality' are required for system transformation. I do think that any such transformation requires a foray into 'the world's attic', as "science cannot produce ideas by which we could live" (Schumacher, 1973, p 60).

Minor points of dissent aside, Kish and Quilley's articulation of their State, Market, and Livelihood configuration provides a coherent conceptual model through which to understand or imagine a more sustainable modernity. Through re-embedding economic activity, and extending the realm of Livelihood, we can create a society that can operate alongside a contraction of the market, through the extension of more libertarian (with respect to the state), bottom-up, communitarian, and localized groups of families and place-based communities. This type of configuration would operate upon increased levels of trust, reciprocity, mutual obligation, community engagement, informal markets and market places, and a "dispersed pattern of

ownership such that the great majority of households own solely or in cooperation, a variety of productive means, from gardens and domestic kitchens, garages, basement workshops, and community factories" (Kish & Quilley, 2022, p. 77). Schumacher's 'The Scott Bader Commonwealth' example and proposition in *Small is Beautiful* offers such a vision of expanded Livelihood in a practical sense.

This transformation would not necessarily require any significant level of distribution, although it could, but it would require considerable deregulation. Nestled between the poles of capitalism and collectivism, distributist economics argues that a third option exists where the means of production are distributed as widely and among as many people as possible, favouring cooperatives (or rather not actively preventing them), small to medium scale enterprises and artisanal work, and subsidiarity, rather than, as is the current order, the control of the means of production by a few (capitalism) or the state (state socialism). The view of Livelihood herein corresponds to the distributist, small is beautiful, green, political economy vision. The goal here is to remove impediments to allow a nested and subsidiary hierarchy of social, political, and economic networks, associations, and groups to establish. This will develop and foster relationships that bind and strengthen communities internally while bridging between communities externally and partially re-embed economic activity. In short, to allow for an emergent latticework of grassroots and bottom up communities that require less mobility and lower levels of energy throughputs.

For my argument I must distinguish between the concepts of collectivist and communitarian. The "operative we-identities in modern economies tends towards either civic nationalism, ethno-religious identification, or occupational class's social imaginary" (Kish & Quilley, 2022, p. 45). Civic national imagined communities are state mediated, whereas ethno, racial tribalism is not. However, ethno-identities can be mobilized by the state as seen with the case of different forms of fascism. In contrast tribalism is the pre-modern, pre-nation state condition. Pre-modern imperial states operate above tribalism and tribes, and do not really involve strong regulatory borders, and do not have citizenship. These are collective and are mediated top-down through the state. In contrast, communitarian we-identity is exemplified in pre-modern society, and operates as place-based, family and/or clan networks and survival units. In enclaves communitarianism *can* exist in modern society, but is perpetually undermined "either by design or as a function of spatial and social mobility" (Kish & Quilley, 2022, p. 45).

Any communitarian extension of the realm of Livelihood must be a bottom-up, grassroots movement because top-down attempts require the same tax-base and state involvement that are dependent upon capitalist growth, remove social responsibility, and shrink social virtue, thereby perpetuating the problem and undermining the purpose (Carson, 2010; Crothers, 2002; Scruton, 2012). This bottom-up aspect is essential for any extension of Livelihood, and one which, while acknowledged, is commonly difficult to articulate or promote in terms of philosophy, policy, or practice. For example, while Daly and Cobb (1996) propose that “the goal of the changes in this book [*For the Common Good*] is a bottom-up society, a community of communities that are local and relatively small” (Daly & Cobb, 1996, p. 366), when offering solution they default to a top-down, collectivist proposal. Cobbs and Daly propose that “a community of communities that are local and relatively small” can be achieved by implementing a licensing system for childbearing – the equal distribution among citizens of 1/10 of a child certificate with allocations of certificates to be determined by ‘rights to reproduce’ and ability to pay – administered by the state (Daly & Cobb, 1996, p. 245)! Likewise, they guarantee that the state will provide elderly aid so adults need bear no children to care for them in their old age. Aside from naivety in terms any sort of ‘equality of distribution’, the enforcement of any such policy requires the extension of the bureaucratic state and dependence upon capitalist growth, thereby undermining its object. In order to implement and regulate such a policy would require massive tax transfers to set up the bureaucracy and enforcers needed for such an endeavor all at great expense (Ophuls, 2011).

Extending the sphere of Livelihood entails the (re)creation of the nested social networks of family, friends, community, etc., an increased responsibility, generosity, obligation, reciprocity and mutual aid, and informal processes of exchange. This vision of a place-based, artisanal and communitarian life is not new and has been touted by groups as diverse as the early socialists in the arts and crafts movement i.e., William Morris, John Ruskin, and Thomas Carlyle, the American Transcendentalists like Henry David Thoreau ([1854]2014), ‘small is beautiful advocates’ like Leopold Kohr (1957) and E.F. Schumacher (1973), philosophical anarchists (Kevin Carson, 2010), green anarchists (Zerzan, 1994), distributists (Belloc, [1912]1977; Day, [1927]2009; Chesterton, [1910]2016), ecological economists (Daly & Cobb, 1996), and de-growth scholars (Odum & Odum, 2001; Victor, 2008); this is not an exhaustive list. Many have questioned whether this extension of Livelihood and any partial re-embedding is actually possible, or whether it is simply a Romantic, utopic vision. As Bauman puts it:

> It is high time to start wondering: Are those forms of life-in-common, known to most of us solely from ethnographic reports sent back from the few remaining niches of bygone 'outdated and backward' times, irrevocably things of the past? Or is, perhaps, the truth of an alternative view of history (and so also of an alternative understand of 'progress') about to out: that far from being an irreversible dash forward, with no retreat conceivable, the episode of chasing happiness through shops was, is and will prove to be for all practical intents and purposes a one-off detour, intrinsically and inevitably temporary (Bauman, 2012, p. xix)?

I argue in this thesis that such a re-embedding and life-in-common is not only possible, but necessary. The persistence of this approach across diverse groups suggests that it is not just a reflection of the romantic view of one time or one culture. For example, initially posited by Chesterton and Belloc in the early 1900s, distributism proposes a modern and contemporary political theory for living a 'life in common'. The main tenet of distributism proclaims that the means of production should be owned by as many as possible (Medaille, 2023). Inspired by the Pope Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, which argued that "that some opportune remedy must be found quickly for the misery and wretchedness pressing so unjustly on the majority of the working class: for the ancient workingmen's guilds were abolished in the last century, and no other protective organization took their place" (par. 3), distributism points out that the conditions of the working class under capitalism and state socialism are oppressive and indicates the need for widespread ownership of the means of production, just wages, trade associations, and subsidiarity to protect the poor and working classes. The principle of subsidiarity states that it is unjust "to assign to a greater and higher association what lesser and subordinate organizations can do" (Pius XI, 1931, par. 79); social activity should be done at the most appropriate scale, and larger associations should not absorb or assume the activities that are fitting or appropriate to the smaller scale. Or as Mehaffy et al. (2020) state, subsidiarity should "aim for the distribution of tasks to the smallest possible scale that will be effective in resolving them" (p. 279). Throughout the early twentieth century, inspired by the increasingly poor conditions of the working classes and disillusioned by socialist solutions, distributism became a home for many radical socialists, cooperative proponents, pacifists, agrarians, and many others across a wide political spectrum. The distributist vision of a subsidiary society comprised of trade unions, cooperatives, household businesses, and the 'small is beautiful' position responds directly to the ills of the State-Market detailed above.

I am not so naïve to think that any such transition it will happen overnight, nor even that it may ever peacefully occur, but in my view, if we are to have a sustainable modernity, the

necessity of a partially re-embedded life in common seems apparent. The current ecological crises, the complexity of geopolitics and the increasing likelihood of financial collapse and social, political, and economic fragility, highlight this necessity. What is interesting is distributist subsidiarity, and in particular the emphasis on interacting and nested levels of scale, corresponds not only with the vision of expanded Livelihood, but with the requisite nested adaptive cycles of sustainable complex systems.

4.3 The resilience of a rebalanced State, Market, and Livelihood and 'life in common'

This vision of society is consistent with the heuristic panarchy (as defined in 4.1 above) of adaptive cycles of complex systems theory which is founded on a model of nested systems operating across a multiplicity of scales (Holling, 2001). Walker and Salt (2006) state in their *Resilience Thinking*, "You cannot understand or manage a system by focusing on one scale" (p. 195). Highlighting the cross-scaled nature of systems, they argue that in order to focus on any one system, one must look at the larger scales in which it is nested and the smaller scales nested within. Likewise, they argue that one of the attributes of a resilient world is 'tight feedback loops', that "a resilient world possesses tight feedbacks" (p. 194). Stressing the hierarchical nature of complex systems, panarchy is a "conceptual model that describes the ways in which complex systems of people and nature are dynamically organized and structured across scales of space and time" (Allen et el., 2014, p. 578). Differing from other hierarchical structures which are often governed solely top-down, the hierarchy of a panarchy recognizes both the top-down and bottom-up ability of adaptive cycles to influence, control, and introduce novel entrants. As such, "panarchy theory emphasizes the cross-scale linkages whereby the processes at one scale affect those at other scales to influence the overall dynamic of the system" (p. 578).

This crude explanation of complex systems serves to highlight the importance of subsidiarity and to illustrate that the extension of the realm of Livelihood corresponds to this cross-scaled resilience as described by panarchy. Although social, economic, and political systems may not map so simply onto a panarchy idiom (Berkes & Ross, 2016), it provides a useful conceptual model. The purpose of expanding Livelihood into a reconfiguration of State, Market, and Livelihood is not to eradicate the large-scale systems of politics and economy, but a rebalancing of these three spheres. To eradicate the large-scale entirely would also create highly vulnerable small-scale systems. Schumacher (1973) argued years ago, our world is obsessed with giantism and, as such, we need to focus on the smaller scale. If however, the trend were the

reverse, and we were focused on only the small scale, then we would need to focus on establishing larger scaled systems as the antidote. This is the problem with writers such as Wendell Berry, for all the aesthetic appeal, their call to eradicate the industrial scale in its entirety would result in a system that is similarly vulnerable and likely result in large-scale starvation (recall the Great Famine of 1315-1317). Thus, not only is the vision of an expanded realm of Livelihood deeply implicated in the green writers of the early 1970s, in particular Schumacher (1973) and Kohr (1957) who invoke the distributist notion of subsidiarity, it also corresponds to more recent resilience and sustainability literature, in particular discussions of the commons.

Central to the work of Elinor and Victor Ostrom is the concept of polycentric governance (Ostrom, 2005; Ostrom, Tiebout, & Warren, 1961). Adopting the term 'polycentricity' from Michael Polanyi (1951), V. Ostrom et al. (1961) used the term to "to describe a form of organization in metropolitan-area governance characterized by a multiplicity of overlapping political units" (Carlisle & Gruby, 2017, p. X). Polycentric governance refers to "a system in which many diverse centers of partial authority collectively cover the full range of governance tasks" (Ostrom Workshop, 2023), which are "capable of striking a balance between centralized and fully decentralized or community-based governance" (Carlisle & Gruby, 2017, p. 927). Promoted by Elinor and Victor Ostrom, literature on the commons is interspersed with this concept and its benefit for national resources (Andersson & Ostrom, 2008; Bixler, 2014; Blomquist & Schlager, 2005; Carlisle & Gruby, 2017; Nagendra & Ostrom, 2014; Pahl-Wostl & Knieper, 2014). In *Governing the Commons*, Ostrom (1990) identifies eight design principles displayed by common pool resource (CPR) institutions with longevity. Rule eight deals with 'nested enterprises', stating "appropriation, provision, monitoring, enforcement, conflict resolution, and governance activities are organized in multiple layers of nested enterprises" (p. 90). Not only does this eighth rule provide an example of polycentric governance, but it also provides a restatement of the principle of subsidiarity [that one should not "assign to a greater and higher association what lesser and subordinate organizations can do" (Pius XI, 1931, par. 79)]. Both rule eight and the principle of subsidiarity advocate nested or tiered governance that provides appropriate autonomy to smaller tiers that ought not be subsumed by larger tiers. While this concept of polycentric governance has received considerable attention, the application or development of it is surprisingly limited (Carlisle & Gruby, 2017). Similarly, while subsidiarity

is deeply implicated in the green literature and corresponds with the panarchy of adaptive cycles, it too has been surprisingly limited in application.

This lack of application of subsidiarity highlights an important issue at the heart of the sustainability, that of human formation. While subsidiarity (and polycentric governance) is implicit in resilience and complexity and panarchy theory, when looking for real world solutions, many authors turn to the state, almost as a default. The logic of capitalism is so pervasive (Chapter 3) that it undermines the nested human associations and networks, leaving only the individual (and nuclear family) at the small scale and the State-Market at the large. In traditional society, education was done 'on the job' with one-on-one, intra-community training, which can be called enculturation (Gellner, 1983). However, in modernity the formation of citizens becomes the exclusive role of the state (Gellner, 1983, see also 3.2). Because the nested social and political associations and networks have been largely eradicated by the forces of capitalism, the formation of individuals ends up being state-mediated. Liberalism promotes many social positives (equality, freedom of religion, speech, press, etc., universal rights, etc.): "liberalism is, after all, essentially a view that there is such a thing as minding one's own business, and that there is a sphere within which we have the right to say 'It's my life' while politely declining invitations to justify ourselves" (Courtland et al., 2022, par. 3.2). Liberalism provides the opportunity for unprecedented levels of self-expression, self-actualization, and freedom of choice. In the words of Billy Joel, "I don't care what you say anymore this is my life. Go ahead with your own life, leave me alone". However, this freedom is double-edged, i.e., 'liquid modernity' (Chapter 3). An operative effect of a society of Cartesian individuals is the loss of any significant sense of common good (Courtland, 2022), or 'life in common' and therefore, the formation of individuals requires a high level of state-mediation. This can best be seen with a review of the concept of the commons.

In *Governing the Commons* (1990), Ostrom argues from examples, that, while people often affirm that either only the state or the market can protect CPR (common pool resources), "many successful CPR institutions are rich mixtures of "private-like" and "public-like" institutions defying classification in a sterile dichotomy" (p. 13). Ostrom (2000) shows that "both laboratory experiments and field studies confirm that a substantial number of collective action situations are resolved successfully, at least in part" (Ostrom, p. 154). Ostrom's 'commons conversations' turn on common pool resources, but do not acknowledge that the loss of

commons often coincides with the loss of shared values or shared ways of life. Centred on rational choice and game theory, and State-, Market-, or combined alternative solutions, 'commons' protection literature takes modernity and the Cartesian individual as foundational (see for example Carlisle & Gruby, 2017; Hardin, 1968; Ostrom, 1990, 2000). Rational choice and game theory foundations reveal an ontological foundation of individualism.

This is perhaps the reason, as Carlisle and Gruby (2017) point out, that while the literature is rife with subsidiarity appeals (polycentric governance), applications are few. The formation of the Cartesian individual depends on the State-Market and modern methods of education (see 4.1 & 3.2). The dissolution of the commons coincides with the dissolution of common or shared ways of life through the birth of modernity (see 3.1 & 3.2). Game theory, rational choice examples provided for governing the commons do not begin from a starting place of a strong 'we' identity. Medaille (2016) states, "capitalist and communist alike are willing to do all in their power to ensure that the peasant shall not be poor, but *only on the condition that he shall not be a peasant* (my emphasis). They both promise to give him valuable things if only he surrender his values" (par. 1). The formation of individuals within a 'life-in-common', peasant society, happens through living in and with the other members of the community (Gellner, 1983; MacIntyre, 2007; 2009). But once a 'life-in-common' is dispelled, in order to maintain individualism, the formation of individuals requires institutional education, usually from those outside the community (Gellner, 1983).

For example, Jarvis (2017) argues that through intentional communities and intentional shared 'togetherness' that hyper-individualism can be saved while entering into communities of degrowth. Emphasising the *choice* that each person makes to enter such a community, Jarvis maintains that there is no constraint on freedom. This is true … for about one generation. As soon as any person has a child in that community, immediately, the question of *choice* as determiner becomes problematic. The children of intentional community dwellers do not have the same choices available to them. In order to maintain choice as paramount, education and formation of the children would have to take place outside the bounds of the community life, so too with the liberal democracy. Individualism and free choice require high levels of individualizing formation. As such, the application of the principle of subsidiarity or polycentric governance is difficult if one is trying to maintain this highly individualized Cartesian sense of self. However the 'small is beautiful', distributist, green vision does not have the same problem

with respect to formation, because the vision is more place-bound, less mobile, and entails higher commitment to place and local networks, so that the formation of individuals does not have to be entirely state-mediated to maintain individualism. What this may look like remains to be seen.

4.4 Conclusion

The State and the Market are the mutually reinforcing and mutually dependent pillars of capitalist modernity. The capitalist economy is dependent upon the policy, subsidies, and laws which favour large-scale, mass production to maintain their control of the means of production, while, simultaneously, the current welfare state is dependent upon the massive tax transfers which come from capitalist growth. In this sense, the State/Market can be considered the survival unit of individuals within capitalist modernity. Because of this, any contraction of the Market would result in an eventual contraction of the State, and consequently potentially disastrous results for the individuals within. At the same time, the biophysical limits are making clear that unfettered capitalist growth is neither sustainable nor equitable. As such, drawing on the thought of Kish and Quilley, I propose the expansion of the domain of Livelihood for a rebalancing of the State, Market, and Livelihood domains. This vision for the expansion of Livelihood is founded on the need for subsidiarity (polycentric governance) and a degree of life-in-common which is consistent with the vision implicit in distributism, early green authors from the 1970s, and the more recent resilience, complexity, and panarchy literature. In the chapters that follow, I elaborate in greater detail what this might look like and how we might achieve this new State, Market, and Livelihood configuration.

Chapter 5 Place-making and fostering community: The role of culture in viscosifying 'liquid modernity'

In the previous chapter, I argued in favour of expanding the domain of Livelihood for the purposes of establishing a new State, Market, and Livelihood configuration. The next step, then is to ask: how is this to be done? This chapter begins to answer that question. The features and operations of capitalist modernity erode relationships of place, kin, and community (see 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4). In 'liquid modernity' increasing individualization and mobility, urbanization, 'brain drain', income inequality, and monopolies of power abound (see 3.3). These features of capitalist modernization are forceful and antithetical to fostering resilient local communities and economies as well as the more embedded sphere of Livelihood. Responding to these pressures and drawing on decades of place-making research, in this chapter I argue that culture provides a means of increasing local community resilience: externally through place-making and place-marketing opportunities, and internally by developing and fostering relationships within regions, locales, and communities.

5.1 Culture as a driver of local economic development

Culture is an important driver of economic regeneration as it provides precisely the dimension specific uniqueness that cannot be produced in a global or industrial market (Amin and Thrift, 2007; Lash and Urry, 1994; Scott, 2000; Ziakas and Lundberg, 2018). Culture as a driver of economic development in cities has recently become 'new orthodoxy' (Miles & Paddison, 2005) as over the last four decades (although Jane Jacobs recognized this in 1961) the efficacy of culture for the purpose of economic development has been well established (Amin & Thrift, 2007; Lash & Urry, 1994; Scott, 2000; Ziakas & Lundberg, 2018). In essence, culture, art, or artists make a city more attractive to inward investment and skilled labour and therefore more competitive in an increasingly global landscape. An example of this is what Zukin (1982) describes in *loft Living*. That is, the transformation of the dying, industrial shell of Manhattan to a vibrant, buzzing, middleclass, art-filled metropolis. This case has become paradigmatic for 'creative city' development globally. Attracted to the large space and low rent of abandoned or decaying intercity industrial spaces, trail-blazing artists move in and transform neighbourhoods into "Bohemian enclaves" (Currid, 2009; Zukin, 1982), making these areas more attractive to the mobile and skilled labour, who, seek "artistically rich environs in which to live and work" (Currid, 2009, p. 369). These artistic enclaves raise cultural perception and property values and,

in turn, bring in businesses, people, and investment. SoHo in Manhattan is perhaps the most iconic example of this process of economic regeneration through art, artists, and cultural perception, but there are similarities in the process of regeneration and gentrification in cities across the globe (Currid, 2009).

By contrast, the immobility of large, industrial factories of the late nineteenth century, relative to the labour and the sense of deference to company over worker, resulted in the creation of large industrial suburbs culminating in the industrialized and mass-produced economic expansion of Fordism in the post-war years (Florida, Adler, & Mellander, 2012). First emerging in the United States at Henry Ford's manufacturing plant in the early 20th century, Fordism refers to "a specific form of micro-scale organization of mass production" (Hudson, 2009, p. 227). And the impact of Fordism on the nature of industrial cities as places was profound. Unquestionably a revolutionary shift in manufacturing, the mass production model of Henry Ford was "built upon previous advances in methods of manufacturing" (p. 227), particularly the 'scientific management' work of Frederick Taylor ([1909]2014). Taylor's work detailed the exact amount of time that work on a production line required, and was also built upon the American System of Manufacture (Hudson, 2009). Ford's mass production model decreased production time of an automobile by approximately 85% through cog-like subordination of alienated workers to the machine and 'managerial decisions'. Mass consumption is the "necessary corollary of mass production" (Hudson, 2009) and was aided by high wages of this new production model. Similarly, another important impact on the early 20th century industrial cities was the Keynesian demand management and welfare state to secure a wider social compact at the societal level e.g., the elimination of mass unemployment, state investment to balance downturns in the business cycles, etc. These elements combined to create industrial cities and regions that were connected into a national and international division of labour, dependent on the State, and vulnerable to divestment in successive rounds of innovation and globalization.

Yet the movement from an industrial to post-industrial economy, while simultaneously decreasing corporate loyalty on the part of the workers, also increased the mobility of skilled labour (Florida, Adler, & Mellander, 2012). The move to a post-Fordist economy of highly skilled and post-industrial labour made labour, especially highly skilled labour, highly mobile, as "[o]ffices, studios and laboratories can be relocated with greater ease than assembly plants" (Florida, Adler, & Mellander, 2012, p. 3; see also Chapter 3) With globalization, the economies

become more knowledge based and educated labour a more important factor of production. As such, firms now have to increase attractiveness to this highly skilled mobile labour force which is done, in large part, by locating in areas with high levels of arts and culture and amenities such as schools, hospitals, etc. As such, while research into the Creative City is by no means new – Florida, Adler, and Mellander (2012) argue that Alfred Marshall (1890) was the first to discuss this event – the research in the last number of decades has become 'new orthodoxy'. This 'new orthodoxy' refers to the process by which industrial inner cities are transformed through the repurposing and reinventing of these spaces as competitive and thriving hubs of art, culture, and new labour while simultaneously attracting inward investment and highly skilled labour (Currid, 2009; Florida, Adler, & Mellander, 2012; Zukin, 1982).

This transition however, from industrial to post-industrial economic activity and thus the exodus of highly educated and skilled labour can be devastating for rural areas and small towns (see Chapter 3). As such, successful rural and peripheral areas sometimes capitalize on a similar development strategy of capitalizing place-based arts and culture. One of the most innovative and exciting examples is the creation of Book Towns, originating in Hay-on-Wye in Wales. In early 1961, Hay was a declining, peripheral rural town of 1500 with defunct housing and undervalued and underused property. At that time, innovative and eccentric entrepreneur, Richard Booth, purchased many of these properties, dubbed himself king of the castle (literally), and opened many second hand and antiquarian bookstores throughout Hay-on-Wye (Driscoll, 2018; Seaton, 1996). The volume of book stores turned Hay into a pilgrimage site for bibliophiles the world over. By 1995, Hay generated a million tourists a year, one third of whom were international (Seaton 1996). In this "town of books" a literary festival was started in 1988. Proclaimed "the Woodstock of the Mind" by Former U.S. President and 2001 Hay speaker, Bill Clinton, this festival draws a crowd of 80,000 over the ten day festival, along with Nobel laureates and "Nobel Prize-winning writers, philosophers, politician and musicians" (Reuters Staff, 2012). Moreover, the Book Town model is so successful that it has been adopted by different regions globally (Seaton, 1999). "The International Organization of Book Towns" (I.O.B.) hosts membership from Book Towns in twenty different countries, many of which are home to more than one successful Book Town. One of the aims of the I.O.B. is to "[s]trengthen the rural economy and enhance the quality of book towns by exchanging knowledge, skills and know-how between the book towns and their individual sellers and other businesses" (I.O.B.,

2022). Book Towns have become a leading example of rural social and economic regeneration through the repurposing of culture, heritage, and the creative industries through the creation of place-based and place-specific art and culture.

Alongside Book Towns, music has been recognized as an incredibly successful driver of economic development over the last three decades. As Terrill and Jacob (2015) explain, a music economy "fuels job creation, economic growth, tourism development and artistic growth, and strengthens a city's brand. A strong music community also attracts highly skilled young workers in all sectors for whom quality of life is a priority. This in turn attracts business investment" (par. 7). Music festivals are among the most common way of place-making, capacity building, generating economic positives, and transforming, in particular, rural identities from places of "decline" to places with strong senses of community (Gibson & Davidson, 2004, p. 391; see also Aldskogiua, 1993; Derrett et al., 1998; Gibson, 2002; Gibson & Connell, 2004). An example of this is Tamworth, a town in Australia, which, through a combination of grassroots growth and work of musicians, venues, sound engineers, singers, and promoters, a massive festival and the consequent tourism, and strategic planning and marketing, since the 1970s has been known as the "country music capital" of Australia (Gibson & Davidson, 2004). Place-marketing, capacity building, and development through music is not limited to country music, of course, and extends across genres including pop, rock, and traditional music (L. Gibson, 2001; Feintuch, 2004; Ó hAllmhuráin, 2016), and Doolin in County Clare, Ireland is another example. From a Eurocentric position, Doolin is undoubtedly peripheral. However, capitalizing on the strong traditional music heritage and culture, and largely due to tourism, music in Doolin has managed, not only to survive, but thrive, bringing much needed economic regeneration to the area in the face of declining farming and fishing industries (Kaul, 2009; Snape, 2011). Likewise, in areas that rely heavily on tourism but also have a short tourism season, music and in particular music festivals can extend the tourist season. For example, Celtic Colours in Cape Breton, NS is held every year in October and extends the tourist season beyond the summer months (Feintuch, 2004). Or, as Lewie Peterson, Shetland musician and Shetland Folk Festival committee members explains:

> Because, you know, there's seven hundred, seven hundred odd people from outside Shetland that were members [of the Shetland Folk Festival], that's seven hundred people, so that's seven hundred people coming to Shetland for the folk festival in a small population . . . That's a big economic . . . It's a big sort of, tourism is big, the reputation might be, something is, is enhanced – L. Peterson, personal communication, November 14, 2019.

Capitalizing on a cultural *terroir*, music, music events, and festivals drive economic development and resilience in rural and peripheral areas that are or would otherwise be places of economic instability, decline, and in some cases, poverty. In viniculture *terroir* refers to the "interactive cultivated ecosystem, in a given place, including climate, soil, and the vine" (van Leeuwan, 2022, p. 341), and the character that a given wine then has due to these factors. *Terroir* is also the rationale for the *appellation d'origine controlee* (AOC) ("*Appellation d'origine*", n.d.) which is the French label of authenticity for agricultural products (wine, cheese, butter, etc.) and defined by region. For example, champagne comes from the champagne region, and only the champagne region. Cultural *terroir* capitalizes on the same region-specific element: you have to go to Celtic Colours in Cape Breton in order to have the 'authentic' Cape Breton music experience.

The decline of the rural is by no means a new debate: Raymond Williams (1975) shows that centuries ago the Roman poet Horace (1983[c. 20 BCE]) engaged with this theme (Bell, Lloyd, & Vatovec, 2010). No matter how long and perhaps even tired this debate may be however, the "very existence of the debate indicates that the status of the rural empirically and conceptually, remains at issue" (p. 206). Dissenting from the 'passive' and 'dying' image of the rural and appealing explicitly to the concept of *terroir*, Bell, Lloyd, and Vatovec (2010) argue that rural areas are "modes of activeness, mobilising and stabilising the material, the symbolic and the relational" (p. 221). They are correct, there is certainly the possibility for this 'activeness' and flourishing. Yet, as discussed in Chapters 3 & 4, in the current economic climate the pressures of globalization and urbanization, divestment, and loss of traditional industries leave rural areas and small towns particularly susceptible to the caprice of the market. Furthermore, there are three important and very much related considerations in the creation of musical *terroir* in order for such a strategy to be resilient and successful.

Using Manchester and Sheffield in the UK as examples where music for economic regeneration has failed, Hudson (2006) argues that, while music influences people and place identities and aids in cultivating a deep sense and attachment to place, there are "dangers in raising unrealistic expectation in relation to economic regeneration" (p. 633). There is considerable reliance upon the degree to which a culture has roots and is bound with the place-identities and heritage; it would be incorrect to assume that music cultures could be successfully transplanted without any connection to hybrid person-place identities (Hudson, 2006). This is

particularly the case for rural and peripheral areas as they do not have the benefit of the "number of citizens and the volume and variety of the cultural sector" (Lysgård, 2016, p. 1). While the flow of neoliberal cultural policy is ubiquitous throughout the Western world,[1] the 'cultural policies' of rural areas and small towns are also highly influenced by place and community identity and lived experience. As Lysgård (2016) states:

> [I]t seems as the cultural policies of rural places and small towns are more guided by and rooted in path-dependency, heritage, tradition, community practices, and social capital, based on ideas of participation, mobilization and social coherence. Instead of uncritically embracing the "catchy" ideas about attractiveness, competitiveness, place marketing, and creative industries that have been in the forefront of the culture-led urban strategies, small towns and rural places should possibly pay more attention to developing a rationale of cultural policy that places the issues of community building, social coherence, local identity and democracy at the forefront (p. 10).

This is not to say that music cultures cannot be used in rural areas and small towns for the purposes of economic regeneration, but rather that it is important to consider the existing place-identities, community culture and practices, and the heritage and traditions of particular places before trying to graft music cultures onto those places. These factors considerably influence the success of the culture, even when there is but a residue of the culture in the cultural landscape. For example, co-founders of the Goderich Celtic Roots Festival in Goderich, ON, Warren and Eleanor Robinson, explain both the importance of the Celtic roots in Southern Ontario upon the success of their festival, and the wider economic, social, and cultural regeneration stemming from the festival.

> W: So we also thought there's got to be a place for a specialist festival, in our case, Celtic. When we set up, there were several things we kept in mind, it's actually called the 'Celtic Roots Festival' because roots develop trees that have branches. And there's so many forms of music that, for example Blue Grass is half Blues half Scotch, Scottish and Irish fiddle music so, and the Cajun music has Scots influence, there's some jazz that has some Scots influences
> E: And the French.
> W: And of course all of the diaspora, so you have, well obviously in Canada you have the Newfoundland music, you have Cape Breton, you have the New Brunswick music, you have the
> E: French Canadian
> W: Francophone/Quebecois which is in both New Brunswick and Quebec. You have Ottawa Valley in Ontario, and so on. I mean there are many pockets. This county also in a census about that time reported 92.6%
> E: British Isles
> W: Said British Isle ancestry. . . Last bastion of Anglo-Saxonism in, I swear, the entire world.
> E: It's not that way anymore but

[1] The economic geographers from the 1980s (Peck & Tickell, 1994; Harvey, 1989; Jessop, 1996; 1998; 2002; Quilley, 1995; 1999; 2000) saw the emergence of supply side cultural regeneration strategies as part of the opening up to market forces that accompanied globalization. State regional policies that sought 'fair and balanced development' (Keynesian) and the management of growth were replaced by competitive regimes, whereby cities would compete for inward investment, for government grants, and often for big cultural events like the Olympics or Commonwealth Games, which were seen as *drivers* of development and post-industrial development.

> W: So it's very much a homogenous culture. But we also, we are the oldest Celtic Festival, I believe in North America. There are older Irish festivals, there are older Scottish festivals but most Scottish festivals tend to be Highland games. . . But as one that tried to bring together the seven Celtic nations, we're, I believe, the first – W. & E. Robinson, personal communication, September 2, 2019.

Likewise, Honourable Rodney MacDonald, former premier of NS and president of *Colaisde na Gaidhlig* (The Gaelic College) in Cape Breton, NS, explains the importance of the culture, in particular the Gaelic language, with respect to the success of Cape Breton Music.

> To really focus on Gaelic language and understanding the importance of it because without the Gaelic language our tunes and our style will change, without question . . . To me there's not even a doubt. . . Well, no, and the reason why I say that is because, you know, so people like my grandfather, whose first language was Gaelic, and my grandmother and many of our tunes are *Puirt-a-beul*, are mouth music, the old ones. But even without that, the way they play their music was the way they spoke. . . Was the [way] they heard it and so it wasn't like they were hearing it from English speakers, they were hearing everything, all their music was coming from Gaelic speakers. So their pronunciation and the, even on a word, where even the English word, they would say it in a Gaelic way. . . You know, with a longer emphasis perhaps on a certain syllable, you know, certain aspects of the word. That, and that reflected then our music. The language, for your notes, it may not be exactly as it is on paper, because paper says one thing but when I play a tune, our ears as important as our note. So many of our fiddlers play as much by ear and . . . I play both, notes and ear, yeah. But when I started learning how to play, I already knew the tunes and that so it wasn't like I was. So I was, I would be given the tune, my uncle would say, 'you know you can play it this way or that and you can add this in'. And so we would play it the way we heard it. So there was, there was still a lot of Gaelic in the playing, I think, in the eighties and the nineties, but more and more, I think over, you know all of a sudden in about a ten year period, I started seeing a change in that – R. MacDonald, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

Both of these examples correspond to what Hudson (2006) and Lysgård (2016) argue: that the wider culture, identities and inhabitation of place, heritage and tradition influence the success of a music revival or regeneration. Music cultures are deeply entwined with place identities and the way people inhabit places, and as such ought to be considered when establishing a musical *terroir* for the purposes of economic and community regeneration. Where there is even a residue or inkling of a music culture present in these areas, especially in rural areas and small towns, music cultures can be incredible successful drivers of social, economic, and cultural regeneration through tourism and investment externally and internally through establishing and cultivating strong relationships within the community internally (but this I will discuss in greater detail in the following section).

The second consideration, very much connected to the above, is the homogenization or 'Disneyification' of these cultures or landscapes (Gibson et al., 2010; McGuirk, Winchester, and Dunn, 1998). Motivated by a search for 'authentic' culture, tourists visit these remote musical destinations bringing much needed cash influx and flow. This, however, becomes a balancing act

between promoting a vibrant local culture and eradicating that local culture. There can be tension between the commercialization of the culture and maintaining the "unspoiled" landscape which these tourists seek (Connell & Gibson, 2003, p. 222-27). Echoing Connell and Gibson (2003), and likening tourists to pilgrims, Feintuch (2004) argues that "[t]hese pilgrimages are perhaps a form of nostalgia, and like many other exercises of nostalgia, they may stand for a longing for something the travelers have never themselves experienced" (p. 95). Thus whether the implication of the decline of 'authentic' culture is true or not, in order to maintain tourist pilgrims, these areas must feed the reservoir of local culture. Shetland's Up Helly Aa provides a good example of a festival that builds local culture.

Up Helly Aa is a fire festival to celebrate the Viking heritage of Shetlanders which "involves a series of marches and visitation, culminating in a torch-lit procession and the burning of a galley" (Up Helly Aa, 2022, par. 7). The largest Up Helly Aa takes place annually on the last Tuesday in January, but there are Up Helly Aas held in many different towns and islands throughout Shetland, as well as a 'fire festival' in Scalloway (which is essentially an Up Helly Aa just with a different name). These festivals have become world famous, garnering interest the world over, due, in large part to the fact that the festival is not meant for, nor does it cater to tourists, as David Nicol, managing director for NB Communications explains:

> And its uh, yeah, it's very, very well known that the people who organize Up Helly As are not generally doing it because they want to get the attention of the outside world. That's kind of just an internal thing, 'we'll do this because it's a good laugh'. And it's always been done, we'll keep the tradition going. And I think most of them are reasonably happy with the idea that global media comes to film what's going on and to pay attention. But nothing is on for them. And ah, but as a, really as one of the probably most visible times of the year. Or one of the times when Shetland's most visible because, I mean this year we've got another film crew from Japan coming to film it. Yeah, a couple of years ago. I think it was last year, or two years ago they had a team from Panasonic come to film it in the latest filming technology. It was eight, 8K it's called. So it's, you know, much more high definition than the most amazing TVs you can currently get on the market. So they want to film the kind of fire aspect especially as a, to prove how good the technology is. And that's being exhibited at various technology trade fairs and expos all over the world. So we've got another group coming this year from Japan from a different company, but I think it's an 18 strong group of film-makers doing a three hour documentary about Up Helly Aa, which I think is going to be showing on national TV in Japan. So that's all stuff that comes just as result of lots of volunteers pulling together to have a big party, basically. And it's a strange one because there's nothing in Up Helly Aa that is designed specifically to attract tourists but perhaps because of that. . . I think the fact that it's not designed for tourists makes it all the more, um, kind of curious. People are curious as a result. And yes, certainly in Lerwick, almost impossible to get accommodation or a ticket to the halls or anything. You can, if you can get here you can watch the procession at night with the fire, which is the main thing – D. Nicol, personal communication, December 17, 2019.

Up Helly Aa acts as a means of strengthening the Shetland imagined community (sensu Anderson, 1983) rather than primarily as a draw for tourists and tourism; as such, there is considerable interest and tourism that accompanies the festival (I was only able to get a ticket because I had lived there for four months and had become good friends with many of the people directly involved in the music and/or planning of the Lerwick Up Helly Aa).

As intimated above, for music culture or heritage projects to attract inward investment and tourism and be sustainable requires a level of grassroots involvement. This requirement is connected to both the need for cultural roots and some level of 'authenticity' for culture and heritage promotion, especially with respect to music. Titon (2016) argues that one of the most efficient ways to kill or make a tradition obsolete is to promote it as heritage and cultural tourism as, "despite good intentions" there are negatives such as "freezing traditions and stifling innovation" (p. 495), innovation that is necessary for culture to flourish. Similarly, Shetland accordion and piper, Peter Wood, when I asked him about a definition of 'traditional' and 'folk' music, stated:

> I see it as a history of, it's kind of like a history book of, in music, of our, where we came from, basically . . . And, and it does develop and it always does change as everything does. And I think you have to let it because it doesn't become history if, I know you'll get people that, that will say it has to be straight forward or traditional. Yeah, that's fine, and it has its place and I like to listen to that too, I don't mind, but it has to be allowed to grow and develop or it will die – P. Wood, personal communication, December 10, 2019.

The Shetland traditional music culture provides excellent examples, both of the positives and necessity of grassroots involvement and the dangers/negatives that can arise from the cultivation or promotion of a Tradition as cultural heritage.

Thus there is a tension in the Shetland fiddle culture between the maintenance of the Tradition and the fostering of grassroots innovation (which I discuss in greater detail in later chapters, see Chapters 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, & 15). In essence, while Shetland is rife with fiddle music, it is also a music scene that exhibits a continual tension between grassroots, bottom-up, community-led, innovative music and top-down, self-conscious, culture and heritage promotion. And, at times, the top-down 'authentic' or 'Traditional' way of playing can constrain the music culture. When I asked Graeme Howell, the Chief Executive of Shetland Arts [the arts agency responsible for "plac[ing] the arts at the heart of Shetland, to educate, promote, support and develop the practice and enjoyment of the arts by all" (https://www.shetlandarts.org/about, par. 1)] about the role of traditional and folk music in Shetland Arts he replied with the following:

> So we'll bring up um bigger bands that perhaps wouldn't come here otherwise and we're investing to make that happen. We obviously run 'folk frenzy' which is a big summer school. Though we, this year we've just taken out, so it used to be very much about the Shetland fiddle tradition and this year we've evolved it a bit and it's now about a broader set of traditions. So we had a tutor over from Sweden or Switzerland, or something like that, but still that folk tradition, but it's you know, let's not be quite so … narrow. Um, so it's not a huge part of our work, um. We're an arts development agency so we're about trying to develop as opposed to some of the kind of, sometimes traditional music can feel quite locked. Like there can be um, I think one of my, I suppose a concern I have about the Shetland traditional scene is its developed 'right' and 'wrong' ways of doing things – G. Howell, personal communication, December 12, 2019).

Shetland musician and Folk Festival committee member, Lewie Peterson makes a similar observation:

> Because it's been industrialized itself, you know it's, and the likes of festivals probably don't help because it's all about promotions, all about, you know it's about promoting, it's about identifying music with a place, so that's Shetland fiddle and that. . . I would hope that we get the balance at times, but I don't think, I think just in general the culture in, maybe it's a UK thing but certainly in places like Shetland, I think Cape Breton's a bit like that as well, they have very traditional views on what folk music is, and it's very much almost, for them, it was almost like Scots-Irish and maybe not as diverse as what it could have been . . . Yeah, and it's quite, to me, I find it very frustrating because a lot of the Shetland music isn't Shetland it's come from all over but I don't know at what point somebody just decided to brand it Shetland music and that is all they're going to play. When the whole point is that, as an island, it, sailors were coming and going and taking tunes and that's, that's how our music actually came this form, so. So suddenly then just standing on that and that's it. We have to keep on taking in new ideas and stuff. And I think that, that is a slight frustration. I don't think, I don't think this is applicable to the festival but certainly just in general with, with what people view as folk music I would say. And you get that in, that's a UK-wide thing as well. And the Scottish folk scene is very um, I'd something gets supported it's a very much, you know its pipes and its very like traditional, you can sell that – L. Peterson, personal communication, November 14, 2019.

Howell and Peterson's observations are consistent with Titon (2016) and Wood's argument that, based on principles of resilience thinking (Gunderson, Allen, & Holling, 2009), in order for a culture to be resilient it requires innovation. Furthermore, the above quotation from Howell also highlights the interesting phenomenon that in Shetland, the fiddle music thrives, not because of the support of government and arts agencies, but rather, because the traditional music scene is thriving (see also Chapter 14 **charities**). In fact, government agencies can sometime inhibit the flourishing of local music scene. For example, as Feintuch (2004) describes regarding Celtic Colours, "the county and grass roots traditional music are largely absent from the planning documents, and not everyone in Inverness County agrees that the government-sponsored economic development work has been equitable or thoughtful" (p. 97). In Shetland, the arts agency has very little to do with the local traditional music scene and focuses on other arts, culture, and development strategies. In short, the traditional music scene is flourishing because of

the grassroots involvement of the community, and, although suffering in some areas which I will elucidate in later chapters, where it is sustainable, it is sustainable because of the grassroots involvement and innovation (observation, December 20, 2019). This innovation is very much present in the Shetland culture, on the grassroots level (where the tradition is thriving), as Martha Thompson of the band *Herkja* (Shetland dialect meaning 'to roam') says, "Shetland has always been such a maritime community, it's always been this like, people coming and going. Our tradition wouldn't be here without people coming and going and, and spreading around" (personal communication, December 21, 2019). And this is very much the case with respect to the local music scene where many musicians are members of several bands, across genres, and the musical styles of each influence and inform the music of the others (observation, November 24, 2019). Thus the importance point to note is that grassroots involvement and innovation are required for vibrant music scenes even for the purposes of place-marketing and attracting inward investment.

5.2 Building social cohesion within communities

While music and music cultures can attract inward investment and re-establish local economic activity, there are many positives that are not reducible to economic activity, as music and music cultures can be a source of many social positives within a community internally. Fostering and cultivating relationships between members of a community, music events can substantially increase the sociability, vibrancy, and liveability of a place through the establishment of extensive volunteer networks and community engagement (Stevenson, 2016). For example, studies on the development of social capital have linked music festivals to many social positives from 'building a sense of community' and 'civic pride' (Fiedler & Wickham, 2021, p. 1194; Scholtz et al., 2019; Stevenson, 2016; Wilks & Quinn, 2016), to fostering leadership (Davies, 2015), and increasing diversity within the community (Fiedler & Wickham, 2021; Yuen & Glover, 2005; Stevenson, 2016).

Existing relationships within communities and groups are reinforced and strengthened through music festivals (Wilks, 2010). Against criticism that the social and cultural positives of festivals are too place- and event-specific to draw transferable comparisons, academics have started using the lens of 'social capital' for comparatives positives (Fiedler & Wickham, 2021). While social capital is by no means uncontested (I have problems with the term as discussed in Chapter 3), "academics have agreed that it is useful in festivals and event research in that it

interrogates the structural connections inherent to networks, the generation of social norms and social trust, the nature of cooperation, and the generation of social well-being through collaboration" (Fiedler & Wickham, 2021, p. 1194). Culture can significantly increase the number and quality of relationships in a local community. Embedded festivals in particular, that is festivals that are 'enacted in regional locations', make use of local venues (schools, halls, churches, etc.), and have local volunteers and interactions with locals, show increased levels of social capital within communities (Fiedler & Wickham, 2021). Not only do embedded festivals contribute to the strength, number, and quality of relationships within a community during the festival, they also provide social positives long after the festivals have taken place where "participation (primarily through volunteering) and interactions with the stakeholders of the host town create opportunities for shared experiences to thrive, especially community pride, which appears to resonate into other communities long after the festival finishes" (p. 1205).

While it is clear that music festivals and events can strengthen relationships which already exist within a community, it is by no means uncontested that this is a positive. Through the lens of Classical music in France, Bourdieu (1984) asserts that taste is an example of cultural hegemony. As Bourdieu argues, the forms of capital (social, cultural, human) that are associated with music operate as means of creating and maintaining class distinctions which ensure the reproduction of the ruling class and prohibit upward social mobility (Bourdieu, 1984; Gartman, 1991). However, engaging specifically with Bourdieu's classification, Ashwood and Bell (2016) challenge Bourdieu's class absolutism and, inspired by their experience of traditional music in pub settings, "suggest an affective theory of taste" (p. 622). They posit that, "It matters hugely for the sharing of cultural taste whether people actually like each other, and whether the setting they find themselves in encourages that affection" (p. 626). Through affection and place-specific experiences and contexts, people experience the 'joy of transcendence': transcend class boundaries and "connect across difference" (p. 622). In the pub setting, with traditional music in particular, they argue that people "form affections across their differences not in spite of class-based taste, but precisely because of it, finding here a chance to reject the patterning of life by the economy, and to create in this dark and dank place a rowdy utopia inspired by the joy of transcending difference" (p. 637). Ashwood and Bell corroborate Diamond's (2013) claim that music, in particular traditional music, has the "unique ability to provide a space for contested point[s] of view, multiple narratives, and differently aesthetically defined politics" (p. 162). In

this sense, music events do not simply strengthen relationships within communities, but music also establishes and fosters new relationships that transcend socio-economic class, contributing to social cohesion within a community.

Music and music cultures not only contribute to community building and social cohesion, but are also beneficial for individuals as participation in music, music learning, music events, and music cultures have a significant impact on mental health and well-being (Carlisle, 2008; Hampshire, & Matthijsse, 2010; Hillier, et al., 2012). As MacDonald, Kreutz, and Mitchell (2012) argue, "the fact that music is implicated in so many different types of interventions relating to health and wellbeing underscores the belief that being moved or touched by music cannot be held purely as a metaphor, which renders music as mere embellishment of our daily lives" (p. 4). And indeed, participation in music has been associated with positives from brain plasticity and development (LaGasse and Thaut, 2013), to physical health (van Wijck et al., 2012), to communication (Hargreaves et al., 2005; Miell et al., 2005), to positive behavioural changes (Hallam and MacDonald, 2008). Thus music and music cultures positively contribute to the internal coherence and logic of communities both at the community level as a whole and at the individual level.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter I argued that culture, and music in particular, provides a means of increasing local and community resilience and place-making within the context of massive capitalist societies and 'liquid modernity'. This is done externally through place-making and place-marketing and internally by developing and fostering relationships within regions, locales, and communities while simultaneously contributing to individual health and well-being. Yet, while it is one thing to assert *that* music and culture can provide social and economic positives it can be problematic when actually trying to do so. What remains is the "how". This "how" is addressed in the following chapters.

SECTION III: Pattern language theory and musicology

Bringing together insights from the previous sections, Section III contains the main 'theory' chapters of this dissertation. Herein I define and discuss Celtic traditional music and dance alongside a larger conversation of the function of vernacular and oral cultures generally speaking. I then explain Alexander's pattern language theory of architectural design, along with objections to it, and how I have adapted this theory to with respect to social configurations. Finally, I end this section with a brief history and ethnological discussion of the place-bound traditions that are the subject of this research.

Chapter 6 Thesis

After delineating the social, economic, and ecological problems arising from capitalist modernity (see Chapters 3 & 4), and discussing some place-making strategies to combat these problems (see Chapter 5), in this chapter I detail the central thesis of this dissertation and how it relates and responds to the problem context of the previous chapters. It is important to note that some of the theory of this thesis is complex, and, as such, there are subsequent chapters which elaborate and clarify.

6.1 Alexander and places that are 'alive'

Dissident and ecological architect, Christopher Alexander (1977; 1979), recognized that there is often a gestalt harmony, beauty, and peace present in traditional, vernacular settlements (see also Chapters 1 & 2). By contrast, modern architecture often creates spaces that are incoherent, fragmenting, isolating, and even inhumane. Dissatisfied with the status quo, Alexander (1977; 1979) argues that we can build places that are 'alive': that there is present in everyone – every person – the capacity to build the most beautiful buildings, towns, and places imaginable but, restricted by fear, method, and modern concepts based on control, this capacity lies dormant (1979). He argues that the act of building is "not a process of addition, in which pre-formed parts are combined to create a whole: but a process of unfolding, like the evolution of an embryo, in which the whole precedes its parts, and actually gives birth to them, by splitting" (p. 365). Shared lives or lives-in-common are integral to building communities, villages, homes, cities, etc., that are 'alive' (p. xii). The forces of modernity however, have rendered our lives so fragmented, isolated, and individualized, and consequently erode the life-in-common quality of pre-modern society (see Chapter 3). Not only have we lost common pool cultural and natural resources in the dissolution of the commons, but also the breakdown, loss and almost complete lack of recognition of the value of a shared way of life (see discussion on the commons in 1.1 and 4.4). Having lost our shared life or shared 'language' (explained further below), Alexander argues, modern architecture and modern life no longer build places that are 'alive'.

As previously discussed, social groups, particularly place-based ones, act as barriers to the free-flow of energy (see 3.3 and Bauman, 2012), thus capitalist society moves towards hyper-mobility and hyper-individualism, undermining and eroding shared ways of life or life-in-common (see also 4.4). However the ability to build places that are alive – conducive to the mutual flourishing of the humans inhabiting them and the rest of nature in which they are nested

– is not entirely lost. In *A Pattern Language* (1977), Alexander et al. detail 253 spatial patterns which are present in the gestalt harmony of vernacular settlements. These spatial patterns when brought together form 'a pattern language'. A means of place-making, and drawing on the wisdom imbued in the architecture of traditional settlements, these pattern languages are the spatial articulation of how to develop a shared way of life or life-in-common. Furthermore, central to the thesis of *A Pattern Language*, is the 'connected nature of all things' (Mehaffy, 2016). As such, these buildings and architectural designs cannot be made without reference to and in conversation with the larger environment in which they are nested, and the smaller environs which they nest. Thus, through application of these spatial patterns, we can build places that are conducive to the wellbeing and flourishing of the humans within, and additionally that are conducive to making the world, ourselves, and our societies more coherent and more whole (Alexander, 1977; 1979; 2004). Architectural design is only one reflection of the negatives of capitalist society, however. Culture is fractal (see 9.4), and as such, while there are certainly positives, the ills of capitalist society are present in each fractal – the social as well as the spatial. I will pick this up again by way of a discussion of traditional music.

6.2 Applying architectural design principles to the social sphere via traditional music and dance

Like language, music (and dance) is ubiquitous in human cultures (Peretz, 2006; Walsh, 2008; Johnson, 2012). As with each fractal of culture (see 9.4), music has also been transformed through the process of modernization. Hyper individualism and the commodification of culture are perhaps best personified in contemporary pop stars (this is not to blame successful musicians or detract from their ability in the least!). The recent Taylor Swift ticket sales fiasco, with ticket re-sales going for upwards of $25,000, illustrates the problem with the dis-embedded economic practice of corporate monopolies. Likewise, that level of fame and musicianship is beyond the reach of most and is inextricably bound to capitalism (Popp, 2013; Taylor, 2012), extracting and eroding social resilience and economic capital from regional, place-bound locales.

By contrast, traditional music (oral/aural) music cultures generate a wide array of place-bound social and economic positives and are potentially more economical to sustain than Classical or pop music cultures. Based on the fiddle but involving a plethora of other instruments (pipes, accordion, piano, whistles, etc.), Celtic traditional music and dance (CTMD) is one such oral/aural music culture (the name and parameters of this genre are discussed in the following

chapter) – a musical style that originated in Northern Europe, France, and the British Isles, and has been travelling back and forth across the North Atlantic for centuries. In Canada, it is also heavily influenced by First Nations and Métis peoples (Wilkins, 2013). While the context for CTMD has largely been undermined by the 'forces of Modernism' (Fowke, as cited in Smith, 2005), there are features of this culture that are anachronistic of 'liquid modernity', specifically, the informal and social, oral/aural, and intergenerational transmission of culture (Perlman, 2015; Trew, 2013; Waldron & Veblen, 2009). While CTMD is not always transmitted in this manner, historically it was, and this kind of transmission is still considered the 'authentic' mode of transmission today (Waldron & Veblen, 2009). Through pub sessions, kitchen parties, jigging, dances, community events, weddings, etc., children are immersed and socialized within this culture, thereby learning and perpetuating it (Winn, 2019) in a manner that is reminiscent of the socialized 'on the job training' of traditional societies (as discussed in Chapter 3).

It is not simply the socialization of children and transmission of tunes of CTMD that have survived contact with the modern world; within these oral cultures, the creation of music is a social act and the tunes themselves are part of the commons (Gelbart, 2007; Titon, 2016). Primarily for participation, CTMD offers the "room for a range of abilities" (Sparling, 2014, p. 136) and facilitates face-to-face interaction, strengthening and fostering relationships between persons within the group. Furthermore, as music provides the "space for contested point[s] of view, multiple narratives, and differently aesthetically defined politics" (Diamond, 2013, p. 162), it also serves as a catalyst, bringing together those of different and diverse social, economic, and political backgrounds. In short, while the context for CTMD cultures has been largely eradicated by modernity, there are some features of CTMD cultures that have survived contact with the modern world, which could be antidotal to the hyper-individualism and hyper-mobility of modernity through place-making, place-marketing, and the development of resilient socio-economic communities (see also Chapter 5).

There are some parallels with the architectural design patterns of Christopher Alexander's pattern language and the features of CTMD cultures, not least their respective ability to resist the total transformation of capitalist modernization. As with vernacular architecture, the vernacular CTMD cultures point to a grassroots, bottom-up, communitarian, and shared way of life, and are reminiscent of more embedded communities and economic activity, and lower growth, pre-modern societies. Both the gestalt architecture of Alexander's pattern

language and CTMD cultures, contra the Cartesian individual of liberal rationalism, point to the relationality at the heart of flourishing human networks, associations, and societies. As such, this thesis suggests that the pattern language theory of architectural design could be applied to human networks, through the lens of Celtic traditional music and dance.

6.3 Thesis

Stemming from the discussion of the negatives of modernity (Chapter 3), the need for developing the sphere of Livelihood and creating a new, more sustainable, Market-State-Livelihood configuration (Chapter 4), the role of culture and, particularly music, in place-making and socio-economic resilience (Chapter 5), and applying pattern language theory to human networks through the lens of Celtic traditional music and dance, in the following chapters, I argue that:

iv) Pattern language theory can be applied to Celtic traditional music and dance cultures to provide a useful framework through which to analyse human networks through the lens of traditional music and, in so doing, can establish a framework for societies with higher numbers of grassroots networks and associations;

v) this application of pattern language theory to CTMD provides a hopeful means for increasing social, economic, and ecological resilience in marginalized areas particularly in the North Atlantic; and

vi) in light of growing awareness and pressures of ecological limits, the ‘pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance’ provides a glimpse of what a new, more sustainable, ecologically benign and partially re-embedded modernity might look like as well as a framework by which to nudge society in that direction.

Justifying this three-part argument requires a considerable amount of theory, discussion, and definition of technical terms and cultural landscapes and traditions. As such, I spend Chapters 7 through 10 making the case for this thesis and then Chapters 11 through 14 elucidating and discussing the patterns comprising the ‘pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance’ or the ‘pattern language of Livelihood’.

Chapter 7 Celtic traditional music and dance, origin, and function

> I think, in order for music, for anything to survive, the difference between a stone and a piece of coral, is a piece of coral grows, a stone is just a stone – G. Atkens, personal communication, July 3, 2019.

In *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music'*, Gelbart (2007), explains that we have become used to the idea of folk music as synonymous with place/ethnic identity, authenticity, and origin. However, Gelbart argues that, while we have become habituated to it, it is rather a modern phenomenon. The congruity of folk music and place and ethnic identities or origins feels obvious or natural to us, but it is actually only because the imagined community of 'nation' has become naturalized. As previously discussed (see Chapters 3 & 4), the 18th century saw the emergence of newly nationalized societies which were based on citizenship (Gelbart, 2007; Gellner, 1983). These new, citizen-based societies then required an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) to bind together the members of these post-tribal, individual, citizen-based societies. These newly minted nations needed a cultural "bridge from antiquity to Europe" (Gelbart, 2007, p. 60) to legitimize and provide imagined communities and Scotland provided one. James Macpherson, a Gaelic and English speaking Highlander, translated and published what he claimed was the 'authentic' translation of an epic poem by the third century Celtic bard, Ossian. However, in reality, he wove together fragments of Gaelic poetry into a fabricated poem of his own creation (Gelbart, 2007, p. 60). Nonetheless, while surrounded by controversy since its publication, "Ossian became the way for Europeans to look northward and find the savage in their midst, and Macpherson made sure that the savage was a noble one" (p. 62). The influence of Ossian in establishing and legitimizing nation-states cannot be overstated. It provided a means of establishing a national identity to a highly mythologized 'past' while 'showing' the progression of an emergent nation of citizens. For example, the grandfather of the cultural idea of nation is German philosopher Johan Gottfried von Herder, who specifically appealed to Ossian, alongside the Old Testament, and Homer, in his search for comparable German folk heroes (Herder, [1773]2003). Out of this effort to legitimize nation-states, Gelbart argues, emerged a distinction between 'art/classical' music and 'folk' music. In this emergence, there was a shift from modalities of 'function' i.e., classifying a tune by "how it would be used on a particular occasion, and what sentiments it depicted" and "so it did not really matter whether it was conceived for a courtly masque or whether it was born in a barn in the next town" (Gelbart, 2007, p. 20), to

modalities of ‘origin’, i.e., who wrote the tune, whence they originated, etc. (p. 23). Hence we saw the emergence of a distinction between Classical or ‘art’ music and ‘folk’ music (which I shall discuss further via Bourdieu below) through the transition from a *functional* modality to an *origin* modality.

It is also worth noting, that the creation of the new ‘art’ music – opera, ballet, Classical music – was to serve the distinction strategy of the newly emerging middle classes and Bourgeoisie (Bourdieu, 1984). That is to say, as Bourdieu explains, it served in the creation of forms of cultural capital, as “art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences” (p. 7). And in time as ‘art’ music becomes a signifier for the upper and middle class elites (mobile, metropolitan, relatively place-less) there is an immediate tendency for the new national folk music to serve also (and partly in tension with) a national-class discursive role. This is what takes over in the 20th century revival with Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, and Bob Dylan in America, and Ewan MacColl in the UK, and the left-leaning tenor of most folk music. They augment the class aspect and downplay nation, or at least render a golden age of national-folk integrity as pre-state and classless. This brief discussion serves to illustrate the distinction between functional and origin modalities in music classification. I will pick up this discussion again, below.

In this chapter I draw on Gelbart’s distinction between function and origin modalities. I argue that, by focusing on, returning to, or fostering functional modalities, traditional music cultures have the potential to act as vehicles for creating more embedded communities and economies that push towards the establishment of the realm of Livelihood. Furthermore, focusing on the functional modality, allows traditional music cultures and communities to resist and side-step the nativist forms of imagined communities that can be present in traditional music cultures. I make this argument in favour of function, by defining the features of Celtic traditional music and dance, the music culture of this dissertation, the reasons for looking at CTMD in particular, and a discussion of some problematic aspects of origin classification. I finish with a discussion of the function of traditional music and the reasons that Celtic traditional music, through a functional lens, provides a hopeful means to nudge society towards a more embedded form of political economy and the establishment of Livelihood, or stated another way, that the pattern language of traditional music of this thesis is deeply functional.

7.1 A matter of definition: Why Celtic traditional music and dance (CTMD)?

If I were to say that someone was listening to Celtic traditional music, or fiddle music, one may have a general sense of the type of music to which I was referring. In Canada, one might think of a kitchen party in Cape Breton with a fiddle or two, perhaps a piano accompaniment, or maybe an accordion, people chatting, and maybe some step dancing. The likes of Natalie MacMaster, Ashley MacIsaac, the Rankin Family, or the Leahy Family may come to mind. Or one may get a vision of a ceilidh or square dance. But again, typically a fiddle accompanied by maybe a piano or guitar. In Scotland, one might think of a dance band or perhaps someone playing some tunes in a croft as the wind howls outside. Or someone like Aly Bain, Jenna Reid, or Ross Couper. But to define the genre or style of music beyond a basic idea or understanding comes with considerable difficulty as "implicit in these boundaries are, of course, ideological notions" (Diamond, 1993, p. 49). In Heather Sparling's *Reeling Roosters & Dancing Ducks* (2014), she begins with a discussion regarding the difficulty of using 'Celtic' as an adjective for musical genres. It can be defined, she argues, in one of three ways: "language, geography, and/or ethnicity" (p. 12). However, there are immediate problems with each of these types of definitions, in themselves, and also with the music that is the subject of this research. With respect to language, particularly in Canada, this does not take into account the influences of French, Acadian, Métis, First Nations, Lebanese, and myriad other cultures and ethnicities (Johnson, 2012; Perlman, 2015; Wilkins, 2013; Lederman, 1991, 2001, 2013; Giroux, 2013; Trew, 2013). Or for the Norwegian/Scandinavian influence in an area like Shetland, the exchange with Faroese, Inuit, Cree and Dutch peoples, and the constant influx of other cultures as Shetland is happily situated as a rest-stop on the whale-road (Sparling, Szego, & Wilkins, 2013; Wilkins, 2017).

There is a similar problem with geography. While originating from France, the British Isles, and Northern Europe, the movement back and forth across the Atlantic, picking up and sharing and differentiating tunes and styles over the centuries, lends some difficulty in a strict geographical definition (Melin, 2013; Wilkins, 2013). Wherein, the "North Atlantic […] is not conceived in terms of boundaries that separate and divide people, but rather as corridors through [which] cultures have flowed and continue to flow in a process of exchange and communication" (Russell & Goertzen. 2012). This constant exchange and influence across the Atlantic makes it especially difficult to define as 'Celtic' not least because many of the European and UK revivals

rely on the traditional music cultures persisting in the remote locales of Canada (Melin, 2013). The problem with 'Celtic' and an adjective relying on ethnicity comes with the same difficulties of language and region.

One alternative is to call it 'traditional fiddle music' but this too comes with difficulty. In Anne Lederman's (2010) entry in the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, she has an entry called "Fiddling" which is then immediately followed by:

> (also known as Country, Folk, Celtic or Old Time fiddling, Old Time Music, or by cultural or regional names, eg, Scottish, Cape Breton, Ukrainian-Canadian, French-Canadian, Acadian, Newfoundland, Ottawa Valley, Down-East, Aboriginal, First Nations, Inuit, or Métis fiddling, among others) (p. 1).

These first few lines highlight the many and varied names and styles for fiddle music across Canada alone; but using 'fiddle' as the genre descriptor includes neither the dancing nor the other instruments in this expansive tradition.

Another option would be to simply refer to the music as 'community music' which Dykema (1916) defines by saying, that "it may be said that community music is not the name of a new type of music…It is not so much the designation of a new thing as a new point of view… Stated positively and concretely, community music is socialized music" (p. 218; as quoted in Veblen 2012, p. 124). While written over a hundred years ago, his definition cuts to the heart of understanding community music, where the social elements are essential (Veblen, 2012, p. 124). These social elements include, "community building, self-expression, identity, awareness of national heritage, recreation of myth, group solidarity, networking, bonding, consciousness raising, healing, and others" (Veblen, 2012, p. 124). As will be explained in greater detail below, this functional/social aspect of community music is precisely what this research focuses on. However, the term 'community music' does not give any indication of the genre of music of this work, and thus must be rejected also.

It is not surprising that there is considerable difficulty in defining a genre of music, as the parameters of ethnomusicology itself have been in a state of fluidity and debate since the birth of the discipline in the 1960s (Diamond, 1993). And it is something of a trend to begin music, music education, or ethnomusicology, articles with a discussion of the difficulty of defining the genre/style/name therein (Hanley & Montgomery, 2005). The problem is in some sense more difficult because of the deeply functional approach this thesis takes towards music, musical genre, and musical style. Having delineated all of the difficulties with the name 'Celtic

traditional music and dance' (CTMD), I am now going to take my cue from Heather Sparling and do so anyway, as there seems to be no way to draw a boundary around a fluid, evolving and complex, historically rich and difficult music tradition. But I do so with the knowledge that this boundary has some limitations. Furthermore, the musical subject of this thesis is deeply functional and therefore defined by the features that are present in the music and its context, rather than by a strict canon of tunes or fixed regional borders. But this will be discussed in detail below.

7.2 Features of CTMD

Often originating from places with economic instability and harsh climates, CTMD "should be understood in that context, where economic problems, commitment to place, and love of music and dance intersect" (Feintuch, 2004, p. 78). The low levels of economic wealth of these peripheral and inclement areas, were rectified, in part, by the development of strong relationships between neighbours and within the community, facilitated largely by the music, as with, for example, Cape Breton, NS, the Ottawa Valley in Ontario, or Shetland UK (Feintuch, 2004; Perlman, 2015; Trew, 2013). CTMD was a part of everyday life, providing the background for any community event, i.e., weddings, funerals, barn raisings, farm work, whaling trips, etc. (Perlman, 2015; Wilkins, 2017). While the context of CTMD has been largely destroyed by the 'forces of modernism', features of CTMD remain (Fowke, as cited in Smith, 2005, p. 3). CTMD features include oral/aural transmission, face-to-face, intergenerational participatory contexts, the creation of 'communitas', and, in latter years, often accompanied by a mythology of ruralism or 'community life' (Cole, 2021; Lloyd, 2016). Each of these features is important and shall be discussed below.

Oral transmission: Although written notation is used in CTMD transmission, people consider oral/aural transmission to be a more 'correct' way of learning, and oral/aural learning[2], or some combination of the two is used (Waldron & Veblen, 2009). While, the odd case of strict written

[2] An interesting exception of oral/aural transmission is Northumbrian Piping. Since the early 19th century, the music scene has centred on a notated repertoire. The standard image of the piper is rural – the importance of the three shepherds – surviving players who saved the tradition. But in history, it was as much, if not more, a parlour instrument of the upper-class. Hence the Duke of Northumberland still maintains a piper. But it is also an instrument of a skilled working class men in mining villages who could make their own pipes. And as with uilleann pipes (which were known as union pipes), the accretion of ever more complex keys/metal work was deliberately a function of industrial urban age. However, I give a longer explanation in 10.5).

notation does occur, oral/aural music learning or tune transmission is undoubtedly central to CTMD (Wilkins, 2017), as illustrated by the following quotations.

> Coming here in the summers, weekends, evenings, it's what you wanted to do. And then you get to a point where you can kind of teach yourself. I do learn, mostly, tunes, new tunes by ear. Or observing. And same with steps. Still working on piano where you got to, got to put the time in and but. So bit of both. Bit of structure and loose structure (M. Beaton, personal communication, July 24, 2019).

> But when I started learning how to play I already knew the tunes and that so it wasn't like I was. So I was, I would be given the tune, my uncle would say, 'you know you can play it this way or that and you can add this in'. And so we would play it the way we heard it (R. MacDonald, personal communication, July 24, 2019).

> I don't know, I suppose the traditional is something that's been passed down and obviously learned by ear, which generally folk is anyway, but yeah, something that's been passed down from generation to generation or you've learned in this bar or on this bus (J. Sturgeon, personal communication, December 28, 2019).

> So anyway, I just took a recorder. I started recording songs, practicing them at home and you know, sitting there waiting for the whole hour, we played for two hours, waiting for the one song that I'd practiced, right. And then they would play it at warp speed and I'd think, 'that's not the same song I just learned because it was like just so fast'. But anyway, it just through osmosis and I never missed a Tuesday night (L. Damron, personal communication, July 2, 2019).

Playing by written notation certainly occurs, often times in tandem with oral learning, however, oral/aural learning and playing is unquestionably a part of this tradition. There are benefits with learning by ear, not least, one's ability to play, improvise, and participate with other musicians in formal and informal settings, but also, oral transmission and oral cultures operate in such a manner that they create atmospheres of participation and engagement, facilitating the building of relationships.

In Walter Ong's ([1982]2012) *Orality and Literacy*, he discusses the effects of the invention of writing on the human psyche, our ability to think, and how we operate: the differences between oral modes of thought and literate modes of thought. While it is the case that, "oral expression can exist and mostly has existed without any writing at all, writing [can never exist] without orality" (Ong, 2012, p. 8). Furthermore, even "though words are grounded in oral speech writing tyrannically locks them into a visual field forever" (Ong, 2012, p. 11). To think of 'oral tradition' or a 'heritage of oral performance' as 'oral literature' is akin, argues Ong, to "thinking of horses as automobiles without wheels" (p. 12). Beginning with a car as the comparative benchmark, one will never be able to get a sense of what a horse actually is. And it is the same with thinking of orality by comparison to literacy. Widespread literacy has so

changed our mode of thought that we have difficulty imagining orality without reference to literacy: thinking of any of the following words like 'thing', 'the', or 'nevertheless' for any amount of time without picturing the letters, only hearing the sound, is virtually impossible (Barfield, 1988; Ong, 2012, p. 12). The invention of writing and the spread of widespread literacy allowed for the possibility of highly abstract thinking and philosophy, science, and other modes of thought (Ong, 2012). In oral cultures, memory is the primary method of passing on knowledge and social mores and is done so in the form of epithets, proverbs, and poems rather than abstracted imperatives. Writing is unquestionably a brilliant and useful technology, however, with any invention there may be trade-offs.

Orality fosters "personality structures that in certain ways are more communal and externalized, and less introspective than those common among literates" as "oral communication unites people in groups" whereas, "writing and reading are solitary activities that throw the psyche back on itself" (Ong, 2012, p. 67). "When a speaker is addressing an audience, the members of the audience normally become a unity, with themselves and with the speaker. If the speaker asks the audience to read a handout provided for them, as each reader enters their own private reading world, the unity of the audience is shattered, to be re-established only when the oral speech begins again" (Ong, 2012, p. 72). This simple example illustrates the communal versus insular nature of orality and literacy. Orality, in its form, facilitates and fosters relationships, uniting those in a group through its very structure.

Orality is contextual. The difference in colour in mostly oral versus literate societies provides an example of the contextual nature of orality. In Scots Gaelic, while the colour terms are used in a manner similar to those in English, the spectrum of colours is entirely different (Aonad 7, An Cursa Inntrigidh). For example, *geal* means white, but conveys brightness, rather than the colour white of English; *gorm* is blue, but is wedded to vegetation; *ruadh* is the spectrum of russet, red, to light brown. Each of these colour terms is deeply contextual, emphasizing the engaged and relational nature of oral communication structures verses the highly abstracted nature of colours as we understand them in English. The salient point being, orality, as a structure, engages, contextualizes, and facilitates unity and participation of the individual persons within a group, but also fosters relationships that extend beyond humans as well. In short orality creates and fosters relationships between people and places and a relational

mode of operation and thought. Consider for a moment the following, quite long, explanation on the contextual nature of stories from story teller, Davy Cooper:

> I think part of the problem with storytelling nowadays and to some extent they can bring up the same with music if you're not careful, because it's so easy to record a story, or to record a bit of music, or whatever else, there's this tendency to think, and this is when people started writing stories down and recording and that but its particularly true with stories, this is the authorized version. Because this is the one that's written down. Well, the whole art of storytelling is that there is no authorized version. And you never tell the same story twice because it depends on who you're telling it to. So every time that you tell a story you change it slightly to fit your audience. Telling a particular story to a bunch of preschoolers and telling the same story to a bunch of old age pensioners, you're not telling the same story. You're changing an emphasis. You're changing even the words that you use because the kids need something simpler. And with the old age pensioners, you can make allusions to stuff that they will understand, historically, that they will have experienced. So when you're talking about the crofting lifestyle, the old age pensioners, they know when you're talking something, they know exactly what you're talking about. Whereas if you're talking to preschoolers, they have no comprehension because they haven't really seen it. It disappeared before – you know, if you're talking about plowing with horses or whatever else, their world is quads and tractors, and so if you start talking about the old fashioned ways of planting crops and harvesting crops and they haven't a clue what you're talking about. You have to be very careful that and sometimes you have to just stop and spend a long time and to some sense also too if you're telling stories to tourists, you have to make that explanation of what the thing that you're talking about is. Whereas you can use almost a shorthand if you're talking to dialect speakers because there are dialect words that need a sentence to explain them, whereas, the one word will absolutely encompass the it. . . Yeah, *bochain* [kitchen in Shetland dialect], yeah that would require absolutely none. There's a story I do called Yenta and the Bear and one of the things that you talk about that's used as a weapon at one point is a *bismar*. And a *bismar* is a weighing machine that is, really it's a long stick of wood with a weight at one end and a hook at the other. And you hang it from a bit of string and you shift it along until it balances and then you just measure and that give you the weight. Now, if you know what a *bismar* is that requires no explanation at all because everybody knows what you're talking about. But if you're talking to a tourist then you have to explain what a *bismar* is and how it works otherwise the story doesn't make any sense at all. You know, you're hitting somebody over the head with a weighing machine in order to kill them. That's a kind of odd concept unless you know what the weighing machine looks like. . . People then say, 'oh but that's not the right version. That's not…' Well, it's my version. It's a story. It's not oral history, it's a story. So if I choose to tell it a certain way, I'm fairly certain that most of my ancestors and pre-ancestors for the last thousand years have probably changed it every time that they told it. So this isn't the original story that we're giving them. . . And you get the same from the musicians. I mean not every musician plays a tune the same way. Everything would get very, very boring very, very quickly. Everybody puts their own interpretation on it. And you know, there's this particular way that Shetlanders have are playing with the ringing strings that and if you are a Skeldian you can tell a Shetland player, you know, without being in the same room as them without knowing who they are just because of the way that they play. And you can tell, if you're good enough, one Shetland player from another without knowing who they are. I don't have that skill. I mean I've got a reasonable ear for music but it's not that finely tuned that I could tell the difference between Maurice and Kevin Henderson. As far as I'm concerned they're both just really good players – D. Cooper, personal communication, December 19, 2019.

The contextual and communal nature of orality provides a countervailing force to the individualism and de-contextualized, rational mode of thought of modernity. The hybrid orality-literacy nature of CTMD is a catalyst for community building in specific contexts (Feintuch,

2004). Not only is the oral transmission a social event, in itself bonding people together in a group, but the musical practices construct community and cultivate a sense of place, thereby increasing the inhabitation of place (Lloyd, 2016).

As with oral poetry, as it is largely an oral tradition, CTMD tunes are often a part of the commons (see commons discussion in 1.1 & 4.3). As Titon (2016) explains, "Oral transmission combined with variation ensured that folklore was not the expression of any single creator […] It is best regarded as a community resource, not as individual property" (p. 486-487). While speaking specifically about folklore in this instance, Titon's point stands with respect to traditional music cultures as reflected in the words of traditional musicians.

> So traditional, old, so traditional Shetland tunes are like the old tunes, and I, when I think about the traditional Shetland tunes, I get this visual of, you know, the fiddle players and their croft houses just playing their tunes by the fire, playing for folk dancing, and for a party. And they've got that sound about them that's just, they're actually, they're quite, it's quite a big sound because it's like lots of ringing strings, lots of interesting harmonies, quite bouncy, bouncy, and yeah and a lot of them have been taken from the Greenland, you know, fishing, when they went to Greenland for whaling. A lot of them have come from Scandinavian sort of ancestry and they've kind of merged in Shetland. And no one knows exactly the origin of them and I quite like that. About these tunes is that there's an air of mystery about them. No one knows who wrote them and, and you can really just let go and do what you like with them, there's no restrictions on how you have to play them, so I quite like that (M. Thompson, personal communication, December 21, 2019).
>
> Well, quite often you hear folk speak about Shetland reels and Shetland tunes, well, the traditional tunes are they're most of them, you don't know who wrote them, they've been in the tradition played here for probably at least a couple of hundred years, maybe more. Some of the old, right old tunes, go way but, yeah and they have a certain form and you know, oh that's a traditional tune. And then there's a wealth of composed tunes from Shetland, sometimes you hear that in the Scottish dance bands in, that kind of dance band and they'll speak about Shetland reels or Shetland tunes, which they're actually most commonly they're composed tunes from Shetland (M. Henderson, personal communication, November 8, 2019).
>
> How would I define or explain traditional music? Its music currently which, there's a strong canon, a repertoire of traditional tunes that's held in the archives here […] Um so that is the traditional canon, repertoire, that we work from, but people write in the traditional idiom and I suppose traditions are an evolving thing and some classic tunes almost feel traditional now that have been written in my lifetime (Claire White, personal communication, October 21, 2019).

This aspect of oral culture, in particular with respect to traditional tunes being a part of the commons, helps to facilitate the shared/communal atmosphere. Furthermore, as a part of the commons, this tradition exists, or can exist, outside the strict logic of capital accumulation, but the implications of these features will be drawn out in subsequent chapters.

Face-to-face and intergenerational participatory context: Because the tunes themselves are often part of the commons and the transmission of them is a social event, oral/aural music, and,

consequently CTMD, is primarily for participation, as opposed to music which is primarily for listening (Sparling, 2014). But I will unpack this claim a little. With respect to music, one of the things that happened in the transition from the Middle Ages to Renaissance and later with opera/Classical/ballet, is a shift from the liturgical context of music to a more passive, listening context. Music in the Middle Ages, as well as art more generally, is intensely participatory/experienced and communal in the context of liturgical processes, processions, events, cycles, temporal rhythms, etc. For example, the liturgical drama, *Quem quaeritis*, which is a line from the Easter morning liturgy and was expounded into a musical play, was widely performed throughout Europe by both members of the clergy and laity (Britannica, 2009). The same shift happened with theatre, and is in some ways easier to compare. In the Middle Ages mystery plays, miracle plays, and morality plays were popular, non-professional performances which involved whole villages and followed the liturgical calendar; although, morality plays provided an 'intermediate' step between these amateur and professional productions (Britannica, 2014). While theatre started to be professionalized in the Late Middle Ages, the plays of Shakespeare in the Elizabethan era were rowdy and interactive events, which contrast starkly with the quiet and reverent audiences in theatre today. This shift in musical and theatrical performances is concomitant with the ongoing shift from a permeable open self and a participating consciousness to a detached individual, closed personality of the Cartesian individual or *homo clausus* (see Barfield, [1965]1988; Berman, 2000; Vernon, 2018; see also Chapter 3).

But, in some way the participative ethic/sensibility in traditional music, even when it does not live up to the ideal type, harkens back to the integrated, open, participatory consciousness of the Middle Ages. Drawing on the terminology of Henri de Lubac, Andrew Willard Jones (2017) described the world of the Middle Ages as a 'complete act', where modern categories such as 'religion' and 'secular', 'church' and 'state' do not apply. He states:

> It was a sacramental world in which the material and the spiritual were everywhere and always present together. The spiritual power was the power of the priests to dispense the grace that sustained this society in charity and they wielded the spiritual sword of excommunication against the mortal sinner. The temporal power was the power of the laymen to organize the world of things and events, and they wielded the temporal sword against the violent (Jones, 2019, par. 6).

This world of 'complete act' does not separate, but rather, economy, hearth, family, community, child formation, and responsible citizenship form a single way of life. Celtic traditional music, at

least how it is often spoken by practitioners, has this utopic quality that looks back/forward to the recovery of some kind of integrated, participatory, embedded society, where these aspects of life – hearth, child formation, economy, etc. – intimate a single form of life (c.f. the discussion in 4.3 on child formation and liberalism). This participatory atmosphere of CTMD both requires and facilitates face-to-face embodied interaction, while simultaneously fostering relationships between persons, often between persons of different generations, as illustrated below.

> And you get fiddle and accordion clubs, which run in all of the, not all, the local community halls. Which again, tends to be more traditional paced music [...] And it was really nice. Everyone there was very, very lovely, very, very encouraging. Even when you start, when you started I was not equal, it was all fiddle as well, I was not equal to levels, and that's okay, there weren't any of the adults who were like, we think Rebekah shouldn't play at this bit. They're so encouraging. Like join in, like play what you can. Don't play what you don't want to. If you're comfortable, that's fine. And they're all very talented musicians who can play by ear and do cool stuff, so it's like; it's slightly older but it's still community (R. Treyonning, personal communication, December 20, 2019).
>
> I love seeing young kids come, right? […] And that's what we, that's why I like to see my boys play and see the little ones looking up to them. And the little ones that come will go, 'can you guys help me pick a set for a contest or whatever?' Right, so that's tremendous" (J.D. Cory, personal communication, July 1, 2019).
>
> And, and then you get other players that are playing very much at that level as well and they don't really play in bands and things as such, but they maybe at Up Helly Aa [annual fire festival in Shetland] time they'll take the fiddle out at New Year at sessions and yeah, really good folk come out of the wood work, you know, you've no seen them in a while play and then you've got like you'd say like a fiddle but there are loads of them and I think then you can get all that ones together and whatever level, when they all get together and it's just a tremendous sound and it doesn't matter. You can get, yeah the professionals ones in with the folk that haven't been doing it for a living and it might. Yeah, it, I think it, and the thing is, they're away, you never hardly see them unless they come home for a festival and New Year or Christmas. So the ones that keep it going here, all the Up Helly Aa squad buses and parties and it's just a fiddlers from around here kind of thing, so there's different levels kind of thing. Some folk are quite happy with that, just to, for their own entertainment and just fairing about here for the craic and they'll take it out and have a tune in the pub or whatever, you don't, they maybe don't like playing on the stage or […] Yeah, so you get a right mix (M. Henderson, personal communication, November 8, 2019).
>
> But I think it's, it's definitely that, that whole cross section and different intergenerations and stuff, that is, again one of the, I really, it's really nice to see. Because there's not many events that you would have, that attract teenagers but also attract pensioners in the same, and really get them passionate about it (L. Peterson, personal communication, November 14, 2019).

<u>'Communitas'</u>: In *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti Structure* , Victor Turner (1969) develops the concept of 'communitas'. He uses the term 'communitas' rather than 'community' to distinguish the mode of social relationship from the "area of common living" (p. 360) which 'community' often connotes. Quoting existentialist philosopher, Martin Buber (1961), Turner

(1969) argues that the best way to describe ‘communitas’ is with Buber’s (1961) description of community, in which Buber states:

> Community is the being no longer side by side (and, one might add, above and below) but *with* one another of a multitude of persons. And this multitude, though it moves towards one goal, yet experiences everywhere a turning to, a dynamic facing of, the others, a flowing from *I* to *Thou*. Community is where community happens (Buber, 1961, p. 51, as quoted in Turner, 1969, p. 372).

Buber, Turner argues, pinpoints the “spontaneous, immediate, concrete nature of communitas” (Turner, 1969, p. 372), in contrast to the “norm-governed, institutionalized, abstract nature of social structure” (p. 372). Typically occurring through a rite of passage, communitas allows people to have a shared experience “where social structure is not” (p. 371) and ‘communitas’ is “a spontaneously generated relationship between leveled and equal total and individuated human beings, stripped of structural attributes” (as cited in Trew, 2013, p. 26).[3]

The oral/aural participatory nature of CTMD culture, particularly within the context of sessions, facilitates communitas. Appealing explicitly to Turner, Trew (2013), in reference to Ottawa Valley sessions, argues that the social and economic status of the individuals is immaterial, as tune playing is what is important. Consequently, sessions “maintain group cohesion and identity,” while aiding individuals to “overcome their difference and avoid conflict” (p. 26-27). The facilitation of ‘communitas’ is ubiquitous at vibrant sessions. The Ontario competition scene is paramount for Ottawa Valley step dancing. This is a series of fiddle and dance competitions that begin in Perth, ON, long weekend in May (May 24) and run until Labour Day with the competition in Pembroke, ON (see also 10.1 for further description). However, as Johnson (2010) explains, the “lifeblood of [these] contest[s] is what happens off stage” (p. 152) in the camp ground or in practice rooms, where collaborations occur, teaching, constructive critiquing, and transmission of tunes, techniques, or steps, and improvisation (Johnson, 2010, p. 152-153). Likewise, Waldron and Veblen (2009) identify ‘good chemistry’ as paramount to sessions while they also state that “the most important aspect of face-to-face session lies in their transmission function as super saturated environmental/domain where newer players have been and continue to be initiated into the Irish traditional community” (Waldron &

[3] An interesting note of comparison is between the theses of Turner/Buber and Barfield. Within what Barfield (1988) describes as cultures of participation (*homines aperti*, in the language of Elias) or even ‘reciprocal participation (the medieval ages are an example of this era), where “the individual has a soul that is not cut off . . . the awareness of participating in life still involves shared rites and ceremonies, but ideally these will be undertaken freely and consensually, not simply because a priest or a kind demands it” (Vernon, 2018, p. 4), communitas seem inevitable. But has to be somewhat contrived in a rational, individuated culture of ‘closed persons’ (*homo clausus*). I should like to investigate this comparison further at some point.

Veblen, 2008, p.7). The same is the case in Cape Breton, where the dances provide a 'social neutral ground' and act as 'social levelers' (Feintuch, 2004). This communitas is evidenced in the following quotations below.

> [O]h there's a band that I love is also at the same festival and I get to see them too. Oh God we're playing on the same stage as them. Oh my God, I wonder if they'll play with us. And little collaborations happening, they're back at the club and having a session: oh, do you remember this tune, I told you about this tune, come and learn this tune da da da da da and they're away doing, it's lovely – I love the vibe in the club (L. Johnson, personal communication, November 9, 2019).

> But that's a really good place to just muck in and learn the tunes and then they, suddenly they're getting things up to speed and they get pulled with whoever's there in sessions (M. Henderson, personal communication, November 8, 2019).

> I quite like, like being in a session, even if you can't play everything, you still get to be part of a group, you know when you're travelling by yourself it can be really lonely, you go to a pub and you can't really talk to anyone, but you walk in with a fiddle on your back and all of a sudden you've kind of got this group of friends, which is nice. And they're generally very, very welcoming (N. Scott, personal communication, July 19, 2019).

The rural idyll: The final feature of CTMD cultures that is almost ubiquitous is the presence of a story or myth of the rural idyll, that is, the myth of the "inherent ruralism" of folk music, or a concept of community that connotes a simple, slow-paced, pre-modern, peasantry lifestyle. This feature of CTMD is important and points to a key function of CTMD cultures. However, in order to illustrate the import, I must first discuss the distinction between function and origin in musical genres and classifications.

7.3 Origin myths, folk revivals, and the rural idyll

The epistemological quest for origins is a distinctly Modern mode of thought which has become habituated to the degree of 'common sense' (Grant, 1995). There are countless works discussing the origins of musical styles and specific tunes. For example, Maurice Henderson's (2016) *In Search of Willafjord*, details the quest for the origins of the tune *Willafjord* 'from the ice' going back to the days of the Arctic whaling and the chapter "'Chuirinn air a' phioob e': Origin Theories" in Heather Sparling's (2014) *Reeling Roosters & Dancing Ducks*, also engages with origins. The classification of tunes by origin is common parlance, is rarely questioned, and is appealed to implicitly, as in the following.

> But I'm so pleased that that [the traditional Shetland tune section in 'Young Fiddler's Competition'] is obligatory because that is. When they are forty or fifty, they'll play those tunes and love them with every cell in their heart. I think, 'I'm so glad somebody made me learn these' because they're very dear and unique. And ah, can connect you with home wherever you are, which is lovely. So that's great. That means that the tradition is being upheld. The canon of traditional tunes is getting an airing. And if kids go on and learn classical styles and learn Scotch

> traditional, Scottish traditional music and that kind of more formal style that's great as well (C. White, personal communication, October 21, 2019).

However, as mentioned above, the classification of music by origins was a tool invented in the 17th and 18th centuries for the purposes of aiding in nation formation (Gelbart, 2007). Large-scale societies such as nation-states require imagined communities to unite and to bind the members of the population together (Anderson, [1983]2010; Gelbart, 2007; Hobsbawm & Ranger, [1983]2000). And it is well documented that folk and traditional music has been effectively used in the process of nation formation and the creation of national identities (Cole, 2021; Diamond, 2006; Gelbart, 2007; Ó hAllmhuráin, 2016; Ramnarine, 2003; Smith & Lederman, 2010). The creation of 'folk' or traditional music identification by origin was used as early as the end of the 17th century in England as a means of collecting 'cultural artifacts': a means of establishing national traits and legitimizing progressive disassociation/distinction from these rural areas (Gelbart, 2007, p. 27). This was done in order to legitimize the nation state in itself, to show that society was becoming increasingly sophisticated, and legitimize the positions of power over other nations. Gelbart shows the lengths that thinkers of the 17th century went to show that Scottish, 'Oriental', and Greek music were all part of the Enlightenment project of "classifying and comparing the humanity in all its carefully defined "stages" and locations" (Gelbart, 2007, p. 53) in the quest to write a 'scientific' and 'universal' history. In this sense, the classifications of "Scottish", "Oriental", and "Greek" music were used as examples of the pastoral and to indicate the evolution and progress of society as distinct from these so called pastoral cultures and peoples, and, in so doing, legitimize the dominant culture (Gelbart, 2007, p. 50). The folk-song revivalist Cecil Sharp is most infamously associated with the creation of national identity of folk music which was strengthened by the myth of folk music and the rural idyll (Cole, 2021). Although frequently contested, the myth of the rural idyll continues to permeate folk music cultures and is present in the United Kingdom, Canadian, and even American folk music revivals (Kearney, 2007; Leck, 2012; Lloyd, 2016; Yarwood & Charlton, 2009). Yet, it is worth noting, that while much of nineteenth century music was industrial and working class ('Ewan MacColl', n.d.), it was often overlooked by collectors like Sharp because it did not fit this frame of reference, but also, because the text/narrative is that music was often framing a narrative of a lost golden age, the dispossession of the commons, the impact of technology (c.f. Luddism, etc.).

While it was originally established as a means of legitimizing nation states, this tool has become almost second nature and continues to strengthen cultural identities today, particularly when they appear to be under threat from larger social or cultural identity pressures (Hobsbawm & Ranger, [1983]2000). For example, Shetlanders often view their lifestyle and culture as under threat from the larger Scottish and British cultural identities and consequently have a strong sense of local, island culture and identity, often appealing to their Viking origins as the source of their identity in contradistinction to the *sooth moothers* (Shetland dialect term for incomers to Shetland), the Scottish folk from mainland Scotland. As David Nicols, Managing Director of NB Communications says:

> Although we're not necessarily always Scottish. It depends what day of the week it is … And kind of up here in Shetland we're kind of slightly different attached in terms of voting, we always vote for the Lib-Dems. I think almost because just out of spite, we don't want to vote for any party that would get into power. It's a kind of obtuse culture in some ways, but yeah, there is this kind of detachment (D. Nicols, personal communication, December 17, 2019).

The fortification of 'Shetland culture' through the origins of traditional fiddle tunes is strong, particularly with the common reference to the 'Shetland canon' of tunes. This canon was developed at a time of great decline in the Shetland fiddle culture, which was due to modernization, vast increases in wealth through oil, and the widespread use of the radio (Gardner, personal communication, 2019; Nicols, personal communication, 2019; Church, 1990; Lederman, White, Alexander, & Baggins, 2012). At this time the revival and reinvention of Shetland fiddle music and culture was due to the tireless efforts of Tom 'Tammy' Anderson and Willie Hunter in what is referred to as the 'Shetland Fiddle Renaissance' (Lederman, White, Alexander, & Baggins, 2012).

Questions of 'authenticity' and 'authentic tradition/folk music' arise from this quest for origins as a way to play 'authentically', how one's ancestors played, and in so doing to perpetuate a culture.

> What we're trying to do at wir fiddle practice, we take a lot of the music out of the archives and we're actually trying to play, play the tune authentically like what the old Shetland fiddlers were playing like and its funny because, you ken, it's all cassettes so we take, drag in the cassette player, switch it on and then can say, well I can hear him doing up bow or a down bow and I said well, and some folk will go well how the hell do you ken that, I was like well I can just hear it (S. Mills, personal communication, October 30, 2019).

However, the creation of a self-conscious identity is a Modern mode of operation and as soon as there is a genre that is 'folk' or 'traditional', it is no longer simply a continuation of what was

done, but rather becomes something of a new creation or an ‘invented tradition’ (Hobsbawm & Ranger, [1983]2000).

> However, insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of ‘invented’ traditions is that the continuity with it is largely factitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition. It is the contrast between the constant change and innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant, that makes the ‘invention of tradition’, so interesting for historians of the past two centuries (Hobsbawm & Ranger, [1983]2000, p. 2).

For example, the development of the self-conscious ‘Celtic’ identity was concomitant with the decline of Celtic music, Gaelic language as a first language, and the context for this vernacular culture (Feintuch, 2006; Dembling, 2006; MacIntyre et al., 2017). The paradox here echoes the process of modernization discussed in Chapter 3. Prior to the creation of a ‘Celtic’ identity, the context from which these ‘Celtic’ identifiers arose, Gaelic language and fiddle tunes were part of the fabric of everyday life – it was not a self-conscious *modus operandi*, but just what people did. The creation of a ‘Celtic’ identity corresponded with the loss of context for Gaelic language and traditional music, because, as the process of modernization undermined the reciprocal logic of the tightknit place-bound communities of kin and neighbour, an imagined community of ‘Celtic’ identity now bound large numbers of individuals.

The complexities with traditional/folk music and politics abound as, while ‘folk’ music was initially invented as a tool to legitimize nation-states, it is ironic that it has also been used as a tool to undermine national movements, as folk music has been used by activists across the political spectrum. Indeed, the folk music revivals of the twentieth century and left-wing politics are often considered synonymous. As Cole (2016) states:

> [I]n the public imagination, the revivalist is a dyed in the wool radical whose commitment to the betterment of the common man was forged in the furnace of anti-capitalist hostility. These figures rage against commerce and coercion with songs of social injustice, their feet firmly planted in the territory of home (p. 132).

The utopian vision of William Morris ([1890]1994), the now iconic Woodie Guthrie ‘this machine kills fascists’ scrawl on his guitar, or the protest songs of an early Bob Dylan are mainstays of current folk music culture and atmospheric personae (Cole, 2016; Drier, 2011; Maynard, 1995; Mitchell, 2006). Throughout the 1960s amateur folk artists in Greenwich Village and Yorkville would often perform at ‘open stage’ events. Where, “[i]n Toronto, for example, “hoot nights” were held at the Bohemian Embassy coffee house throughout the early

and mid-1960s . . . According to Toronto musician Ken Whitely, Estelle Klein, who was the head of the Folk Guild, [they] wished to promote as diverse a vision of folk music as possible, and everything from traditional singing, blues and poetry to jug-band and skiffle music was present at these 'hoot's" (Mitchell, 2006, p. 599). In America, the protests against the Vietnam War and in the UK, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament were mutually reinforced by the rising popularity at the height of the folk revival. Championed by the anti-capitalist and anti-war protestors throughout the twentieth century, folk music has become synonymous with left-wing political activism, the irony being that the origin modality of 'folk' music was invented to support nation-formation and this same modality is also used to undermine national movements.

Another interesting paradox however, is that the folk revival of the 1960s was unconsciously reaching for the participative, integrated, non-alienated way of life of pre-modern, pre-capitalist society, and by the same stroke they were self-consciously advocating for industrial era working class politics of anti-capitalism and welfare. This movement was driven by youth culture and a kind of anti-capitalist capitalism (hippy entrepreneurs), which was all about mobility and 'liquidity', and the rejection of traditional constraint (Howard, 1969). This paradox seems to be constantly present (and relates to the formation of individuals and the commons discussion in 4.3); musicians are often uncommitted to any real structure of self/social constraint or communitarian pattern of life (a point I discuss further in Chapters 12 & 15). For example, between song nights, peasants scythed and dug potatoes – for a whole life. Whereas, between their song nights, the UK or American folkies eat food, travel, celebrate sexual freedom, and, while they often live in communes, these communes are void of any communitarian structure of constraint (Miller, [1991]2011). I will not develop this point too much further as I am elucidating the origin modality with respect to folk/traditional music revivals, but it is worth noting this paradox.

I give this brief history of the classification by origins, the rural idyll, and folk revivals, in order to highlight my purposes by contrast. There is no question that folk and traditional music have been used to bolster a plethora of political movements and campaigns across the broad swath of the political spectrum, but to argue as Cole (2016) does that it is therefore inherently political is problematic. Many musicians, folklorists, and ethnomusicologists have criticized the perception of folk and traditional music cultures as 'authentic', place- and culturally-bounded, but none more famously than Harker (1985). He argues, that while it would be lovely were

ballads and folksongs able to provide roots to our ancestors and a grasp of society untainted by the ‘assorted evils of capitalis[m]’, this, unfortunately is only myth. Rather, the place- and culturally-bounded imagined communities of folk culture are artifice created by folklorists and cultural ‘mediators’ like Cecil Sharp, Bert Lloyd, and Francis James Child who use one culture to reinforce or establish another (Harker, 1985; Olson, 1986). These questions of authenticity, origin, and political activism are interesting and important, but they are not the subject of this research. The criticism of folk or traditional music as a nostalgia project bowing to ‘authentic’, Romanticised, and, arguable non-existent, rural and idyllic days of yore, is rendered moot if one considers the functional elements of folk or traditional music, rather than questions of authenticity or origins. Although, the persistence of this Romanticism is a feature I will also discuss in greater detail below.

7.4 The function of ‘Folk’ music

The pattern language approach to CTMD is deeply functional. The purpose is not to establish authentic Traditional music cultures that repeat note for note the tunes that were recorded and housed in the archives. But rather, the purpose is to identify the features of CTMD that contribute to building relationships which will generate community resilience, re-establish social levels of scale, and foster more embedded forms of economic activity. As such, the loose genre that I am examining falls under what I am calling ‘Celtic traditional music and dance’, but that is a *very* wide umbrella with ample room for innovation and deviation from canons.

Prior to the invention of this classification of music by place of origin, music was classified by function, where tunes were primarily classified by the function they performed or the sentiments they elicited (Gelbart, 2007, p. 20). Were they to classify tunes by type, the average Lowland Scottish person in the early eighteenth century, “would want to know how they *functioned*, how they were being used in a specific circumstance”, as would the majority of people, of high or low birth, living in Europe in the early 1700s (Gelbart, 2007, p. 14). “[A]s late as the early eighteenth century, for musicians and listeners across Europe’s musical spheres – literate or otherwise, rich or poor, rural or urban – the primary issue in categorizing a tune was how it would be used on a particular occasion, and what sentiments it depicted” (Gelbart, 2007, p. 19-20). Classifications such as ‘low’ or ‘common’ by writers like Morley ([1557-1603?]1981) and Mattheson ([1739]1981) are used to illustrate the sentiment elicited by the tune: that is, low everyday sentiments versus high or noble sentiments. Their classifications are not, as one might

expect, to indicate that the tune originates from the peasants or the 'common people' (Gelbart, 2007, p. 20).

While origin classifications have become predominant, the functional element remains. As I spoke with musicians and music teachers, the function of tunes or types of music came up again and again. When I asked Peter Wood, Shetland accordion and pipes player and teacher, what genre of music he played, he replied with, "Well, initially it was more *dance* (emphasis added) music I was playing" (personal communication, December 10, 2019). Likewise with the following examples: the functional element is clearly present.

> Traditional music, for me, would be likes of your, obviously, marches, slow airs, strathspeys, reels, jigs, polkas, two-fours, things like that. So if you're playing them, it would be for, or could do it for listening, kind of concert, or you could quite happy turn it into a dance at the same time. Just at the drop of a hat. Does that kind of answer that (A. Kane, personal communication, December 16, 2019).
>
> And, and they've got different like for instance, Island of Whalsey, they'll bath the bride after, after the event like after they get, there's tunes when you walk to the kirk to get married, there's tunes at the kirk, there's tunes that they play when you go back, finish the wedding and you go back to the hoose for, for the night, celebration, and then at some point in the night especially in the Island of Whalsey they used to have this ceremony where it'd be bathing the bride (S. Mills, personal communication, October 30, 2019).
>
> If you're playing in a sessions with, with a bunch of other musicians that you don't necessarily know, there's such an immense repertoire of traditional music that its quite likely that you can find common ground and play together. And there's not, then the form is predictable enough that, that people can play with each other and can back each other up or vamp or whatever. And, so I think the musical form lends itself to social playing. And presumably, that is because it came out of social playing. You know it came out of playing for dances and playing at home so if it's evolved from that then it's going to fit within that framework (T. Matthews, personal communication October 21, 2019).

Thus, even though the origin classification has become predominant, the functional element is very much present.

<u>Why function</u>: There are myriad benefits to focusing on the functionality of CTMD. Focusing on the functional aspect of CTMD provides both the opportunity to leverage mutual identification and the occasion for facilitating deep reciprocity, while, at the same time, avoiding the dangers of reactionary and nativist forms of imagined community. It side-steps vexed questions of racial or ethnic tribalism in favour of a kind of 'civic localism'. As discussed in Chapter 5, the question for socio-economic resilience and re-embedding is, how to place-make and build community in such large-scale societies? That is, is there a way that we can encourage or nudge society/culture towards reasserting the domain of Livelihood? Through focusing on the functional aspect of

CTMD we can start to answer this question. The features of CTMD contribute to establishing relationships of trust and reciprocity, and are thereby hopeful for the re-embedding of economic activity. The oral/aural transmission, the intergenerational and participatory context, and the presence of 'communitas' all contribute to the generation of social relationships and the facilitation of community.[4]

Furthermore, focusing on the functional component allows for the innovation required for these cultures to be sustainable (Titon, 2016). As Titon (2016) argues, one of the best ways to kill a culture is to stifle innovation and make it into a museum piece. When outside influences or innovation cannot penetrate the protective 'heritage' shell, cultures die. Because the functional aspect of CTMD is not concerned with upholding an 'authentic' Tradition, there is plenty of room for innovation, interpretation, and collaboration. The definition of this music is, as Tim Matthews most accurately said, 'social music that evolves" (personal communication, November 21, 2019). It is the social aspect, as illustrated by the features above, which is the function of this music culture. For this reason, when I interviewed musicians beyond what some may consider a strict 'traditional music' genre, their thoughts and perspectives on this musical genre remain important. The following quotation from Shetland guitar player, Arthur Nicholson, illustrates this point.

> People just get in a room and they all known these songs and they all sing along. And you might think, they might not like, I think you have this weird thing that happens where we play some songs that aren't cool. And people that maybe consider themselves kind of cool, they're singing along. You know, they're kind of like 'what's going on?' You know, we do like a medley where we do loads of songs in about half an hour. There's a continuous thing. Um, and at one point we do 'YMCA'. You've people like, 'what am I doing? Why are my arms in the air?' You know you can tell people that are just kind of like, 'what's going on?' and they start laughing. Because they can't believe that it's just like. It's hard to explain. It's like a medley that lasts twenty-five minutes long and it's just twenty-five minutes of choruses of songs that we wouldn't do the whole thing of for various reasons (A. Nicholson, personal communication, December 5, 2019).

Nicholson is describing playing guitar in The Lounge Bar in Lerwick, Shetland: a bar that every Wednesday throughout the year hosts a CTMD session along with many other live and traditional music events. Nicholson himself plays with many traditional musicians, bands, and

[4] The following is an example of operating from these different function or origin modalities. A couple of years ago, Stephen Quilley, operating within a functional modality, approached Wilfred Laurier University with a proposal to start a traditional music master's program (complete with a thousand signatures of traditional music stakeholders who supported this potential program). Operating within the origin modality, Laurier's administration responded with, 'what about the Syrians?'. The implication being that this program would somehow be unwelcoming to students of a diverse range of backgrounds, whereas, in reality, it was to be a one-of-a-kind master's program to promote music ability, community engagement, and increased social cohesion among a diverse range of persons.

events. The atmosphere he is describing is akin to that of a session. What is important here is the live music, the participation, the roughness/viscosity of the event, and the 'communitas' (Turner, 1974). Playing a Queen song on the guitar as the room erupts in chorus is functionally analogous to the active participation at a folk or traditional music session. YMCA is clearly not a Shetland tune. Nevertheless, the singing of this song in The Lounge on a Friday night is very much a part of the Shetland tradition of music, community music participation, and pub culture, which are all bound in the CTMD culture of Shetland. Arguably singing a song like this is more congruent with traditional music and how it was 'traditionally' played, however, while important and widely contested, questions of authenticity are not the issues at hand.

The functional modality allows for the innovation required for a culture to live unthreatened by the 'authentic' pursuit of a 'pure' and untainted Tradition and the dangers of undermining a culture through excessive heritage promotion (Feintuch, 2006; Titon, 2016).

> And, and it does develop and it always does change as everything does. And I think you have to let it because it doesn't become history if, I know you'll get people that, that will say it has to be straight forward or traditional. Yeah, that's fine, and it has its place and I like to listen to that too, I don't mind, but it has to be allowed to grow and develop or it will die (P. Wood, personal communication, December 10, 2019).

The innovation and influence function allows, makes room for a greater inclusion of musical styles, influences, and, in some respects, a more accurate representation of what it is that people actually play in small-scale CTMD events (sessions, gigs, festivals, house parties, etc.).

<u>Functional community: A nod to 'Yore' and residual Livelihood</u>: An interesting aspect of this nod to 'days of yore' or community in CTMD cultures and events is that it presents a recurring vision where the domain of Livelihood asserts itself over the operational realm of both the Market and State through a more embedded form of economy and society. Harker (1985), Cole (2021), and others are right to point out that the Romantic archetype of CTMD is counterpoised to Modernity and is antithetical to the ills of Modernity. Nonetheless this archetype persists (Lloyd, 2016). Community is a recurring concept in conversations regarding traditional music and as elusive in its definition as 'authenticity' or 'tradition' (Feintuch, 2001). More often than not, 'community' is used as a ubiquitous but quite often vacuous buzz word. However, the appeal to 'community' by isolated individuals of Modernity can be understood as shorthand for genuflecting to a pre-Modern notion of attachment, meaning, place attachment, reciprocal relationships, etc. We are, after all, a community craving animal (Giddens, 1991; Nisbet, 2019).

What is interesting is that the archetypical idea of traditional music and community is always present and people celebrate it when it occurs, suggesting that CTMD cultures operate, in some way, outside the strict logic of capital accumulation and modernization. These archetypes perhaps play the role of ideal-typical counter points to the mundane reality of consumer capitalism.

> I feel like the values people have in Shetland, um, there's a lot of feeling of a community and people speak about that a lot. But I think that's maybe something that's faded away in other areas, that you still have in Shetland. So. With social events, there's a whole mixture of people. There's young and old. And there's no kind of thing where, 'we'll only go to this event because this is for people our age group'. There's lots of community halls where I've played gigs over the years and gone to see concerts. There's a lot of old time dancing, which I've had a go at. So there's a real vibrant music community. A very sociable community, I lived in. As I said, I lived in Aberdeen between. And I think living in a much bigger area, by living in a small space but really being part of a community, I've got a much busier social life than I think most people have in the city (A. Guest, personal communication, December 12, 2019).
>
> Yeah, and also the communities, like that's what I love about these public halls is that people sort of come out and it's a community hall really is a community hall. Like people want to go to their, their hall if something's happening there. And it, that's what I've quite liked about playing there in the past is that you just meet so many different people, you don't see the same people at every gig and, and it just, it gives them an opportunity to have something going on in the country too (M. Thompson, personal communication, December 21, 2019).
>
> Yeah, I think it's, like I said, it's kind of bringing it back to the, I suppose it's the way of life, I mean, to me, I think Shetlanders just take it, take the music for granted too much. Because if you go *sooth* to festivals then there's no such a tight knit it's kind of, community feeling about some festivals, and I think that's why a lot of the, lot of the music acts when they come up here they, they're just so overwhelmed with every second person plays the fiddle or plays the guitar or can play something (S. Mills, personal communication, October 30, 2019).
>
> Yeah, they've them and they're great community events, all ages involved and yeah, really, really good. I was up in Unst dressed as a Viking in the Jarl squad […] They went with the peerie glasses and you pass the glass around and anyway, top it up for the next person and it goes around. But you can have a sip, you don't have to down it. Some folk do. And they're usually ones with the head on the table, you know. But it was a, yeah, very sociable kind of event, all these things and involves the whole community, like old, visiting old folk and bairns at school. And, and yeah, you've got the dance at night. And the acts, and the sketches about local things that happen through the year. Making a, if you've, any significant event, or somebody's done something. And then the country ones, it can be, even if you've bought a new car or new tractor, that will be in it (M. Henderson, personal communication, November 8, 2019).

Those within the CTMD communities, as the above quotations intimate, do seem to think of these cultures in an archetypical or Romantic ideal. However, contrary to what critics like Cole and Harker argue, these archetypes do not necessarily imply falsehood or fabrication, as archetypes can be quite revelatory. Archetypes present to us something we know to be experientially true and culturally present (Bemowski, 1995). We recognize the insightful

wisdom of the archetypical character of the wise fool, such as the Fool of *King Lear*, and their ability to speak truth and understand situations in cases when intellectuals or learned persons often falter. Not because these characters always empirically exist around us, but because they represent something true to our lived, consolidated, and abstracted knowledge of reality. The archetypical 'community' in CTMD cultures represents something true for which people are reaching. Modernity strips all of the smaller, nested scales, leaving only the individual and the State-Market. CTMD and the community it promises represent the longings for hearths, reciprocity, kin, etc.; it points to a political economy of subsidiarity.

Furthermore, this archetypical vision of a more embedded economy and society that CTMD presents has no necessary connection with 'origin' modality as described above (Gelbart, 2007). On the contrary, it is deeply functional in its modality, pointing to functions of socialisation, place-making, establishing and fostering relationships, etc. The logic of CTMD is relational – orality, intergenerational and embodied transmission, and 'communitas' – and this logic, alongside the communitarian archetype, suggests that CTMD can push the political economy towards a realm of increased Livelihood. That is, it can push towards a political economy of more embedded markets, reciprocity, kinship and community, and greater commitments to place. How this is to be done will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

7.5 Conclusion

Drawing on Gelbart's distinction between origin and function modalities of music classification, in this chapter I argued that focusing on the functional modality of CTMD, provides a hopeful means to nudge society towards a more embedded political economy and the (re)establishment of the realm of Livelihood. Through defining the features and parameters of Celtic traditional music and dance, I argued that these features – oral/aural transmission, face-to-face, intergenerational participatory contexts, the creation of 'communitas', and the presence of archetypical 'community' – can be mobilized to establish more relational, resilient, and embedded communities. The 'pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance' of this thesis is deeply functional. To elucidate the functional aspect of the pattern language requires a thorough investigation into 'pattern language theory', which is the subject the next two chapters.

Chapter 8 Alexander one: Theory

In this chapter, I elucidate the architectural design theory of Christopher Alexander as portrayed in his works *A Pattern Language* (1977), *A Timeless Way of Building* (1979), and his four volume work *The Nature of Order* (2002a, 2002b, 2004, 2005). I begin by discussing *A Pattern Language* and then move on to *The Nature of Order* and a comparison of these two works. I also respond to the main objections to Alexander, as well as discuss some philosophical implications of his theory.

8.1 Pattern language theory

In *A Pattern Language* (1977) Alexander et al. delineate the patterns of architectural design that are responsible for the gestalt beauty and harmony of traditional, vernacular settlements. A critique of the dehumanizing and confusing logic of Modern architecture, Pattern Language Theory is deeply relational and concerns, "not things, but relations of things, or even relations of relations, which could be identified and re-combined and re-used, in a language-like ways" (Mehaffy, 2016, par. 10). A triad composition of *context, problem,* and *solution*, "each pattern describes a problem which occurs over and over again in our environment, and then describes the core of the solution to that problem, in such a way that you can use this solution million times over, without ever doing it the same way twice" (Alexander, 1977, p. x). These nested patterns together form a coherent language. The pattern language is: "a finite system of rules which a person can use to generate an infinite variety of different buildings […] The use of [the] language will allow the people of a village or a town to generate exactly that balance of uniformity and variety which brings a place to life" (Alexander, 1979, p. 191). Just as the grammar and syntax of the English language allow for creative speech, so too with pattern languages where:

> A pattern language is really nothing more than a precise way of describing someone's experience of building. If a man has a great deal of experience of building houses, his language for houses is rich and complex; if he is a greenhorn, his language is naïve and simple. A poet of houses, a master builder, couldn't possible work without his language – it would be as if he were a greenhorn (Alexander, 1979, p. 207).

The gestalt beauty and architectural poetry of traditional settlements reflects the shared way of life of the people in those societies, for, "unless they [towns and buildings] are made by all the people in society, and unless these people share a common pattern language, within which to

make these buildings, and unless this common pattern language is alive itself" (Alexander, 1977, p. x), the towns and buildings will not be alive.

The 'common language' aspect highlights an interesting tension between place-bound, communitarian societies and cosmopolitan, highly mobile, liberal societies (see also Chapter 3). Communitarian, place-bound societies share a great deal of common values, perception of values, aesthetics, words, and ways of life, whereas, liberal, cosmopolitan, pluralist, mobile, individualist societies strip this shared corpus right down to the bone. Any kind of liberal/individualism/mobility is also, by definition, corrosive of the commons (see Chapters 3 & 4). Self-regulating access to common pool resources (Ostrom, 1990) operate when individuals are tied into place-based, communities and a lattice of relations, which are intergenerational and persist over time (see 4.3).[5] Anything 'common' is shared over time and communitarian (Bollier, 2014) and, consequently, constrains the liberal version of freedom (see also 4.3).

Sacrificing what 'is' to the god of 'ought', the logic of Modern architecture consists of "artificial forms of order based on control" (Alexander, 1979, p. 237), resulting in our inability to recognize organic forms of order and, consequently, obviating our ability to have shared languages (p. 303). Before we can recover shared and living languages "we must first learn how to discover patterns which are deep, and capable of generating life" (p. xii). From the layout of "agricultural valleys" to "half-inch trim", *A Pattern Language* breaks downs 253 nested patterns which together form a language, providing a roadmap for the creation of living places. In order to illustrate the nested nature of the patterns I provide some examples below (see Illustrations 2 – 5).

[5] This is the difficulty that Daly and Cobbs (1996) get into in *For the Common Good* that I discuss in Chapter 4.

Illustrations 2 & 3: A street in Montreal, QC (left) and a tree fort/chicken coop in Douro-Dummer, ON (right). Both of these images exhibit the pattern language aspect of how patterns that 'work' fit together to make coherent wholes with greater degrees of aliveness.

Illustrations 4 & 5: These photos show the difference between buildings which are imposed upon the surrounding environment and feel uncomfortable and incorrect (Google building in Kitchener, ON, left) versus those which incorporate and consider the larger surroundings (waterfront home in Lerwick, Shetland, right).

One of the more important yet simple patterns is Pattern 159: Light On Two Sides of Every Room. More than any other single pattern, this one will determine the success of any room (1977, p. 747). It is a rather self-explanatory pattern as it shows that any room with light on two sides is preferable to light coming in on only one side of the room. Through a series of informal experiments, Alexander et al., determined that people prefer when light enters from two sides of the room rather than being lit from only one.

> The importance of this pattern lies partly in the social atmosphere it creates in the room. Rooms lit on two sides, with natural light, create less glare around people and objects; this lets us see things more intricately; and most important, it allows us to read in detail the minute expressions that flash across people's faces, the motion of their hands . . . and thereby understand, more clearly, the meaning they are after. *The light on two sides allows people to understand each other* (1977, p. 748).

This very simple pattern of having natural light from two sides of the room will contribute to people feeling comfortable and at ease.

The first pattern in *A Pattern Language* is "Independent Regions", in which Alexander says, "Metropolitan regions will not come to balance until each one is small and autonomous enough to be an independent sphere of culture" (1977, p. 11). He argues that there is a 'right' size to human institutions, or rather that there are "natural limits to the size of groups that can govern themselves in a human way" (p. 11). Alexander begins with this controversial and in many ways unthinkable idea for Modernity that there are perhaps limits to the size that a society can be – once a size threshold is surpassed that "bureaucracy overwhelms human processes" (p. 11; see also Kohr, [1957]2016; and Dunbar, 1992 for group size and brain size as correlates). It is not simply the push towards 'small is beautiful', but rather, as Schumacher (1973) argues, it is our current push towards giantism that mandates the examination of the small scale (see also 4.3). The Modern push towards larger and larger societies has sacrificed the local community and culture to big states (Alexander, 1977; Geller, 1983; see also Chapters 3 & 4).

> But these huge powers cannot claim to have a natural size. They cannot claim to have struck the balance between the needs of towns and communities, and the needs of the world community as a whole. Indeed their tendency has been to override local needs and repress local culture, and at the same time aggrandize themselves to the point where they are out of reach, their power barely conceivable to the average citizen (Alexander, 1977, p. 12).

Conversely, Alexander argues that regions should have between two and ten million people, so that they can participate in world-government (Alexander, 1977).

The last pattern, 253, is "Things From Your Life". Alexander finishes his tome saying:

> Do not be tricked into believing that modern décor must be slick or psychedelic, or "natural" or "modern art," or "plants" or anything else that current taste-makers claim. It is most beautiful when it comes straight from your life – the things you care for, the thing that tell your story (Alexander, 1977, p. 1166).

These book-ending patterns indicate two things: 1) the important relationship between parts and wholes and 2) the personal aspect of building and design. While the patterns can be abstracted, and are in some sense are universal, they always aid the development of personal and shared languages so that the world can become more diverse and simultaneously more whole.

8.2 *The Nature of Order*

While *A Pattern Language* is meant to aid in building places that are alive, Alexander noticed that people using pattern languages, at times, build places that seem formulaic. The *Nature of Order* is Alexander's four volume investigation as to why this might be the case. In *A Pattern Language* Alexander identifies the patterns that exist and the ways that they are connected to the larger wholes, to form places that are alive. The emphasis is primarily on discovering the patterns themselves and then on looking at these patterns in relation to the larger whole. In *The Nature of Order*, Alexander flips the paradigm around and looks first at the wholeness that is present in living centres or places, wherein, "[t]he key idea in this book is that life is *structural*" (Alexander, 2002, vol. 1, p. 110). He then spends four volumes exploring the features that contribute to wholeness.

As Mehaffy (2019) explains and I elucidate elsewhere (Beresford, 2023a), *The Nature of Order* is not a rejection of *A Pattern Language*, but rather is a more complete version of the ideas in *A Pattern Language*. It is a continuation, both in the critique of Modern architecture and mechanistic thought, and in the ability to provide a roadmap to creating places that are alive – that is, places that are sustainable and exist within their environments as nested living centres rather than as places of dominance and control. Alexander investigates

> the relation of parts to wholes, and the search for useful new design tools for their genesis and transformation. Along the way he has surprised even himself with the increasingly philosophical complexity of his conclusions, but he has never deviated from the scientific method that brought him there (Mehaffy 2007, p. 41).

The Nature of Order begins with the whole and inquires how things get differentiated. "The fundamental thesis of this book [*The Nature of Order*] is that order in nature is the same as in what we make or build, as well as in what we experience" (Jiang, 2019). In essence, wholeness

exists and in order to understand the parts within the whole, we must first see the unified wholes that we experience.

<u>Centres and wholeness</u>: Alexander argues that we intuitively know that the "beauty of a building, its life, and its capacity to support life all come from the fact that it is working as a whole" (Alexander, 2002a, p. 80). A building is not separate from the wider environment – it is part of the larger whole – related to the other buildings, the streets, and all those structures which surround it. Conversely, "it contains many wholes within it – also unbounded and continuous in their connections. Above all, the whole is unbroken and undivided" (Alexander, 2002, vol. 1, p. 80). While new for architectural design theory, the concept of wholeness is not new in contemporary thought and it is present in biology (Spemann, 1919), neurophysiology (Lashey, 1950), medicine (Haldane, 1927), cosmology, (Mach, 1912), and ecology (Lovelock, 1972) (see also Alexander, 2002a, p. 80; Needham, 1932, 1937; Novikoff, 1945; Redfield, 1942; Reiser, 1958; Woodger, 1929. As Alexander explains, "the *wholeness* is the important thing: the local parts exist chiefly in relation to the whole, and their behavior and character and structure are determined by the larger whole in which they exist and which they create" (Alexander, 2002a, p. 80). Alexander's definition of wholeness is: "a system of centers which, working together, create the gestalt of a given part of space" (2002a, p. 364). In order to understand wholeness, it is paramount that one understands, "the wholeness is made of parts; the parts are created by the wholeness. To understand wholeness we must have a conception in which 'parts' and wholes work in this holistic way" (Alexander, 2002a, p. 84).

The concept of morphogenesis is helpful for understanding this relation, as the form is not made up of gathered parts, but, "rather, it emerges from a continuous transformation of elements, in an unfolding process that follows something 'symmetry-breaking'" (Mehaffy, 2016, par. 18). In Modern society, we are so entrenched in mechanistic thinking that it shapes how we view all of reality. Consequently, we have difficulty not operating with mechanistic thinking in our everyday operations or thoughts (Barfield, 1988) even though we experience wholes and unity before parts (Polanyi, M., [1966]2009; [1958]2014). Alexander's theory of wholeness acknowledges the unified wholes that exist. To illustrate the wholeness, consider for a moment the development of an embryo: "the egg cell starts as one whole and then it divides, and makes more wholes with a differentiated order. This contextual, form-generating differentiation continues through more stages, until, through the power of compounding, the result is

fantastically complex and ordered" (Mehaffy, 2016, par. 19). Alexander argues that humans build and design in the same way. Or rather, that *when* we do, we create buildings and designs that are more life-giving both in themselves, and for the larger world as a whole. However, this ability to generate life-giving forms has undergone serious curtailment through the mechanization of thought.

In *Das Kapital, Volume I*, Marx (1954[1867]) argues that, "[a] spider conducts operations that resemble those of a weaver, and a bee puts to shame many an architect in the construction of her cells. But what distinguishes the worst architecture from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality" (p.178).Similarly, in his *Discourse on Method*, Descartes (2007[1637]) says:

> these old cities of Europe that have gradually grown from mere villages into large towns are usually less well laid out than the orderly towns that planners lay out as they wish . . . they [old cities] make the streets crooked and irregular, you would think they had been placed where they are by chance rather than by the will of thinking men (Descartes, 2007, p. 5).

Both of these examples emphasize that the abstracted rational capacity of humans create the best design. And Marx is right to point to the distinctively, rational/self-conscious character of human production/making. It is the capacity that allows for us to create technical change, technology, and for social development. But both of these examples miss the contextual aspect of built environments nested within ecological systems. These examples illustrate the problematic mode of abstraction and mechanistic thinking which considers built environments as completely separate from the rest of nature. This contrasts with the functionally unconscious, shared building techniques of traditional societies (Bhatt, 2010, p. 712).

Alexander's theory of wholeness in architectural design responds to this divorce of rationality from context. Alexander maintains that Modernity causes this capacity of rationality identified by Marx and Descartes, to become completely untethered. Traditional society/vernacular architecture represents a balance between the organic/whole seeking, recurrent, and anchored continuity represented by the bees (in the Marx example), and incremental change and development. The order of the bee's cells may not map perfectly onto a Cartesian plane, but nonetheless, there is order and wholeness in the cells. As such, it is not the cells that are faulty, but the plane as the tool of measurement, the pinnacle of order, or the highest degree of perfection. Alexander's goal is to explore the life-giving order and unity that

are present and to try to understand what's going on, rather than to try to conform reality to useful but purely abstract mathematical models.

In order to convey the idea that wholes are nested, Alexander uses the word 'centres', as when thinking of a 'whole' (especially post-Kant) it is easy to imagine that it is a thing set apart, done, and standing on its own. Whereas, "[w]hen I think of them as centers, I become more aware of their relatedness; I see them as focal points in a larger unbroken whole and I see the world as whole" (Alexander, 2002a, p. 85). The defining feature of these centres is "*the fact that it appears to exist as a local center within a larger whole* … and it is, in the end, its centeredness which is its most clear, defining mark" (Alexander, 2002a, p. 84). The centers or wholes overlap and extend across scales creating more centers and wholes, where "the wholeness is formed by the top centers, the most salient centers" (Alexander, 2002a, p. 110). The centres operate in a cascading fashion influencing and even transforming the centres at the smaller larger levels, but always in relation to each other.

There are four essentials to note with respect to centers:

- Centres themselves have life
- Centres help one another: the existence and life of one center can intensify the life of another.
- Centers are made of centers (this is the only way of describing their composition).
- A structure gets its life according to the density and intensity of centers which have been formed in it (Alexander, 2002a, p. 110).

These four premises explain the process by which "life comes from wholeness" (Alexander, 2002a, p. 110).

The main difficulty in understanding this concept of centers, and its self-referential definition, is because of the depth to which mechanistic thinking permeates our operations. We want to reduce, take apart, and explain things in terms of basic, disconnected parts. However this precludes the possibility of thinking in terms of wholes and centers.

> *The crux of the matter is this: a center is a kind of entity which can only be defined in terms of other centers.* The idea of a center cannot be defined in terms of any other primitive entities *except centers* . . . Instead we shall see that centers are only made of *other* centers. This is the most fundamental concept. The nature of these centers can therefore be understood reflexively, or recursively. This is one reason wholeness looks so mysterious to those who are wedded to mechanistic thought (Alexander, 2002a, p. 116).

This mode of thought is difficult to wrap one's head around as our tendency is to look for an explanation of the parts that make up the whole, as is the wont of mechanistic thinking. Through

his discussion of the evolution of consciousness, Owen Barfield ([1957]1988; [1979]2012) describes the depth of mechanistic thinking in our society. Barfield argues that it is nearly impossible to extract from our day-to-day operations as it has become a part of our collective mental habit. He gives the example of trying to un-learn how to ride a bike. We can think about the process of learning how to ride a bike, and remember learning this skill. However, when we start to think about how to teach ourselves to un-learn this skill our brains get murky and we get frustrated because this does not make sense.

> Try learning *not* to ride a bicycle! Once you are on the saddle, you will find your muscles just won't obey you. They will obey your habit instead. You will find you simply *can't* turn the wheel in the wrong direction, so as to fall off. You discover that the habit has a will of its own, a sort of frozen, unconscious will that is much stronger than the little bit of will you are consciously exerting. It is as if you were trying to ignore a law of nature ([1979]2012, p. 51).

Mechanistic thinking operates similarly in our collective mental habit. It so ingrained in how we operate in our lives that it is nearly impossible to not fall into this habit. We are not satisfied with a definition or explanation that it not atomistic. Thinking in terms of wholeness or centers causes difficulty because it calls into question the internalized thought processes and even self-perception that Elias ([1968]2000) refers to as 'second nature'.

Whereas, it is actually the wholes that we first encounter and these unities that are prior. As Michael Polanyi ([1966]2009) argues, "The belief that, since particulars are more tangible, their knowledge offers a true[r] conception of things is fundamentally mistaken" (Polanyi, 2009, p. 19). For in order to even try and dissect, we first have to encounter the whole. Thus in order to think in terms of centers and wholes, the defining feature is and must be self-referential, for:

> As soon as we try to describe, precisely, why this *particular* thing is a center, we find that we have to invoke some kind of description in terms of *other* centers . . . *Centers are always made of other centers*. A center is *not* a point, *not* a perceived center of gravity. It is rather a field of organized force in an object or part of an object which makes that object or part exhibit centrality. This field-like centrality is fundamental to the idea of wholeness (Alexander, 2002a, p. 118).

While initially unsatisfying, once one thinks about how centers work, it becomes clear why Alexander says that centres must be described in terms of other centres.

<u>The fifteen properties of wholeness</u>: There are fifteen fundamental properties that are present in strong centres or coherent wholes. Those properties are: *levels of scale*, *strong centres*, *boundaries*, *alternating repetition*, *positive space*, *good shape*, *local symmetries*, *deep interlock and ambiguity*, *contrast*, *gradients*, *roughness*, *echoes*, *the void*, *simplicity and inner calm*, and

not-separateness (Alexander, 2002a, p. 144). These properties "are, in effect, just the fifteen ways in which centres can help each other come to life…they make things have life, *because* they are the ways in which centres can help each other in space" (Alexander, 2002a, p. 145). These properties overlap and work together, contributing to the strength of the center as a whole, as "[s]ystems in space which have these fifteen properties to a strong degree will be alive, and the more the systems which contain them will be alive" (Alexander, 2002a, p. 236). Through hundreds of examples, Alexander shows how each of these properties is present in living structures and the more that a structure or centre is alive, the more of these properties will be present. The difficulty in understanding these properties though, is that they are co-dependent and often one is needed to define another (Alexander, 2002a, p. 237). Where, "[t]he more carefully we think about each property, and try to define it exactly, the more we find out that each property is partly defined in terms of the other fifteen properties. Although the fifteen properties seem distinct at first, they are in fact intertwined and interwoven" (Alexander, 2002a, p. 237), adding further to the difficulty of comprehension for minds which search for mechanistic explanations.

<u>Geometric and justification of wholes</u>: The above may sound like a series of tautologies without any empirical basis or foundation. The difficulty is, when starting with the knowledge that wholes exist, that we experience them, and that there can be structures that are more or less unified or pleasing, our first inclination is to then dissect the parts that construct the whole. Then, after dissecting the parts, we conclude that wholeness must not exist. This is precisely the problem though, as it requires falling back into strict mechanistic thinking. But, while our rubric for measurement cannot process wholes or degrees of 'aliveness', our experience of wholes with greater and lesser degrees of life is real. Whole-sense and whole-appreciation is deeply rooted in human cognition, while analysis and part-reduction is something that we have to learn. For example, anyone who has ever held a baby knows that they are drawn to faces. And indeed, this is true of humans of any age, but easier to see and recognize in infants. It is not the points (eyes), the curved line (mouth), or the big circle (head), that they are drawn to, but rather the coherent whole (the face) that they experience and are captivated by. Likewise, with anything we encounter – trees, chickens, chairs, rooms, etc. – we experience the wholes first and can recognize varying degrees of coherence or aliveness. As Alexander states:

> Thus I must *stress* that the idea that every part of space has life in some degree does not violate our actual experience. If we look around in the world, at the different parts of space, it is relatively easy to say, 'This one has more life, that one had less life.' *What is violated is only the picture of space which has been put in our minds by Descartes and by the assumptions of mechanistic science*. Descartes specifically described space as a neutral and strictly abstract geometric medium . . . The Cartesian dogma and its assumptions are methodological teachings, useful models. As presently formulated, they are violated by the idea that every part of space has some life. But *experience* itself is not violated (Alexander, 2002a, p. 426).

Thus, while they can be immensely useful, there are also limitations to mechanistic thought patterns. A main limitation is that is cannot account for unity or wholes existing with degrees of 'aliveness', regardless of how our experience may say otherwise. Michael Polanyi (2009) uses the example of playing a piece of music to illustrate this point. If one sits down at the piano and plays a piece, it can be played musically if you do not think too hard about the individual notes that you are playing. If you do, you will falter as you lose sight of the piece as a whole. Now, that is not to say that you do not have to learn the individual notes, but rather that focusing on a particular note will mess up your ability to play the piece. Likewise, as Thomas Schlechte explains:

> Wholeness gives us an idea about how well notes may become embedded within a composition. No matter if we listen to a simple pop song with lots of repetitions or a complex classical piece with multiple overlapping voices, the joy of listening comes largely from experiencing well-integrated variations of a familiar structure (Schlechte, 2019, p. 12).

It is easier to understand the concept of wholeness with respect to music, the individual notes, chords, or a whole piece of music, because our experience of music and ability to understand whole compositions is so intuitive. And this understanding/expectation is precisely what is played with in Jazz improvisation. It works to the extent that the musician is 'toying' with the cognitive expectations that centre on the whole or the apprehension of a particular music centre (Berliner, 1994). Alexander is making the same point with respect to architecture. Not only does wholeness exist, but that the geometry of the whole or center determines the smaller, nested centers, contained within. To explain, I will again return to music for a moment.

Individual notes of a piece of music are determined by the structure of the piece. The particular notes are largely determined by the character of the whole: key signature, genre, etc. The structure of the piece as a whole influences the types of note/chord combinations, the rhythm, and the tempo, all of the individual elements in a piece of music. Any individual note in music composition is not a stand-alone unit, but rather must be chosen in light of the whole piece, where, "[t]he ability to see an interwoven field of clustered similarities rather than an alien

army of solitary notes will make all the difference in the world to cope with the complex moment of reading and shaping fragmented centres into a coherent piece" (Schlechte, 2019, p. 13). Each note in the piece must be considered in light of the whole, the whole will determine, to some degree, what the options are for any particular note, and whether or not there is another note that is more fitting to the piece as a whole. In essence, the notes unfold within the structure of the musical composition.

This is essentially the main idea in *APL* and *TNO*. The geometry of the whole influences the nature of the smaller centers within, and likewise, the larger environmental centers or wholes will indicate the type of building that is appropriate. Furthermore, contrary to our mechanistic wont, the geometry is not separate from the function of the building. As Alexander (2002a) says, "We do not have function on the one hand, and space or geometry on the other hand. We have a single thing – living space – which has life to varying degrees. It is the space which comes to life. All that we do, as architects, is then to arrange and rearrange this living space, in such a way as to intensify its life" (p. 428). That is, the geometry and function and space are the same and they are understood with respect to living centers. The goal or function is always to create or build with the purpose of intensifying life in a given centre. In this sense, the fifteen properties listed above are a geometric for creating strong centres with the largest degree of life.

<u>Centres and patterns</u>: The patterns described in *A Pattern Language Theory* (1977) and the centres of *The Nature of Order* (2002a; 2002b; 2004; 2005) are complementary and, to some degree, transferable concepts. Founded on the tripartite *problem*, *context*, *solution*, patterns elucidate the way to arrive at *strong centres*: "a field of centers, then, is a nested series of localities that frame one another and variously connect to one another in a pattern of relationships" (Mehaffy, 2008). The recurring patterns that 'work' are the components that create centres with strong degrees of life. Centres, on the other hand, while more complex in their articulation than the iteration of patterns, offer a more complete explanation for why that patterns that 'work' actually 'work'. In this way, the theory of *The Nature of Order* is not a deviation from *A Pattern Language Theory*, but rather a continuation and further explanation of it (Mehaffy, 2019). Unlike Wittgenstein's (1922) ladder to be kicked away upon ascent[6], the

[6] At the end of his *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1922), in proposition 6.54, Wittgenstein states, "My propositions are elucidatory in this way: he who understands me finally recognizes them as senseless, when he has climbed out through them, on them, over them. (He must so to speak throw away the ladder, after he has climbed up on it.) He must surmount these propositions; then he sees the world rightly" (p. 90). By which he means, that if you

pattern language provides a guide to unfetter the mind from the confines of total mechanistic thought, and a roadmap to thinking in terms of wholeness in our everyday operations. Responding to the controlling, dissecting, and atomizing negatives of total mechanistic thought, Alexander's vision in *The Nature of Order* provides an understanding of what a participatory consciousness (sensu Barfield [1957]1988) and world might look like and *A Pattern Language* a method for how to get there.

8.3 Objections to Alexander

Alexander's theory has been adapted successfully in diverse fields such as medical education (Ellaway & Bates, 2015), landscape design and place-making (Coates & Seamon, 1984), music composition (Schlechte, 2019), and, most notably and influentially, in the realm of software design (Gabriel, 1996; Gamma et al., 1994). Unsurprisingly however, there are many objections to such a revolutionary theory as well. Dawes and Oswald (2017) analyse, map, and classify the 28 criticisms to Alexander's PL theory, concluding that all of the criticisms derive from four main 'conceptualization' objections; of these, three are ontological and one epistemological.

The first ontological objection, from Saunders (2002, 2003) and Bhatt (2010), claims that Alexander favours a 'singular' and objective' world-view and rejects pluralistic values and subjective world-views (Dawes & Oswald, 2017, p. 4-5). The objection maintains that the 'quality without name' that is present in societies that are 'alive' (Alexander, 1979), is actually just a manifestation of Alexander's own mystical experience. It is presented as a universalizing principle (Broadbent, 1980; Dawes & Oswald, 2017) but stems from a fallacious premise that humans share value systems and that beauty is objective. Alexander's position ignores the fact that "values and attitudes are developed and learnt through a combination of human sensory engagement, education, and enculturation" (Dawes & Oswald, 2017, p. 5). As such, Alexander's theory precludes any dissenting personal taste, opinion, or aesthetic value (Kohn, 2002), resulting in "authoritarianism, [and] the unself-critical imposition of an illusory objectivity on other subjects" (Saunders, 2003, par. 4).

The second ontological objection argues that Alexander's theory rests on a romantic, utopian vision of the world that excludes "alternate experience" and many "social, political, and economic realities" (Dawes & Oswald, 2017, p. 5; Elsheshtawy, 2001). In essence, Alexander's

follow and adopt his logic throughout the *Tractatus*, then you will have to recognize at the end, that the propositions regarding ethics, aesthetics, and metaphysics are "outside the realm of the sayable propositions" (Biletzki & Matar, 2021, par. 2.1), the ladder of ascent is to be thrown away.

preferred lifestyle is “comfortable, easygoing, sensuously pleasurable, communal, and full of leisure time for socializing and solitude” (Saunders, 2002, p. 94 as quoted in Dawes & Oswald, 2017, p. 5). Anyone who does not share his vision he brands as ‘absurd’ (Kohn, 2002). Alexander presents a vision of the world that is narrow and he rejects any experience or preference that does not conform to his own (Saunders, 2002; Kohn, 2002).

A combination of the first two, the third ontological objection argues that Alexander’s own personal preferences are promoted as the objective standard of beauty, and anyone who disagrees is in some way intellectually deficient (Dawes & Oswald, 2017; Dovey, 1990; Kohn, 2002). The objection claims that Alexander maintains that every society that is whole has a pattern language and that “the *only* way to create a vibrant and beautiful society is by following the timeless way of building, as facilitated by pattern languages” (Dawes & Oswald, 2017, p. 6).

The final, epistemological, objection claims that Alexander has an equivocal definition of ‘science’ and that pattern languages are apparently scientific but as they are unable to be empirically verified, they are based on the unmeasurable feelings of himself and others (Dawes & Oswald, 2017; Dovey, 1990). As Mehaffy (2019) states regarding this possible equivocation of science, “one possible explanation is that Alexander started his career on a solid academic and scientific footing, but then veered into a fringe realm of solipsism and pseudo-science, offering only sloppy new-agey ideas without scientific rigor” (p. 2).

8.4 Response to objections

The epistemological objection is correct in that there is an equivocation of terms (Dovey, 1990). Alexander does not track his theory alongside other scholars and theorists and consequently, the philosophical implications or premises often seem unclear (Mehaffy, 2019). However, I argue that the equivocation of terms is in fact philosophical disagreement. As I elaborate elsewhere (Beresford, 2023a), and explain further in the following chapter, Alexander’s philosophical position correlates with that of Alasdair MacIntyre ([1981]2010) in *After Virtue*, in particular, MacIntyre’s account of human flourishing. But at this point, responding to the serious objections above requires a philosophical distinction.

As stated above, a common critique of Alexander is that, while he claims to be ‘empirical’ or ‘scientific’, he makes reoccurring value judgements or moral claims, asserting *this* building to be good and *that* one ‘less so’, albeit always with an eye to human wellbeing (see objection 4 above and Alexander, 2016). Indeed, this is a main component of the theory, one

which Alexander himself considers to be overlooked by many who have applied this theory to disciplines outside of architectural design (Ing, 2019). This kind of statement rests on the philosophical position that facts and values are not separate and that subjective/objective categorizations are problematic. Consequently, while one may disagree with this ontology, it does render the above objections moot. Alexander, of course, is not the first to argue that facts and values are not separate. While separation the of facts and values has become common currency post Hume, the very separation assumes a Modern metaphysic as 'goodness' is conceived as an abstract category (Kant) imposed upon brute fact. But as Mehaffy (2019) and Polanyi (2009) both point out (along with Alexander and Whitehead), facts are secondary abstractions, and that "the actual fallacy is to deny the inseparable a priori role of value" [(Mehaffy, 2019, p. 11) for a great articulation of this see Barfield's *Saving the Appearances*]. If one considers that which exists to have varying degrees of goodness, then there is no imposition of 'subjective' values on inert and brutish fact (a point I explain more in 9.2 and in further detail in Beresford, 2020).

These patterns, which are built on what Alexander calls the 'timeless way' are, as Ophuls (2011) states, "rooted in instincts that have not changed for forty thousand years" (p. 104). Alexander develops his coherent language by drawing on adaptive elements of the human species, looking across time-scales, and drawing on philosophical traditions that predate modernity and focus on a sense of 'goodness' or wellbeing in human life. When adopting a pattern language approach, within a local context, one looks at the practices and norms of a particular place. However, one also looks across the larger time scale and identifies the social practices, architectural patterns, and communal behaviours throughout human history (Alexander, 1979; McNeil and McNeil, 2003). This type of investigation is what MacIntyre (2007) argues is the core of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, whereby Aristotle gives an account of the good which is located and particular, but also universal (p. 148). This good that is both particular and universal is precisely what the patterns aim to articulate. Consider the following passage from *A Pattern Language*:

> Towns and buildings will not be able to become alive, unless they are made by all the people in society, and unless these people share a common pattern language, within which to make these buildings, and unless this common pattern language is alive itself" (Alexander, 1977, p. x).

At the heart of this passage is the implicit appeal to a common humanity. Furthermore, that we can determine what will make people, their buildings, and their societies alive through the acknowledgement of and participation in this shared humanity. This is a significant difference between Alexander and Aristotle – Aristotle's views are problematic with respect to certain members of society. The passage above also echoes the discussion from the beginning of Aristotle's *Politics* where he argues that the "state comes into existence…for the sake of a good life" (Aristotle, p. 1129 *Politics*, 1252b28-30). Having given an account of the good in the *Nicomachean Ethics* the discussion of the *Politics* examines those underlying patterns of a society that make it good. As "all the constitutions with which we are acquainted are faulty" in order to determine what form of political community is best … to realize their ideal life" (*Politics*, 1260b1-2), Aristotle begins with an examination of both those constitutions that actually exist and those that exist theoretically (*Politics*, 1260b30-32). In short, he is determining those features or re-occurring patterns of human societies that contribute to living well. While on a grander scale than the pattern language, the inquiry is similar: to discover those re-occurring features that contribute to human wellbeing. I discuss this in greater detail in the following chapter, but the salient point here is that the objectors to Alexander take issue with his use of the terms 'good' or 'universal'. However, he is, I maintain, using and understanding them in a fundamentally different way than most in a post-Enlightenment context. Granted, I think that because he is writing to a post-Enlightenment audience that he *should* clarify and tease out his language a little more, however, that is a different issue.

The ontological objections that claim Alexander's vision is narrow, authoritarian, and falsely 'objective' and 'empirical' take a post-Enlightenment view. Where, as Mehaffy states,

> Our tools have been reductionism, and the economies of scale and standardization. We have been isolating things and treating them as independent sub-entities and then manipulating them in combinations. This has actually worked extremely well – but only up to a point. As any systems theorist or ecologist will tell you, the context, not the 'thing' in isolation, is the key to the behavior of a system (Mehaffy, 2016, par. 14).

These tools work so well, that in capitalist societies, they have cut off large areas of human experience that cannot be explained through a reductionist lens. When Alexander argues that his patterns are based on empirical research, those with a strict (and perhaps too narrow) sense of the word, take issue as he uses the word 'empirical' more broadly than is common post Hume. With these statements of 'goodness', 'aliveness', and even 'universal', Alexander is intimating a

sociological necessity or importance of a shared worldview, practice, and life. The ideas of commons and vernacular language imply this same thing (see 4.3). Liberal pluralism is powerful to the extent that it fractures this shared life world (see 3.2), but Alexander is responding precisely to this fracturing and arguing that it is possible that some designs are better than others because they can help to bring people back into some common or shared way of life (see also Chapter 4). At this stage, the salient points are that, corresponding with MacIntyre, Alexander's ontology considers factual statements to be morally charged and that there are problems with beginning with the subject/object rift as the grounds for relationality.

8.5 Conclusion

There is a level of socio-politico-economic scale that is perpetually and increasingly undermined through the operations of and at the hand of capitalist societies and large centralized states (Chapters 3&4). The nested scales of livelihood are increasingly undermined, resulting in survival unit of the State-Market. These societies are increasingly impersonal as the scale increases. As they become increasingly impersonal and fragmented, they become less coherent, healthy, and resilient, or in Alexander's terms, less alive. The structure of capitalist Modernity undermines the relationships we have with one another and with the larger ecosystems in which we are nested (see Chapter 3), or, as Alexander says, "But in our time the languages have broken down. Since they are no longer shared, the processes which keep them deep have broken down; and it is therefore virtually impossible for anybody, in our time, to make a building live" (1979, p. xii). The purpose of the pattern language is to develop a shared and living language so that we can learn to build places that are alive. Pattern language theory is founded on relationships, wherein determining the individual and nested patterns that constitute living wholes is the primary goal. As Mehaffy explains:

> Alexander, who was first trained as a mathematician and physicist, was always concerned with the processes by which parts transform into wholes. He ask how nature implements this part-whole relationship and how we by comparison, in our current human version, might be getting it 'wrong' – might be triggering a kind of technological malfunction, and damaging living systems (Mehaffy, 2016, par. 9).

In essence, Alexander's theory of architectural design is one that always considers the parts in relation to the whole in order to create places that are more coherent and to make the world more whole. A pattern language is, "a finite system of rules which a person can use to generate an infinite variety of different buildings […] The use of [the] language will allow the people of a

village or a town to generate exactly that balance of uniformity and variety which brings a place to life" (p. 191). In the next chapter, I show how I apply this architectural theory to social networks and associations.

Chapter 9 Alexander two: Applying the pattern language to social networks and associations

In this chapter I explain how I adapt Alexander's pattern language theory for architectural design to social associations and networks through the lens of Celtic traditional music and dance cultures. I argue that Alexander's principles from pattern language theory for vernacular architectural design can be used to understand and encourage the growth of vernacular culture. Viewed through the lens of Celtic traditional music and when applied to human associations and networks, pattern language theory provides a useful framework through which to understand and rebalance the Market, State, and Livelihood configuration (see Chapter 4.2 & 4.3) and to (re)create more embedded and resilient local communities. I argue this through a discussion of the difficulties of applying geometric design principles to the social sphere, or what I am calling a 'sociometric'. The analogy between geometric and sociometric is quite simple. Alexander's pattern language is a geometric for three dimensional design configurations which deals with the underlying architectural patterns that make up spaces. In this thesis, I am applying that concept of design to understanding the configurations that make up nested human associations and networks – a sociometric. After discussing the difficulties of this sociometric, I then move on to elucidate what this sociometric looks like. I do so aided by MacIntyre's Aristotelian philosophy of flourishing (continued from 8.4), and a discussion of the application of pattern language theory to Celtic traditional music and dance.

9.1 Social problem: From geometry to 'sociometry'

As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the levels of social, economic, and political scales have and continue to be eroded by the logic of capital accumulation. In order to develop a 'sociometric' for resilient communities, the levels of social scales (the nested sets of social, economic, and political relations) must be identified. These social processes and relationships are not to be governed through top-down management, but rather through grassroots social processes, so that they can lead to healthy and vibrant communities as indicated through a greater number of relationships and more embedded forms of economic activity. One of the difficulties of applying Alexander's ideas to social domains outside of architecture or planning is, that three dimensional patterns in space (geometry) are easier to identify than social configurations which are more complex, less visible, and have a fourth dimension of development over time (sociometry). Instead of identifying the three dimensional patterns or centres of architectural design, the goal

herein is to identify the recurring social patterns/centres that are present in healthy and living societies. Based on this goal, the question is: what are the social structures, associations, and interactions that can contribute to (or detract from) creating healthy and resilient local communities? Or what might a sociometry for re-establishing the nested levels of social scale – individual, family, friends, community, region, etc. – that continue to be eroded by the operations of the State-Market look like?

Applying Alexander's idea of centres and patterns to these social relationships, the purpose is to develop a social pattern language for resilient communities: to identify those nested patterns or centres necessary for a vibrant and healthy society that operates through a rebalancing of the Market, State, and Livelihood spheres (see Chapter 4). Social events and processes either contribute or detract from social wholes in the same way that physical features either contribute or detract from the 'aliveness' of a room, building, or streetscape. A band busking on a corner, a group of kids playing road hockey, or two old men playing chess in the square all contribute to the quality of 'aliveness' of a street's life or a downtown more generally. Similarly, a family meal shared around a dinner table which engenders conversation while strengthening the bond between parents and children, and between the children themselves, can be said to have a greater degree of aliveness than a series of individual meals eaten hastily in front of a laptop in one's bedroom (Neufeld & Maté, 2013).

As with architecture or physical design, the aliveness of social centres/patterns is increased by magnifying the presence of *levels of scale, strong centres, boundaries, alternating repetition, positive space, good shape, local symmetries, deep interlock and ambiguity, contrast, gradients, roughness, echoes, the void, simplicity and inner calm,* and *not-separateness* that make up the fifteen properties of wholeness (but this will be illustrated in later chapters). Although, not surprisingly, several of the fifteen properties are more conducive to generating aliveness in spatial centres than in social centres and vice versa (this too will be discussed in more detail in later chapters). In essence, the idea is that, as with the nested, interlocking, and interdependence of spatial centres/patterns, social centres/patterns are also nested, interlocking, and interdependent, thereby either contributing to or detracting from the wholeness, unity, or aliveness of any given society or social interaction. Over time, the repetition of these social patterns or 'patterns of events' can contribute to a society that is healthy, resilient, and alive, as evidenced by the relationships of individuals and groups within, especially intergenerational

relationships, low dependence on state support, high degrees of community involvement and interaction, and social coherence. But social patterns can also detract from a society as evidenced by communities that have very few relationships, internal disorder, high levels of welfare or state-dependence, low employment, and outmigration of skilled and educated labour. Of course, it is not simply that an event happens once and then the pattern is there, but rather that these social centres/patterns are recurring and through this recurrence create the character or culture of a society, family, community, etc. In the same way, that having one meal as a family does not constitute a family culture, but instead requires the frequent recurrence of shared meals in order to contribute to the fabric of family culture.

In this sense, identifying the social patterns/centres that contribute to resilient communities might also be called 'a pattern language of Livelihood'. The intent is that local communities in their activities, goals, and goods, are supported by the structure and operations of society – both civil society and associations and the state – rather than inhibited through "the establishment of compulsory labor legally enforceable on those who do not own the means of production for the advantage of those who do" (Belloc, 1977, p. 39), as is the wont of capitalist societies (Carson, 2010; Pearce, 2006). Just as the smaller-scale, place-based operations are eroded by the 'efficiency' of rootless flows of capital in space (Massey, 1995; 2005), so too is the push for increasing spatial and social mobility corrosive of those social and economic values – generosity, obligations towards kin and community, hospitality, etc. – which are the bedrock for relationships, associations, and interactions present in more embedded and place-based forms of society and economy (Medaille, 2016; Webb, 2009). Thus any such sociometry must identify those social patterns or centres which work to re-establish those nested social and economic processes and associations that contribute to the flourishing of human associations across *levels of scale*. The sociometry must also identify those *levels of scales* of social centres between the individual and State-Market which have and continue to be abraded.

This shift from spatial to social patterns, from geometry to sociometry, is not entirely unprecedented. Dealing with three dimensions, Alexander consistently looks at the physical reoccurring patterns that make a building come alive. While he does at times make some claims regarding social interactions, as an architect, he always comes back to architectural design with a focus on geometry. Building on his theory, I focus on the social, rather than the architectural patterns in order to determine *a* 'sociometric' of living communities. This sociometic

investigates what patterns of recurring events occur to make a society more alive. It investigates the patterns of events or social centres that, over time, can contribute to societies that are more sustainable (requiring lower levels of state dependence and lower levels of energy throughput), have more embedded economies, foster more relationships especially intergenerational relationships, and contain a greater degree of health and vibrancy, or in the words of Alexander, those patterns which makes societies more 'alive'.

The function, or geometry, or living space of these architectural centres is always to intensify life to the greatest degree (Alexander, 2002a; 2002b; 2004; 2005). While Alexander speaks explicitly about architecture or designs, there are many instances where the discussion leans towards the human interaction that takes place as a result of the design. For example, pattern 231, different chairs, instructs: "never furnish any place with chairs that are identically the same. Choose a variety of chairs, some big, some small, some softer than others, some rockers, some very old, some new, with arms, without arms, some wicker, some wood, some cloth" (Alexander, 1977, p. 1159). The purpose of having different types of chairs is to create an atmosphere that allows for 'rich experience', which is, of course, referring to the experience of the people who will be sitting on the chairs. While the chairs may also look aesthetically pleasing with a variety of options, the purpose of having different chairs is primarily to create an atmosphere where people are the most comfortable and where the experience of those in the room can be the most conducive to conversation, or whatever occupation is desired. It is not for the sake of a pretty arrangement divorced from human interaction, but a deeply *functional* (recall 'function' discussion from Chapter 7, in particular 7.4) design which endeavors to create spaces in which people can thrive and through this creation, the places become alive. The homeless shelter in San Jose California designed by Christopher Alexander is an excellent example of focusing on function and human wellbeing which consequently results in a beautiful design (see shelter design page https://www.patternlanguage.com/projects/julian.html). The purpose of the shelter is to care for the homeless and on the healing and holistic health of inhabitants (Chollet, 1995), as such, "the building sets a tranquil environment for the people it shelters by orienting courtyards and gardens, which signify that the building is a testament to the natural world". At the same time, Alexander "has structured the building as a medieval retreat, which simultaneously helps the homeless feel at home" (Kohli, 2022, par. 5). By focusing on the

function or purpose of the building – the wellbeing of the homeless – the building design is beautiful.

The social patterns which occur are paramount for living places, as Alexander himself points out. He begins the chapter 'Patterns of Events' by saying, in "order to define this quality in buildings and in towns, we must begin by understanding that every place is given its character by certain patterns of events that keep on happening there" (p. 55). The life of any place "depend[s] not simply on the physical environment, but on the patterns of events that keep on happening there" (Alexander, 1979, p. 62). While the architectural design and environmental features are important, the specific character that places have is largely due to the events which take place within and the actions that people perform over and over again. As Alexander states, "We know, then, that what matters in a building or a town is not its outward shape, its physical geometry alone, but the events that happen there" (Alexander, 1979, p. 65). The events and interactions of the people within any specific place and our actions in the most commonplace occurrences of "being with them [people], [are], in short, the ways of being which exist in our world, that make it possible for us to be alive" (Alexander, 1979, p. 65).

Spatial patterns and social patterns are profoundly entwined. Alexander provides detailed analysis of the geometric elements required to create living buildings and designs, his focus always on creating structures that have greater degrees of life. However, throughout he notes the interplay of geometry and the reoccurring events that take place within a space. Highlighting their connection, Alexander uses the example of "watching the world go by" (Alexander, 1979, p. 70). You can sit on a porch or park steps, in a café, or on a terrace and watch the world go by, but in doing so, you cannot separate the event "from the porch where it occurs. The action and the space are indivisible. The action is supported by this kind of space. The space supports this kind of action. The two form a unit, a pattern of events in space" (Alexander, 1979, p. 70). Each spatial pattern is associated with a particular pattern of events (p. 91). The patterns of events in a kitchen, any kitchen, very much depend upon the architectural patterns of the kitchen – "the way that food is prepared, the fact that people eat there, or don't eat there the fact that they wash the dishes standing at the sink . . . and on and on . . ." (Alexander, 1979, p. 91-92). For example, the changes in food/kitchens in different societies illustrate this point. Hunter-gatherer society consisted of communal eating around fires; tribal societies had communal eating around a hearth in a longhouse; medieval cities had street food, inns, and shared domestic space (Mennell, 1996).

Wealthy people in the early Modern period shifted from communal and shared spaces to private ones with the separation of cooking and the kitchen from the dining room. The modern cafeteria style eating typifies the de-familiarization of eating and the industrial model, where food pods demonstrate ultra-privatization, individuation, and industrialization, illustrating the total 'rationalization' of Modern individuals in the Weberian sense (Ritzer, [1993]2014). In these examples we can see that the spatial and social arrangements in eating are intertwined.

While they are entwined, the spatial patterns do not cause the patterns of events, nor do the patterns of events which occur cause the spatial patterns. Yet, they are connected as the spatial pattern is the precursor which allows for events to occur. As such, "it [a pattern in space] plays a fundamental role in making sure that just this pattern of events keeps on repeating over and over again, throughout the space, and that it is, therefore, one of the things which gives a certain building, or a certain town, its character" (Alexander, 1979, p. 92). Thus, while there is not a causal relationship between the two, they are connected and dependent upon each other. The patterns which repeat in any place build character: the character is built by the mutually reinforcing patterns in space and the events which occur in it (p. 95).

In *The Process of Creating Life* (2002b) Alexander gives an example of this mutual reinforcing via a Brazilian favela. Between the houses in this favela, the people of the community leave vacant spaces so that children can play there. It is not, Alexander argues, a space simply left as mandated by poverty, but rather, because the people love children, children's games, and appreciate the reality of childhood: "this place comes from structure-preserving transformations of that wholeness which includes the children, and preserves and extends their love of children" (p. 105). The space itself has life, nestled between the houses in the favela, but it is the play of the children, the social interactions and relationships which really bring this place to life and these elements are present in the wholeness of the space. The space between the houses does not cause the play, but likewise, that particular type of play, that soccer game, could not take place without the space to do so.

In these examples, Alexander echoes Jane Jacobs (1961). In "The Use of Sidewalks", Jacobs describes how the safety of a city depends, to a significant degree, on the set-up of the street, particularly the sidewalks. Sidewalks, and consequently cities, are safe when people are around observing what is going on with demarcated areas for public and private life and activity. The deserted or low-density street, no matter the wealth or poverty of a neighbourhood, is less

safe than the street which has many people on it at all hours of the day or night. As such, this requires things for people to do. As Jacobs states:

> The basic requisite for such surveillance [of civilians on the street] is a substantial quantity of stores and other public places sprinkled along the sidewalks of a district; enterprises and public places that are used by evening and night must be among them especially. Stores, bars and restaurants, as the chief examples, work in several different and complex ways to abet sidewalk safety (Jacobs, 1961, p. 109).

The premise is quite simple. In order to have people on the street, there must be a reason for them to want to be there. And, as people are drawn to where other people are – "people's love of watching activity and other people is constantly evident in cities everywhere" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 109) – the more people have to do, experience, or watch on the street, the more they will linger and through lingering keep it safe.

She continues by likening the activity on a busy street to a dance. Where it is:

> not a simple-minded precision dance with everyone kicking up at the same time, twirling in unison and bowing off *en masse*, but an intricate ballet in which the individual dancers and ensembles all have distinctive parts which miraculously reinforce each other and compose an orderly whole (Jacob, 1961, p. 110).

This dance is in some ways dependent upon the layout and density of the stores, coffee shops, pubs, window seats of private homes, and any other number of architectural features along the street. The dance or social patterns create the culture of any place. But, more importantly, the ballet can only happen because of the individual 'dancers' and 'ensembles' present, where the presence of a few people really can change the nature of the 'dance' as a whole, or, indeed, the ability for it to exist at all.

The social patterns or processes are paramount for creating the character or culture of a place. Vernacular architecture of traditional society has wholeness and coherence precisely because of those societies' common ways of life. The values, social mores, religious practices and beliefs, and general ways of life were shared and, as such, the architecture reflects the shared values through their shared social patterns (Mohammed & Mahmoud, 2012). The breakdown of architectural coherence in any individual buildings', communities', or cities' unity is causally related to this breakdown of shared ways of life. In Modernity as we are protected by the State, individuals have need for "relation of membership" (Scruton, 2012, p. 223) only to the degree that is required to form a social contract. In order to reassert the domain of Livelihood we must recover some kind of shared or 'we' identity or life in common. And any such social decision

making process requires reflection on the social processes which come before and which follow it à la architectural design processes.

While all of the examples above show the relationship between the social and spatial, the main point is the interconnected, nested, and dependent nature of human relationships and associations. The patterns of social relationships and interactions, the 'dance' on the street, cannot take place with one person alone with the same degree of life. The soccer game in the favela requires many interdependent relationships to take place at all: each of the children with their parents, the children within the game itself, and the common agreement of the various parents to leave a space for the kids to place. As such, centres exist in the social realm as well. If we apply the term centre to these social groups, there are many overlapping social centres required for the game, a social centre in itself, to take place. The social/temporal processes required to re-establish socio-economic levels of scale are interlocking, interdependent, and unified sets of social relations which together form cultures and subcultures. Whereby, drawing on Alexander's definition of wholeness, the wholeness or culture of a place is created by the sociometric, that is the nested sets of social relationships or social *centres* which work together to create the culture of a given place (2000a, p. 364).

9.2 Geometries of flourishing: Alexander's quality of 'aliveness'

In order to begin cultivating social centres that contribute to a society's or community's aliveness requires a discussion of what 'aliveness' means. Although called by a different name, the idea of aliveness in social centres is not unprecedented. 'Aliveness' is central to Alexandrian thought but he does not engage with other philosophers' theories, and consequently he does not have an explicit philosophy in which to ground it (Mehaffy, 2019). Alexander's concept of 'aliveness' however, resonates with the concept of flourishing, wellbeing, happiness, or *eudomania* that is present in the Aristotelian philosophy of Alasdair MacIntyre (2007, 2009). There is precedence for establishing the 'sociometry' herein, especially considering the parallels between aliveness and flourishing in MacIntyrean philosophy. In fact, the aliveness of Alexander is synonymous with the flourishing of MacIntyre.

Regarding 'aliveness', Alexander states:

> A man is alive when he is wholeheartedly, true to himself, true to his own inner forces, and able to act freely according to the nature of the situations he is in (…) To be happy, and to be alive, in this sense, are almost the same. Of course, a man who is alive, is not always happy in the sense of feeling pleasant; experiences of joy are balanced by experiences of sorrow. But the experiences

> are all deeply felt; and above all, the man is whole; and conscious of being real (Alexander, 1979, p. 105-106).

These inner forces alone are not sufficient for happiness or aliveness, as humans are dependent on other people and on our surroundings. Alexander continues:

> There is a myth, sometimes widespread, that a person need do only inner work, in order to be alive like this; that a man is entirely responsible for his own problems; and that to cure himself, he need only change himself. . . But it is a one-sided and mistaken view which also maintains the arrogance of the belief that the individual is self-sufficient, and not dependent in any essential way on his surroundings… The fact is, a person is so far formed by his surroundings, that his state of harmony depends entirely on his harmony with his surroundings (Alexander, 1979, p. 106).

This relational self that Alexander espouses is consistent with the self of social psychology articulated by Mead et al. (2015) and Goffman (Adler & Adler, 1987). The relational self is true of all humans: the self always emerges in a relational matrix. In pre-Modern societies with more participating consciousness, this is not problematic, as it is sort of implied in the way traditional people see and understand self-consciousness (see also 7.2). This is associated with what Elias (1991) calls *homines aperti*, which is a plural figuration of interacting (dancing) individuals who are all permeable and open. Whereas Modernity, post Descartes, posits the closed separate 'thinking statue' conception of self, which Elias (1991) calls *homo clausus* (see also 3.2). The *homo clausus* conception refers to a reality: Modern individuals are disembedded, mobile, separate, and experience themselves as more hermetically distinct. The self still emerges in a relation/situational context (Elias, 1991; Mead et al., 2015; Adler & Adler, 1987), but it is much more difficult for Modern people to really appreciate this relationality and operate with this understanding.

This relational view of humans contradicts the perception of the rational, morally sovereign, autonomy of the Cartesian individual whose freedom to choose whatever they want is the defining characteristic, as articulated in Chapter 3. One can hear the distinctly Kantian philosophy in the 'myth' stated in the Alexander quotation above. In addition to resonating with social psychology, Alexander's view also resonates with the 'vulnerability', 'dependence', and 'animality' that MacIntyre outlines in *Dependent Rational Animals* (2009). As I have argued elsewhere (Beresford, 2020), MacIntyre's ontology resonates with the relationality and contextuality required to live more harmoniously with other humans and the rest of the natural world. MacIntyre (2009) argues that each person cannot pursue their own good independent from the pursuit of the good of others with whom they are in relation: "For we cannot have a properly

adequate understanding of our own good, of our own flourishing, apart from and independently of the flourishing of that whole set of social relationships in which we have found our place" (p. 107). In order for one to pursue their own good, they must do so with consideration of and alongside the active pursuit of others' goods as well. But what has this to do with 'aliveness' and Alexander?

MacIntyre (2009) argues that neither the modern nation-state nor the modern family can provide sufficient social and political associations required for human flourishing. The modern nation-state cannot provide the required 'communal association' because the state cannot provide the necessary "political framework informed by the just generosity necessary to achieve the common goods of networks of giving and receiving" (p. 133). And, while the modern family provides a context for nurturing and educating for children and "initiates [them] into the activities of an adult world in which their parents' participatory activities provide them both with resources and models" (p. 133), the social environment of the family is not a *sufficient* condition for human well-being or flourishing. The flourishing of families is largely dependent upon the wider social environment, institutions, and associations. As dependent and social animals, our well-being or flourishing is, in turn, dependent upon the wider social environment, and "some kinds of physical and social circumstances help a person come to life. Others make it very difficult" (Alexander, 1979, p. 106).

The flourishing or well-being of persons is achievable based on a philosophical anthropology which acknowledges the physicality of the human species in conjunction with the capacity for reason. This philosophical anthropology contrasts with the Cartesian individual, which theoretically operates as a mind that is separate from matter. The dualisms of mind/matter and fact versus value are moot, as within this philosophical paradigm, to call something good is to make a statement of fact (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 59). Dispelling these dualisms is central to understanding the concept of flourishing or aliveness. Within this philosophical tradition, the 'good' is not an abstract Kantian category, but rather "'man' stands to 'good man' as 'watch' stands to 'good watch' or farmer to 'good farmer' […] Aristotle talks it as a starting-point for ethical enquiry that the relationships of 'man' to 'living well' is analogous to that of 'harpist' to 'playing the harp well'" (MacIntyre, 2010, p. 58). As Mehaffy (2019) and M. Polanyi (2009) point out, facts are secondary abstractions, and "the actual fallacy is to deny the inseparable a priori role of value" (Mehaffy, 2019, p. 11). The 'good person', as with the 'good harpist' or the

‘good farmer’ are not living, as Sartre ([1943]2012) says, in ‘bad faith’ because living well is not an imposed instruction or rulebook directing each to a predetermined end. To live well or flourish, in the MacIntyrean sense requires the recognition that humans are a particular type of animal, and in order to be happy or to flourish we should pursue goods which contribute to our flourishing, for example friendship, virtue, etc.

In this vein, it is also worth noting that the philosophical anthropology of this thesis recognizes that humans are a part of nature (which can be referred to as biophilia) and consequently, nature plays a significant role in the iteration of place-specific pattern languages. While the Cartesian individual operates with a separation or dualism between humanity and nature, the MacIntyrean conception of self with which this thesis aligns, recognizes that humans are ‘dependent rational animals’ (MacIntyre, 2009), and consequently are in relation with and dependent upon the rest of nature. As such, while one could consider this thesis anthropocentric (in a sense) as it engages specifically with human networks and relationships, the philosophical anthropology of this thesis understands that humans are impelled to stewardship and that human flourishing is dependent upon our relationships and integration with local ecology, geology, and landscapes.

Being virtuous or having good luck are not sufficient for human flourishing as our well-being relies heavily upon the political circumstances or political community to which we are born (Aristotle, *Politics*, 1260b1-2). Because of the draconian logic of capitalism, aspects of Modern life inhibit human flourishing, for example, economic inequality and social dysfunction i.e., mental illness, imprisonment, obesity (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009), epidemics of depression (Hidaka, 2013) and anxiety (Lépine, 2002), drug use and addiction (Bjerg, 2008; Alexander, 2015) – i.e., the broad swath of social, psychological, and mental disorders that are exacerbated by the conditions of capitalist modernity. MacIntyre argues:

> Market relationships can only be sustained by being embedded in certain types of local nonmarket relationships, relationships of uncalculated giving and receiving, if they are to contribute to overall flourishing, rather than, as they so often in fact do, undermine and corrupt communal ties (MacIntyre, 2009, p. 117).

In order to illustrate this point, MacIntyre uses an example of an exchange between a proprietor and a customer at a butcher shop. The customer walks in to the shop and, seeing that the butcher is having a heart attack, says ‘I guess you’re not in a position to serve me meat today’ and proceeds to another shop. In this scenario the *entirety* of that costumer’s relationship, inclusive of

an economic one, will have been destroyed. Likewise, if the customer calls an ambulance and then, upon arrival of the paramedics, leaves immediately, the relationship will also suffer. But neither of these actions is contrary to the norms of the Market. Human flourishing requires uncalculated giving and receiving as we are a social animal that must nurture communal ties, and cannot flourish without them (MacIntyre, 2009). The patterns of our societies, our institutions, our associations, and our homes either contribute or detract from our flourishing (MacIntyre, 2007; 2009). Or, as Alexander says:

> They [patterns] create it [life] in the first place, by liberating man. They create life, by allowing people to release their energy, by allowing people themselves, to become alive. Or, in other places, they prevent it, they destroy the sense of life, they destroy the very possibility of life, by creating conditions under which people cannot possibly be free (Alexander, 1979, p. 105).

It is the facilitation of human flourishing that Alexander is referring to here when he speaks of 'aliveness'. Henceforth, unless otherwise stated, 'alive' and 'flourishing' are used synonymously.

Alexander has provided us with an explicit framework for generating aliveness in architecture, and, bolstered by this synonymy with flourishing or well-being, there is considerable precedence for moving from architectural design to social processes by looking at the associations, institutions, and political structures that either contribute or detract from human flourishing or communities and cultures that are alive.

9.3 Pattern language theory and Celtic traditional music and dance

The functional residual livelihood and 'community' archetype aspects of CTMD cultures suggest that CTMD cultures could nudge society in the direction of more embedded forms of society and economy that are rooted in networks of families and communities (see Chapter 7). Any pattern language for CTMD might at least tentatively be a pattern language for society as a whole. In this sense, CTMD is the catalyst for re-embedding of individuals and economic activity in more place-based forms of economy and society, but, at the same time, it is also the prism through which to look at the wider society.

In the social sphere there are CTMD patterns of events/centres that contribute to the culture to greater and lesser degrees. The context for CTMD cultures has largely been obliterated by the forces of Modernism (Fowke as cited in Smith 2005), even so, many of the features that establish strong reciprocal bonds remain (see Chapter 7). These CTMD cultures are often piggy-backing on elements of the capitalist culture in order to sustain them, as many of the features that

made pre-modern societies sustainable or regenerating have been replaced. For example, with modern education, “the reproduction of fully socialized individuals itself becomes part of the division of labour” (Gellner, 1983, p. 32) rather than operating upon the “self-reproducing units … [of] one-to-one, intra-community training” (p. 30-31) of place-based societies (see 3.1 and 4.3). Likewise with CTMD cultures; intergenerational transmission does happen, but as the context of intergenerational ‘intra-community training’ is less frequent, quite often music transmission happens through formal one-to-one private lessons or in a public school classroom (see 7.2). As the goal is to determine the centres or recurring patterns of events that could nudge society towards asserting the domain of Livelihood, then this will include, perhaps, less state-funding in schools, or more organic and less formal private one-to-one transactional lessons. I would like to reiterate that this is not an anti-modern project per se, but only to the extent that it comments on some of the more negative aspects of modernity. It is not a Romantic effort to regress to an idealized and fictional past. Rather, it is through the recognition of many of the positives of modernity (human rights, equality, social mobility, healthcare, science, etc.) that this research seeks to determine a way to maintain the social positives while transitioning to a more sustainably modernity.

The *centres* and recurring patterns of events of CTMD cultures either contribute or detract from the flourishing or aliveness of a local culture. As with architectural centres, these social and cultural centres are nested, overlapping, interdependent, and concentric, or at least, in the healthiest of cases they are (see Chapters 11-14). The stronger the connections and more layered the relationships, the more difficult it becomes to describe in a linear fashion. For example, and as is often the case, there may be a family in which each member is a musician but who also play together as a family band. The children may belong to different bands, and both learn and teach in different capacities. The parents, while also possibly in a band or two, may volunteer at the local festival, and participate in the Saturday morning fiddle workshop. And then each individually is a centre as well. One child may busk in the evenings after school and on weekends, contributing to the strength of the centre on the street. All to say, the more viscous the centres, the more entangled, entwined, and messy the relationships get and the more embedded the society becomes, the more difficult to map out on a Cartesian plane. But as discussed in the previous chapter, this is a problem with the plane as the means of mapping, not the humans, the societies, and their relationships. The more resilient the local culture, the more difficult to

describe in a linear fashion, the greater the number of the fifteen properties that are present, and the more complicated the explanation, as the presence of overlapping and mutually reinforcing social centres increase the number and quality of the relationships within a community. The purpose in developing this sociometry is to identify the social processes that generate resilient and sustainable communities through the medium of CTMD.

Viewed through a CTMD lens, a PL for Livelihood (see 4.2 and 9.1) points to the elements required for fleshing out of the intermediate scales of society that have been obliterated by Market forces. In the chapters that follow, I elucidate what a pattern language of CTDM looks like by explicating the centres that constitute flourishing CTMD cultures. Beginning with a concept of the whole, the following chapters outline the concentric centres that are present in flourishing CTMD cultures, how they interact with or support each other, and where in the place-bound traditions (described in Chapter 10) there are 'problem patterns' and thus what the 'solution patterns' might look like. It is necessary to bear in mind the wholeness of centres, as well as the overlapping, connected, and dependent nature of these social centres. As such, I begin by looking at these cultures first as wholes/centres and then determining the differentiating centres within. For example at the regional *level of scale* one can see that an embedded festival can strengthen the relationships within a community, and bolster the *bounded* mutual identification of the community and geographic region (but with a balance of *not-separateness* in order to allow for innovation and to resist nativist forms of imagined community). Likewise, that the more *strong centres* at the festival (the more that the festival cascades through *levels of scale*), and the more that the participation has a *roughness*, allowing for *gradients* and *contrast* in levels of ability and participation and innovation, the more *deep interlock and ambiguity* there will be with the local community and the festival. Thus, the more embedded it will be and consequently less reliant on the formal market. The more embedded, the more *positive space*, *good shape*, and *local symmetries* these *strong centres* at the smaller *levels of scale* will have. And the more coherence or *simplicity and inner calm* the festival and indeed the community as a whole will present. In order to show how I am using these spatial concepts in a social sphere I have used the illustrations that Alexander (2000a, p. 239-341) provides to describe these properties alongside the definition of how I use them in social arrangements (see Illustrations 6 to 20). Thus, while they can be listed, the fifteen properties of wholeness interact with and aid each other when present in living patterns/centres (see Illustration 21). Elucidating the PL of

CTMD by identifying the living centres, requires what may seem like repetitive explanations (see also 2.6), but in fact the explanations are necessary in order to convey the overlapping and intertwining nature of these properties within the *strong centres* and those which aid in constituting other *strong centres*.

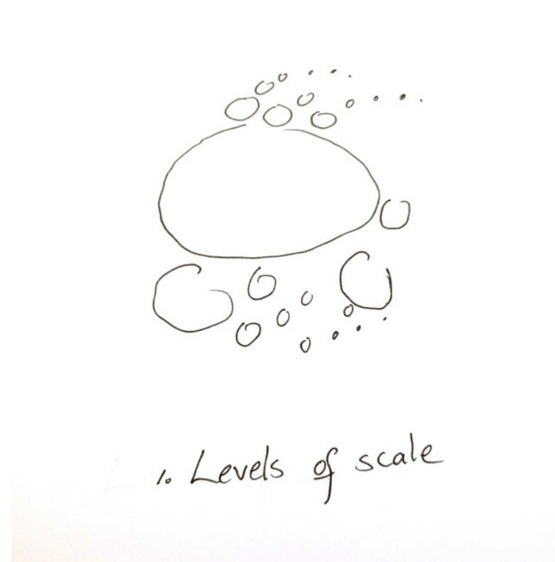


Illustration 6: 1. “Levels of scale is the way that a strong centre is made stronger partly by smaller strong centres contained in it, and partly by its larger strong centres which contain it” (p. 239). E.g., the social pattern/centre of the **festival** is made stronger by the **bands** within it, and also by the strength of the **community** in which the **festival** is held.

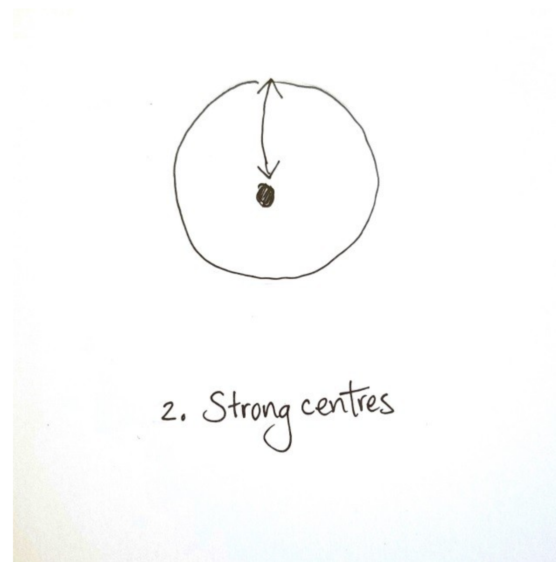
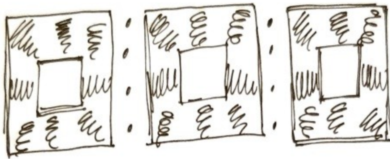
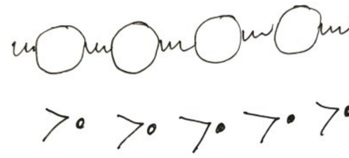


Illustration 7: 2. Strong centres describes the way that a given strong centre creates a social hub which pulls others centres into its field and simultaneously strengthens them. E.g., a vibrant or ‘alive’ **pub session** at a **festival** draws other centres to it, and in so doing, both strengthens the **session** itself, as well as the other centres (**bands**, **families**, **networks of friends**, **community**, etc.) that are at the **session**.



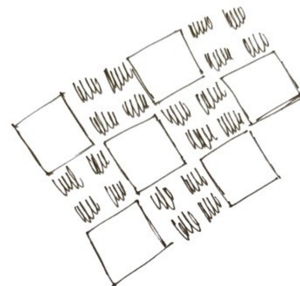
3. Boundaries

Illustration 8: 3. Boundaries is the way that a centre is strengthened by the demarcation of an in-group facilitating stronger bonding within. It is important that the boundary be porous and allows for the bridging with other individuals and centres: “The boundary also unites the centre with the centres beyond it, thus strengthening it further” (p. 239). E.g., a **music club** is strengthened by the bonds between members within the **club**. However, the **club** must also be open to new members (and allow for members to leave) – exhibiting porosity – and connect with other centres as a **club**, thereby strengthening both the **club** and the other centres (**festival**, **community**, **bands**, etc.) with which it connects.



4. Alternating repetition

Illustration 9: 4. “Alternating repetition is the way in which centres are strengthened when they repeat, by the insertion of other centres between the repeating ones” (p. 239). E.g., **households**, **dances**, **households**, **pubs**, **households**: the aliveness of each within the repeating pattern is increased through the interaction with the other social centres, which also, simultaneously strengthens the whole.



5. Positive space

Illustration 10: 5. Positive space is the way that a centre draws strength from the other

centres within and adjacent to it. As Lefebvre ([1974]1991) explains, social space is the production of the dialectic triad of spatial practice (the perceived space), representations of space (the conceived space), and representational space (the lived space) (see also Than, 2019 for very brief but helpful explanation). Drawing on Lefebvre, positive (social) space, is created in centres by the relationship between those within a centre and the interaction of centres right next to it, which makes room for the hybrid 'third space' (sensu Bhabha, 2004), which allows for difference. E.g., positive space is created at a **music camp** by allowing room for a range of ages and abilities, formal participants, parents/guardians, or volunteers to all participate and interact within the centre.

Illustration 11: 6. Good shape is closely tied to positive space, and refers to the way that a centre derives strength from the actual shape of a give centre. E.g., the boundary of a **camp** is not too tight and allows interaction with the town in which it is located; the **camp** is structured such that there is time for unscheduled, free time (the heart and soul of **camps**); the **camp** admits and caters to both highly skilled and beginner musicians/dancers, etc.

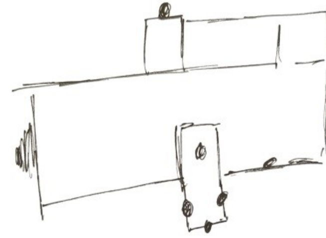
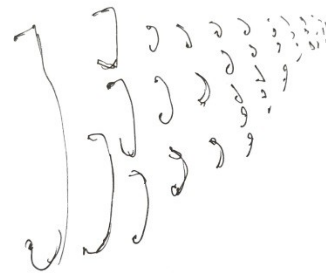


Illustration 12: 7. "Local symmetries is the way that the intensity of a given centre is increased by the extent to which other smaller centres which it contains are themselves arranged in locally symmetrical groups" (p. 240). E.g., a **community** is strengthened by clusters of smaller, symmetrical centres (**households**, **bands**, **live performances/places to play**, etc.) which contribute to the strength of the whole.

Illustration 13: 8. "Deep interlock and ambiguity is the way in which the intensity of a given centre can be increased when it is attached to nearby strong centres, through a third set of strong centres that ambiguously belong to both" (p. 240). E.g., Lori is a teacher and Ben, Jen, and Toby are her students (first centre). Ben, Jen, and Toby lead slow sessions with beginner musicians (**sessions** as second centre). Ben, Jen, and Toby make up an ambiguous and interlocking third centre of student/teachers which connects those in the slow **sessions** to the more experienced **teacher and student group**.

9. Contrast

Illustration 14: 9. "Contrast is the way that a centre is strengthened by the sharpness of the distinction between its character and the character of surrounding centres" (p. 240), as well as the distinction of those within a centre which create a greater degree of 'aliveness'. E.g., a **pub session** with both older and younger people and beginner and highly skilled musicians will have a greater degree of 'aliveness' both in itself and with respect to the **community** on the whole, as it allows for more people to participate.



10. Gradients

Illustration 15: 10. Gradients is the way that a centre which allows for a spectrum of participation, age, ability, etc., will have a higher degree of aliveness and be a more coherent centre. E.g., a **pub session** that allows for varying degrees of participation, or gradients of participation (from the person right in the middle deciding the tunes to the person on the periphery tapping their feet and sipping a pint), increases the range and number of those of the in-group.

11. Roughness

Illustration 16: 11. Roughness is the way that a centre draws strength from the irregular, loose, or unstructured components of a social centre. In essence, it is when the context is not smooth and there is a lot of space for unpolished, free, and organic social interactions. E.g., a **camp** that has unscheduled free time and thus a higher degree of roughness allows for more organic interaction, playing, jamming, and bonding between participants, which in turn both strengthens the conviviality of the **camp** but also contributes to the creation of new centres (**bands**, **networks of friends**, etc.).

Illustration 17: 12. Echoes is the way that a centre is strengthened by the reverberation of centres (events and groups) and memories through time, as well as the recurrence of centres across space. E.g., there is a history/tradition/legacy of a particular **dance** in a locale that extends through generations, strengthening the individual **dances** when they occur. Or, **pub sessions** occur across many different **communities** each with a similarity or echo of each other but also each has their individual atmosphere or particulars.

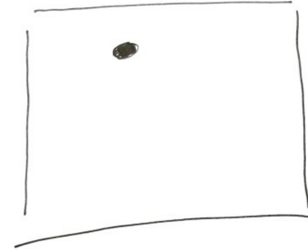


Illustration 18: 13. The void is the way that the hyper-individualism and the concomitant culture of 'liquid modernity' (see 3.3), as a Weberian type, provide a foil to the communitarian, embedded, and hearth culture of CTMD cultures. For example, the trusting, reciprocal, and communitarian nature of a CTMD **festival** or **camp** appears more vibrant in contrast to the transactional and fungible exchanges of the Market society.

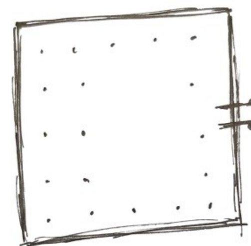
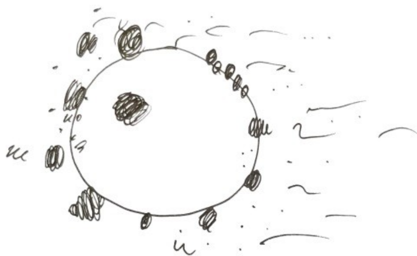


Illustration 19: 14. Simplicity and inner calm refers to the inclination of social centres to reduce the number of centres required while contributing to the overall strength of a centre and the ability to create positive space within a centre. E.g., a strong CTMD centre allows for less bureaucratic red tape within (less formal centres) while contributing to the overall strength of the centre itself.



15. Not-Separateness

Illustration 20: 15. "Not-separateness is the way the life and strength of a centre depends on the extent to which that centre is merged smoothly – sometimes even indistinguishably – with the centres that form its surroundings" (p. 241). E.g., **dances** at **festivals** or **camps** are centres in their own right, but are not-separate from the **festival** or **camp**, thereby increasing the strength of the **dances** but also the **festival** or **camp** as well.

Illustration 21: Young musicians' night at The String, Shetland. This photo exhibits *strong centres*, *boundaries*, *alternating repetition*, *positive space*, *good shape*, *deep interlock and ambiguity*, *contrast*, *roughness*, *simplicity and inner calm*, and *not-separateness*: *ten of the fifteen properties of wholeness*.

Developing this PL of CTMD can aid in re-establishing bonds between people within a community while at the same time bridge with other members outside of the community adding to the overall density and resilience of local communities and economies and the mutual reinforcement of different communities. But what this looks like remains to be discussed in the following chapters. Before elucidating the pattern language, there are some helpful concepts that add clarity to the PL of CTMD and which I refer to throughout the rest of this dissertation.

9.4 A useful concept, metaphor, and comparison for the pattern language 'sociometric'

The fractal nature of culture: One of the important aspects of this dissertation is that Celtic traditional music and dance provides a lens through which to view wider culture as a whole. Recall the first of the three part research questions from 1.2: can pattern language theory be applied to Celtic traditional music and dances cultures to provide a useful framework through which to analyse human networks through the *lens* of traditional music and, in so doing, establish a framework for societies with higher numbers of grassroots networks and associations? But how can CTMD be used as a lens for human society generally speaking?

Using an investigation of coffee drinking and highlighting the social processes involved with coffee drinking, Karl Thompson (2017) illustrates Anthony Giddons' (2006) view of sociological imagination. Thompson explains how, not only does coffee drinking have social processes involved with it – the central aspect of one's morning ritual or the basis of a social interaction, e.g., meeting for coffee – but it is also indicative of the wider social, economic, political, and historical landscapes, networks, and interactions. Coffee is most commonly grown in Asia, Africa, and Latin America by 'poor farmers'. It then goes through a multi-step process

from farmer to consumer which illustrates the nature of global supply chains. Consequently, drinking coffee at Starbucks "ties us into relations with some of the world's largest corporations" (Thompson, 2017, par. 7). From this information on coffee we can extrapolate how the wider culture and society operates. By examining just one cultural aspect or event we can understand much about how the larger society as a whole operates. The cultural, social, and political fabric is present in each of the small fractals of society. For better or worse, corporate capitalism and all it entails is present in a Starbucks coffee. Each aspect of human culture is a fractal through which is reflected the larger social, economic, political, and cultural whole.

The same holds for CTMD. Because of the fractal nature of culture, CTMD can be used as a lens through which to view the larger society. Rather than illustrating corporate capitalism with every cup, as with the Starbucks example, CTMD *centres*/patterns indicate a society with more grassroots networks and associations which operates through a rebalancing of the State, Market, and Livelihood spheres. The main takeaway here, as the title of this section indicates, is that culture is fractal. And, as such, CTMD cultures can be used as a lens through which to view, understand, and analyse human networks and associations in wider society.

<u>Levitron metaphor</u>: Spin-stabilized magnetic levitation, or the leviton, provides a helpful metaphor for understanding how social *centres* are mutually strengthening. In the 1976, Roy M. Harrigan discovered the phenomenon of spin-stabilized magnetic levitation and in 1983 patented the 'anti-gravity' top (Levitron Arts, 2022). In essence, the tops can 'magically' levitate in the air because the combination of gravitational and magnetic forces alongside gyroscopic effects creates a stable levitating space for the top (Deshmane et al., 2011). There are a variety of different versions of these toys, but an aspect common to all is that if one of the magnets is removed, the top will fall and/or spin away, no longer held steady by the gravitational forces of the other magnet(s). Let us, for a moment, think of CTMD *centres* as being related in the way that the top and the other magnets of a levitron are. If a *centre* is constrained too tightly by the other *centres* such that is subsumed by them (e.g., if the magnets are all just stuck together), the top cannot spin. Likewise, if the magnets or *centres* do not *interlock* or interact enough, there is not enough gravitational or *strengthening* force acting on the top/*centre* to keep it stabilized and spinning. However, if the forces of each of these magnets are acting upon each other in a relationally appropriate way, the top is quite stable and can spin, sometimes, it seems, indefinitely. In this sense, the magnets (or *centres*) are mutually *strengthening*. This metaphor

will become clearer in subsequent chapters once I am able to discuss particulars of CTMD *centres*, but I think it provides, even at this stage, a helpful way to understand how *centres* interacting with each other are mutually *strengthening*.

<u>Elinor Ostrom and a pattern language</u>: In Chapter 4 (4.3) I discussed the compatibility of distributist subsidiarity, green 'small is beautiful' politics, and Ostrom's polycentric governance theory, while also highlighting the tension between the formation of Cartesian individuals and this subsidiarity, Livelihood vision. The pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance or the pattern language of Livelihood posited in this chapter and elucidated in the Chapters 11 through 14 corresponds to the vision of polycentric governance proposed by Ostrom in *Governing the Commons* (1990). It also avoids or responds to the 'formation' issue. As Ostrom explains in *Governing the Commons*, "many successful CPR (common pool resource) institutions are rich mixtures of "private-like" and "public-like" institutions defying classification in a sterile dichotomy" (p. 13), and consequently, what is needed for commons governance is a combination of 'nested enterprises' consisting of both private- and public-like operations. The pattern language sociometry herein corresponds to polycentric governance espoused by Ostrom, but, sidesteps the difficulty with respect to human formation because of the relational philosophical anthropology herein. As I argue elsewhere (Beresford, 2023b), the philosophical anthropology underlying game theory and the commons governance of Ostrom consists of the Cartesian individual. As such, there is an implicit dependence upon the State-Market in terms of human formation, consequently undermining the ability to distance some human associations and commons governance from State regulation and involvement. By contrast, the relationality of the pattern language and MacIntyrean ontology (see 9.2) is consistent with the formation of grassroots, subsidiarity, polycentric governance because it takes relationality as fundamental (see Chapters 11-14).

9.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I explained how I apply Alexander's pattern language design theory to social networks and associations, creating a 'sociometry' for social structures. Beginning with a discussion of the difficulties of moving from geometry to sociomety, I also showed how closely people and places are associated, i.e., that it is difficult to separate what people do and the cultures or patterns of behaviours they have from the places in which they live. I then argued that the communitarian philosophy of Alasdair MacIntyre and his concept of flourishing, not only

corresponds to Alexander's 'aliveness', but also because of this correspondence, that MacIntyre's philosophy provides a useful and fitting philosophical foundation for the sociometry herein. I then showed how the overlapping *centres* of the pattern language of CTMD of this dissertation are mutually *strengthening* and can either contribute to or detract from the aliveness or flourishing of local cultures. Finally, I ended with some useful metaphors and explanations which illustrate how the nested *centres* of the pattern language of CTMD can work together as relational, *strengthening*, and living *centres*. After the next chapter, which gives a breakdown of the place-bound traditions of this research, I elucidate what the pattern language of CTMD described in this chapter actually is.

Chapter 10 Place-bound traditions

In this chapter I provide a brief history and description of the Celtic traditional music and dance cultures present in the place-bound traditions that I studied throughout this research, as well as a justification for including these place-bound traditions in my study, and comments on their respective similar characteristics. While there are certainly place-specific differences, there are commonalities as well. Each of these place-bound traditions can be roughly categorized as Celtic traditional music and dance cultures (CTMD) as discussed and defined in Chapter 7.

10.1 Ontario (Ottawa Valley), Canada

Following the length of the Ottawa River from Lake Temiscaming to its mouth at the St. Lawrence River, the Ottawa Valley straddles the Ontario/Quebec border, extending from the Gatineau Hills in the east (Quebec) to the Opeongo Hills in the west (Ontario) (Trew, 2009). As Trew (2009) explains, upon entering 'the Valley' today, its history of 'extreme hardship and tragedy' are apparent, but the overwhelming feeling is one of "triumphant survivalism associated with […] the voyageurs, the *coureurs du bois* and the lumbermen" (p. 1). Although, even this demarcation is paradoxical, as Joan Finnigan (1981) "referred to the region as a metaphoric island with the Ottawa River, along which provincial borders are paradoxically drawn, at its centre and the Gatineau and Opeongo hill ranges on the east and west, respectively, cutting the region off from the rest of the provinces of Quebec and Ontario" (Trew, 2009, p. 7). Echoing and acknowledging the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination's criticism of Canada's use of the term 'visible minority' for its inherently racist tone, which implies 'whiteness' as the norm, Trew explains that any sort of examination of the ethnic groups of the Ottawa Valley is shoddy at best, due to the inaccurate and problematic nature of classification. However, due to waves of immigration (both voluntary and forced) and trade, loosely speaking the ethnicities can be broken down between Algonquin and Huron First Nation tribes (Trew, 2009; Sowter, 1909, p. 100), French (beginning with the fur trade in the 17th c.), people from the British Isles (distinctions were not drawn between English, Welsh, Manx, etc.), American Loyalists, an influx of Scottish immigrants in the 19th century, Irish (both catholic and protestant) beginning after the Napoleonic Wars and peaking during the 'famine migration' in the 19th century, and German and Polish people from Prussia in the 19th century (the German data is skewed as many dropped the German heritage on censuses during the world wars) (Trew, 2009). Diverse backgrounds notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, there is a distinct identity

and a “shared sense of community is fundamental to [the] Ottawa Valley worldview” (Trew, 2009, p. 22), but certainly with a strong, persisting Irish flavour.

Traditional music of the Ottawa Valley is synonymous with the lumber camps (Trew, 2009), where, as Lee (2006) argues, “the Ottawa Valley was the epitome of the swaggering logging and lumbering life in Canada” (p. 7), although, somewhat paradoxically, little is known about Ottawa Valley music prior to the 1920s (Trew, 2009). These camps provided, not only the avenue for tune transmission, but also, bringing together men of diverse backgrounds provided the context for the creation of a new hybrid and distinctly Ottawa Valley style (Lee, 2006; Trew, 2009). Throughout the 1800s the Ottawa Valley was a main supplier of timber, not only for Canada, but also for England, Scotland, and the United States (Lee, 2006). Only a few lumber barons made a fortune from these forests, but they employed many men who would spend the winters in lumber camps working in the valley.[7] The Valley was known for ‘recreational fighting’ as one of the favourite pastimes was fighting. Over the long winters in these isolated camps the men would also share tunes and play music and consequently developed a distinct and quite masculine style of music and dance. Traditional music was not only used in these lumber camps. It was also a staple of socializing and ‘household activity’, warding off the isolation that accompanies life in The Valley (Trew, 2009). Even those who may not play the fiddle themselves would often have one in their home so that if neighbours stopped by they could have a tune (Trew, 2009).

In the Ottawa Valley, the main form of traditional music is referred to as Old Time (Trew, 2009). And, unlike many other regions, fiddle and step dancing contests are the main cultural events in the Ottawa Valley: beginning in Perth, ON on the May 24 weekend and ending with the Pembroke contest on Labour Day weekend (Johnson, 2010; Trew, 2009). As the fiddling and step dancing (alongside old-time dancing) developed in close conjunction with each other, the competitions often host both fiddle and dancing (Johnson, 2010) (notable exceptions, Trew explains, include Shelburne and The Grand Masters, which are exclusively fiddle contests, p. 216). Becoming regular events in the 1950s, the first annual competition was established in Pembroke in the mid-1960s. It ran for a number of years, stopped for a number, and then in 1976 started up again, where it has been running to date (Trew, 2009, p. 216). Many people travel long

[7] When my Nana (my maternal grandmother) was nine years old, she had to spend the winter in one of these lumber camps as, having just lost her father, her mother had to go work in the camp as a cook. She remembers being disappointed at having to miss school and finding the camp ‘very rough’.

distances to attend or compete in these contests and, as such, choose to camp over the weekends. While the contests are the main contemporary context for Ottawa Valley traditional music, the culture is by no means formulaic, as, “the lifeblood of the contests is what happens off the stage: in the practice rooms and in the campground. Here dancers and fiddlers try out new techniques, steps and tunes, often working collaboratively to teach and critique and encourage each other” (Johnson, 2010, p. 152).

The clog-jig-reel set is popular in the Ottawa Valley (Trew, 2009, p. 125), and, while it is unknown whence this medley originated, many believe that it is a modern creation stemming from the step-dancing competitions or contests (Trew, 2009, p. 144). The origins of the Ottawa Valley style of dance in the lumber camps is still heard today in the driving rhythm of the tunes and steps definitive of the Ottawa Valley style (Johnson, 2000a). Up until the 2000s, it was uncommon for women to fiddle in this style: April Verch was the second woman to win the Canadian championship in 1998, twenty-one years after Eleanor Townsend had done so for the first time ever (Johnson, 2000b). While prior to the 2000s there was a dearth of women fiddlers in the Ottawa Valley style, the hybridity of the Irish, English, French Canadian, and First Nation styles “accommodates everyone and encourages community solidarity” (Trew, 2009, p. 166, Johnson, 2010), making it an inclusive and ‘communitas’ creating culture.

10.2 Cape Breton, Canada

Discussing the context for Cape Breton music, Feintuch (2004) states, “Identity and locality may seem unusually vital in Cape Breton, but economics are a failure” (p. 88). This statement may seem a bit strong, but upon closer inspection, rings true. Outmigration has been a constant of Cape Breton since the famine of the 1840s, when the fishery, wheat, and potatoes all failed. The problem only increased after the First World War, as the possibility of the subsistence economy decreased and people had to “find work off the land, or off the island” (p. 88). The last vestiges of economic stability, coal mining and steel production, went into similar decline after the Second World War and by the end of the twentieth century the last nail was put in their coffins (Feintuch, 2004). As of 2004, official unemployment rates were higher than twenty percent, with the likelihood that the ‘real’ rate was closer to forty (Feintuch, 2004, p. 89). Current official unemployment rates sit at over ten percent – the highest in Nova Scotia (Government of Canada, 2022). Linked to unemployment, education levels, and social disintegration, Cape Breton also

has some of the worst health statistics in Canada, “with high rates of heart disease, cancers, smoking, and diabetes” (Feintuch, 2004, p. 89; MacDonald, 2002).

Dismal economy notwithstanding, or perhaps associated with, the music culture on Cape Breton Island, and in Inverness County in particular, has “a contemporary presence and intensity unrivalled elsewhere in North America” (Feintuch, 2004, p. 73). There is some debate as to whether the current traditional music status is due to a revival or whether it is a continuation of a music tradition that dates back to the 1800s (Feintuch, 2004). Regardless, the music scene is “more robust than ever” (Feintuch, 2004, p. 74). Consisting of Mi’kmaq First Nation, French Acadian, but mostly of Gaelic-speaking Scots (who were shunted to Cape Breton due to the Highland Clearances in Scotland), Cape Breton fiddle music has a strong Scottish flavour (only recently, within the last number of decades has the music shifted from being referred to as Scottish music to Cape Breton music) (Feintuch, 2004, p. 80; Graham, 2004). Historically, as with many remote, rural locales, music served as a form of entertainment and social glue through “aurally-transmitted dance music and their predominantly-oral cultural forms” (Graham, 2004, p. 25), providing joy and release from harsh climes, isolation, and difficult working conditions (Graham, 2004). Isolated both by land and sea (save for travel from Newfoundland), the Gaelic settlements in Cape Breton continued to operate in the “kin-based” manner of pre-capitalism, perpetuating this traditional music style, with music setting the backdrop for weddings, family gatherings and parties, work bees, and other community-style forms of socialization. From confederation through to World War I, the fiddle tradition largely was an in-house affair, mostly due to the long and severe winters. Interestingly, unlike other areas which saw a decline in traditional music from industrialization, the post-war industrialization in Cape Breton lent economic stability and support to rural areas, which in turn supported traditional fiddling (Graham, 2004, p. 66-67). It was not until the mid-twentieth century that fiddle culture began to experience social pressure and decline, ironically through the creation of state-mediated, self-conscious ‘Scottishness’ (Northern Britishness) which favoured tartans, pipes, and other heritage-based forms of identity over living grass-roots culture (Graham, 2004, p. 69). It is worth noting Gaelic was the third most spoken language in Canada at the turn of the twentieth century and almost entirely disappeared throughout the same century (Dembling, 2006; MacIntyre et al., 2019). This decline is simultaneous with the creation of a Celtic identity. Throughout the 1950s and 60s, due to the permeation of radio, television, continuing outmigration, connection to the

mainland via the Canso Causeway, the view of fiddle culture as outdated and parochial, and the instantiation of 'pop culture', fiddle music waned (Graham, 2004, p. 76-77). The 1971 documentary "Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler" is commonly cited as being a wake-up call for Cape Breton fiddle culture.

Since that time, fiddle music has seen a resurgence, considerably due to the changed perception of fiddle music as 'cool' and the professional success of Natalie MacMaster, Ashley MacIsaac, and the Rankin Family, and tourism to Cape Breton, based in large part upon the traditional music (Graham, 2004; Feintuch, 2004). But it is also due to the innovation and ability to change, as, drawing on Lowenthall (1997), Feintuch states, "I do believe that the music's ability to embrace creativity while holding on to, and helping formulate and re-enact, its local identity is one of the main reasons why it thrives. The music remains in service, in some sense, of community, rather than an ossified example of 'heritiage'" (Feintuch, 2004, p. 100). A notable example of 'embracing change' is the now widespread acceptance of piano accompaniment and the rhythmic playing of John Morris Rankin (Graham, 2004). Another notable about Cape Breton traditional music, in contrast to other areas, is that there is a deep distrust of competitions. Indeed they are adamant that doing so would be detrimental to Cape Breton traditional music, as they argue it would limit the individual stylistic elements of ornamentation and regional specificity definitive of this tradition (Graham, 2004; MacDonald, 2019, personal communication). Lastly, in contrast to PEI (explained below) the fiddle tradition in Inverness County has always been associated with dancing (Doherty, 1996; Feintuch, 2004). But as Feintuch says, regardless of whether or not one views Cape Breton fiddling today to be an extension of a centuries old tradition or a revival, it is uncontested that there are more fiddlers today than there ever were.

10.3 Prince Edward Island, Canada

Prince Edward Island is mostly populated by those of Acadian French, Highland Scots, and Irish decent (Perlman, 2015, p. 3). Farming is the most common form of occupation, both now and since the settlement of PEI (p. 3). Second to farming, historically, fishing was the second most common form of livelihood but has recently been ousted by tourism (p. 4). Aside from a short period of prosperity in the mid-nineteenth century, due to "tariff-free trade with American ports and by growth in the local shipbuilding industry" (p. 7), the economy of PEI has been historically poor. The lot system of the British occupation, the deportation of the Acadian people

in the 18th century, the favouring of manufacturing and agriculture in the central and western provinces over the shipping and agriculture of the Maritimes from confederation through to the twentieth century, the mass emigration of islanders to other parts of North America, as well as the unchanging practices in most industries from the late nineteenth until midway through the twenty-first century all contributed to keeping the PEI economy depressed (Perlman, 2015). At the turn of the twentieth century, the majority of the PEI population made their living through "mixed farming", which consisted of a combination of potatoes, corn, pigs, chickens, etc. (Perlman, 2015, p. 8).

Due to these hard conditions and a general 'pitching in' attitude, the main form of entertainment and recreation was fiddle music and dancing square sets. Considered a duty and an "expression of neighborliness" (p. 20), local fiddlers were expected to play for local square sets and step dancing. These took place at house parties, community celebrations, weddings, barn raisings, church picnics, in schools and community centres – through which the fiddle and fiddle music was inextricably bound and which helped keep communities together (p. 19-20). These fiddle-based socials provided the main entertainment and thread for the social fabric from the eighteenth century through to the mid-twenty-first. Although it is impossible to determine a particular moment or cause for decline, and some remote, rural communities maintained a fiddle culture longer than the urban centres of PEI, the post-war years through to the 1970s saw a large decline in fiddle music due to changes of community life. As Ken Perlman (2015) states, "these changes in turn were brought about by the introduction of twentieth-century technology on the one hand and by the implementation of government social policies on the other" (p. 318). In essence, the process of modernization (see Chapter 3) undermined the "tight knit social bonds of the rural district" (p. 321), as music was no longer needed as the motivator and social glue for community socialization and labour bees.

While distinct in its regional specificity and context, the fiddle music revival on PEI is similar to other traditional music revivals throughout North America and the UK. Prince Edward Islanders often consider the founding of the Prince Edward Island Fiddlers' Society and the efforts of a Fr. Faber MacDonald (later to become Bishop Faber MacDonald) in 1976 (Bowing Down Home, n.d.; Perlman, 2015) the birth of the revival. Initially comprised of thirty members, the group soon tripled in size. These meetings deviated from the fiddle tradition in two important aspects: large groups of fiddlers instead of just one fiddler and, because the large group size,

individual styles had to be abandoned and more 'official' or published versions of the tunes had to be used, which ushered in musical notation and literacy (Perlman, 2015). Due to visionary disagreements and repertoire loyalties, three branches of the society formed: the Eastern Kings Fiddlers, the Queens County Fiddlers, and the Prince County Fiddlers. The Eastern Kings group had strong ties and association with Cape Breton and played mostly Scottish and Cape Breton tunes and established the Rollo Bay Festival in 1976 (which I attended in July of 2019). The efforts of these three branches and the events they hosted and sponsored "not only reassured established fiddlers of the art's long-term viability but also rekindled their interest in playing. At the same time, these events impressed the general population both with fiddling's entertainment value and with its overall significance to the cultural life of the island" (Perlman, 2015, p. 349). Congruent with the fiddle resurgence throughout PEI, was also the resurgence of Acadian musical style and identity. Resisting Anglophone assimilation in the form of French schools, newspapers, and a museum, the regional Acadian identity along the Evangeline coast was strengthened and well primed to receive a traditional fiddle and step dance revival (Perlman, 2015). Interestingly, step dancing took centre stage throughout the PEI fiddle revival. In an effort to distance fiddling from the drinking and degeneracy that was associated with square sets, the revivalists consciously divorced the fiddling from dancing, leaving an entertainment and performance void to be filled by step dancing (Perlman, 2015).

There are some important aspects to note with respect to the PEI fiddle revival. If the goal was to bring fiddling back to PEI as a "popular activity", then it was a success. To date there are a number of fiddle and traditional music centred events and a large number of fiddlers, both young and old throughout PEI and "nowadays, visitors to the Island at most times of the year can find performances by local fiddlers not only at festivals, but at concerts, town fairs, theatre productions, and at the nearly ubiquitous local talents shows known as 'ceilidhs'" (Celtic Life International, 2021, par. 6). Some notable recent developments of the revival are jam sessions which take place throughout PEI and the birth of a professional traditional music class (Perlman, 2015), for example the East Pointers, Vishtèn, Ten Strings and a Goat Skin, Gordie Mackeeman and His Rhythm Boys, etc. However, while the revival was successful in pulling in a young generation of fiddlers, "as PEI's old-time fiddlers died out, awareness of their unique playing styles was being lost" (Ham, 2017, p. 118), and, with them, the sense of a unique Prince

Edward Island regional sound or style. Likewise, fiddling has "become more of a performance in its own right rather than an accompaniment for dance" (Ham, 2017, p. 118).

10.4 Shetland, Scotland

Located 210 kilometres north of the Scottish mainland at the sixtieth parallel, Shetland is a group of roughly one hundred islands, with just under twenty of the islands inhabited, constituting the most northerly point of the UK (Britannica, 2023; Hamilton, 2020). Situated almost equidistant from Aberdeen in Scotland, Torshavn in Faroe, and Bergen in Norway, on Shetland, one is never more than three miles from the sea (Hamilton, 2020). The wind is almost constant and very strong with an average yearly wind speed of 16.7 mph and 20.8 mph in January, which is the windiest month of the year (Hamilton, 2020). There are stone circles and brochs throughout Shetland that suggest early pre-history settlement by Picts, and, by the early seventh and eighth centuries Christian missionaries from Ireland and/or Scotland starting converting and Christianizing those on the isles (Britannica, 2023). Vikings invaded in the eighth and ninth centuries and maintained power until Shetland was annexed to Scotland in the fifteenth century. Norn, an Old Norse derivative, was spoken until the eighteen century and much of the Viking heritage remains (and is greatly celebrated) today (Britannica, 2023). Historically, the economic activity of Shetlanders consisted of crofting (tenant farming common throughout Scotland), herring fishing, and whaling, and, in latter centuries, participation in the Merchant and Royal Navies (Britannica, 2023; Wilkins, 2010). Due to harsh conditions, proximity to the sea, and lack of arable land, as with many remote locales, depopulation due to economic reasons was an almost continuous event, and "only after the discovery of oil in the North Sea northeast of Shetland [in the 1970s] was the long—persisting depopulation slowed" (Britannica, 2023). Beginning with the oil boom in the 1970s, but moving to a number of different industries, economic growth and prosperity has occurred through the development and increase of a number of industries including space innovative technology, fishing, and clean energy (Shetland: Islands of Opportunity, 2022; N. Grant, personal communication, 2019).

Introduced by Hanseatic traders from Northern Europe in the 1700s, the fiddle has long since been seen as *the* instrument of Shetland (Wilkins, 2010). The current canon of traditional music is considered to contain about 340 tunes. Because the fiddle is easy to carry, it was commonly taken on ships from Shetland, including whaling ships, the Merchant and Royal Navies, the Hudson's Bay Company, and to a lesser degree, fishing vessels (Wilkins, 2010;

2013). The traditional music repertoire in Shetland is comprised of many cultural influences because of the cultural exchange between the crew members; tunes were swapped, passed around, and brought back to Shetland from these ships. For example, those working in the Greenland whaling industry hailed from England, Scotland, Shetland, Norway, Denmark, and other locales. Shetland seafarers also had considerable exchange with Inuit and First Nation peoples in the Arctic, through both the whaling industry and the Hudson's Bay Company, which also had considerable influence on the Shetland style (Wilkins, 2010; 2013). Within Shetland culture, the fiddle was central to many rituals binding together social and community life, including Yule day, weddings, and croft dances, which included the Shetland reel, Muckle Reel, or the back step (or on the island of Whalsay, the 'Whalsay shuffle') (Cooke, 1986). There is coherence and regional specificity to the Shetland style, but due to distance and inaccessibility, the isles of Shetland also have their own regional styles, for example, the AEAE tuning of Cullivoe fiddlers from the island of Yell, which continues to date (M. Henderson, personal communication, 2019).

Mid-twentieth century, the Shetland fiddle tradition almost disappeared due to the threat of modernization, vast increases in wealth through the oil boom, and widespread radio use (D. Gardiner, personal communication, 2019; D. Nicols, personal communication, 2019; Church, 1990; White, 2010). Tom 'Tammy' Anderson and Willie Hunter were largely responsible for the revival and reinvention of Shetland fiddle music and culture and what is referred to as the 'Shetland Fiddle Renaissance', the fiddle revival of the 1970s (White, 2010; C. White, personal communication, 2019). During World War II, Tom Anderson was in the RAF stationed in India. Inspired by the place that traditional music had in the lives of the people there he decided that, upon his return to Shetland, he would collect the traditional Shetland tunes from the remote locales and older fiddlers in Shetland (White, 2010). Throughout the 1950s and 60s the Shetland fiddling tradition waned with the post-war social change, widespread radio use, and lack of young people learning the fiddle (a notable exception is Aily Bain, who learned fiddle from Tom Anderson from the time he was twelve years old) (White, 2010). In the early 1970s fiddle started being taught in the schools, again through the determination of Tom Anderson, who became the first teacher in schools (White, 2010). He also helped to establish the 'Shetland Folk Festival', which celebrated its 40th anniversary in 2022 (after two years of cancellations due to

the COVID-19 pandemic), and the ‘Shetland Young Fiddler of the Year Competition’, the ‘Accordion and Fiddle Festival’, and the Shetland Heritage Fiddlers.

Funded largely from the influx of money from the oil boom of the 1970s, music tuition in Shetland was free up until a few years ago, with the students learning many tunes from the Shetland ‘canon’ in the traditional style. Music tuition is no longer free (a highly controversial topic in Shetland), but students can now get a private 25 minute lesson once a week in school for the cost of 200 pounds sterling over the whole school year (A. Nicholson, personal communication, December 5, 2019; E. Leask, personal communication, December 19, 2019). In addition, the High Level Music store located in the market cross in Lerwick is a hub for music transmission. Local music teachers rent out the rooms and offer what appears to be non-stop music tuition for the children of Shetland. For example, Andy Kane, a Shetland fiddle teacher, has upwards of seventy students that he teaches every week in private lessons (A. Kane, personal communication, December 16, 2019). The ‘32nd Shetland Accordion & Fiddle Festival’, October 10th to 14th, 2019, had eleven venue locations from Bigton on Shetland Mainland to Uyeasound in Unst with events in the Islesburgh Community Centre or ‘club house’ lasting until 4 am (personal communication, October 12, 2019; Shetland Accordion and Fiddle Club, 2019). The 2019 ‘Shetland Young Fiddler of the year Competition’ has had over one hundred ten contestants on average over the last number of years (Shetland Folk Society, 2019). Likewise, the Folk Festival draws high calibre performers the world over and is considered a coveted festival to play in the tight knit world of folk musicians (L. Johnson, personal communication, 2019).

10.5 Northumberland, England

Northumberland is made up of three rather distinct geographical regions: The Borders, Northumberland, and Tyneside, which includes Newcastle upon Tyne (Lloyd, 2016, p. 9). As England’s most northerly county, Northumberland is bounded by Scotland in the north, the North Sea in the east, Cumberland (and the Pennines) in the west, and Durham in the south (Britannica, 2020). A region of ‘contrasting landscapes’, Northumberland is comprised of agricultural plains, rough hills and moorland, and the “densely populated urban and industrial areas of Tyne and Blyth river valleys in the south” (Britannica, 2020, par. 3). Up until the uniting of the Scottish and English crowns in 1603 under King James I (the VI of Scotland and I of England), Northumberland’s history was one of perpetual border warfare – post Roman withdrawal in the fifth century by the Germanic Angles, through Briton and Scot defeat by the

Angles in the early seventh century, establishing Northumbria as the strongest of Anglo-Saxon states, the Viking invasion of the ninth century, and Norman of the eleventh (Britannica, 2020, par. 5-6). During the Middle Ages, Northumberland produced and exported wool and hide, and also mined lead, silver, and iron, which continued through to the nineteenth century. A constant from the thirteenth to the twentieth century, coal mining not only provided a source of economic stability in itself but also supported other industries which were dependent upon coal, such as ship making, salt panning and glass making (introduced in the seventeenth century). However, by the late twentieth century, the industries of Northumberland declined and the last coal mine closed in 2005 (Britannica, 2020, par. 7). The non-industrial economic activity consists of sheep, cattle, and barley, traditional salmon fishing, and timber from the forest in the northwest (Britannica, 2020, par. 8).

Not surprisingly, this rich history as a border permeates the cultural milieu and is reflected in many from Northumberland identifying neither as Scottish nor English, but rather as 'Borderers', as well as in the 'Border Ballads' (Lloyd, 2016, p. 11-12). As Lloyd states, "England's most northerly county boasts a 'musical-dialect' distinct from any other region. In terms of the music, this sense of regional distinctiveness is as much a fact of its character as an attitude of its practitioners (Handles, 1970)" (p. 19). After the Treaty of the Union on May 1, 1707 (the uniting of Scotland and England as Great Britain), "it was in this moment that south Northumberland became the main foci for population and labour, centred on the Great Northumbrian Coalfield and close to the shipping ports of Blyth and Newcastle upon Tyne" (Lloyd, 2016, p. 15), resulting in a newly urbanized southern region with large numbers of working men. This in turn generated "distinct social and cultural institutions in this period, associated with both the laboring classes and the bourgeoisie" (Llyod, 2016, p. 15). This large influx of men, devoid of any kind of industrial tradition, through the culture of industry, created a tradition within the walls of the working class Northern music-hall (Lloyd, 2016, 2015). Beginning in the seventeenth century, this culture was reinforced throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A large number of the workers who moved to the industrial centre were from border regions, which served to unite Northumberland, where, "the urbanisation of the fair-ground networks of 'country' musicians, transformed into the 'publican fiddlers' of Tyneside" (Harker, 1982, p. 27). Likewise, Scottish migrants moved into the border areas, bringing their own musical traditions. There was considerable demand for food from the farms in rural areas

and a high degree of trade kept the rural and urban areas connected, facilitating music transmission and unifying Northumberland (Lloyd, 2016, p. 16). Irish and Scottish migrant workers also arrived in Tyneside bringing aspects of their music culture as well (Colls, 1977). In the late nineteenth century, this Northumbrian repertoire was collected and published, in an effort to mythologize Northumbria (parallel to the activity of revivalists in southern England) and legitimize the modern capitalist society (see also origin/function discussion in Chapter 7 and Gelbart, 2007). This establishment of a Northumbrian identity however, was regional rather than national, ensconcing Northumberland music as a place 'on the edge' (Fientuch, 2006, Lloyd, 2016). Unlike other areas, neither was there the distinction between urban and rural in the creation of Northumberland regional identity (Lloyd, 2016). A tradition that consists of piping, dance tunes, and mining songs, the Northumberland tradition can be understood as a culture of hybridity.

This hybridity includes the border ballads (as mentioned above), rapper (short sword) dancing and Northumbrian clog dances, the rant (rhythmically similar to a reel but slower), and the smallpipe, which alongside the fiddle is the main instrument in Northumbrian traditional music (Northumbrian Folk Music, 2022). Largely due the establishment of FolkWorks in Gateshead and the degree course in Folk and Traditional Music at Newcastle University, traditional Northumbrian music has resurged (Northumbrian Folk Music, 2022). The most famous Northumbrian traditional musician is smallpiper, Kathryn Tickell. Other notables include Louisa Jo Killen and The High Level Ranters (Northumbrian Folk Music, 2022).

10.6 Conclusion

Burt Feintuch (2006) once categorized Northumberland and Cape Breton as 'revivals on the edge', arguing that, while housing differences, comparisons can be drawn between the musicking in these regions as they are both on the periphery or marginal to some degree: Cape Breton due to its location as an island on the "edge of a continent", and Northumberland as a borderland (as discussed above) (Feintuch, 2006). Each of the place-bound traditions described above, to varying degrees, falls into this geographic periphery category, whether as islands, borders, or land-locked regions (the Ottawa Valley and unified culture acts as a landlocked island). While there is considerable debate whether each of these place-bound traditions exhibits continuity with the past or is a reinvented tradition, there is no doubt that each boasts a high degree of traditional

musicianship. Whether unbroken or reinvented, each of these regions offers a rich, textured, and insightful look into the patterns of place-bound Celtic music traditions.

SECTION IV: A pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance (A pattern language of Livelihood)

> Mostly, mostly for the music, but also, I don't know what it is, that connection, you know that sense of because I'm, I'm, I mean I'm not religious, I don't go to church, I don't have a big family around me, so you don't have that sort of, and I've moved a lot, so I don't really have that sense of community . . . so I like that too . . . Yeah everybody is on the same page, doing the same thing, connecting somehow with that music, right – L. Damron, personal communication, July 2, 2019.

> [I]t doesn't matter what your political views are as long as you can play the Ste Anne's Reel . . . It just kind of brings people together. So that's a good thing – N. Arsenault, personal communication, July 18, 2019.

In this section, Chapters 11 through 14, I delineate the social patters or *centres* that are present in the CTMD place-bound traditions of my fieldwork. Taken as a whole, this forms 'a pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance' or 'a pattern language of Livelihood'. Recurring and replicating, the patterns or centres below are structural patterns. These patterns/centres, while present to varying degrees in the different place-bound traditions of this research, empirically present themselves differently and with varying degrees of health and vibrancy depending on the character of the place in which they reside. For example, while **community** is a recurring pattern in each of the place-bound traditions (see Chapter 10), the character of each community differs depending on the individuals within it, the particular imaginaries, the place, the landscape, etc.: all of the personal particulars that comprise a **community**. I also analyzed these social centres also for 'properties of wholeness' (as described in Chapters 8 & 9) – *levels of scale, strong centres, boundaries, alternating repetition, positive space, good shape, local symmetries, deep interlock and ambiguity, contrast, gradients, roughness, echoes, the void, simplicity and inner calm,* and *not-separateness* (see Illustrations 6 - 20) – and the varying degrees to which they contain and are strengthened by these properties. The degree to which the properties are present in each social centre, and, the degree to which they contribute to 'aliveness' of flourishing will be discussed with each *centre* separately below. The layout of the patterns follows the tripartite method of the established pattern language community, beginning with and outline of the 1) problem/statement, 2) a discussion of the properties and context, and then, 3) a possible 'solution' pattern. But this bears more explicit delineation.

Pattern language theorist, Phillip Ro*ös (2022), states that,* "A typical pattern language is a method of describing a set of patterns or good design and planning processes with useful

association in a specific field of expertise" (*p. 6). As such, the pattern language for Celtic traditional music and dance provides a framework for creating more embedded communities and local economies through the lens of CTMD cultures through the elucidation of this set of patterns. Because these problems are complex, it is helpful to have a straightforward and simple format for presenting the patterns as Alexander (1977) does (*for a great explanation of this see Ro*ös, 2022, pp. 6-7). When these patterns are brought together as a whole, "this system allows embedded relationships in a hierarchical order, with overlaps, cross-linkages and uncertainties. As the patterns combine into a system, into a 'language', these overlapping relationships create a stronge*r, refined and more complex kind *of structure" (*Ro*ös, 2022, p. 7). In order to present these complex and nested pattern that interact across levels of scale clearly, the patterns elucidated in Chapters 11 through 14 are presented as follows:*

- Name and number of pattern
- Problem/statement of the pattern, which presents the wider context and the parameters of each pattern.
- Discussion, which is the longest section and provides the main details and analysis of the pattern/centre. This section also analyses each pattern/centre for the fifteen properties of wholeness and presents a considerable amount of empirical data throughout.
- 'Therefore' i.e., the solution pattern, provides a summary of the pattern and the main method of establishing a living centre.
- Pattern/centre links, names those patterns at both larger and smaller levels of scale (upward and downward links) with which each pattern connects/interacts.

There are some essential points to keep in mind while reading. The first is that this pattern language is largely a grassroots, bottom-up, and communitarian configuration. This is paramount, for if there is not a high degree of grassroots involvement, then state-mediation is required, and, for all of the reasons outlined in Chapter 4, is not sustainable. Nor would it be in any significant deviation from the current status quo. But more importantly, it would no longer be a social analysis that may push society towards a more embedded and communitarian way of life, but rather, would tend towards state-led collectivism. Connected to the grassroots, bottom-up, communitarian aspect of this pattern language, is the importance of the personal and individual. As Alexander (1977) says, the patterns can be used "in such a way that you can use

this solution a million times over, without ever doing it the same way twice" (p. x). Or, from Pattern 253, the final pattern in APL: "It [décor] is most beautiful when it comes straight from your life – the things you care for, the things that tell your story" (p. 1166). P.B Medawar (1957) begins his essay 'The Uniqueness of the Individual' by saying, "Philosophy and common sense, though often parted, have long agreed about the uniqueness of individual man. Different men have different faces, sizes, shapes and origins: different ambitions, hopes and fears" (p. 143). This uniqueness of the individual is also essential to remember throughout the following discussion and delineation of patterns. While the patterns of flourishing CTMD cultures can be identified and perhaps (hopefully) replicated, each instantiation of these patterns will be different, as every person and every relationship between persons is different. There may be a tendency to assume that because there are underlying patterns that this denotes sameness, but this is not the case and must be remembered throughout.

Additionally, these *centres* or patterns exist as wholes – that each **family**, **band**, **community**, etc., is not simply a collection of individuals, but rather, that each is a unity in itself, a wholeness with sets of relationships that cannot be reduced to the sum of the individual within. Describing traditional society, MacIntyre (2007) argues that:

> [I]t is through membership in a variety of social groups that the individual identifies himself or herself and is identified by others. I am brother, cousin and grandson, member of this household, that village, this tribe. These are not characteristic that belong to human beings accidentally, to be stripped away in order to discover 'the real me'. They are part of my substance, defining partially at least and sometimes wholly my obligations and my duties (p. 33).

By contrast, the Cartesian individual of capitalist modernity is highly individualized and often primarily operates from a position and understanding of autonomy (see 3.2 and 3.3). And, just to reiterate, I in no way want to diminish the sanctity of the individual, but rather, the purpose herein is to establish a method to maintain and protect the individual. The individual of 'liquid modernity' has become so disembedded in the capitalist society that they are cut off from the social organizations and associations required for human flourishing (see Chapters 3 & 9). I include this quotation from MacIntyre to serve as a reminder of the existence of social groups and relations. It is worth stating again, and more explicitly, the tension with respect to the individual in modernity. The sanctity of the individual is widely considered the crowning achievement of modernity and the rights and protection of the individual paramount. At the same time, modernity tends to push towards higher and higher degrees of hyper-individualism, which

threatens the health and well-being of individuals by removing the social and political associations required for the formation, development, and protection of individuals. The individual existing with nested social centres/patterns allows for the protection and freedom of the individual. By being re-embedded into a nested and cascading set of social centres, the individual and the society becomes more resilient and more whole. As with spatial *centres*, the more social centres and modalities interacting, the more resilient, whole, and alive the society becomes.

Beginning with the largest *level of scale*, in Chapter 11, I delineate the Governance Patterns. Moving to the smaller and more intimate *level of scale*, in Chapter 12, I move on to Hearth Patterns. Chapter 13 moves outward from Hearth Patterns to describe Patterns of Association. And then Chapter 14 finishes with Patterns Returning to the State. The detail of each chapter and the thread that binds them remains to be described within.

<u>A note on the tensions and trade-offs of the pattern language vision</u>: I must emphasise that these 'solution' patterns are not without trade-offs. This is not a Pollyanna project. There are very serious and difficult tensions and trade-offs that are present herein that I would be remiss in not presenting alongside the more positive elements of granular, local, and semi-autonomous communities. I try to refer to and remind the reader of these tensions and trades-offs throughout, but I would also like to, before diving into the particulars, explain what they might be at the outset. There are widely considered social positives of living in a liberal society with the State-Market 'survival unit' that may be in tension with this 'green' vision. On the one hand, the locally specific and differentiated forms of associations and networks that I describe herein – e.g., autonomous schools, sub-regions, homeschooling, less restricted pub, street, and venue licensing, etc. – are more compatible with more granulated, differentiated local vernaculars and diversity (recall the discussion from Chapter 4 on resilience, subsidiarity, and polycentric governance). They are also more consistent with a 'green', resilient, and sustainable society (again, see Chapter 4). But this visions is not, as Quilley (2013) notes a 'liberal agenda', as "many of our most cherished institutions and cultural values – democracy, pluralism, social liberalism, disability rights, cosmopolitanism, gender equality, anti-racism – piggy-backed on 500 years of permanent economic expansion" (p. 263, see also 3.2 and 3.3). As such, any contraction of the State-Market will have cascading social and economic effects (see Kish & Quilley 2017 and Quilley, 2013 for a discussion of the wicked problems of de-growth).

For example, one of the patterns of this thesis is **homeschooling**, in which I discuss the socio-economic positives associated with **homeschooling**. However, it is important to note, that if all the groups in a society homeschool, then the bridging between different groups can become difficult and, in some cases could stop entirely. Likewise, if one removes all of the children with the most support from a school, and leaves the children with the least support and/or most social problems, then naturally any negatives become more intense in the community that remains. With respect to Maker culture, Kish (2018) explains how many makers exhibit anti-capitalist and anti-government attitudes, but present a catch-22 in terms of social cohesion and community resilience. One the one hand, they really increase community resilience and capacity in the local sphere. On the other hand, they threaten the vulnerability of the system as a whole. A similar tension exists with many of the patterns herein, as with **homeschooling**, whereby the homeschooling families often contribute to the resilience and adaptive capacity of local communities but at the same time, homeschooling to a high critical mass can threaten the public school system as a whole. This is why there is often hostility towards homeschooling families on the part of those with public service jobs, as they, rightly so, recognize it as a threat to the continued expansion of the public system.

But continuous expansion is not possible (see Chapter 4) because as the capitalist system grows it grows unstable (Belloc, [1912]1977, p. 9). It is important to note that there are trade-offs and this is not a Pollyanna vision. Likewise, that the negotiation between this kind of pattern language, bottom up, communitarian emergence on the one hand and the requirement for social cohesion at the larger scale will have to be constantly negotiated and in flux. More positively, once you have a kind of pattern language, you can re-think how a state works. Social democrats think in terms of top-down planning; neo-liberals in terms of the supply-side state. By contrast, the pattern language version of 'economy' herein falls more on the supply side of things, in terms of a more libertarian (with respect to the state) 'regulation' at the local level (see 4.2 and 4.3). However, it is much more nuanced and socially oriented than neo-liberal supply side logic, and emphasises the necessity of social obligation, reciprocity, engagement, and creativity. I hope that by discussing how to (re)establish nested social patterns/*centres* expanding out from the individual, family, extended family, friends, community, etc., and nudging society towards a (re)emergence of Livelihood, that when socio-economic collapse occurs that we might mitigate some of the effects. I worry for those individuals/families that are entirely dependent on the

State-Market as their only survival unit, as any kind of collapse or contraction could be devastating (see Chapter 4). This pattern language is one response, but it by no means all sunshine and roses. There are real and significant trade-offs that may challenge many of the dearly held liberal values including mobility, autonomous choice, cosmopolitanism, and social cohesion (I discuss these further in Chapter 15 as well). That being said, the patterns that make up the PL of CTMD are as follows:

11) Governance patterns

1. Independent regions (nation-states?)
2. Government
3. Sub-regions
4. Regional ritual

12) Hearth patterns

5. Homes/family
6. Extended family
7. Networks of friends
8. Homeschooling
9. Pubs/sessions
10. Bands
11. Church
12. Dances
13. Rites of passage (weddings/funerals/etc.)
14. Community

13) Patterns of association

15. Music teachers and student groups
16. Camps
17. Competitions
18. Music hubs
19. Fiddle groups and clubs
20. Internet communities
21. Live performances/places to play
22. Festivals

14) Patterns returning to the state

23. School

24. University

25. Nursing homes

26. Charities

Chapter 11 Governance patterns

The Governance Patterns make up the largest *level of scale* for the CTMD PL. They are bound by a common critique of the current State-Market iteration and similarly each offers a 'solution' pattern that works to assert Livelihood to make the three-part State, Market, and Livelihood configuration. The solution patterns in this chapter are, in a sense, the least concrete or detailed as they largely depend on the content of the smaller *levels of scale* in the subsequent chapters. It is important to remember to read each one with an eye to the whole as, taken alone, they can become distorted.

1 Independent regions (nation-states?)
2 Government
3 Sub-regions
4 Regional ritual

11.1 (1) Independent regions (nation-states?)

Problem/statement: The logic of capital accumulation operates at increasingly global scales, pushing towards more and more bureaucracy and centralized governments, education systems, etc., undermining and obliterating the nested social spheres and associations within (see Chapter 3). This operation requires steady economic growth and leads to a loss of historical identity, cultural homogeneity, greater and greater individualization, and an increasing need for state-mediated citizen formation (see Chapters 3 & 4). Because capitalist modernity undermines nested human networks and associations these societies require more State involvement and cultural mediation, and this, in turn, pushes towards cultural homogeneity expanding social, economic, and political scales (Gellner, 1983, & Chapter 3). These societies also need mythologies and imagined communities to bind together large numbers of citizens, in particular to avoid tribal and nativist forms of mutual identification and association.

<u>Discussion</u>: Throughout this thesis, I am arguing, not for the elimination of the State and the Market, but for a new configuration of the State, Market, and Livelihood. It seems obvious that we do not want to lose all of the positives and securities of Modernity: state protections and citizenship and market freedom. But it is also clear that the immense dependence on capitalist growth of the current configuration, the social negatives, and increasing ecological crises require a transformation (see Chapter 4).

Beginning with the largest *level of scale*, the first *strong centre* I have termed **independent regions** and tentatively '**nation-state**'. The parameters of this *level of scale* are larger than a **sub-region** but smaller in size and population than a typical modern nation-state. Alexander argues from an architectural perspective that 2 to 10 million is the ideal size for a country in order to optimize the democratic process, as it the case in Denmark, where every member of the 5.831 million population has access to their ministers.

In *A New Pattern Language for Growing Regions*, Mehaffy et al. (2020) argue that pattern 18.1 'subsidiarity' should, "aim for the distribution of tasks to the smallest possible scale that will be effective in resolving them" (p. 279). This principle of subsidiarity is by no means new (see 4.2). It has been adopted by institutions such as the European Union[8] and listed as one of the aims of the New Urban Agenda (Mehaffy et al., 2020), it is a foundational principle of Distributist economic theory (Chesterton, [1910]2016; Belloc, [1912]1977; Schumacher, 1973; etc.), and originated in Pope Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical on the abuses of capitalism and socialism, *Rerum Novarum*. The distributist vision is about maximizing the distribution of private property (originally conceived in terms of peasant agriculture), such that most people/families have access to the means of production and relative autonomy from encroachment of both the State and abstract Market (see Chapter 4). Belloc explains that the distributist state is one "in which the mass of citizens should severally own the means of production" (p. 42). This vision also depends on reciprocal/place-bound, ethically laden and embedded relations between individuals/families and networks of families (see Chapter 4). It appeals to a 'natural' or human scale or size, maintaining that our current institutions and societies are so large that they have surpassed the scale of human comprehension and participation (Alexander, 1977; Kohr, [1957]2016; Schumacher, 1973). In arguing for the necessity of the principle of subsidiarity, this thesis is not making an anarchist appeal for a stateless society, but arguing for the necessity of nested *levels of* social, economic, and political *scales*, as is consistent with ecological principles (see 4.3 and 9.4). I discuss the role of the state more in the pattern/*centre* **Government**, however, as it is so often the case in literature espousing a 'return' to agrarian or small-scale life that the benefits or positives of larger scales are overlooked, ignored, or misunderstood, it is fitting to begin this argument for the necessity of

[8] Although, I think this is only a nominal adoption, as the centrality required by the use of a single currency and market, integrated single welfare system, and authoritative legal integration ultimately undermines the ability for regions and sub-regions to have autonomy in a real sense.

small-scale associations with a brief discussion of the larger pattern **independent regions**. Subsidiarity posits that some sort of larger *levels of* political, social, and cultural *scales* are required, especially to avoid societies consisting of warring city-states or tribal enclaves. These **independent regions** provide stability to the smaller-scaled social, political, and cultural associations nested within (Holling, 2001; McNeil & McNeil, 2003) and can provide what McCarthy et al. (2011) refer to as 'phronesis': a "pragmatic . . . and context dependent [variable] … involve[ing] deliberation about values that reflect an understanding and informed interpretation of political, legal, and regulatory discourses or regimes in a given context (p. 3). This is reflected in the discourse of CTMD participants wherein it is clear that mythologies and stories anchor forms of mutual identification and solidarity at various scales.

CTMD cultures provide the context for and facilitate these historical and cultural mythologies of **independent regions**, as evidenced by the following quotations.

> I love, I love finding out the stories behind the songs and there's one, oh 'the lament of the next generation', that's where someone moved from Ireland to the US and how each generation loses, I'm Irish . . . but I love that music, right. There was one that my teacher, she spoke about a big … and it's from the Shetland Islands and it was again another one that was kind of had a bit of sad connection – G. Freeman, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

> I would say yeah, I mean there was. There were 223 years in Scotland where Catholicism was illegal, it's 1560-1783. And so there's many, many stories about our people who were, you know, they'd have to, the priests would have to travel at night, they had special signals and things like that to let them know that the priest was here and stuff like that. And so it was very much underground. So I think there was a tenacity there that people brought their religion over, that, you know, they were persecuted so long in Scotland, they had some religious freedom when they came over here. And part of that was their culture as well. So their freedoms that they had here were not only their religion, it was their culture of music and dance and things like that . . . Yeah. So I think that it's closely knitted, closely tied – D. Rankin, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

> So what's unique about Cape Breton music then? Nothing. It's the same as many other styles perhaps. And that could have an impact. I also, I'm just a general believer and a strong believer that you need to know your own history . . . And also it's because it's the easy thing for people to say [it's a waste of time] when they don't want you to have information. You know when people talk about . . . Yeah, and that's why creating professionals in government is so important; structure is so important. People say, 'well it doesn't happen in government anyway…' Yes, but all of these things impact policy. They impact ability to get things done. So instead of ten years it takes you twenty-five years. And we don't have the time, you know, for that. So I, structure can be vital. And you know, there was a great debate in the last few years about Edward Cornwallace in Halifax . . . The statue coming down and what he did, what he had done, the founder of Halifax and what he had done to First Nations People. Well, the reality is, in 1746, right before he came and founded Halifax in 1749, well he was on the field of the Culloden and then went into the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and decimated the people there. And then, you know, as a reward, sent to Nova Scotia. And that's important you know, I'm not trying to, history is what it is, but it's important for people to understand that, just to know. And it's important for them to know the history. You know, and good and bad. You know if you're, you know it's important for them to know what clan fought with what clan and what people, why people came here, for one

> reason or another. And it may be their faith, it may be wanting a piece of land. Now, you know, but my people, you know if they had been here, they came in 1805, and if they had previous, when Nova Scotia created, they wouldn't be allowed to own a piece of land or vote, in Nova Scotia . . . Because they were catholic. And because they were, you know, they wouldn't be allowed – R. MacDonald, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

The above examples illustrate the ability of CTMD to provide a catalyst for historical and cultural identity at a large *level of scale*. In each of these examples the participants were born in Canada, and yet, each appeals to the history of their heritage in Ireland and Scotland. This large *level of scale* provides a wide historical and identity framework for historical and cultural mythologies at a smaller *level of scale*. It is also important that mythologies have and allow for *roughness* (see Illustration 16) so that there is room for more than one narrative, for, as Mookerjea (2011) argues (and as quoted in Chapter 1) with respect to the national narrative of multiculturalism, "rather than hiding a secret British, French, or white essence . . . [Pierre] Trudeau nationalism was racism emptied of all positive content but still occupying the privileged empty point of universality" (p. 51). It is equally important that they do not supress the culture within. Thus the goal is to allow for personal histories, historical differences, and mythologies to coexist within the bounds or *boundary* of citizenship, while providing an imagined community (sensu Anderson 1983) that is consistent with citizenship and extends beyond clan or tribe. J.B.S. Haldane (1926) states, "I find it no easier to picture a completely socialized British Empire or United States than an elephant turning somersaults or a hippopotamus jumping a hedge" (p. 6), insinuating that there is a natural limit to the size of functioning human societies – that we require some kind of *boundary* on human societies.

It is dangerous to have a *boundary* that is too rigid. The *boundary* must have a high degree of *deep interlock and ambiguity* and *not-separateness* in order to avoid the negatives that come with being bound too tight, as illustrated in the lengthy quotation below.

> I think, we have a responsibility to promote and celebrate Shetland culture. We also have a responsibility to inspire Shetland culture and you can't do that if all you're doing is that. So let's say our exhibition program. We did a bit of work a couple of years ago but I can't believe the figures have changed much. So about sixty percent of the exhibitions we put on feature Shetland artists and about forty percent don't. And to me, that feels like the right balance. But the sixty percent we put on are invariably contemporary Shetland artists, not traditional Shetland artists. Is there a tension? Yes, of course there is. I mean, yeah, absolutely, I mean the, I was quite disgusted with what happened last week, you know. . . Yeah, you know, 'these jobs should be going to Shetland artists', and well, no. We advertised this nationally and internationally and Shetland artists can apply and some did but there was a panel of six people that selected the final four. You know, we'd been through a very robust process. And Shetland pretends, well, Shetland likes to think of itself as a welcoming place and on the surface it is but underneath it isn't. I mean things

> like Up Helly Aa are very, um, there's lots of hidden networks of power, the interconnectivity of you know, having gone to school, having dated your sister, you know, that…And as an incomer you're never, ever going to cross that threshold. And there's a real imbalance in Shetland even around the friendships I have because they all have family. So, if I'm in crisis, I go to them. If they're in crisis… I think that because – so we weren't successful in the bid but we applied to do a year long project looking at the role of Shetland dialect in what, so, in the economic development strategy it talks around the necessity of providing a 'good welcome'. And what I wanted to look at was what role does Shetland dialect play in that 'providing a good welcome'. . . Because it is an exclusive thing. And you get, I mean, so my entire senior management team is made up of Shetlanders, which is great. And I've got on lass from Whalsay, Jonathon I think was brought up in Unst, so you've got also very different dialects going on. And when the four of them get going, you know, I haven't got a Scooby what you lot are talking about, I just don't know. . . And we sort of, slightly tongue in cheek but Wendy who's my costumer services manager, she's trying to teach me Shetland. So she sends me a phrase every couple of weeks and I go off and find what it's about, which is great and lovely. But yeah, I'm never going to have the depth of relationships that these people have with this place. And I also get asked questions like, 'so how many Shetlanders are on your board?' And you're kind of like. . . Yeah, and you're kind of like well, 'what's a Shetlander?' You know, I. . . Exactly. And you know, I mean I said to someone a few years which wasn't the wisest thing I've said, I said, 'look I gave up a job and I've decided to be here, you just haven't left'. That's a different thing. You know, I believe I am more committed to here than you are because I am actively here. . . No. Absolutely not. And I was in a Hustings, I think, for the 2016 election where someone stood up and said 'south mouthers' [people who have moved up] 'shouldn't get to vote'. There's a level of, I mean, You don't want to, yeah, there's a level of xenophobia that just exists. But I think it probably exists in most small communities – G. Howell, personal communication, December 12, 2019.

Having **larger regions** provides the necessary *positive* social *space* and *good shape* for **sub-regions** to exist with *simplicity and inner calm* (see Illustrations 10, 11, & 19). Howell's example above shows the negatives that can arise when **sub-regions** are not connected or are completely separate. If a *level* of identification is severed from the *level* larger or smaller, then the identities can become restricting, quelling innovation, unsustainable, and at time, hotbeds for xenophobia or prejudice.

You need porosity to allow flexibility/movement; this is vital for any degree of cosmopolitan individualism. That being said, solidarity at various scales depends on exclusive *boundaries*. E.g., are you a part of the family or not? Do you live here or not? Are you a citizen or not? But we likely more inclusive and open forms of solidarity to avoid nativist forms of solidarity (e.g., but have you *always* lived here? Are you a *true* Shetlander?). There is a tension between the two poles of total boundedness and movement and they undermine each other. So part of the pattern language is to hold these two poles/tendencies in balance, as sort of dynamic equilibrium, which has to be re-negotiated and reformed each time, each generation, and each economic regime change. The above provides an excellent example of mutual identification existing across *levels of scale* and, conversely, where the *level of scale* is, at times, undermined

how it can make the culture less alive. Cultural imaginaries existing at **larger regions** allow for the existence of *contrast* and *gradients* to exist within at the smaller *levels of scale*. These larger regions have *alternating repetition* and *local symmetries*, coexisting beside other **larger regions**.
Therefore: Employ the principle of subsidiarity and allow for the associations at the smaller *levels of scale* to operate in as independent a manner as appropriate for the **larger region**. This 'solution' pattern is the vaguest of the CTMD patterns, as what this looks like unfolds in the following patterns. The 'how to' part of this solution is laid out in the following chapters, in particular in the following 'Hearth Patterns'.
Pattern links: The structure of **government** (2), the **sub-regions** (3), and the **regional ritual** (4) will all be directly influenced by the layout of the **independent region** (1) (downward links).

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11.2 (2) Government

Problem/statement: Government involvement and subsidy can undermine the long-term viability and sustainability of grass-roots, bottom-up culture by transforming it to a top-down, state-mediated Culture. At the same time, the lack of any form of government involvement or safe guard can also limit personal freedom and mobility in ways that can become restrictive. Additionally, government programs are dependent upon massive amounts of economic growth, thus any such contraction of the market will have rippling and crippling effects through state programs (see Chapter 4).
<u>Discussion</u>: While government involvement and funding can look like a positive that invigorates and supports local arts and music culture, it can be detrimental as it can undermine some of the necessary associations that would otherwise operate in a more sustainable manner. The Shetland example is very interesting in this regard. When state-funding cuts are required, which they often are, music is generally the first to go, and then music cultures that are dependent upon the government funding falter.

The primary educational motivation of large, centralized states is to create functioning citizens who can participate in and contribute to a Market economy (Gellner, 1983). In the ongoing process of state promotion, music, art, and literature are important in nationalizing a single 'high culture' (see Gellner, 1983 and Chapter 7). Once this process of nationalization is achieved, the fiscal/budgetary constraints mean that state subsidies for arts/music (especially in

minority idioms) are likely to be discretionary and cave under pressure. Consequently, arts and music are often the first to get cut when the budget is tightened, as McKenzie explains below.

> You know, music's not seen as a priority subject anymore, so what does that say, straight away that says that they're, the government and the counsel aren't viewing as a, important anymore, you know, you're better off going and getting your English, your maths, your sciences and do, physical education and music for example for fun – R. McKenzie, personal communication, November 15, 2019.

These cuts can have detrimental effects, as the subsidy undermines the established or the establishment of associations that would otherwise fulfill that function, and then when the cuts occur, those benefitting from the funds feel the loss.

> I presume it would just be the counsels. Like the education boards and that. I would imagine. Can't think it would be anybody else. Maybe government funding but obviously it's dried up. So . . . yeah, it's a shame. I mean, I say it's a shame but the amount of bairns that are still playing and starting is high, so it's obviously not, it's not too bad, but it's definitely had a knock on effect for those that feel like they can't do lessons. You know, kids are aware, they ken, they know if their parents can't afford it, they know, so they don't or they quit or, and if they didn't have that financial burden, they might still be playing – L. Anderson, personal communication, November 27, 2019.

In the case of Shetland, a percentage of the money from the oil boom of the 1970s was put aside for the support of Shetland traditional music culture, which resulted in free music tuition in schools. However, in later years, this money has been cut, and music tuition in school is no longer free. As a result, this loss is felt acutely, not least because many of the grassroots and relational associations and operations have been undermined by the funding. As D. Cooper explains:

> During the oil boom there was so much money that nobody needed to help anybody because everybody could afford to pay someone to do stuff for them – D. Cooper, personal communication, December 19, 2019.

There was a conscious effort not to lose the community involvement in Shetland, but with respect to music it did happen to a degree, as much of the Shetland music culture transmission takes place in the public school classroom (which will be discussed at greater length in **schools**). The salient point here is that state involvement can have different effects and, at times, the involvement can undermine organic **community** associations.

Consistently, each person who spoke of a project throughout my research explained how the state involvement was crippling for them because of red-tape or preventative policy. Warren

and Eleanor Robinson started the Celtic Roots Festival in Goderich, Ontario in 1993 with 10,000 dollars and a vision. The two pieces of advice they got when starting out were as follows:

> W: And I should say the two pieces of advice we got from our
> E: Rec Department
> W: Rec Department, she said, 'first of all, don't have anything to do with the town if you can possibly avoid it' . . .
> E: Don't ask for, yes, don't ask [the township]
> W: She said they more like to put up road blocks and the second thing she said was, 'get the smallest board that you can legally have so that your ideas don't get lost' – W. & E. Robinson, personal communication, September 2, 2019.

There are levels or degrees of state involvement that are helpful and aid in the flourishing of people, but there is also a threshold whereby too much bureaucratic involvement causes problems and becomes counter-productive. Consider the following quotation from former Nova Scotia Premier and president of the Gaelic College, Rodney MacDonald:

> As Premier . . . I created the office of Gaelic Affairs because I felt there was a real gap, there was people hungry for it in the community. But if you don't have a structure within government, it gets lost. So there was no voice for people to go to the departments and speak on their behalf. Nowhere to go, it got lost. No support system. And that helped, you know, in that regard. And still more can be done in that . . . Well, it's, well it works within government now, within now it's an office but it's within the Communities, Culture, and Heritage, the department . . . So between 99, 1999 and 2006, so 20 years ago I became the minister of Tourism, Culture, and Heritage. And the first thing I did at that time in 2000, the *Baile nan Gaidheal*, the Highland Village, we made that part of the Nova Scotia museum system. And to be a bi-lingual site. So we had done other things throughout. The second thing was that, we had hired a, created a program called the Gaelic and Activities program and that was the start of a separate application process, specifically for Gaelic, not just in the whole big scheme of things. Then we hired a Gaelic, hired Frances MacEachen and we created, she was Gaelic Cultural Officer. And that might have been about 2003. So we had started some little things, trying to. And then we had a real problem with Gaelic signage . . . Because we were pushing for it, myself and my executive assistant at the time is now the current MLA for Inverness, Allan MacMaster. Who is Buddy MacMaster's son. So he also had a passion for Gaelic, in fact he and I took Gaelic in St FX's together in 1993. And he's also the crick now for the Gaelic Affairs. So we would be pushing very hard to try and get Gaelic signage in Nova Scotia. And Transportation wouldn't do it . . . Because they said it would be unsafe and many other reasons . . . Which we disagreed with . . . Yeah, as you see today around. And not everywhere in Nova Scotia, but the Gaelic speaking areas or areas of that interest. So in 2006 when I met with the, those who would become ministers, I said that the Minister of Gaelic Affairs, Angus MacIsaac, I asked him, you know I said, I'd like you to be Minister of Gaelic Affairs. And he said yeah, I'll do that, of course I'll do that. And I said, 'well the first thing I want you to do is work on Gaelic signage, so you'll have to go and see the Minister of Transportation'. He said, 'that's be great, who is the Minister of Transportation?' 'You're the Minister of Transportation' . . . Gaelic signage happened . . . So he made it happen. Yeah, he was first Minister of Gaelic Affairs for Antigonish. He was actually born in Scotland – he came over as just a young child, three or four years old and his mother was a Gaelic speaker. And so, but, you know, we had done other things in government to focus on, even in music. We had done a lot to try and support the music industry and to try and invest on the business side of music, on the export development side . . . To create and work with the association, music associations, and such, trying to create programs to stoke up new markets and that sort of thing. Anyway, lots . . . That's the behind the scenes stuff. That's how we got Gaelic signage . . . Because I had butted my, we had butted heads for six years trying to get it and

> I couldn't get it . . . They refused to do it. But then they had no choice. So there is ways of doing things, you just have to be creative. And sometimes I'm a big believer, even here, you just gotta do it – R. MacDonald, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

I include the entirety of this quotation, because I think it is quite funny, but also, because it shows the type of problems that can arise when the government is too large and not representing the people of a given area. It also highlights the importance of government support as well. In this instance, MacDonald and those in Gaelic speaking Nova Scotia could not get Gaelic on the road signs, even though there was a majority support for it, because of differing political power struggles, showing that perhaps the centralized government control over these regions was too strong. Likewise, in order to get the Gaelic signage done, MacDonald, quite cheekily made the minister of transportation and minister of Gaelic Affairs the same person. This indicates that there can be a real divorce between the will of the people in a given **region** and the operations of the government. (The importance of vernacular language and-or dialect is discussed in **sub-regions.**)

These examples of school music tuition, festival organization, and vernacular road signage all indicate the importance of *levels of scale* and that there are different *levels of scale* required for good governance. In *A New Pattern language for Growing Regions*, Mehaffy et al. (2020) identify pattern 18.1 'subsidiarity', arguing that we should "aim for the distribution of tasks to the smallest possible scale that will be effective in resolving them" (p. 279). Their pattern for good governance is corroborated again here. For each of the above examples, there is a breakdown in proportion to the task being done and the *level* of **government**. In each case, we can see that the **government** involvement was too large and restrictive and consequently prohibited or undermined the tasks or grassroots efforts. In order for a **government** to be a *strong centre*, there should be *boundaries* and *gradients* (see Illustrations 7, 8, & 15) with respect the level of involvement they have on each **region** or **smaller region** within their jurisdiction. As corroborated by Ostrum (2012) there should be a degree of *not-separateness* between the different *levels of scale* so that these different levels can aid each other in their operations. Ostrom states:

> One of the things that we have repeatedly found is the importance of what we call polycentric systems. This is where systems exist at multiple levels, with some autonomy at each level. So, we can think about a region where there is a government agency responsible for the large region, but there is a lot of local autonomy in the management of local resources in that region. If we create a polycentric system, then it retains many of the benefits of local-level systems because there are

> people at a local level making decisions about many of the rules. But it also adds overlapping units to help monitor performance, obtain reliable information and cope with large-scale resources. Indeed, I argue very strongly for the need for polycentric institutions to cope with climate change (p. 82).

In addition to the need for different *levels of scale* there should be room for *roughness* (see Illustration 16) with respect to local abilities and policy, so that local initiatives are not crippled by bureaucratic red tape, as this red tape can undermine the governing of the commons (Ostrom, 1990). There should be many *local symmetries* of different **regions** and **governments** in *alternating repetition*, but that also allow for *contrast* between these **regions** so that they can efficiently and effectively govern, and in so doing, create *simplicity and inner calm*. As illustrated by the MacDonald example, the **government** tension with respect to Gaelic signs was rife with political tension because of the size and number of different interest groups.

Therefore: Apply the principle of subsidiarity with respect to **government** allowing for the most appropriate *level of scale* to govern. Likewise, do not assume that **government** funding will always aid in any area, as often it can undermine the grassroots and bottom-up initiatives that may or could otherwise arise.[9]

Pattern links: Consider the type and character of **government** needed for each **independent region** (1) (upward link). As the government proceeds, bear in mind the needs of the **sub-regions** (3), **regional-rituals** (4), and **communities** (14) (downward links).

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11.3 (3) Sub-regions

Problem/statement: As articulated in **independent regions** (see also Chapters 3 & 7) the forces of modernization and the logic of capital accumulation undermine and obliterate social and political associations at smaller *levels of scale*, creating cultures that are increasingly large, homogenous, and, for all the homage paid to diversity, that can be unforgiving of different histories and sub-cultures.

<u>Discussion</u>: In Alexander's pattern 8 'mosaic of subcultures' he argues that, "the homogenous and undifferentiated character of modern cities kills all variety of life styles and arrests the growth of individual character" (1977, p. 43). The same is the case with the homogeneity of culture and loss of traditions that we are witnessing today. The push for larger and more

[9] There is a dilemma that can arise with government funding which I discuss in more detail in Chapter 15. But in essence, it is that using government funding to pay musicians often results in undermining the culture of voluntary reciprocation.

centralized regions results in a loss of cultural and historical identities. It is important that culture be located in a larger tradition and history so that people know that they belong to something larger than themselves but at the same time that these histories and imagined communities allow for movement and freedom of individuals within.

> There's even a difference, same songs can be played differently in east coast than they are played here. For instance, when I first heard the St Anne's Reel in the east coast, I didn't even recognize it. I didn't even recognize the first part, but I recognized the second part. As soon as the second part, part B came, I was like 'that's St Anne's Reel', but I had no idea it was St Anne's Reel before because they just put emphasis on different syll-a-bols, you know what I mean? . . . So I just didn't even recognize it, so it was cool. It was really neat to see that the same song is the same song just played in a different fashion, which is really cool – A. Keitel, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

> Well, I could think about the dancing, so you, like I said about, you're dancing is close to the floor, you know, you're not doing a bunch of kicks and stuff like that, that's a different style, it's just a sign that it's not, you know, what you'd see around here . . . Yeah, that's right. And people like to bring steps in from other places but if it's not close to the floor, or if it's not contained in a certain area, or if you're swinging your arms, it's just those signs that okay, this is not something from our tradition. But if a person takes from another culture, another step, and it does fit, that's great, it works, yeah absolutely. And Mac Morin does that a lot. He takes in steps that he's seen in Ottawa Valley or he's seen and he Gaelicises them and he Cape Bretonizes them, you know, in to, so that's totally cool too – D. Rankin, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

Thriving CTMD cultures often exhibit **regional** variations as **regional** styles develop in areas where CTMD flourishes. In each of the above examples, there is clearly a *boundary* both geographic and cultural around the music and dance, and for each, the identity and tradition is clearly seen as a positive. These *boundaries* also illustrate a high degree of *not-separateness* and *deep interlock*, as, in particular in the Rankin and Keitel quotations there is reference to the *contrasting* or differing regional styles or variations. It is paramount for these *centres* to be *strong* that there is considerable *interlock* with other *centres*.

It is also important that a **sub-region** have some grassroots *boundaries* instead of ones that are entirely state-mediated. Formal state-sanctioned language or dialect stifles vernacular variations within their jurisdiction (see Chapter 3). Consequently, these CTMD **sub-regions** should develop organically, and indeed will, if they are encouraged or not actively discouraged. Thompson provides a good example of this by describing how the Shetland tunes and style developed within historical events; the Highland Clearances and the crofting/tenant life influenced the Shetland style.

> I think they're [crofting life and traditional music], they're definitely innately linked, I think, they're, um, the way that folks would work and they put a lot of effort and time and energy and

> blood, sweat, and tears into making sure that they could live. And that's how crofting works, you were just working the land so that you could survive and you can keep your family alive. And it often were hard times, like it was, often could be quite difficult. And I think that is was so important that they had some way of, you know, creating joy and bringing the family together, and bringing communities together as well, because they just rallied at that, in that time of, in history, they just got together and they, they wanted to make something and they wanted to, you know, be happy so . . .Yeah. So they were the lairds who owned the land and then they would have the crofters as their tenants. . . That's how it worked . . . It was often quite difficult and they weren't very good relationships often . . .Yeah, absolutely, most certainly. And I think there was, yeah, I think it, it probably, I don't know the best way of putting this, it probably dissipated some of the conflict . . . Possibly, the music maybe dissipated some of that anger and . . . yeah, injustice, because it was, it was a corrupt system and, you know these crofters had to work to stay in their houses and unfortunately that at times, as you're, I'm sure you're aware of the Highland Clearances and that definitely had the same impact on Shetland . . . As it did everywhere else. So I, and I bet they were some amount of tunes that were written about those, those lairds – M. Thompson, personal communication, December 21, 2019.

CTMD cultures are connected to larger histories and traditions extending the *level of scale* beyond that of an individual (as *centre*), as Beaton and White describe below.

> Yeah. But I think, when the Scottish came here, I think I might have mentioned this a little in the demonstration today, from what I understand, Cape Bretoners, I think, felt a big responsibility that this was something that was inherited, that it is their own, but it's also our role to ensure that the beautiful things that came here live on. You know, I think we took, I think the word responsibility is key in that. So when I think of my own learning with the fiddle, I'm very aware that its some – that it's a tradition, so it's based in something that is bigger than me and it runs deeper than my lifetime and so as much, and it's a fine line that I still try and strike all the time as a creative, as something that is a creative thing as the music is and you're creating but it's something that's very based on something else. So you're always trying to be so respectful of the tradition and how it was given to you, all the while it's still something that has to come from yourself and your soul and your creative mind – M. Beaton, personal communication, July 24, 2019

> Yeah, a lovely gift. Not every place has this incredible continuity with the past. And uh, a strong sense of where you're from as well as where we're all headed. And I think nowadays everybody has lots of dreams, ambitions, and ideas about the world, is full of aspiration. Um but not everywhere has that very contained, um, geographically kind of defined and historically rich back story to draw upon, um, and we have all our, um ya know, guys picking up stories at the whaling and tunes at the whaling, sorry, at fishing and croft life, and exchanging halls, not everybody has that lovely backdrop for the material they encounter now – C. White, personal communication, October 21, 2019.

Beaton and White describe the creative freedom and *strengthening* of the individual as *centre* through participation in the larger *level of scale* of the cultural imaginary and the historical tradition (recall the levitron metaphor in Chapter 9). These histories, traditions, and stories are known and *interlocked* with the music, which has implications for **schools**, **government, families, homeschooling**, and **regional ritual**.

There is considerable *deep interlock and ambiguity* (see Illustration 13) between language/dialect and CTMD, which contribute to defining the *rough* (see Illustration 16) edges of a **region**.

> So the expectation of what I was playing, you know, was what they would be expecting to hear. And yeah, so it has changed a little bit over that said, and I don't mean to be jumping around on you, I think what's happened in the last six or seven years in particular, is there's a real push by many of the players in Cape Breton, and traditional and dance, and real push to work with the Gaelic community . . . To really focus on Gaelic language and understanding the importance of it because without the Gaelic language our tunes and our style will change, without question . . . Well, no, and the reason why I say that is because, you know, so people like my grandfather, whose first language was Gaelic, and my grandmother and many of our tunes are *Puirt-a-beul*, are mouth music, the old ones. But even without that, the way they play their music was the way they spoke . . . Was the they heard it and so it wasn't like they were hearing it from English speakers, they were hearing everything, all their music was coming from Gaelic speakers. So their pronunciation and the, even on a word, where even the English word, they would say it in a Gaelic way . . . You know, with a longer emphasis perhaps on a certain syllable, you know, certain aspects of the word. That, and that reflected then our music. . . . Where I walk into my local store the other night and Alasdair Cameron who's graduating grade twelve, he just finished the grade in June, his immediate thing is Gaelic to me. And I'm not a fluent speaker, I have, you know, I'm part of the way, but that`s, you know, right to Gaelic . . . He's also went through that program. And other programs we have here in Gaelic immersion and such. But they're understanding the history and the connection with the music. So there's many outlets to it, you know. But I, and there's a push amongst the traditionalists, they really say, the root, you know when you hear a Natalie MacMaster play or an Ashely MacIsaac, the root is traditional. I grew up with these folks and they were playing at the local dances and playing to local ceilidhs and you know and that's the root of the music. And you can't stray too far from the root because you can't dance to it – R. MacDonald, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

Likewise, Mill's comments support MacDonald's.

> Oh right, yeah, yeah, I think Shetland's unique kind of because we're on the map and, and if you speak to anybody outside Shetland, they go, oh that's Fair Isle, Fair Isle, Shetland ponies and Shetland fiddle that's kind of, yeah, that's the kind of three things that they would maybe recognize. Or Jimmy Perez, of course, 'Murder in Shetland' [she is referring here to the TV series called 'Shetland' made for BBC Scotland]. No. And, to be honest, I think, yeah, Shetland, it's good just to keep the tradition born because, because it is, it's what we're, what we are really and what makes us Shetland . . . Yeah. Yeah. Because if we were part of Scotland everything would just be completely diluted. . . I mean I think things is getting diluted because a lot of the Shetlanders like bairns if you hear them speak, they're, they're sounding American because they're watching the American TV. . . And then they're kind of, I find that the Shetland language itsel is actually really diluted and, and it's going to, a lot of the words has been lost already so, so, there's a lot of folk trying to preserve the Shetland language. And to me, if we were in, on the mainland Scotland then yeah, Shetland music would just be completely diluted – S. Mills, personal communication, October 30, 2019.

Both MacDonald and Mills articulate the importance of language differentiation in tune style and sound. They explain that, if the language were to be lost, the **regional** music style would also. This highlights the importance of *contrast* between *local symmetries* and *alternating repetition* of **sub-regions** to both emphasise the cultural difference and to *strengthen* the local *centre(s)* of

a given region. It also points to the necessity of **independent regions** and subsidiarity in **government**. With respect to the resurgence of Gaelic and high culture, a state-mediated official language, by necessity, supresses the vernaculars *interlocking* and at the *rough* edges of a **sub-region** (see Chapter 3). Thus in order to have regional variation, there has to be a degree of *roughness* between **sub-regions** as tight and immovable *boundaries* do not allow for organic development of regional variation. With formal language as with tunes, once the language become officially sanctioned and formally taught, it supresses or inhibits the development of the vernacular. Prior to the formation of the modern nation-state, culture, language, and music existed in a graded diversity. That is, each village or region would have a dialect that was slightly different than the ones adjacent to it, but similar enough that they could understand each other. Over large distances, these languages would differ more widely and there would be many different dialects, languages, cultures, etc. across that space (Gellner, 1983). However, the imposition of a unified language/culture in the process of modernization creates boundaries and dissolves the subordinate vernacular. The later/subsequent revivals of the vernacular ironically reproduce relations of super/subordination at the lower scale: myriad local variants of Irish become standard Irish. Short of reducing social/spatial mobility to almost zero and reproducing a pre-modern 'economy', this maintenance of diverse vernaculars will tend towards temporariness, instability, homogeneity, and rationalization. This example with music is the same as Barfield's (1988) and Ong's (2002) take on literacy: it changes consciousness and culture and no oral tradition remains, escapes, or survives unchanged. As Barfield observes and as I quoted in Chapter 8 (8.2), learning to ride a bike is *much* easier than unlearning how to ride a bike.

Despite this irony and the inescapability of the tendency towards formalization, the strictures on **sub-regional** variances can be mitigated. For example, Thompson describes the **sub-regional** variation of the fiddlers in Cullivoe, which is a town in Yell, Shetland.

> So there's still some of that about, you'll find it, you will find it, Cullivoe and they have their Cullievoe tunes and they play them, the back string up, tuned up to the A and, and they definitely still can play their own way of doing things so, yeah, there's a bit of that but so, with everybody mixing so much more now – M. Thompson, personal communication, December 21, 2019.

Within the Shetland tradition there is some tension between the vernacular fiddle playing and the capitol T fiddle Tradition. The Tradition, recorded in large part by Tammy Anderson, is taught to students formally via written notation, and is mimicked with as much stylistic accuracy as

possible. Whereas, as illustrated in both the Beaton and White quotations above, part of belonging to a living tradition is the element of personal expression and participation. The **sub-regional** style of AEAE tuning in Cullivoe could not develop were there a formal, top-meditated music style, so too with language and dialect. A degree of *roughness*, *good shape*, and *positive space* is required if **sub-regions** are to be allowed to develop their own styles (see Illustrations 16, 11, & 10).

In Robert MacFarlane's (2015) *Landmarks* he gathers hundreds of place-words that have fallen out of use or been lost over the years. As MacFarlane explains, "this is a book about the power of language – strong style, single words – to our sense of place" (p. 1). There is a mutual exchange between language, music, and place. Our sense of place is shaped through music and language and in turn, music and language influence our inhabitation of place. This exchange is discussed further in **ritual**, but it is important to note that it does not entail immobility. As Wood explains below, tunes and dances travel.

> Same idea that Shetland player will pick up a tune anywhere. The same way as if you go to Greenland. I went to Greenland a few years ago on a project for the meeting. And as is usual for these things, they take you and they do a sort of official night for you to welcome you. So everybody gets hauled into a local hall or wherever and you know, they do the traditional Greenland stuff and you know, the mouth music and all that kind of thing. And all of a sudden they say, 'now we're going to do some traditional Greenland dancing'. And they all came out and they in their proper, in their costumes and everything else, and started a 'Boston Two-step'. And it's all Scotch country dancing. And they learned it from the Whalers who played fiddles. . . And taught them how to dance. And you kind of think. And Maurice did a, you know, he was looking for the origins of the Willafjord tune. And found it in Greenland. And you know, all of those things and you must assume that, you know, the whaling fleets when they got together, when they got locked in the ice or whatever, they swapped tunes. There was American whalers up there. There was Basque whalers. There was the Scottish ones. Norwegians. Tunes were bouncing around from ship to ship – D. Cooper, personal communication, December 19, 2019.

As illustrated above, there is a high level of *not-separateness* and *deep interlock* (see Illustrations 20 & 13) between the different **regions** and **sub-regions**. These properties are essential for *good shape* as otherwise **sub-regions** can get too constricting, as Titon (2016) explains few things kill a tradition more efficiently than lack of innovation. This *not-separateness* and *deep interlock* can be difficult to cultivate at times because of the cost of travel, especially from remote locales.

Finally, as Henderson illustrates, *alternating repetition* and *local symmetries* between **sub-cultures** create a far more vibrant cultural tapestry.

> So there's now just a wealth of newly composed tunes. And yeah, you can hear the eras as well as they come through and their influences among it, but yeah that kind of set from the side form the traditional, but yeah, Shetland composed, and some of them, they do have a Shetland sound to

> them, you can tell. But yeah, so that's, I suppose what I would say the difference is and then you can, like you're going to your thinking about Unst and Yell and that. I suppose around those in the old days then travel between islands was, it was pretty difficult, in fact somebody in the south of Unst, that's an island that's maybe about kind of might, never have travelled to the north of Unst, only about twelve, fifteen mile away but they more commonly gone by sea to the next island. . . So most folk went by boat between places, so you got connections with where the boats were going, so north Yell, maybe, and Fetlar, and south end of Unst and through there, stronger connection than the north of Unst. Some of that folk, it were a rarity that they would go there . . . So it was really, they developed a quite local styles and repertoires, and a lot of them are, they might have had a prominent fiddler in that area and their music, kind of, was the popular, and tunes, like Stickle was obviously a famous one in Unst, and what his tunes, big repertoire of tunes. And then you'll get Whalsay, different style there again in the West side, north mainland, throughout, all these, quite remote places from each other, and they all had their own costumes and things they did slightly different and characteristics and they have their own accents and they still, today, you can tell an Unst or a Yell accent or, or a Whalsay accent or west side, so you can hear that even within a few miles, I could tell the odd, this one is from the west side or you can hear that – M Henderson, personal communication, November 8, 2019.

Instead of a homogenous **regional** style, each of these **sub-regions** has a style of their own with each *centre* contributing to make the **region** more alive as a whole. This also illustrates the importance of *contrast* and *echoes* for the creation of vibrant **sub-regions**, to increase to the variation of each region and consequently *strengthen* each internally (see Illustrations 14, 17, & 7).

Therefore: While recognizing trade-offs and competing tensions that come with imbricated and local scales (Section IV), for good governance, apply the principle of subsidiarity and allow **sub-regions** a degree of independence. Incorporate local history and musical traditions in **schools** – allow a high degree of freedom in types of education (see **schools** and **homeschooling**) and encourage use of and understanding of local dialects and vernacular language. Invest in houses or places to stay that can support musicians who may travel to other **regions** and host **competitions** between different **sub-regions** to support **sub-regional** *contrast*, *deep interlock*, and *not-separateness* between **regions** and **sub-regions**.

Pattern links: The character of a given **sub-region** is influenced by the structure of the **independent regions** (1) and **government** (2) (upward links). Connect with local stories and practices, **regional ritual** (4), and makes sure the **sub-region** is not to bounded so as to be influences by the smaller **communities** (14), and that each of the state-run patterns have enough autonomy to operate within each area e.g., **schools** (23), **universities** (24), **charities** (26) (downward links).

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11.4 (4) Regional ritual

Problem/statement: Individuals have become alienated from places, landscapes, and communities as the push for increasing modernization and urbanization removes individuals further and further from the possibility of participating in seasonal and temporal rituals and rites.

Discussion: The criticism of nostalgia can perhaps be most easily levied at **regional ritual**. And in a sense, this would be correct. Many **rituals** are anachronistic to modernity, as **rituals** function not only to allow individuals to express themselves, but also to solidify their place in the community. Similarly, modernity has also made a shibboleth of traditional music. The instances

Illustration 22: Clootie Well in Highlands of Scotland. A healing ritual for the sick and afflicted, wherein pilgrims, on behalf of someone who is sick, bring a piece of cloth or 'cloot' to dip in the well and then hang on a nearby tree. As the cloot rots and/or disintegrates, the person is said to heal.

of **ritual** in my fieldwork are few, but I think it is an important and underused pattern, particularly for bringing people into community and into communion with place. The focus of this is on the function of these patterns (see also Chapters 5, 8, & 9). As such, these **rituals** are not a nostalgic longing for the past, but rather the purpose of them is to bring people into community, bind them together, and express a sense of place, while simultaneously allowing for individual expression. In Shetland they invented such a **ritual** called Up Helly Aa.

> Yeah, so yeah, so yeah, and I mean even your Up Helly Aa started with a rolling tar barrows about and all sorts of things to lighten up the place and, but it was a bit rough and rowdy I think at the beginning with it, it became a bit more kind of, got tamed down when the police got involved. . . Stop rolling tar barrows through folks' doors and things. . . Yeah it was wild. The, when it started a hundred and twenty years ago it really was wild it was things going on fire and things, obviously, obviously that's a fairly new tradition. But I think, yeah, they would have, what it was like before that, I'm not really sure what people did. Must have been pretty bleak – P. Wood, personal communication, December 10, 2019.

Up Helly Aa is an invented tradition (sensu Hobsbawm, 1983) which celebrates Shetland Viking heritage and the end of winter (personal notes, 2019). Part of the motivation for Up Helly Aa is to help get through the long dark winter in the isles. Straddling the 60th parallel, the winter days only have about six hours of sunshine, and then only if it is not overcast. Of note is the connection between the ritual and the season, as Loynd explains below.

> Mhm. Yeah, I think so. People just find things to do in the winter time to keep them busy and doing stuff. Um. So that's why we have all the fire festivals and things that – my son can't get it because he's not, like not grown up here and he's like, 'I don't understand why they spend so much time building this boat and then they burn it and then they make all these costumes and things, what's the point?' He's like, because it's all about doing things together and sense of purpose and community and finding things to keep you busy and active in the wintertime – it's dark. And he's like 'aahh' – C. Loynd, personal communication, December 6, 2019.

Properties that contribute to Up Helly Aa as a *strong centre* are the *gradients* of age (it is intergenerational) and participation (one can be a focal point participator or a by-standing participant and the whole range in between) and the *deep interlock and ambiguity* between performer, audience, and participant. *Deep interlock and ambiguity* between **ritual**, **community**, **pub sessions**, and other *centres* also contributes to the *strength* of Up Helly Aa. But equally important is the *deep interlock* between **ritual** and place.

> Yeah, yeah I think it's, I think it's a, I would say it's a good place for bringing on youngsters . . . Yeah, that are keen to join in a tune and they get a good chance to muck in and join in with fiddlers of all ages. So I would say it's good for that. And definitely see that throughout the years, seeing how they come through the ranks kind of thing. And you're playing for twelve hours on a bus or twelve hour sessions, so, for stamina, it's good for that. . . It's a difficult thing to describe really, Up Helly Aa. It's such a mix of stuff, but now it's a little bit of a week long. In Lerwick it's the last Tuesday, there's the Saturday and Sunday before it and the Monday night, all the dance bands are up there is they're kind of, almost like a mini festival for them. They all get together and then the Tuesday's the Up Helly Aa and if you're still fit, you can carry on to the hop, through to the Hop Day . . . yeah . . . It is, yeah, local holiday. So if you've got sense, you'll go home. And if you're like me then you're probably still out through the day and . . . And then you need a holiday on the Thursday . . . It's its own thing, and people like dressing up as Vikings. . . And then celebrating their Norse heritage and some people are more into that than others. . . But I always did take it with a pinch of salt, somewhat. . . yeah, it celebrates the kind of end of winter, type of thing, and the sun coming back. And pre-dating that, there was festivals around that time, at the end of the 24 days of Yule time and involving fire. And through the streets of Lerwick, since,

particularly after the Napoleonic Wars they say, then was a men coming back from the, there was hard times when they were, guns going off and gun powder and rolling tar bottle through the street on fire and it all got a bit out of hand. It was getting . . . Gun powder going off. So they decided to do a procession and a festival based on the fire. So it kind of came out of that. And the tar bottle was a thing they did, rolling the tar bottle through the village. Or places in the country they did that. . . Tar bottle, so it always involved fire. So the things came together and there's actually a fellow called Halden Burgess, who was a poet in Shetland and there's a really, you can find a good book about him, it's a very interesting peerie booklet on Halden Burgess. But he ended up, he went blind. I think he went, he never actually saw the fire festival but he recalled the days when they were firing this tar bottle in place, and he had this vision of the Viking long ship and a Viking and so on and then he created that and yeah. But at that time it was very popular, this looking back to the Norse roots and stuff. And there'll be loads of folk that can look into that and political reasons and all sorts of why that was, but there's lots of probably good reasons for it, yeah – M. Henderson, personal communication, November 8, 2019.

Henderson explains how Up Helly Aa provides the context for the youth to participate and be brought 'up through the ranks' in the fiddle culture through participation in the **ritual** and at the **sessions** *interlocked* with Up Helly Aa. *Good shape* and *positive space* are formed by allowing for the *gradients* in ages and the *contrast* between the very proficient and newer or less experienced performers. Up Helly Aa also acts as a successful **ritual** because of the *echoes* and *alternating repetition* and *local symmetries* between the different **sub-regions** and **communities**. Each of the **sub-regions** in Shetland has an Up Helly Aa or 'fire festival' in the case of Scalloway.

All the rest of them are Up Helly Aa's. Scalloway is the Scalloway Fire Festival. . . Which is *whispers* same thing – different name. But that's the first one, that's the first one. And then after that, there's the Lerwick one, which happens on a Tuesday. Don't know why. Don't know who decided that was a good idea. I think we should have just made it a weekend but that's probably quite controversial. Don't allow women – again quite controversial, especially in this day and age. Anything that's unequal just seems to be, you know, ugh. Like, a lot of time spent on that. Um, and then you get the two biggest ones, I think, after that are the south mainland one which is quite recent. That's the second weekend of March. And the Brae one which is the Delting one, which is the north mainland. There's a North Maven one which is the north, north mainland. And then you get the central, like Delting one which is like the third week in March. . . And then there's ones in a couple of the islands have ones. And like there's a Bressay one at the end of February. Some of them are on the same night. Like the Bressay one's on the same night as like one of the other country ones. . . So like, no, there just, there, there's a couple of weekends. There's a handful of weekends between the first weekend in, between the Scalloway one and the Brae one. Which is the middle of March. Middle of March when there isn't one. . . There's load of them. There's load. . . It's a piss up. . . it's a piss up. Like it's a party, it's a party. I don't [want] to be just too derogatory to it. . . It's a party. . . People want to have a good time. Like people want to go out and let their hair down and have a good time. They're working hard. Um we also live in a, you know, I guess Shetland's a – people go on about drinking culture and things – we live in a pretty small place with not a lot of great weather and, you know like – A. Nicholson, personal communication, December 5, 2019.

The different locales contribute to the *strength* of each **ritual** *centre*. However, Nicholson also mentions properties that weaken Up Helly Aa as a *centre*, that is the strict *boundary* and exclusion of women from the Jarl's Squad in the Lerwick Up Helly Aa (although since 2019 this has changed and the Lerwick Up Helly Aa is gender inclusive). In order for a *boundary* to contribute to the *strength* of the *centre* there must also be a considerable degree of *not-separateness* and *simplicity and inner calm* (see Illustrations 20 & 19). The former exclusion of women caused a high degree of anger and protest, undermining the *simplicity and inner calm* and ultimate aliveness of this *centre*.

There are different *levels of scale* in the *centres* that take place at Up Helly Aa. The largest is the march through the street and the burning of the long ship, but then, cascading to the smaller *scale* there are events throughout the town at different **pubs,** community halls, and various other **places to play**.

What makes this **ritual** work in Shetland is the *deep interlock and ambiguity* with and between historical and cultural imaginary, invented tradition, and place – it is incredibly place-specific. It is also not a performance for tourists (although they are welcome), it is a **ritual** performed by the people living in the **sub-regions** and **communities**. **Regional rituals** also provide a means for bringing celebrity musicians back into their home communities, thereby increasing the *gradients* of skill and participation of those within.

Rituals are *centres* that really contribute to the *strengthening* of the *centres* both at the larger and smaller *levels of scale*. And there is no reason why other *centres* could not invent, perform, and participate in **rituals** that are specific to their **communities**, places, and landscapes, especially where the music and dances knit together **community**, place, and landscape. For example, the creation of harvest **festivals** in Ontario, or **rituals** centred on fishing in PEI. At the start of the school year, each **school** could have a **ritual** for students, teachers, and parents to participate in which would *strengthen* the bonds, not only between the individuals in the **school** but would pull **families** into the **school**. These **rituals** need not be overwhelmingly elaborate but can be as simple as a shared meal and small performance by students in a **school**, or a public celebration in a city centre marking a change of season or some other place-specific event.
Therefore: Introduce and support **rituals** at different *levels of scale*. Make sure they overlap with other *centres* – **family, schools, communities, sub-region, extended family, networks of**

friends, etc. – and have a connection to the place and landscape in which they are performed in order to increase the possibility of inhabitation of place.

Pattern links: **Regional rituals** are shaped by the larger patterns and histories of **independent regions** (1) and **sub-regions** (3) (upward links), but should also consider/influence the character, actions, and content of smaller levels of scale, in particular **communities** (14), **church** (11), **dances** (12), **homeschooling** (8), **homes/families** (5), **competitions** (17), **live performances/places to play** (21), **festivals** (22), **schools** (23), and **nursing homes** (25) (downward links).

Chapter 12 Hearth patterns

This chapter is called Hearth Patterns as the patterns within best exemplify the vision of a society centred and built upon multiple mutually reinforcing hearths. The State-Market involvement in these patterns is diminished, allowing for the emergence and increase of the sphere of Livelihood.

Hearth patterns

5. Home/family
6. Extended family
7. Networks of friends
8. Homeschooling
9. Pubs/sessions
10. Bands
11. Church
12. Dances
13. Rites of passage (weddings/funerals/etc.)
14. Community

12.1 (5) Home/family

Problem/statement: Capitalist modernization atomizes families to the extent that they often operate as a collection of individuals under the same roof, devoid of a culture, wholeness, or real unity. Bureaucratic administrative conceptions of 'family' increasingly take precedence over organic ones (Hahn, 2020, p. 150). Simultaneously, this same process separates the home from the wider centres of **extended family**, **community**, or friend groups, etc., decreasing the flourishing of the home and individuals within and depleting the number of interacting and overlapping *strong centres*. This atomization of both the individual and household is a direct function of energy flows (see Chapters 3 & 4).

Discussion: The pattern **home/family** is paramount for a society centred on hearths. The success of this *centre* rests on the ability to cultivate a family culture in which children belong *and* in which they are formed and educated through participation in the family *centre*, as with the following quotations.

> Like I don't like the term musical families because it like, you know I have like it doesn't necessarily mean you're going to be able to do it. . . Yeah. But it is a culture thing. If there's people around your house playing musical instruments, you're going to get to know it. And music

> itself is, I've said that it's an experience. You know, like, certain songs and pieces of music just make people feel a certain way, whether there's something about it, there's some kind of magic spell that happens or it was their mam's favourite song when they were a kid or something. You hear in your thirties or something – A. Nicholson, personal communication, December 5, 2019.

> So I mean the motivation for me, I mean I do really enjoy it and I enjoy playing I enjoy performing and it's always been something I've done. With four kids it's really hard to do that but it's really my husband's like, he loves it, it's his everything, right. Like he just really likes it. So it's something for me, I try and incorporate the family into it all and that's what we've been trying to do lately so the kids can come and they can play shows with us and so it becomes more of a family thing rather than just like a . . . Yeah, because otherwise it just becomes like anytime we ever have the two of us it's just playing gigs, yeah – B. Richardson, personal communication, July 2, 2019.

Note that being in a musical family does not always mean that 'you can do it', that is, that you can play. But rather, it fosters the expectation that this is an appropriate form of conviviality so that people will encourage and make room for it. This is as important as people who can actually play, as without that context, this type of **home** playing would never happen. Likewise, it is essential that the **family/home** is interacting with other *strong centres* e.g., **extended family, bands, dances**, etc.: the fewer interactions with other *centres* the weaker this centre becomes and the more interactions, the stronger. Consider the following example:

> And I was brought up in Lerwick, in the, in the lanes of Lerwick here. And I really didn't start playing the fiddle 'til a bit later on, some of the folk around here they start really young, but the house was a musical house, there were always folk along, we lived just, not far from music above the Lounge bar . . . And in those days kind of early, probably eleven o'clock or and folk would come back along that, maybe ten o'clock even at that time and do, after that the pub would empty. Dad might take a few musicians back and he, so there would be music in there. At Saturday afternoons, the Lounge shut at like half past two in the afternoon, so there would maybe be somebody come back along for a tune after and my dad made fiddles. So he was always working on a fiddle or fixing somebody's fiddle, so there'd be folk along and always live kind of music in the house, so that's the kind of introduction. We always had fiddle music on all the records was fiddle music, and even the Canadian connection there was some popular young Graham Townsend record he was very popular . . . records at that time. So there was even a bit of Canadian stuff . . . going on. So I suppose once I was about ten, eleven, then I was kind of interested in trying to learn a few tunes myself, and . . . Dad could turn a tune on the fiddle as well, so he showed me a 'Merry Boys O' Greenland' that type of tune, so I picked up the fiddle and then how I came to get lessons at school, there's a lot of folk who get lessons at the school, but it was just everybody in the school I was at then, I don't think there was actually just formal kind of lessons at primary school. But when I went to secondary school, that's when you're eleven . . . When you go to secondary school, eleven, twelve, that kind of age, then I'd written a history essay . . . About the fiddle and stuff and it was something about Shetland history. At the end of it I said, 'oh someday I'd really like to learn the fiddle'. And I didn't know, the history teacher played the fiddle, met me dad in the pub and said, 'oh I got this essay from your boy. He seems to be keen on the fiddle. So I could easily get him fiddle lessons at school'. So that was very, that came out me history teacher – M. Henderson, personal communication, November 8, 2019.

In the above quotation, Henderson, beginning with **home/family** describes his musical education with reference to six other centres. This is mainly an explanation of his childhood **home/family**

life, but in order to explain the culture he refers to: **pub/sessions, networks of friends, larger regions, schools,** and **smaller regions**. Each of these CTMD *centres* mutually strengthens each other. The similar references to *strong centres* continue in the quotations below.

> So I started off as a step dancer – started off learning in the house. And that's where generally you would learn at home in the kitchen or in the living room. And then when I was about seven or eight years old I got involved in we used to have a little Mabou square dance, stuff like that, and perform. And then I started performing myself as a step dancer. And although I was surrounded by fiddler music, we didn't have any formal lessons until I was twelve. And then started formal lessons with my uncle Ken Anna Beaton and a few of my cousins. So we would go up once a week and of those it was two of us that . . . Yeah there was like six of us who would go up for a weekly lesson. And two of us, Glen Graham, Dr. Glen Graham now . . . Glen and I do a lot of playing together over the years we made a CD together . . . In the 1990s. And yeah, we would be seen together playing quite a bit, so. So he and I are both two of that group that went out playing – R. MacDonald, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

> My parents love it. They didn't perform or they didn't teach me more than they could. I mean dance is something that's very much in a bit of a general sphere. So people that might not consider themselves musical or whatever, they probably have a step back home, it's just that it's that kind of, it was *en masse* a little bit . . . So they, you know, there's videos of Dad grabbing our feet at six months or like you know, you're trying to . . . Yeah, yeah. And then it was on in the house constantly; in the car it's on. I mean, that's a common story, but it was, and then growing we went to parties. There was so many good parties at Minnie and Alex's, Natalie's parents . . . And Dawn, my sister and I have, we give it a lot of credit those parties. They were just parties but and there was something to it where our parents would take us, I don't know if they were strategic about it or not, but they would kind of go and visit. And the kids were kind of not, not that they weren't priority, but they weren't, that wasn't their concern, they were visiting so the kids would go and do whatever and but we, so there wasn't a, what am I trying to say, there wasn't that pressure on us. We were just kind of there and absorbing and having fun and, you know, if it was 2 o'clock in the morning, I mean, I'd just curl up and sleep wherever but the concern wasn't about 'oh my gosh the kids got to get a bath and bed and *claps hands* and', you know it was just this is more important and the values were totally different – M. Beaton, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

In each of the above examples, it is apparent that the home or **family** culture is a *strong centre*, complete with unity and wholeness, containing smaller *levels of scale* within and contributing to larger *levels of scale* in the **community** outside of the family. These examples highlight the **family** as a *strong centre* while simultaneously provide examples of the fifteen properties of wholeness present within these family cultures, which contribute both to the strength of the **family**/**home** as a *strong centre* and greater degrees of life or flourishing. Each of the participants above, sights the **home** or **family** culture as either being their inspiration for playing music or as the means of enculturating their children. The *level of scale* of the home or **family**, interacts and overlaps with the smaller *levels of scale*, by including the individuals, and children in particular, and allowing them to have an active role in the family culture. And the **family** is

also *strengthened* by interaction with the larger *levels of scale* with explicit reference to **extended family**, **sessions**, **regions**, **places to play**, **bands**, etc. (see Illustration 23).

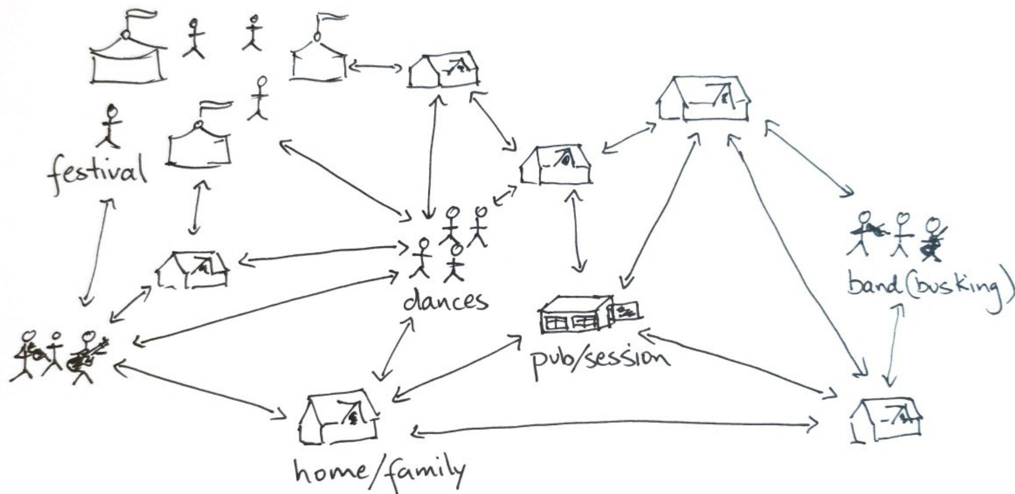

Illustration 23: The alternating repetition of **homes**/**families** that interact with and are strengthened by many other *centres*. While bounded as a coherent whole, no **home** is isolated from other *centres*.

The *boundaries*, *deep interlock*, and *not-separateness* properties of this *centre* are particularly salient. It is clear in each of these examples that there is a specific **family** or **home** culture that requires a *boundary* – most obviously a *boundary* of kinship. However, it is equally important in each of these examples, that the **home** is *deeply interlocked* with other **homes** in the **community** and wider cultures and *centres*, and that there is a high degree of *not-separateness* with the individual **homes**/**families** and the wider **community** or fiddle culture (see in particular the Henderson, Beaton, and Arsenault (below) quotations, see also Illustration 23). This is congruent with MacIntyre's (2009) point that family is necessary but not sufficient for socialization. There is a *deep interlock* or connection between the pub's players and the Henderson household. The home or **family** culture cannot be isolated and must be connected to the larger *levels of scale* and in so doing it encourages the growth of the smaller *levels of scale*.

> Yeah. I play, so yeah, so I've always played more informally, not professionally. So, the reason I wanted to learn to play the fiddle was to be able to play in kitchen parties and be part of that culture. So that's a really big thing for me. Something that I love is playing with other people, like basically in a house, like a house party, all playing together and sharing music, that energy. You'll have to check out Pastel and Emanuel's dad has an annual party and it's like – that's the best example I can think of. It's like in a barn and there's just like tons of people playing the fiddle and dancing and like hanging out and it's like a real Acadian feeling. It's really great . . . So that is kind of like what I love the most. Not so much, like I'll perform here and there in PEI, but yeah,

> just more to share that music with other people, that's what gets me excited. So relating back to the question, I guess… Because I think maybe coming back to your question maybe. It's totally different, I think the products that the East Pointers and Vishtèn and them put together – it's something that you can sell – it's like I'm going to a festival and I'm going to like, you know, present this show. But it's marketing, it's like you know, it's all that. And that's a totally different thing than just playing in a house party right? . . . Yeah, um, yeah it's just um because like hm this is a good question, actually. When you're learning the, like for me when I learned the fiddle, it wasn't like in the purpose of becoming the best. Or not becoming the best but becoming good enough to sell something. You know like it's just for fun. Maybe that's the difference actually, for fun and for business purposes or for making a living or and I think there's probably some other, obviously, purposes. For instance, I know the East Pointers, you know, they share a lot about the fiddle festival and PEI and promote the culture. And I know Vishtèn, they promote Acadian culture and their values and their like – they want to share something of themselves. Obviously there's a higher purpose than just like making a living but like, you still have to think about the business aspects or you can't do that. So it's just there's all those extra things added to the business side than just playing. And you know, like, and so what I usually, I play at the Old Triangle, like at jam sessions a lot and so yeah that's kind of more my scene, my favourite one – N. Arsenault, personal communication, July 18, 2019.

> Yeah, he's eight months, just turned eight months old . . . He does like the guitar, it's like, he'll sit and stare at the guitar and go – and I'll like, I'll put one on the ground and he'll sit and bash it and . . . And stuff so. I think, yeah. Hoping he'll be a musician. But by the looks of it, he will be, so . . . Yeah . . . No, he'll be surrounded by it as well, like all our pals are all musicians and things like that so – I. Webb, personal communication, November 24, 2019.

Gradients are also of particular importance with respect to age, ability, and participation (see Illustration 15), as evidenced by Arsenault's reference to her own motivation for playing music. Beaton's example with respect to children also highlights the importance of *gradients*. The children are very welcome and able to participate, but they are not forced to be the centre of attention. They belong in the culture and do not have to be segregated or belong to a different 'child' or 'youth' culture. Being a part of the larger whole allows for them to 'absorb and have fun' and ultimately *strengthen* the culture. The tendency in modern society is to segregate by age through age-specific events/associations, e.g., seniors' homes, day care, 19+ events, concerts, licensing laws, etc. – a theme I discuss frequently throughout this thesis. I discuss this further in **pubs/session** but the age-cut off of 19+ after 9 pm, is problematic as it impedes family flexibility, that is, the ability for an older sibling or parent to take a younger child to a session. The connection between spatial and social patterns is salient as they mutually support (or detract from) one another (see 9.1). As such, *good shape* and *positive space* can both be understood in a spatial way: i.e., that there are spatial structures that contribute to the participation of individuals (children can either be at the centre of the music perhaps playing or dancing in the middle of the living room, or they can participate in a more passive way by listening from a cozy and

connected stairwell, as is often their wont). But when there is room for a range of abilities and ages (*gradients*), this also contributes to the creation of *positive space* and *good shape* in the social realm (see Illustrations 10 & 11). Thus *gradients* create the space for participation of both the very young and very old denoting *good shape* and *positive space*, which is central to cultivating a culture of hearths and combating the ills of an age-segregating society. The *good shape* and *positive space* is in large part created by the *contrast* of ages and the room for *roughness* in ability (by which I simply mean a polished performance is not required). Without the room for *roughness* (see Illustration 16) in playing, the young could not be enculturated. Likewise, throughout each of the above descriptions of **home/family** centres there is an air of *simplicity and inner calm*, and it is abundantly apparent in the following statement from Shetland fiddler Martha Thompson:

> I do like, yeah, I love having tunes in wir kitchen at home, just like when I'm playing with Dad, we just pick up the fiddle and have tunes and that's always nice – M. Thompson, personal communication, December 21, 2019

A culture of hearths works best if there is *alternating repetition*. That is, that more than one **home/family** operates as a *strong centre* with wholeness. As such, the many **homes/families** can come together and mutually *strengthen* each other, while simultaneously overlap and create smaller *centres* and contribute to larger *centres*, e.g., **bands**, **community, extended family, pubs/sessions, networks of friends, schools**. Furthermore, having more than one (*alternating repetition*) also creates resilience and redundancy in the music culture, thereby diffusing the soft skills of hosting and extending confidence (*strengthening*) in the social sphere for individuals/**families** that are 'on the edge' or just coming into the **community**. In the above examples, the conversation begins with the interviewee's home and very quickly moves to a wider pattern of socialization, showing the necessity of *alternating repetition*, but also the *strengthening* property of it (see again Illustration 23). Likewise with *echoes*, this same pattern repeats at various hearths, *echoing* the pattern, but never the same way, as each **home**/**family** culture is and should be different.

Therefore: Have events where the whole family is able to participate and engage, whether in homes or kitchen parties (which is the wont in Canada) or in a county halls or pubs (as in the UK examples). Play as a family even if someone just has the ability to play the spoons. Invite other **families** over and entertain as a *centre*. Make sure that your **home/family** does not become an

escape or retreat from public life or larger society. Instead, participate in the public sphere and wider community – **nursing homes (old people)**, **pubs/sessions**, **dances, weddings, community, busking, festivals, places to play, school, etc.** – but also, be open to inviting individuals or groups of other *centres* into the **home**.

Pattern links: **Homes/families** is upwardly linked to and influenced by many patterns at the larger level of scale, most particularly **regions** (1), **government** (2), **sub-region** (3), **community**(14), **church** (11), **extended family** (6), and **networks of friends** (7), **schools** (23) and is linked downward with many nested patterns, particularly, **homeschooling** (8), **pubs/sessions** (9), **bands** (10), and **dances** (12).

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12.2 (6) Extended family

Problem/statement: A function of energy flows, the atomization of society severs the bonds of **extended family** which reduces the mutual obligation of kinship and increases dependence upon the State-Market. This also takes the form of smaller households/houses, as once the habit of living together is broken, it is very difficult to recreate. 20th century housing is a good example of this where (sometimes) driven by well-intentioned planning/zoning standards, the design of Modern houses has to some degree forced the nuclearization of families and households and contributed to the hermetic seal between different extended family units.[10]

Discussion: Emanating from **family/home**, **extended family** is a concentric *centre* of import to the PL of CTMD and for resisting the atomization of society. Of particular significance are grandparent/grandchild relationships, which extend the *level of* time *scale* of the **family** centre.

> I was lucky because I had my granda. He, he kind of guide me, push me a bit if I was digging me heels in. Nine years old nah I don't want to play, I want to go outside and play. But no, he'd be like, come one, just have a peerie twenty minutes play fiddle. But I'm happy he did because I, I'm still playing – L. Anderson, personal communication, November 27, 2019.
>
> It's just, it's just upbringing. Just upbringing. Parents, parents, their parents, their parents. It's just always gone – it's just always been the case. I found, for me … so it's just coming up for the years. I found, from all the teaching I've done south [mainland UK] to coming up here, it's by far the busiest I've been. And by far the easiest job I've ever had – A. Kane, personal communication, December 16, 2019.

[10] For example, one can compare the regulations under the Planning Act put out by the Ontario Government (https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/90p13/v49#BK7), which restrict or limit, however well intentioned, the use or building of new structures and regulate the spaces of people's properties inhibiting the human-activity and needs for the sake of bureaucratic efficiency to the human-centred approach of Jane Jacobs (1961) in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*.

The *contrast* of age, between grandparent and child encourages the child to participate and listen when the grandparent plays or instructs, but also to feel supported and affirmed by the grandparent. Additionally, this skip in generation can have a 'jokier', less disciplinary relationship which strengthens the bonds of kinship (Parkin, 1993).[11] This *contrast* in age and the importance between grandparent/grandchild relationships are illustrated below.

> Yeah and now we're getting into winter we maybe nearer Christmas then we'll start seeing the, you know, folks starting to go out for Christmas and that. I think this next couple of weeks that we're doing, we've just told everybody, bring your friends, make sure granny and granddad come kind of thing so, and that's a lovely supportive atmosphere then . . . And because it's such a lovely place upstairs as well, for mums and dads that are you know, really proud and they want to get photos of their bairns or whatever, video, it's such a nice setting and a nice sound upstairs that . . . That the perfect place to do it so, we've been saying if you want to come and take photos – L. Johnson, personal communication, November 9, 2019.

The above quotation refers to a bi-weekly 'Young Musicians Night' in the attic restaurant/bar of The String in Lerwick, Shetland where various young **bands** would perform (**places to play**). In the heavier tourist seasons, there would be a larger crowd, but in the winter down season the audience mostly consisted of parents and grandparents, where the youth were very proud to play and were affirmed by playing for their grandparents and their friends' grandparents (observation, November, 2019).

The **extended family** and **family/home** *centres* are mutually reinforcing or *strengthening*, pulling the members of the family together and highlighting the existence of the property *levels of scale*, with respect to the nested *centres*.

> I'm a fiddler and a step dancer . . . I did, well I, my family is very engaged in music, as is our community. I think when you look at the sign driving into our community is says, I can't remember exactly what it says, but it says 'where culture lives' . . . And that's a good thing for a sign for our community because it's a living culture. So my grandparents, my grandfather was a fiddler, Donald Angus Beaton, and his wife, Elizabeth. And of their nine kids there was two fiddlers and four piano players. And my father's family there was six boys in it and all the ones in my mother's family and father's family were very much into step dancing . . . So lots of dancing and you know, my grandfather's father was a fiddler and a piper. And my grand aunts and my cousins and still today, I can go and see my cousin Glen play or Ken Ann Beaton or Shelley Campbell or whoever, there's lots of music . . . Andrea's my first cousin . . . So Ken Ann Beaton, her father is my uncle. My mother was a Beaton . . . And in fact I just sold my house behind the Red Show Pub to Andrea, that was our grandparents' house . . . Yeah in the Spring. So yeah, for us it would be very normal to, every family get together, and, you know, a lot of music in the community. A lot of fiddlers and piano players, step dancers and such. So yeah, just a big part of life. And it still is today in our communities – R. MacDonald, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

[11] There is a whole Anthropology devoted to the ritual of joking within different kinds of relationships (see Parkin, 1993).

In each of these examples, the formation, development, and nurturing of the individual is aided by the **extended family**. The Anderson, MacDonald, and Arsenault examples, in particular, showcase the *strengthening* of the individual as a *centre* through the nesting nurturing *centres* at this larger *level of scale* (recall the levitron metaphor).[12]

> My father plays. My grandfathers played. My grandfather and great grandfather. My grandparents ran dances in Bangor PEI in the 70s and 80s. And I was born in 78. I don't remember any of the dances but I grew up going to benefit concerts and things you know. And then I started coming up here to the Rollo Bay Fiddle Festival when I was fourteen. Is this going to be too loud for your recording? . . . Well, I was here when I was a kid. We'd come up Sunday afternoon and hide in the back of the car and try to sneak in so that Dad didn't have to pay . . . Well, yeah, you know. I remember my weekend here when I was fourteen. That's when I really caught on, clued in, I was like, 'ok'. I had started taking fiddle lessons when I was twelve and so then it meant more to me then so then uh I, I knew the players and stuff before that. But then, you know, at fourteen I was like, 'ok I'm going to get a chance to listen to Kenney Chaisson and really get a chance to hear these guys. So it mattered. And so I learned to square dance just between that cook house and the tuning room, there's two rotten poles with a string of lights hanging up between them . . . The poles are like leaned in like this now, but that used to be an outdoor dance floor. That was the dance floor when I was here at fourteen. So I learned to square dance there. My Aunt Bonnie taught me how to swing. So I learned to dance there and I've been dancing ever since. And then years later they built this barn so now all the dances are in there – W. MacDonald, personal communication, July 20, 2019.

The *boundary* of this *centre* is more porous than that of **family/home**, yet still exists around the parameters of kinship: grandparents, aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews, cousins, etc. While it is important that each of these *centres* exist in its own right, the properties of *not-separateness* and *deep interlock and ambiguity* (see Illustrations 20 & 13) are required in order to connect the **extended family** with both the smaller and larger *levels of scale*. These *centres* depend on both the *boundedness* of these Livelihood forms of association (to make them cohere) but also on the porosity (*deep interlock*), which makes them connect. The pattern of **extended family** is also *interlocked* with *centres* other than **family/home**. As seen in the MacDonald quotation through the interaction with **festivals, dances,** and **places to play**. Likewise, in the following example

[12] Although the history of the Christian west and later modernity is of individuation/individualization (Weber, [1904-5]1992; Seidentop, 2017; Elias, [1968]2000; Taylor, 1992; 2018) and various kinds of pathologies rooted in an over extension of this (Trueman, 2020; Rieff, 1973; 2008; Lasch, 1991, at the same time, it is still always true that the self is constructed situationally in interaction with other selves (Goffmann, [1956]1959; Mead, 1934). As such, what is changing is that the social context is actively producing individuals, and by extension (connected to my argument herein concerning pattern languages) different forms of socialization and differently structured recurring situations (Khurana, 2002; Meindle, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985; Ross & Nisbett, 2011; Weber, 2019; Weber & Moore, 2014; Weber & Murnighan, 2008) will presumably produce/socialize different kinds of individuals. Thus there is a marked difference between a million atomized individuals formed by bureaucratic-type households/families ('liquid modernity' as discussed in Chapter 3) and individuals formed and reformed by nested Livelihood forms of associations (*levels of scale*, *gradients*, *contrast*, etc.) starting with nuclear **family** and stretching all the way up to **festival**.

from Tickell, it shows the importance of **extended family** for playing within a tradition, but also illustrates the connection or *deep interlock* of the **extended family** to larger *centres* such as **community** and **region**.

> I think fundamental is the family background so this is, right, this is lots of things, so my mom's side of the family are very, very traditional shepherd, shepherd tenant farmers, very much part of the community. Um the traditional music had survived in even though they didn't play themselves they're working dancers and not, not flashy dancing just you know social dancing but they were very much and also the shepherd and community it's interesting 'cause it's not a geographic community it, it goes all over not and blend those people that are in that community right somehow or in touch through sheep and the marks and all of that sort of thing. So it's not something that's specific to the north pine valley or, or in a nickel that sort of thing that it crosses the whole of that kind of north Northumberland hill sheep farming area. So I had those connections through mom's side of the family. Um so all the all the old boys that play like Will Atkinson, Billy Taylor, Joe Hutton, all of them knew my grandparents on my mom side. They, they're part of the same thing. So once I tapped into the music I already had those connections on my dad's side. He, although he was living in the same community as mom, the same geographic community, very rural, very remote, and they moved there when dad was about four. Um he didn't have that tradition but he does have a performance kind of gene if there is such a thing. So he loves to perform. His dad loved to perform it, go tell stories poetry, all of that, so I had both that I had the tradition and the performance element in me from the start. I think in terms of learning the instruments um I always kind of wanted to play some that even though when you were little kid you can't articulate that. But when dad had a piano on the farm and my granddad Tickell and I'd bash away at it and it was sounded awful, but in my head I was definitely creating soundscapes and you know fairy horses and Thunder and all of these sort of things. So when granddad moved off the farm into the old peoples bungalows the piano wouldn't fit so it came to me. So I started piano lessons when I was five, that was Classical. And I think something that's really important to me is that at this stage we were not living in Northumberland and I think that is pretty fundamental to, to why so involved in the traditional music because my parents were away from Northumberland and missed it desperately – K. Tickell, personal communication, August 11, 2020.

Tickell credits, not only the importance of **extended family** for her own music ability, but her quotation also shows the *strengthening* aspect of the larger *centres* that *interlock* with **extended family** – **community**, **sub-region/region**, and **regional ritual** – and how these larger *centres* continue to *strengthen* the smaller *centres* through stories even when geographically removed.

There are other aspects of **extended family** that are *strengthening*, not least, *alternating repetition*.

> So I grew up in a very musical family, extremely musical. Like my father is from the Evangeline Region, which is the Acadian area, like not just one Acadian area but it's one of the main Acadian and Francophone areas of PEI, just west of Summerside. And um, very traditional Acadian. There were fourteen in the family. So fourteen brothers and sisters . . . My dad's family, yeah. And my mother's from Montreal, so not a musical family. But my dad's side is all, not all, the fourteen brothers and sisters didn't all play music but his, so my grandfather, so his father and all his siblings, they all play the fiddle. So it's all very, so sixteen brothers and sisters played the fiddle, so all their descendants would have, like there's just a bunch of music. So it got, you know, passed down from generation to generation. So like we'd get together every Christmas mostly as a family, like so cousins and uncles and that, and just play music that would be like the focus of what we'd do as a family . . . Yeah. So that's kind of what I grew up in. But it wasn't, you know, regularly, but once a year or twice a year, maybe that. And, so that was a good influence . . . I mostly, I didn't take lessons until, I know the stepdancing I was really interested. I remember step dancing like with my neighbour when I was five, just for fun. But I started lessons at nine years old. And then pretty steady, regularly, seriously-ish for like ten years. And took lessons after school. And then we were in like a dance group and we toured around and did competitions. And so that was a good part of my life. Um until I was about eighteen or so. Until I left for university basically – kind of died down there – N. Arsenault, personal communication, July 18, 2019.

Alternating repetition is illustrated in the events of the parties and family gatherings of the Arsenault family. These events happened routinely, but the frequency of these *repetitions* is fewer than that of a **family/home** *centre*. This routine denotes *gradients* with respect to frequency of *repetition* and the type of *centre* (e.g., the *alternating repetition* for **bands** is also higher on the frequency *gradient*). It is clear that that *good shape, positive space*, and *local symmetry* are present for these *repeating* events to take place. And in order for *good shape* and *positive space* to be present, there should be a degree of *roughness*, *simplicity and inner calm*, so that everyone, of any age, can participate, allowing for *gradients* of participation, as discussed in **family/home**. **Dances**, in particular, provide the *good space* and *positive space* which allow for the *gradients* of participation and the interaction of aunts and uncles with nephews and nieces in a way that is both nurturing and not awkward (see the MacDonald example of being taught to dance by his aunt).

Therefore: Encourage time spent playing tunes between grandparents and grandchildren – this is invaluable. Likewise, get together, as an **extended family** whenever possible: once or twice a year as a planned event is a good start. Participate with other *centres*, so that relationships of the individuals within are *strengthened* while simultaneously strengthening the whole. **Dances**, in particular are a **community** *centre* that contributes to the strengthening of **extended family**.

Pattern links: Upwardly, the character of **extended family** can be (depending on the geographic location of the family) shaped by and interacts with the **regions** (1), **sub-regions** (2), **regional ritual** (4), **community** (14), and **networks of friends** (7). Downwardly, **extended family** can link with and cultivate the character of **homes/families** (5), **homeschooling** (8), **church** (11), **dances** (12), **rites of passage** (13), and **live performances/places to play** (21).

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12.3 (7) Networks of friends

Problem/statement: The pressures of global markets push individuals to greater and greater levels of mobility, undermining their ability to maintain lasting and cross-generation friendships (see Chapter 3). Similarly, lack of interaction between persons of different ages makes developing friendships between persons of different ages or generations difficult. And this lack of intergenerational relationships can even be dangerous, as peer-to-peer relationships as the primary relationships for children can lead to bullying, inability to mature, unhealthy sexual behaviour, and at times even suicide (Neufeld & Maté, 2013).

Discussion: This PL is not promoting a vision of society that is immobile or entirely place-based, but rather it is an avenue for partial re-embeddeding (see Chapters 4 & 9). Many people travel the world for different reasons, sometimes making quick visits to other places or fully immigrating to other countries. CTMD cultures create **networks of friends** that pull those who might leave back to their homelands, as well, as provide **networks of friendship** when **family, extended family**, or a home **community** are not in a **region**.

> It's very solidifying. And especially for half of us who aren't here in Shetland with our families. It's another family to have. Well, I think so anyway. Don't know if Elaine feels the same, but its fine . . . As in any music community, I suppose musical scene, if you know one person, that's how you end up meeting all these other people, like you, play one instrument and then end up meeting somebody who sings and then you just end up meeting everybody else. Even back home it was much the same. You get to meet a group of people and then they introduce you to another group of people – C. Johnson, personal communication, December 10, 2019.

Johnson and her bandmate, Elaine, both immigrated to Shetland, from the Philippines and Germany respectively. Through the CTMD culture, they were able, as Johnson describes, to find **community** and a **network of friends** that acts as a surrogate **family**. Like other *centres* **networks of friends** fosters *centres* at smaller *levels of scales*, often engendering **bands**, as with the example below.

> Yeah, they've kind of left isle or such or based themselves, well, there was another friend of mine, he's in Norway as well, Matt Larenson. There was a time, say about 2005, 2000, so there was young Ross Cooper, before he went away, and Matt Larenson, myself, Grant Nichol on guitar and a lot, we were all just around here. Didn't have a band, we're just having tunes, lots of wild parties and stuff, and we all got together and put a band together for a big event that was on, The Island Games, that, so that was an example again, of just folk hanging out here, playing stuff at the, I don't know, maybe there's a younger scene that does that, I don't know, but I don't know if that's quite. It goes through phases, you do see that kind of . . . Yeah [cycles], at the, I think of guys in, there's a band called Vair. That's Ross' brother, Ryan Cooper who plays in that and Louis Peterson, Eric Peterson, there's that kind of few of that bands. And I see now, that's me thinking as I'm speaking here, but there's kind of a under eighteen, kind of young crowd and there's a few of them coming through. And I've seen them doing gigs, guys from Sandy Burn and some of them kind of let each up in that area, they've got young guys got a band together. And there's a few other small groups getting going, Whalsay Fiddlers, just in the last year or so, like really good fiddlers, and they've kind of stuck together and made a peerie band. And I think that's been missing a little bit. And I think when you get folk that do do that and get a band together, start playing small gigs around the place, then I can see that just going up a gear. And you think, oh, yeah, they're ones to watch, they'll be great, yeah – M. Henderson, personal communication, November 8, 2019.

Bands develop within these **networks of friends**. The *boundary* for **networks of friends** is extremely porous, compared to **family** or **band**, but there is often considerable *deep interlock and ambiguity* between **networks of friends**, **bands**, **community**, **family**, and other *centres* at both the larger and smaller *levels of scale.* Not only do **bands** develop at the smaller *levels of scale*, these **networks of friends** continue to persist after individuals within might have moved away or **bands** no longer play together. They draw these individuals back to their home **communities**, as with Henderson's explanation above with respect to Ross Cooper and many other fiddlers who have moved away to pursue a career (personal notes, December 20, 2019). The *boundary* for **networks of friends** must be more fluid in order for the **network** to allow for *gradients* of participation, bring people back to their home **communities**, and perhaps to serve as a surrogate **family** for those who have moved.

> And it's something that like, they'll play, I mean she's really good because she likes younger kids and that anyway, she's, we've got additional support needs members of the family and like cousins and stuff and I work with additional support needs kids at school and she'll come and help, volunteers at holiday club, working with bairns, but she's a nice younger person any, and good baby sitter and all that kind of thing . . . But we've got little kids down our street that play the fiddle and play instruments and they all get together, so they don't mind that, you know, I'm six and you're sixteen, that's okay, we can, we're doing this together – L. Johnson, personal communication, November 9, 2019.

The *good shape* and *positive space* in these **networks of friends** often allows for *contrast* or *gradients* in ages, as with the Johnson example above and F. Leask, below.

> I was in a band called 'Shoormal' for . . . Shoormal. S, h,o, o, r, m, a, l. Shoormal. . . It's a Shetland dialect word for the, where the shore meets the sea. . . So that's, like me dad would say, 'shoormal', ken, it's like an old Shetland word. . . So we did in the 90s, well, I suppose I was busy bringing up bairns, children, in the 80s and kind of got, I was a bit oot of the scene. I was still singing but it was more in church wee groups doing harmonies. And that really got me. I found a group of friends that were really good at this tight harmony and, so I did a lot of that kind of stuff, but as far as going oot, Folk Festivals and that kind of thing, I wasn't really doing it. So once the bairns were a certain stage, well I took them singing with me at things as well, I thought, 'oh how do you get back into this'. Because a decade had gone past and there's a new bunch of youngsters. And actually thought, 'I'll phone around people and we'll start a band'. And it's just friends I'd heard and we were all different ages and stages. You can look us up. We had three albums that we, well, two of them are easy to find one of them is not because we did it ourselves, but we have two that was signed to the Scottish label 'Greentrax' – F. Leask, personal communication, November 23, 2019.

What I particularly like about F. Leask's quotation is how she highlights the common occurrence of parents who are active in the music scene, and then when raising children maybe have to take a bit of a step back, but once the children are grown they become more involved. This very well highlights the *gradients* of participation that occur in *strong centres* – a *centre* does not always require the same level of participation in order to flourish.

As with many of the *centres* discussed, **networks of friends** also *strengthen* and support the individuals within, as E. Leask explains below.

> Yeah, I would say, when I started, obviously because I was quite little then, I was like, 'oh look at me, look at me, look at me'. But then I think when I realised that I needed to improve because I hadn't been playing for very long then my confidence kind of went down because I was just a bit, 'oh I need to learn to play properly and that'. But now because I play so much and I'm getting taught by amazing people and learning so much like every week, um, that its boosted my confidence and boosted my playing up to another level. . . Yeah, I see that [performing makes her more confident], but also being with friends helps a lot as well because if I'm playing with friends the whole time and I think that helps as well because I'm comfortable around them. . . So, yeah, and like being in school presentations and stuff, it has helped a lot because, for example there was one presentation that me and my friend had to do where we had to use our hands in English and we had to do this presentation on why cats are better than dogs, just to like try and win this competition between the whole class. And I think because I perform so much and I was with my friend and we were having so much fun that we put so much into it and we won, we won out of the whole class. So that was cool – E. Leask, personal communication, December 19, 2019.

Belonging to and playing with a **network of friends**, as Leask explains, has given her confidence, not only in her music ability and performance but in other areas of her life as well. We can see the *deep interlock and ambiguity* here between **networks of friends** and other *centres*, in particular, **live performances, bands,** and **schools**. The importance of *deep interlock* and *not-separateness* with other *centres* is illustrated again below.

> I think it's like from a really young age it's really encouraged and there seems to be, I mean, with my very limited experience up here, seems to be very much encouraged for everybody to join in as

well. And I think that makes a big difference for young people to see their family members or family-friends enjoyment and their social time revolve around music, that encourages young folk to join in and pick up an instrument and play along. Whereas if its, you know it's only a summer school that the kid, you know, kid gets to go to once, once every summer, it's a bit of a different, different thing. I don't know if with the Young Fiddler Competitions and things as well, I think it's obviously not that I've ever been into competitions at all myself, but its, it's great for, for kids to see their older peers or their actual peers, you know, people of the same age group are doing and kind of being part of a, of a living tradition. That way it's quite, quite nice, I think . . . So, yeah. And that's maybe more obvious here again, because of the sort of island effect and it's a relatively small population. And in Aberdeenshire its, music is an important thing but it's much more spread out so it's maybe less accessible in some ways – J. Sturgeon, personal communication, December 28, 2019.

Sturgeon, is explaining the *positive space* and *good shape* that is created when there is *not-separateness* between CTMD and other aspects of life: when music permeates or *echoes* through all areas of life, the young are drawn into the **networks of friends** and the wider music culture. Interestingly, she mentions the geographic *boundary* and how this might encourage music participation at the **sub-regional** *level of scale*.

Therefore: Encourage CTMD to permeate through other *centres* and events, in particular **schools, community** events, **rituals**, **family/homes, extended family,** and **pubs/sessions**, through this, **networks of friends will develop**. Likewise, make sure to maintain an openness so that the **network** can continue to grow and bring those from other areas within it.

Pattern links: **Networks of friends** are linked upwardly to **regions** (1) and **sub-regions** (3), although they often transcend geographic regions and are also linked to **online *centres*** (20). They are also often nested within **festivals** (22), **schools** (23), **university** (24), and **nursing homes** (25). On the smaller scale, the downward links are with **pubs/sessions** (9), **bands** (10), **dances** (12), **camps** (16), **music hubs** (18), and **fiddle groups and clubs** (19).

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12.4 (8) Homeschooling

Problem/statement: Centralized public and state-mediated education has become so pervasive in modernity that it can be difficult to find alternatives. Those who might choose to **homeschool** often worry that their children will be penalized by not participating in standardized testing or those who may want to **homeschool** are deterred from doing so for fear of limiting their children's future education or opportunities. Likewise, when **homeschooling** does occur, there is often a stigma that students are isolated, outside of the **community** events and social life, and must be extremely religious, even though research shows that this is not the norm (Romanowski,

2006). Despite studies which indicate that **homeschooling** families cross a wide array of social, political, and religious or irreligious spectrums, that 98% of **homeschooled** students in America are engaged in extracurricular/**community** events (sports, dance, 4-H, volunteer work, etc.), and are often very successful both academically and civically, negative myths regarding **homeschooling** persist (Romanowski, 2006). Theses myths often make it difficult for those who might want to homeschool. While **homeschooling** is not illegal (or essentially illegal) throughout Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom as it is in many other countries (Germany, Greenland, Turkey, etc., see Home School Victory, 2023), and despite success rates, **homeschooling** is often inhibited by state regulation, 'informal' home inquiries or supervision, or mandated curricula (Alberta Home education, 2022; Homeschooling in the UK, n.d.; In re Rachel L, 2008).

Discussion: One of the major problems that those involved in lower-growth environmental movements often face is the formation and education of children, as liberal socialization tends to require a high degree of State-mediation (see Chapter 4). Because of the need for formation, it is often the case, that those espousing low-, no-, or de-growth economies end up turning to the state for their solutions. This is one of my main problems with Daly & Cobb's (1996) *For the Common Good*. For all of their communitarian and low-growth campaigning, when it comes to the practical application part of their plan, they turn to state-run, bureaucratic (and thus growth-dependent) 'solutions' (p. 245). Likewise, large-scale public schools depend upon massive amounts of bureaucracy and require immense amounts of economic growth. For example, the Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan is the "largest single-profession pension plan" in the country, has plans to reach $300 billion in net assets by 2030, and owns the majority shares in the Bristol airport as well as four other airports across Europe (Bristol Airport, 2022; Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan, 2021). I bring this up to illustrate the massive amount of infrastructure and economic growth upon which public school systems operate in order to show that there is room for alternative methods of education that would require lower throughputs of energy and support more embedded communities and economies, not as a slight or denigration of any kind to teachers.

Homeschooling is an alternative that is prominent in the Canadian CTMD scene, particularly in the Ontario scene (personal notes, July 1, 2019). Kloosterman describes her surprise at the connection between CTMD and **homeschooling** in the Ontario scene below.

Music is a part of it but there must be others that don't have music but they're also a part of this scene, I don't really know, but, um, so large families, lots of, I mean, a lot of homeschooling, right, very strong values, very strong family connections, hard-working, like I just feel like there's something, there's something really beautiful that about the connections . . . And I don't even know if can put my finger on it . . . Yeah, I just like I, I, first few years I was like absolutely blown away – T. Kloosterman, personal communication, July 3, 2019.

The above quotation illustrates (again) the importance for *gradients* of participation within these CTMD cultures while at the same time shows the *alternating repetition* and *local symmetries* between **homeschooling families**. These *alternating repetitions* and *local symmetries* are essential so that **homeschooling** does not become too *bounded*, insular, and removed from the rest of society. While it is often the case that **homeschooling** does *contrast* with mainstream culture, as Kloosterman explains that there is something she cannot quite describes, it is important that there be a degree of *not-separateness* and *deep interlock*, for flourishing **homeschooling** *centres*.

Homeschooling can also provide the *positive space*, *simplicity and inner calm,* and *not-separateness* to incorporate CTMD into both the formal education and the other events of day to day life (see Illustrations 10, 19, & 20).

But there's a home schooling movement out there, a big one, big homeschooling movement, so she could teach all day, teaching home schoolers, so a lot of their friends learn from Laurie and are homeschoolers. And go to her in the day time. So she's got, I would say Laurie has over a hundred students . . . She's teaching violin, viola, cello, piano, and guitar. So it brings a whole other community there right – J. D. Corry, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

Not only does **homeschooling** offer the freedom to have music lessons anytime throughout the day, it also fosters and creates other *centres*. In the above example, the **homeschooling** overlaps with **music teachers and student groups**. But perhaps the below quotation better illustrates the type of *centres* that come from **homeschooling** *centres*.

And so Jackson playing in classical orchestras, and they do a lot of drama stuff too, homeschoolers do, so there's a homeschooling alumni group, so these kids will be in their early twenties, most of them, eighteen to twenty-three, let's say. And they put on musicals. And so Jackson when he wanted to *something* the musical this year, they said, well we're bringing a Broadway show and he said do you need the score, they said, yeah, he said well I'll run the orchestra, the pit orchestra. They're going, 'do you know what you're doing?' 'Well no, but I can do it'. And they bought the score and the score was absolute junk. And he spent over two hundred hours transposing the score from brass to strings and fixing it. So two hundred hours. You don't even have time to spend twenty hours on it. So he transposed the music and he put together an orchestra. And they had a drummer, bass player, and a piano player and four of them on violin and viola. And they were up on a balcony and they couldn't hear so they had to put monitors up there and stuff and they did a good job. But to be able to take what you've learned, this musical education and do something like that. I said, you should be sending that back to the Broadway

production company and charging them two to five thousand dollars to give them back their score proper. But he's not even interested in that so – J.D. Corry, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

Corry describes a plethora of other *centres* created and *interlocking* with **homeschooling**, not least **live performances, music hubs, community** hubs, and **family**. **Family** and **family bands** are importance beneficiaries of **homeschooling**. In **homeschooling** there must be a level of *roughness* allowed so that each **family** can design their **homeschooling** curriculum with *simplicity and inner calm* as best suits the **family** culture and educational needs of the children. In Alberta for example, there are two options for homeschooling: 1) 'supervised by school authority (funded)' and 2) 'not supervised by school authority (notification only, non-funded)' (Alberta Home Education, 2022). The first option is quite similar to and requires the bureaucracy of a public school, and will not be discussed. The second option, while it may sound like a good alternative, also requires too high a degree of infrastructure and bureaucracy. **Families** are required to notify the Minister of Education each year of their intent to homeschool and develop a program in line with the 'Home Education Handbook' and the 'Home Education Regulation' (Alberta Home Education, 2022). Consequently, there is still a high degree of state-dependence and regulation on **homeschooling**. I am not saying that **homeschooling** should not get any support from other associations, state or otherwise, but rather the requirement of state-mediation does not allow for the *roughness*, *levels of scale*, *simplicity and inner calm*, and *good shape* for **homeschooling** to be a proper *strong centre* in its own right, or for **homeschooling** to *interlock* with and *strengthen* other *centres*.

In Shetland there is one high school that the students of all the isles attend. If the students are from Lerwick, where it is located, then they attend as day students. If they are from the outer isles like Unst or Yell, they board at the school halls of residence during the week throughout their high school years. This effectively means that many of the children in Shetland are leaving home at the age of twelve, potentially undermining the **family**, **community**, and other *centres*. While I was there, it became clear that there were some very unhealthy and even dangerous social patterns, particularly with respect to sexual relationships between very young (often teenage) women and older men (Goodwin, 2020; Towards a Safer Shetland, n.d.), and a high volume of single-parent (usually mother) homes (personal observation, November 23, 2019).[13] I

[13] It was one of the "jokes" of Shetland that all the women will have children by multiple men, due, in large part, to the imbalanced male to female ratio which is caused by the constant influx of men who work in the oil and fishing

am not trying to argue that this is simply due to children leaving home at such a young age, but that there certainly seems to be a correlation between unhealthy and dangerous sexual activity in teens and not living at **home**. One option for not having children leaving **home** quite so early would be to have more *local symmetries* by having more **schools** throughout the isles, which I discuss later in **schools**. But a **homeschooling** option would also *strengthen* the hearth *centres* in these local areas as well.

Therefore: Remove restriction on **homeschooling** in areas where they exist and for areas where there are no restrictions make sure that they do not arise. Have both **schools** and **homeschooling** groups and students engage at events, through **dances, community** events, **competitions**, etc. Encourage **university** admissions offices not to penalize students who were **homeschooled** so as to not deter parents from **homeschooling** due to the fear of their children not being able to continue their education.

Pattern links: **Homeschooling** links upward to the larger patterns of **homes/family** (5), **extended family** (6), **community** (14), **networks of friends** (7), **camps** (16), **university** (24), **regional ritual** (4), and **sub-region** (3) and **region** (1) and links downward to the patterns **bands** (10), **dances** (12), **pubs/sessions** (9), **live performances/places to play** (21), and **fiddle groups and clubs** (19).

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12.5 (9) Pubs/sessions

Problem/statement: There is a dearth of spaces where people can gather socially in a participatory manner. Socializing either takes place in the privacy of one's home with personal friends or by 'going out' and then often only socializing with the party with whom one came.

Discussion: **Pubs** and **pub sessions** are a large part of the life-blood of CTMD, providing a social context in which to play social music. The fact that they are public makes this *centre* particularly important, as anyone can drop in and participate to the degree that they wish, while having a social structure in which to do so. The following lengthy quotation from Matthews, in a sense, explains all that needs to be said regarding the significance of **pub/sessions**.

> Oh, I think well, music is essential for, for people. And so, and we're all enriched by it and our lives are better for having music as part of them. So that's, that for me is, is just a given. And we're lucky in Shetland that there are still a lot of people that play socially. There's a lot of people who are great musicians who don't necessarily play socially as well but it's still part of their nature to play music and still if the situation comes up its not, not a big stretch to take a fiddle off

industries, etc.

> a wall and you know, play guitar and sing a song . . . It's interesting because the majority of my professional life touring has been with traditional musicians . . . And they all, almost all of them will be also social musicians. So there'll be sessions at the pub or sometimes after a gig, there'll be s, there'll be tunes, you know. And when they go back home, the ones that live in Glasgow for example, they've got various local sessions that they'll go to. And, and so I think for traditional musicians on the whole, even they've made that leap to become professional performers, they haven't lost the joy in playing music socially . . . Which is great. Touring with, with rock bands and such like it's really different and . . . Because they haven't a lot of those people, they haven't grown up with it being a natural part of everyday life to sit and play music with other folk. Yeah, you might practice, you might organize a practice and play with friends and you might practice on your own, but the uh, the kind of sit down and jam thing is, is less part of family life, it's something that you go and, it feels separated from everyday life to a certain extent, I think . . . I think, it might be because of the music. Because if you think about, and I'm going to just talk about sessions, rather than playing a house or anything but . . . If you're playing in a sessions with, with a bunch of other musicians that you don't necessarily know, there's such an immense repertoire of traditional music that its quite likely that you can find common ground and play together. And there's not, then the form is predictable enough that, that people can play with each other and can back each other up or vamp or whatever. And, so I think the musical form lends itself to social playing. And presumably, that is because it came out of social playing. You know it came out of playing for dances and playing at home so if it's evolved from that then it's going to fit within that framework . . . does that make sense? . . . It fits its own mold. My father-in-law talks about when he was a kid, he would go and, he'd walk down to the neighbours' house and if somebody was about they'd, be one fiddle on the wall and they'd push the chairs back and people take turns to play the fiddle. And folk could dance and, and not a lot, not so much singing up here but playing and dancing. And I, yeah, I think that's why. That's why it's much easier and more natural for traditional musicians to, to be social musicians. And because that's its immense framework set up because there are sessions everywhere and, you know, and so it's easy to slot in that. Its setting up a jam sessions for all non-traditional musicians to, to play similarly is, is different. It shouldn't necessarily be the case, I guess, but . . . Yeah, because ah, perhaps its. So a sess, a traditional music session, the music comes out kind of fully formed isn't it? . . . So therefore it's also something that a, a audience can enjoy, so that's a, an easy thing for a publican to put on in their pub, because it's going to generate sales over the bar and so therefore there's an incentive to host that, whereas, if you let some musicians jam in the corner of your pub it might be off putting because it might have little focus, it's great for the musicians taking part, but it seems less public. So and there's perhaps less overall support outside in the world for that to take place . . . Obviously you can go, go to each other's houses and plug in their guitars and jam, jam away . . . But it's very, that's very internal isn't it, and so it's still social, but it's a much smaller social group – T. Matthews, personal communication, November 21, 2019.

I include the entirety of this quotation because Matthews so clearly articulates the importance and the unique aspect of **pubs/sessions**. They provide a social context in which to interact with other members of the public, distinct from what he refers to as the 'internal' nature of house parties/jam sessions. At the same time, they are socially coherent enough that anyone who is remotely familiar with **sessions** can participate. Furthermore, the repertoire of traditional tunes exhibits *alternating repetition* and a familiar form allowing people can play together even if they do not have tunes in common.

Pubs sessions perhaps most clearly exhibit the *deep interlock and ambiguity* between public and private spaces. While privately owned, the public house is quite literally open to the

public. S**essions**, in particular **sessions** that have *good shape* and *positive space*, allow for *roughness* and *gradients* of ability and also have a *repetitive* and formulaic structure which people can join. As Matthews notes, it is not just one **session** but an 'immense framework' of many **sessions** so that people can easily participate. The existence of these *local symmetries* allows for a culture of participation.

As a *strong centre* that provides *deep interlock* between public and private spaces, it is paramount that they truly are public – allowing for all people to participate – in order to have *good shape* and *positive space* (see Illustrations 11 & 10). It is of course relevant that a pub is actually a 'public house' and originally operated as such (and still in a few places in England and Ireland they are the front room of a private house). They were much more similar to a kitchen party in Cape Breton than the sports bar operations we so often see today.[14]

> I think a lot of influence, especially, I think it's a shame nowadays, is, when I was a teenager like underage, like thirteen, I was allowed to go to the Lounge Bar on a Wednesday and listen. But back then it was like, some of the musicians from Fiddler's Bid or like Filska which was Jenna Reid's band things like that, or Harris Playfare on the piano or you know, some absolutely amazing, incredible musicians, and it really spurred you on. Now you can't really see that. You see it at the Folk Festival, which is good, maybe Up Helly Aa . . . Islesburgh. Folk Festival, Shetland Accordion and Fiddle Festival, slightly more channelled, but it's a shame because there's not as much of an influence for the kids nowadays. I loved seeing, going to the gigs like Fiddler's Bid playing or even High Strings which is the high-school band at the time, I wanted to be in, I was eventually, I was front row High Strings, so it was good, that's where I wanted to be. But there was that, that influence and that kind of inspiration. . . I don't know, I think, yeah, yeah the drinking laws changed so they had to stop under-agers getting in, basically. It's a shame really, but . . . It's unfortunate but it's probably right. See what I mean. . . But I, I feel as they miss out. I think you miss out on that when you're fourteen and you're, you kind of. . . I mean, I was lucky because I was about sixteen, seventeen when I first met Maurice Henderson, and now he's a really good friend of mine. And it's like, it was just like he, he was in Fiddler's Bid, I was like, oh I want to be in, I love these guys, they were just so good. But now, I know them all and we're really good pals and I'm like, this is hilarious. But it's that, it's that enthusiasm, that inspiration. If you can see somebody on stage and go, oh I want to do that, that spurs kids on, it spurs you on to play, you want to keep doing it. There's not so much of that nowadays. I don't think – L. Anderson, personal communication, November 27, 2019.

> Maybe, yeah, Kevin and them might have been fourteen, fifteen, and yeah, they're still, still at school. And a, our first gigs there, yeah, maybe, yeah, that was so we played around in Shetland, I suppose the scene was just a, you got the Folk Festival that kind of got you out and about joining in with all their players and, and all your heroes on the fiddle and stuff and you got a chance to meet in sessions and stuff and with other youngsters, so that was a great thing for that because really, around here the pub at the time was the place where the sessions happened in the Lounge Bar, so you had to be eighteen . . . No, no, you couldn't get in. Some of the lasses might have got

[14] I lived in Charlbury, UK (just outside of Oxford) for a semester during my undergrad and used to frequent one such public house. After the legal hours required closing, the pub owner would often initiate a lock-in. The 'very public' aspect is interesting though, because it is a dilemma when a small, face-to-face community where everyone knows everyone (Tonnies Gemeinschaft) becomes a bigger society of relative strangers (Tonnies Gesellschaft). In the former, the 'civis' overlaps with the 'family/friend' whereas, in the latter, those have been separated.

> in, they got, got away with it . . . So my one ambition was, this was when we, was to play the fiddle in the Lounge, having a tune in the Lounge . . . That was the thing when you were learning, yeah, oh get to the Lounge, its where Peerie Willie hangs out and ken, and Peerie Willie Johnson on guitar and Willie Hunter and you always hear the stories of folk what a great session in the Lounge last night type of thing. So we felt we were kind of missing out a bit. So that's really where I, I started learning the fiddle – M. Henderson, personal communication, November 8, 2019.

Anderson and Henderson touch on an important aspect of **pub sessions**: the exclusion of children. In order to have a session with *good shape* and to be a *positive space*, children should be allowed to participate; there should be a degree of *not-separateness* of people of different ages in society. Like old people, children are often shunted away or excluded from society and made to go to events set up only for children. Both Anderson and Henderson site the **pub session** as where they were inspired, where they learned how to play fiddle, and express sadness over the loss of participation due to age restrictions. In Chapter 4, I discussed the some of the issues of turning to the state with respect to the formation of children – we see this issue concretely in the above examples. Because of licensing laws, children are often not allowed to participate in **pub sessions** and consequently miss out on the formation. Not being able to participate where the music is happening requires a greater dependence upon formal lessons and consequently market transactions.

Advocating for the allowance of children in **pub sessions** does not entail the promotion of under-age drinking. On the contrary, as I discuss in greater detail in **places to play**, not having places where children can participate and play often causes teenagers, in particular, to go off and drink or do typical teenager things in a totally unsupervised and unregulated environment. Conversely, in the **pub sessions**, the structure aids in forming the children within the social mores and morals. While exhibiting *roughness*, the *boundaries* of socialized behaviour in **sessions** are quite strict and, by forming relationships between adults and children, those in the **sessions** who have a relationship with the children – **families, extended families, networks of friends, music teacher** – can keep an eye on those who may be under-age and pass on the values of trust and reciprocity present.

> He's just come along and last wintertime we were having a, we did have a session in The String in the afternoons on a Sunday, and he would just come along because I would always take my kids with me. So he would sit there with his book and then my three year old, she was two then, she had bag with like jigsaws and play dough and colouring stuff and she would just spread herself out over the floor so I could play for a while. So sometimes I'd get to play for an hour or two. And sometimes, if they would just kind of do stuff. But just looking at that and he's like, 'I want to do

> that when I'm older', he said, 'I'd like to do that when I'm older'. He just thought it looks like a nice thing to do, to go out and play, and he's said, 'yeah I'd like to go play', and just have, people just having a drink but not overly drinking – C. Loynd, personal communication, December 6, 2019.

As Tacitus famously wrote, "*Corruptissima re publica plurimae leges*" (Annals 117, Book III, 27); constrained by the mores of the **session**, children are formed in an atmosphere of mutual obligation and respect. Allowing for a *gradients* and *contrast* in terms of age and ability inspires youth to learn and participate, and thus perpetuate this culture.

> Okay, so for me, the fact that people play music is like a, it's a signal that there's probably descent people . . . So, so, so if I'm sitting in the session at home, right, and so I know, I know all the people there and someone walks in I might be like, 'oh I', you know I'm not necessarily want to go and talk to them because they look a bit weird. But if they came in with a violin on, you know, I would say, 'come and join us. Tell us a bit about yourself and play us a tune'. Because, it's partly just politeness, like you're already part of the global music family so we're kind of obliged to let you in a bit . . . But also because they're, in general musicians are great people and so, by virtue of being a musician they're probably quite nice . . . It's like um, you come to these festivals and the fact that parents will let their kids wander round unattended or you leave your valuables in your car and it's unlocked. There's this kind of placement of trust and of community and these people that you don't know . . . Which you wouldn't, if this was a car park in Halifax with exactly the same people, you wouldn't do that – N. Scott, personal communication, July 19, 2019.

Pub sessions have *boundaries* that are set by practice, but it is also essential that they are open to anyone who would like to enter, providing a good *contrast* between committed and *repeating* members, and those who are traveling or new or happen upon them. This *deep interlock and ambiguity* between regular and new members of a **session** *strengthens* the *centre* contributing to a higher degree of life or flourishing.

Therefore: Making sure that **pub sessions** are actually public and open to strangers, youth, and the very old. Applying the principle of subsidiarity, loosen up the licensing laws on the community level. Allow publicans or those hosting sessions to allow children into their establishments.

Pattern links: The life-blood of CTMD cultures, **pubs/sessions** have many upward links with larger patterns, such as, **independent regions** (1), **sub-regions** (3), **networks of friends** (7), **music teachers and student groups** (15), **camps** (16), **competitions** (17), **music hubs** (18), **fiddle groups and clubs** (19), **live performances/places to play** (21), **festivals** (22), and **universities** (24), as well as downward links to the patterns **homes/families** (5) and **bands** (10) at smaller levels of scale.

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12.6 (10) Bands

Problem/statement: The capitalization of music has created a culture where there is little to no room for amateur **bands** to develop and perform. **Bands** either 'make it' and are able to play in massive stadiums or often cannot afford to leave the garage stage of their performance.

Discussion: **Bands** are interesting *centres* as they are more akin to **family** in terms of commitment and *boundaries* than many of the other hearth patterns. **Bands** form strong connections between the individuals within that can, at times, extend throughout one's life, as affirmed by Richardson below.

> So there was like a group of like six or seven of us who grew up playing together and I actually still play with one of those people in the band that I still play with . . . So we literally have been playing together for like twenty-eight years – B. Richardson, personal communication, July 2, 2019.

Often stemming from *centres* at larger or smaller *levels of scale*, such as **networks of friends**, **family**, **extended family**, or **school**, **bands** also exhibit *alternating repetition* and *deep interlock* as, in many cases, when there is a flourishing CTMD scene, one may belong to multiple **bands**. Likewise, in terms of how individual **bands** play, *alternating repetition* really *strengthens* this *centre*, as illustrated by Johnson below.

> Um, yeah, there's, there's only so many musical bairns in Shetland and there are, there, even within the ones that are, they split off and play in different groups as well. . . So you might have one, one week have them as the Line Strings which would be four fiddles and piano and the next week you might get two of those fiddlers come with banjo player and accordionist who call themselves Willa Fjord Sessions, so even within, but no, there's plenty of them . . . A lot of them through the summer it was we tended to stick to the same lineup because a lot of the musical bairns were away playing at the Edinburg Tattoo . . . Because I suppose the majority of our musical bairns are fiddle players . . . Because that's our tradition so I, yeah, a lot of them were away at the at the Tattoo. So, but just even better that they've played even more often, it's given them stronger bonds . . . All of the mums and dads and other people involved are just sitting back, look at them, look at them getting on, helping each other, would you like to borrow my pedal to plug into this or I've got that and or you're strings broken, I've got a string in my case borrow my guitar while I re-string yours. It's lovely . . . You just know going forward into adulthood, well they're in the bands they're in now, they might be in other bands in the future but they're all making connections – L. Johnson, personal communication, November 9, 2019.

Johnson, explicitly states that the more often the children (her daughter included) in the **band** played, the *stronger* the bonds. The ability for *alternating repetition* in terms of performance is highly dependent upon a number of other *centres* across many *levels of scale*, in particular **live performances** and **places to play**, **family** (in the case of younger **bands**), and **community**. Without **live performances** and **places to play, bands** cannot have the possibility of performing.

Likewise, without support and *not-separateness* of **family** and **community** to create the *positive space* for the performances, they could not play, by which I mean, that receptivity and hospitality towards **live performances,** rather than hostility by **family** and **community** members, creates the space for musicians, in particular young and amateur ones, to learn different skills and gain competency. The dependence of **bands** on the *good shape* and *positive space* of the larger *levels of scale* such as **community** or **region** is illustrated in the following quotation from Sturgeon.

> I'd been living on the island for a year and then joined, well then we formed the band, so yeah it was really good fun. . . Yeah, really good. It's kind of a nice way to make pals and stuff. . . You kind of forget moving to a new place, it takes a little while to get to know people, but music is a great icebreaker. And you get to know people very quickly. So yeah, it's really good. . . Yeah, so we, the first gig we did was at Skeld Hall on the west. And then last year, we've had a few gigs. So we played at Hogmonay last year at Mareel . . . And then we played at Mareel at the Folk Festival this year. So yeah, we've done quite a few gigs now – J. Sturgeon, personal communication, December 28, 2019.

Sturgeon explains how within a year of moving to Shetland she joined and formed a new **band** called Herkja through meeting musicians at other **live performances** and music events throughout the **region**. **Bands**, like many other *centres*, help to *strengthen* the individual while also mutually reinforcing those *centres* at both the larger and smaller *levels of scale*, as with the **regional** and **community** music in Shetland – the **bands** form because of the music scene, but also contribute to the music scene through their forming.

Bands are *strengthened* through *local symmetries* because they provide more **places to play**, not least because **band** members often play in more than one **band**. This multi-band membership really highlights the mutual dependence that **live performances**, **places to play**, and **bands** have upon each other, as Nicholson explains.

> I'm kind of active in about three at the moment. Like that are giggin'. I'm in three bands that are like, they're mainly, I have been in like original bands where you play like original material. But I'm kind of focused on trying to make a living at music, so there's less. You know I can't spend the time to go and hang around with a bunch of people and work on your own songs and play to a few people. I've just, you know, if I had a, if I had a regular nine-to-five job and it was more of a side thing, I would be able to do that, maybe. But I just like, I like playing gigs. And if you want to play gigs, the best way to do that is to play covers. . . Yeah, people like. . . Yeah. And I enjoy that. I enjoy watching a bunch of people enjoy dancing and listening to music that's live. There's just something about – it doesn't matter who it is, if it's played remotely well and it's in front of you and its happening there, there's just something that people can't – you can't, you can't substitute that. You can't get a DJ and play classic rock song or whatever. You know, you can in a certain circumstances obviously there's clubs and things like that but I don't there's a substitute for a live band. There's something live happening there and then. Even done, even done to a mediocre standard, it's still gets, you know there's still something about it – A. Nicholson, personal communication, December 5, 2019.

The above quotation also illustrates the importance of *gradients* of participation and *gradients* of skill and proficiency in playing. As Nicholson explains, people enjoy **live performances** even if **bands** are only playing 'remotely well'. Playing **live** also *strengthens* the ability and skill of the **band**. In a **community** or **region** with a strong culture of **live performances** and **community** music, **bands** really benefit. Likewise, as Nicholson illustrates there is often a considerable amount of *deep interlock and ambiguity* with respect to individual **bands** in areas where there is a vibrant CTMD scene (he plays in three gigging **bands**).

Therefore: Support places that provide space for **live performances** for **bands** to play, including covered busking areas (with electricity) and deregulate street playing so that people can play more easily (especially for acoustic music as there can be little/no noise complaint issues). In **communities** or **regions**, build or support mid-sized venues or places to play so that **bands** have an option that is not simply a garage or a stadium.

Pattern links: **Bands** is pattern a the smaller level of scale and consequently has many upward links with the patterns at the larger levels of scale, particularly, **pubs/sessions** (9), **dances** (12), **rites of passage** (13), **community** (14), **homes/family** (5), **extended family** (6), **homeschooling** (8), **music teachers and student groups** (15), **camps** (16), **music hubs** (18), **fiddle groups and clubs** (19), **online *centres*** (20), **live performances/places to play** (21), **festivals** (22), **school** (23), **university** (24), **nursing homes** (25), **charities** (26), and **regional ritual** (4).

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12.7 (11) Church

Problem/statement: Religion is always a difficult topic of discussion, and it is not for no reason that people frequently warn to 'avoid conversations on politics and religion' at family gatherings or social events. However, as with the other patterns, **church** is neither an attempt to push nor dissuade religious belief, but rather to analyse the functional elements that are present and identify areas where the pattern could function better to encourage more embedded communities and more overlapping *centres* (recall discussion on function from 7.4 and 9.3). As with other areas of life (see 9.4, the fractal nature of culture), **churches** have become somewhat atomized. While COVID-19 shutdowns are recently to blame, there is evidence that the shutdowns just exacerbated an already existing, declining trend (Carter, 2022). In March of 2021, less than half of Americans claimed membership in a church, mosque, or synagogue (Carter, 2022) and the UK and Canada have similar stories (Canseco, 2022; Clark, 2022; Hayward, 2022;), although

members of Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism, Judaism, and Eastern Orthodox Christianity are increasing (Canada's Changing Religious Landscape, 2013, par. 3). However, this decline it is no way surprising as **church**, in the west, has, along with other institutions, been subject to the rationalizing, atomizing, and individualizing forces of Modernity (see Chapter 3).

Discussion: With decreasing **places to play** in an amateur setting, **church** often provides a musical education and formation, both through simply participating as a congregation member or more formally in a choir, as Beaton explains with respect to Cape Breton, NS.

> So this whole area would be Presbyterian and protestant and United and Anglican in parts. Where I come from on the Western side which you'll find with David or Rodney, we're all, or Kenneth, we're all from Mabou and that's a very Roman Catholic place . . . Which had a bit more liberties as far as cultural expression than others. And so you'll see that in, it had, it had an effect, has an effect. And certainly in my own upbringing which is what I should speak to, I grew up in a catholic church so, active participant, and we, culture was very much embraced from our, you know, top clergy down, if you will. Actually for the long, we had a parish priest for a long stint that was a fiddler . . . himself, which wasn't uncommon to have someone that maybe participated in singing or dancing that happens more often than you think. And so he would allow, you know, someone to play fiddle in church in place of a hymn because in the congregation the fiddle was held with the same regard of reverence as a hymn – M. Beaton, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of Beaton's quotation is the *boundary* of each of these denominations; **regions** are still understood through religious lenses and that there are *alternating repetitions* and *local symmetries* of **churches** and denominations. In describing these *boundaries*, Beaton also shows that the religious attitude towards music really effects the congregation. These parish *boundaries* can also highlight the *strength* of a parish as *centre* as illustrating by Rankin below.

> And you think of the Broad Cove Scottish Concert that's a fund raiser for the parish every year. And so people are, I don't know how much they're volunteering now, I haven't been on that in a while, but for those parish events, they used to, all the musicians would volunteer their time in order to raise funds, keep things going in their parish and in. So people are very generous with their time and yeah, it does help with the promoting and keeping it going. So, I mean, I think tourism is a wonderful thing and the more it's happening, the more we need to be educated about what's here and what is the culture and what's authentic, you know. It's kind of a buzz word, authentic – D. Rankin, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

Rankin cites the musicians, other volunteers, and the parish fundraiser as contributors to the CMTD culture in Cape Breton. Rankin also shows the *deep interlock* and *not-separateness* between **church** and other *centres* such as **community** and **live performance**. **Church** allows for *gradients* of participation, from active musician such as choir member to participation

through pew-listening, which contributes to the overall properties of *simplicity and inner calm* (see Illustration 19).

> Worship songs and things like that but my favourites are when I'm leading or I'm playing the violin and my worship leader plays guitar and it's just he and I playing together, I really like that . . . Yeah, yeah that's neat. And that's been a stretching, growing experience for me too . . . Yeah, but now I'm quite comfortable and familiar and everything – G. Freeman, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

As illustrated by Freeman, **church** often provides the *good shape* and *positive space* for amateur performances. She described how it is a 'stretching experience' for her to play at **church**, highlighting that there is room for *roughness* in playing, which in turn allows the musician to develop their skill. But it is also important to note that the high calibre of music at **church** allowed Freeman to grow as a musician. In order for there to be room for *gradients* of participation, the music should strive for a level that challenges and teaches those in the parish.

Many musicians have early musical exposure or training in and through **church**, as the *positive space* provides room for *contrast* and *gradients* in ages, meaning both young and old can join and participate. But it also provides a *positive space* where people can connect, creating a *not-separateness* between other areas of life, as Treyonning explains below.

> Since I was five. I did piano. There was, my parents go to church and there was a lady in their church that was a music teacher like through school . . . And then they were like, can we get piano lessons for our two daughters and my sister like gave it up after a few years but wasn't happy, but I kept going. Hoorah – R. Treyonning, personal communication, December 20, 2019.

Treyonning illustrates the *deep interlock* between the different *centres* of **church**, **family, music teachers and student groups**, and **school**. As with the other *centres* these *centres* are mutually strengthening.

Therefore: For the benefit of those who attend, play beautiful and even challenging music in **church**. This is an opportunity to educate and welcome people into a musical tradition. If the music is beautiful, they will want to participate in the **church**, even if only in a receptive manner. **Churches** also have the potential to engage to a far higher degree with other *centres*, *strengthen* the commons, and generate, in particular, **regional ritual**. For example, one such **ritual** is 'beating the grounds'. This is an old tradition dating back to the Middle Ages, where, on the fifth Sunday after Easter, 'commoners', clergy, and local dignitaries alike walk the parish bounds while the children, willow branches in hand, would 'beat' (mark) the boundary of the parish ("Village Greens", n.d.). Not only would this mark a date, in the liturgical year, but it would also,

remind parishioners of those for whom they have a responsibility to look after, as well as serve as a reminder of 'common' grounds in the **sub-region**. This is particularly important as so much of the commons have been dissolved due to a lack of knowledge of their existence ("Village Greens", n.d.). **Churches** could also continue to mark the liturgical year, particularly through events such as plays/re-enactments, processions, etc.: the kinds of **rituals** that engage with and 'bind' (to some degree) **families**, and **communities** in participation.

Pattern links: **Church** has formal upward links with many of the patterns at the larger levels of scale, notable, **regional ritual** (4), **sub-region** (3), and **government** (2), as well as many downward links with patterns at the larger levels of scale, such as, **homes/family** (5), **extended family** (6), **homeschooling** (8), **dances** (12), **rites of passage** (13), **community** (14), **school** (23), **university** (24), **nursing homes** (25), and **charities** (26).

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12.8 (12) Dances

Illustration 24: Square dance at the Rollo Bay Fiddle Camp, July, 2019. Note the **dance** is a *centre* and also contains two *centres*. There is also the room for *gradients* of participation.

Problem/statement: Dancing has become removed from the routine of daily life and is mostly done at weddings, by children under six, or drunkenly in night clubs. A self-fulfilling prophecy, people do not know how to dance and so do not dance, and because they do not dance, they do not know how.

Discussion: While often considered hokey or embarrassing, dancing and **dances** really *interlock* with the other CTMD patterns and *centres*. In order for this *centre* to be strong, *deep interlock and ambiguity* and *not-separateness* are essential. Consider the following long quotation from MacDonald.

> And I got into square dances pretty seriously a few years ago. I grew up going to dances up here so there used to be a Thursday ceilidh here . . . In this barn. Which they don't do any more but they probably will sometime. And there was a regular dance on Saturday nights and a ceilidh on Sunday nights where there was dancing. So when I was like fourteen until I was twenty-five or something, I was going to those things very regularly. That's where I was getting the things. And they would just dance the Surrey Set, that's one set, and waltzes. Surrey Set and waltzes. And then I started dances in Lorne Valley on Wednesday nights in 2002 after I came home from university. And they are still going. My dad and I and my aunt play for those on Wednesdays . . . Every Wednesday. Well they, for the summer, every Wednesday in the summer so like July, August, September. And it's a family dance. A lot of seniors and some families, some kids. But then about four years ago I started adults' barn dances at the breweries so the craft brew here, the craft beer, has opened up a lot of good opportunities for cultural stuff because the breweries, they make the beer and sell the beer so they have money to pay for entertainment and the entertainment brings in the people. And so they can make a beer downstairs and sell it upstairs and be making money. Instead of buying it from a liquor store, waiting for it to come off a truck from Montreal or wherever else, and they're making a dollar ten on a beer, like that, how do you do anything for you community if that's the case? So the craft brewing has helped with everything. So there's a brewery called Bar None . . . Bar None. And it's in a barn and so I started dances there four or five years ago. And we do, like once a month, and we do about five months of the summer there. Then it gets too cold. And so each winter I've searched around for other venues. And it's really working well now. This winter we did five other communities across the island. So each of those communities gets an annual barn dance in the winter. So it's a special occasion for them. And then we go back to Bar None as our host venue for the summer. And we actually had three in July and we'll have three in August – W. MacDonald, personal communication, July 20, 2019.

And then when I asked him if the beer was a helpful for drawing people out to the dances, MacDonald replied:

> Its uh, I think it's [beer], psychologically it's a draw but it's not, it doesn't actually have much effect on the dance itself. Sure, people will come and have a couple of drinks but it you're dancing, if you can have three beer in a night, you're doing really well because you're busy, you're busy dancing and because you're sweating and you're working and you finish the dance and you just want to go outside where it's cool for a minute. You might have a couple mouthfuls of beer and it's time to go back in and dance for another twenty minutes so. We're going on five years, I haven't seen anybody drunk yet. Because you just can't get drunk. But putting it in the brewery was important because it's already a cool place. People like to be in, the brewery's a cool thing, so they go to the brewery and there's square dancing there well we'll try that. And then, now they follow the dances around wherever we put them. So we have them in a French community centre and like everybody shows up – regular dance goers show up . . . Well, we say that it's an adult square dance but the kids are actually allowed to come. And depending on the venue, sometimes we skew it towards the kids more or not. We do dances at the College of Piping in Summerside. And they have like 350 students and you know, its, their hope is to get the kids out there, the students and the parents. So we don't push the adult thing. There's a bar service, so adults know that they can have a beer, but the kids are allowed in. And in that venue especially, we kind of push the kids. You know the idea that you can come with the whole family – the kids can come. At Bar None, the regular one, it's mostly adults. But like, if there's a family here

> visiting and they've got two 14 year-olds or two teenagers or something or a ten year old or anything, they don't have to stay home, they're allowed to come out to the dance. And the liquor laws just kind of got updated with the craft beer here, yeah, the liquor laws were archaic here for a while. You couldn't have that. You couldn't have the kids anywhere where there was liquor. And if there was dancing they couldn't stay . . . If there was dancing. Honest to God. It's ridiculous . . . If you were in a, like for example, before now, if you were in a restaurant, if you're serving food, they can serve food and kids can be there 'til ten o'clock. If live music happens, kids aren't allowed because it is categorized as something else. If dancing was happening, it was something else. Yeah, imagine. Yeah, anyway, they've caught up. They've changed that, so very happy with the PEI liquor commission these days. So they caught up and it's good. So we say it's an adult square dance just so that people know, oh, alright, well I'm twenty-five, I'm single, I can go to a square dance and it's not going to be my grandmother and my nieces and nephews. It's also people my age. Like, it's fun – W. MacDonald, personal communication, July 20, 2019.

It is worth noting that the above quotation also speaks to the **governance patterns**, in particular, **larger regions,** and **government**, showing the ability of a widespread policy or law to cripple *centres* through age segregation, large overhead precluding small business, or strict licensing laws. **Dances**, perhaps more than any other *centre*, are strengthened through overlap and *interlock* with other *centres* while they are taking place. This also highlights the need for *gradients* of participation. Because many are hesitant to dance, whether because of embarrassment, lack of knowledge, fear, etc., one may not go to a **dance**. It is essential therefore, that in order for a dance to have *good shape* and *positive space* (see Illustrations 11 & 10), that there be room for a large degree of *gradients* of participation (see Illustration 15), thus the need for *interlock and ambiguity* with other *centres* (see Illustrations 13 & 7). The *good shape* also allows for on-the-spot learning and transmission of culture. As Rankin states below:

> But it's yeah, Gaelic Cape Breton step dancing would be more appropriate . . . Yeah. Because you have, you also have Cape Breton step dancing in the Acadian communities, that's not quite exactly the same as you do in the Gaelic communities. So there's a little bit of a distinction but not much. It's all Cape Breton. And Cape Breton is a good way to call it because there is a kind of mesh of cultures and that happens too . . . I started learning dancing at the dances. I lived at, on Mabou Ridge. So if you go up Mabou Ridge, you can go to the Glenco Mills Square dance on Thursday nights or if you go down Mabou Ridge and then into West Mabou, that's the dance every Saturday night, family dance. So when I was about twelve I probably went to my first dance, I loved it. But I started going steady when I was fifteen like every single weekend to the dances. And so I'd watch the older dancers, I'd, and my friends were good step dancers, I dated a few girls who were good step dancers, and my sisters are dancers too so I always picked up steps just kind of naturally from them – D. Rankin, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

Rankin explains how he learned the Cape Breton step dancing at dances, again, highlighting the importance of *gradients* of ability and participation, but also of *contrast*. There is *contrast* between the ages of the older and younger dancers and *contrast* between the beginner and established dancers. But there is also *contrast* between the different dances, styles, and locales,

which also shows the necessity of *local symmetries* and *alternating repetition*. The *contrast*, *local symmetries*, and *alternating repetition* are similarly illustrated below.

> That kind of dance is, Strip the Walls, and Dashing White Sergeants, and things like that. That, so old Shetland set dances more like the Foula Reel and, and they used to do the Foursome Reel things, and they do a Shetland version of the Lancers Nicol. The people when they were dancing them they had the Shetland steps that they kind of dance, they call it back stepping and things. . . Kind of like in Canada you have the . . . Step dancing . . . So step was, but they tend to create that with, within the dances and they use it as they dance about . . . I don't know is step dancing done solo or does it tend to be . . . Yeah, yeah as a kind of rhythm. . . Yeah, and so they tended to do the shuffley steps and they had different steps for different areas in Shetland, Whalsay would have their back step and Yell had this one. I would say that's dying, quite a lot. . . The steps. You've got like that, I think there's still a traditional dance group on the go, which is quite small now. All the rest I would say is Scottish . . . And the other dance groups are here they call them Old Time dancing. And there's a few of them going, but I wouldn't say it's as popular as it was ten years ago. It's one of these things like line dancing it has a boom and then it tails off. It's almost like a mix of the ballroom dancing and Scottish dancing. You're so when you, when we play at stuff for that, we have to be able to play what we call modern, but it's not modern, it's not like up to date now it's like quick steps and, fox trots and tunes like that that fit some of their dances plus traditional stuff that fits their other dances . . . So, but the actual Shetland, it's a long time since I've seen a Foula Reel done or something . . . So, which is sad . . . It would be nice if they were still there but. But the one thing of course, for teaching music in the schools there's no dancing taught in schools. . . I don't know [why]. No idea. . . Oh most definitely. The dance doesn't actually get taught officially in the schools, no. I, I think there's an outside source that they can bring someone in, but of course finances in schools and things and all that nowadays is not, it's not easy to pay for an extra [person] to come in – P. Wood, personal communication, December 10, 2019.

The quotations of both Wood and Rankin very well illustrate the nested and concentric, overlapping and *interlocking* aspect of *strong centres*. The *contrast* in **dances** in different **regions** varying by degrees also points to the **government** and **larger region** patterns. Both Rankin and Wood mentioned the stylistic differences of **dances** in very small **regions** – Gaelic and Acadian in Cape Breton and Whalsay and Yell in Shetland. These stylistic differences, which I discuss more in **smaller regions**, provide a *boundary* for the **dances** while, at the same time, are similar enough that they allow for *not-separateness* and *deep interlock* between different **regions** through the ability to swap steps.

In addition to **regions**, the above quotation also points to **schools**. Wood explains how there is no dancing taught in schools in Shetland, and this is one of the reasons that the dancing is dying out, illustrating, again, the need for the *deep interlock* of *centres*. There is a real loss of opportunity for local cultural transmission here. If **schools** had dancing and taught their students how to **dance** these traditional **dances**, they could host **school dances**. And like MacDonald describes with the College of Piping above, **schools** could host a few **dances** a year that would

bring together and *strengthen* **families, networks of friends**, and the overlapping and *interlocking strong centres*. This would also provide the opportunity for friendly **competitions** between **schools**, introducing a new and *strengthening centre*.

With both of the Wood and Rankin examples, the individuals learned how to step-**dance** at the **dances**. Here is another instance of the individual as *centre* being *strengthened* by the *centres* in and through which they are moving, as the with the levitron metaphor. But perhaps the best example of the *strengthening* of the individual as *centre* is in the following quotation from Arsenault.

> I really feel like, I really feel like I got bored of the structured steps and I was just kind of like, 'well I don't feel like I have to do this step right now in this part of the music, I feel like I could do something else'. And I probably just started doing, I don't remember at all how it happened . . . But I probably just started doing like my own steps as I went along and that felt right with the music. And eventually I just did all improvisation and I just am bored of like the other steps or just I like, it's a bad thing in a way because I'm not motivated to learn new steps. But I just enjoy the freestyle. I enjoy the like spontaneity, you know, it's more an expression . . . Yeah, exactly. Because most times when you dance, you don't really know what tune you're going to dance to, like it's not like, you're not going to tell the fiddler, 'oh, can you play this tune, this tune, and this tune'. I mean it happens like at competitions and stuff but like regularly on a stage or at a, anywhere, um you just dance to whatever tune is happening. And so it's nice to be able to be, to adapt to the tune and to feel it out and it's almost like more of a little dance, a dance, with the musician too, it's like you're with them – N. Arsenault, personal communication, July 18, 2019.

After learning the 'official' steps or routines, Arsenault now primarily does her own free-style steps. *Strengthened* by the **dances** and the surrounding *centres*, Arsenault is able to flourish and be more herself in her dance style. Because she is able to **dance** with her own steps can participate more with the musician, creating another *strong centre* of musician and dancer. **Dancing** and music are mutually *strengthening*, as Henderson describes.

> Yeah, yeah that to us was a, it got somewhat um, after the ten days, then I was immersed, and you were kind of immersed and you were picking up the tunes. When you first heard them they were quite alien and to you'd hear them and it'd take a bit to pick them up by ear but once you were in among it, you suddenly start to. And then, and also they were dancing, so you'd see the dancing, playing along to it, then you'd see how the timings all worked – M. Henderson, personal communication, November 8, 2019.

Henderson, who is a world renowned fiddler and member of the **bands** Fiddler's Bid and Halterdans, explains how it was only once he saw the **dancing** and played along with it, did the tunes make sense, illustrating the necessity of overlapping **dance** with other *strong centres*. **Therefore**: Have **dances** at locations that allow the **dance** to overlap with other events or activities such as microbreweries. Incorporate **dancing** in music **lessons** and at **school** and have

dances where those in the **hearth patterns** can participate, i.e., **families, extended families, networks of friends, community,** and **bands**. Furthermore, **dances** also contribute to the place-marketing and tourism strategy – selling a **region** – by increasing the number and diversity of 'things to do' (see 5.1).

Pattern links: As the unsung heroes of CTMD culture, **dances** have many links with other patterns across levels of scale. Upwardly, they are linked with **regional ritual** (4), **church** (11), **rites of passage** (13), **community** (14), **camps** (16), **festivals** (22), **school** (23), **university** (24), **nursing homes** (25), and **charities** (26). Downwardly, they are linked to **homes/families** (5), **extended families** (6), **networks of friends** (7), **homeschooling** (8), **pubs/sessions** (9), **bands** (10), and **music teachers and student groups** (15).

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12.9 (13) Rites of passage (weddings/funerals/etc.)

Problem/statement: Modernization and secularization have undermined place-specific and sacred traditions that bring people together and bind members of the **community** through celebrating significant life stages and events. At the same time, modernization and secularization also atomize the events that do occur, so that they are isolated from other events or aspects of life (see 3.2 – 3.4). 'Rites of passage' were central to all previous forms of society, but are weakened, loosened, and even lost in Modernity. Philip Reiff (2008) posits the relationship between the sacral and social orders as occurring in three stages. In pre-modern, pagan society, the moral code is based upon myth and centred on fate, which Reiff calls the 'first world'. The 'second world' typified by Western Christendom, is a world where faith replaces fate as the ordering schema. In both of these 'worlds' the moral order is 'external and transcendent' (Quilley, 2023). However, with the 'third world' iteration (individualized societies of capitalist modernity), Rieff argues that we "have abandoned the idea of sacred order as the basis for external authority and legitimation (2008: 13)" (Quilley, 2023, p. 15). In this third world, as Nietzsche said, 'God is dead', and the basis for morality and social order "tend[s] towards ... consequentialist pragmatism [with moral codes] shaped by the distinct cultural pathologies of the day" (Trueman, 2020, p. 77, as quoted in Quilley, 2023, p. 15). This movement is important because the loss of rites of passage relates to the loss of that shared sacred space present in the 'first' and 'second worlds', because with a sacred order, these rites are *public*. However, with the relativization that comes with secularization, it is not the secularism that is the problem, but rather the privatization

(Taylor, 1992). For example, one can compare the public viewing of the body and the wake (inclusive of music and party) in a traditionally catholic country versus what happens now behind closed doors.[15] This movement from the public to the private and subsequent loss of **rites of passage** is also linked to the loss of public functions for music (recall the discussion from Chapter 7 regarding the function/origin music modalities proposed by Gelbart, 2007). The loss of public **rites of passage** has undermined **community** by loosening and rejecting traditions that bring people together and bind them in locales.

Discussion: **Weddings, funerals,** and other such events are the few places in capitalist modernity where one sees old and young interacting, dancing, partying, or mourning together, as Damron explains.

> Yeah, it's not mainstream, its pockets, right, it's not mainstream in Canada. Mainstream for teenagers and young people is to go, if they're going to dance, which they basically don't, is in a bar, really drunk. So the only place you ever get that is weddings . . . You know when you get the young and the old and the kids are dancing with their dads and they learn how to waltz and you do all that and weddings are so fun . . . Because of the music and the dancing . . . All the age groups are there . . . And I keep going, 'we gotta be doing more of that', we need that, we need to have that, and we need to have, we need to have old people with young people. And young people with old people. And I think what we did was we separated that, I mean, our generation said, 'oh yeah, you kids go have your party over there and adults party over here and never the twain shall meet'. That's not the right way to do it. And if you talk to anybody who knows anything about parenting or parenting books that have been written since, they will tell you that it's not the way to do it. You don't separate. You integrate – L. Damron, personal communication, July 2, 2019.

Damron illustrates the importance of intergenerational interaction and how this still happens at weddings – one of the few places we do see this happen. **Weddings** are another *centre* which *strengthen* and are *deeply interlocked* with other *centres*, not least **family**, **extended family**, **community**, potentially **church**, **bands**, and **regional ritual** (which will be discussed more below). **Weddings** provide the opportunity for individuals or **bands** to perform live and for a dancing audience (as discussed in **dances**).

Different **regions** may have different **wedding** rituals which *strengthen* the *interlocking centres* as well. Consider the following quotation from Wood below.

> Mhm, yeah well, music-wise, when I came here twenty year ago, we used to get booked say as a band for a wedding, you got booked for two nights. . . You got booked for the Friday night and the

[15] There is a very funny scene in the show 'Derry Girls' where they are having a wake for Erin Quinn's Aunt who has just died, at which there is a public, open casket viewing of her body. The character James (who is visiting from England) is shocked and horrified and frightened by the dead person in the room. By contrast, the girls are really confused and a little annoyed as to why he is so upset that there is a dead body in the room. This short, funny scene illustrates the difference between a culture that maintains a shared belief inclusive of public rites of passage, and one that has already moved into a privatized and secularized order.

> Saturday night. . . yeah . . . And then they have a Sunday night and they call that the clear-up night, that's where they clear up the hall after it and finish everything off . . . Three night wedding. Don't see that so much now. . . It tends to be one night. Or, if they're having a two night, they'll have two different bands, they may have a different style, they may have a traditional one the first night and say a rock group the second night, or a cover band or something like that. And so that's changed a wee bit. Maybe not so much on islands, you'll find the more remote you go to Unst and you know Whalsay and that, that will stay more so than the centre – P. Wood, personal communication, December 10, 2019.

Describing this **regional** tradition of **weddings**, Wood includes **bands**, **region**, and references **community**, showing the significance of *deep interlock and ambiguity* for the creation of *good shape* and *positive space*. As Wood explains, this tradition has been winnowed down except for in the outer isles and more remote locales, pointing to the loss of tradition through the process of modernization. However, as Nicholson explain below, the **regional** tradition persists.

> And we play weddings. That's really, you know, like in Shetland they have two nights of weddings. I don't know if you've come across this? You have the first night, which is the more formal night with the Scottish dance band, that does the 'doooduuuu' and the dances. And then, very often, you have the second night, which is the rock band. . . Same wedding. . . Yeah, it's brilliant. And then the clean up on Sunday. The clean-up on Sunday. . . So I, quite a few times I've played the Friday night formal dance bandy thing. And then Saturday night. You know turn up to gigging with a different hat on. . . It's common yeah, for. I don't know if everyone does it, but it's very common to have two nights. Like a Friday and a Saturday. You'll have things like *Hamefarins*, which is where people have gone away to get married and then they have Shetland bash, so that tends to be just the one night because they've already been married somewhere – A. Nicholson, personal communication, December 5, 2019.

These **weddings** clearly act as *centres*, *strengthening* **communities**, **families,** and **extended families** while also *strengthening* the **regional** identity at the larger *level of scale*. The *contrast* between music types and genres within this **wedding** tradition *strengthens* the *centre* by allowing for *gradients* of participation for people of different ages, dispositions, or likes. Having both CTMD and rock music the two nights of the wedding functionally keeps the tradition alive, creates room for innovation, and maintains *not-separateness* within the tradition. At the same time, because of the rock band, it saves the **wedding** celebration from being nostalgic, out-dated, and old-fashioned, in turn legitimizing the CTMD.

Therefore: *Interlock* events such as **weddings**, **funerals**, **etc**., with other *centres* to *strengthen* them. Allow for the presence of **regional rituals** and **regional** styles at these events to *strengthen* the *centres*, bind the members of the **community**, and simultaneously *strengthen* the other *centres* overlapping with them. Doing so creates the space for the re-emergence of public **rites of passage**. Furthermore, based on both the **community-**building and place-marketing

aspects, an argument could also be made for **regions** to provide a tax incentive for traditional music and dance for **weddings**/**funerals** and other public **rites of passage**, especially as these could contribute to both regional development and identity formation.

Pattern links: **Rites of passage** link upwardly to the **church** (11), **community** (14), **regional ritual** (4), **sub-region** (3), and **region** (1) patterns at the larger levels of scale, and downwardly to **homes/family** (5), **extended family** (6), **school** (23), **university** (24), and **nursing homes** (25) at the smaller levels of scale.

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12.10 (14) Community

Problem/statement: The loss of community has become a definitive feature of the contemporary age (Nisbet, 2019, p. xxiii). More often than not, the word community has become a vacuous buzz word. People want the benefits of community but often there is little knowledge of how to attain it beyond a general longing for community.

<u>Discussion</u>: In the quotation below, Damron, perfectly captures the essential components of **community**. She begins by talking about **community** and then very quickly and appropriately discusses the *interlocking*, overlapping, and nested *centres* at the smaller *level of scale* that are prerequisites for **community**.

> Um, yeah, well, I, you know, if you want to have a community, you need to expose people to it, right? And music is a cool way to bring people together . . . Yeah, how do you do that, yeah, that's a very good question. They used to do it in school, right. And they used to teach violin, well at least in BC they did, I don't know about here, they used to teach violin in school. They're dropping a lot of that . . . You got to get kids when they're young though because when they're teenagers you lose them often, right . . . Exactly, you got to hook them first. Because when you're a teenager, it's not 'cool' or the 'cool people' aren't doing it or whatever it is, then you lose them. Hopefully they come back, some come back, some stay through, depending if they really, it's their passion, but yeah, you got to hook them early . . . So I don't know how you expose them to that. I mean I just spent a lot of time in Mexico this last winter, and I kept saying, 'oh wow, we're really missing the boat in Canada, you know, we do not have enough music in our culture'. You know, when was the last time you saw eight, say fifteen year old boys in the town centre, there's a guy playing the guitar and singing and they've all got their arms around each other and they're all singing their hearts out, to this song, they're not drinking, they're not drunk, they're not obnoxious, they're singing, and right around the corner are, you know, the whole community's singing and dancing, its Friday night and they all go out. You know they're climate has a lot to do with it, they spend time outside, but um, there's a lot of music in their culture and a lot of sense of community and stuff like that. We don't really have that anymore. The generation before me, my parents' generation, would go to dances every Friday night and do all of that. Our generation has really dropped the ball in that. . . And so we're not showing our children, really exposing them . . . Yeah, it's not mainstream, its pockets, right, it's not mainstream in Canada. Mainstream for teenagers and young people is to go, if they're going to dance, which they basically don't, is in a bar, really drunk. So the only place you ever get that is weddings . . . You know when you get the young and the old and the kids are dancing with their dads and they learn how to waltz and

> you do all that and weddings are so fun . . . And I keep going, 'we gotta be doing more of that', we need that, we need to have that, and we need to have, we need to have old people with young people. And young people with old people. And I think what we did was we separated that, I mean, our generation said, 'oh yeah, you kids go have your party over there and adults party over here and never the twain shall meet'. That's not the right way to do it. And if you talk to anybody who knows anything about parenting or parenting books that have been written since, they will tell you that it's not the way to do it. You don't separate. You integrate . . . And those young kids, I mean here, they all show so much respect, right, for what other people are doing, they don't make noise, they don't run around and scream, and if they do, they sneak off quietly and do it, they're kids right. But when they're around somebody performing or doing whatever they're very respectful, they know how to do that. And the adults are very encouraging and will sit, again, and play, listen to 'twinkle, twinkle' as many times as you have to and it doesn't have to be your kid. Like its all fine if it's your kid, but will you listen to twenty other kids? Well, you will if you learn how to do it and you're exposed to it right? . . . That's how important it is. So the intergenerational thing has got to come back. It's very, it's very much missing in our society, except, as I said, in these particular pockets with amazing families that 'get it'. Yeah, the Leahys are one of those, the Freemans, and I think, I would say all these fiddle teachers that are here, you know, in their areas and because of their influence, that is probably happening. So that becomes grassroots and it, you know, ripples out – L. Damron, personal communication, July 2, 2019.

I particularly like this quotation because Damron mentions so many elements required for **community**, chief among them the importance of *not-separateness* between young and old, and the necessity of having parties together. In her explanation of how to create **community** she mentions five other *centres*, namely, **dances, family, old people, weddings,** and **music teachers and student groups**. Not only this, she describes the process by which *centres* support and *strengthen* each other identifying the grassroots element that 'ripples out' [see also Tönnies, (1963) distinction between gemeinschaft/gesellschaft, and social capital literature on bridging and bonding Kawachi et al., 1997; Neufeld and Maté, 2013; Putnam, 1993; Wilkinson, 1996].

Quoting Nisbet (2019) and MacIntyre (2007) throughout his article "Longing for Community", the late and great Folklorist, Burt Feintuch (2001) argues: "Community, it seemed to me then, ought to involve a set of relationships that go beyond a single commonality. In community there is responsibility, integration, and obligation" (Feintuch, p. 149-150). Through discussion of sessions in Northumberland, he argues that, while the music may push in the direction of a **community**, in itself, as **session** cannot be considered a **community**, as **community** denotes a moral component, with, paraphrasing Selznick (1992), "a concern both for one's own integrity and for the well-being of others" (p. 158). Good cheer and comradery are easier to maintain once a week at a session than it is when people are present and connected to your whole life (p. 159). Feintuch is right to point out that there is a moral component to

community, as, as illustrated below community requires commitment, but, as with the quotation from Damron above, **community** can be established through these nested CTMD *centres*.

> It's really unique. It depends how you live it. Everybody has a different Shetland life, don't they? But there are characteristics that come to many people. So, sense of community is so strong. And that word is used masses and in all sorts of different ways nowadays and I, for me in Shetland, community life has a very distinct rich, nuanced meaning. It's about the way you walk out the door and the way you interact with the people you meet. It's about the things you choose to buy. It's about where you choose to go. It's about what you decide to say and not to say. When you've got very long relationships with people, life long, and in a very small setting. It's about support. It's about trust. Discretion. It's about seeing ways of economic…economic waves fall and crash and rise and fall again. I'm saying this with only half a lifetime's experience. I've got another half a lifetime still to go. And it's about really knowing everyone around you very intimating in a way that you probably wouldn't elsewhere. And it's extremely, in a disproportionate way vibrant place. People are very engaged. And it's gone round about them I would say. They're well educated and value, value that community life and culture, and economics. Material wealth is perceived in a different way in my experience here from other parts of the country and overseas. And culture is celebrated and encouraged. It's a very encouraging culture. If anybody has any notion of things to do and things to try its very positive about that. I think. Very willing and open minded, you know, just centuries of migration. And out travel means it's a very open minded culture – C. White, personal communication, October 21, 2019.

This quotation from White illustrates the fractal nature of culture (see Chapter 9). Congruent with Feintuch's (2001) point, White argues that **community** requires commitment of the whole self – in every aspect of your life – there is *not-separateness* between **community**, culture, and economics, which in large part operates upon trust. Consider the following example from Loynd.

> I know. So and yeah, so seeing that and just seeing people playing tunes and just going along seeing people just sitting and playing tunes in like Mareel and yeah, my kids have kind of part of normal as what people do, it's not, it doesn't make you different. You don't have to be really, really good at it. You can just be, some people aren't that great. Some people are okay. Just as long as you can join in and that's the important bit. Just, yeah. . . Um, because of the community here, I think. And because it's just, that's what people still do because they still look for ways to come together and do things. There's, that's not, people try really hard to make community stuff happen south. Whereas, it's just what people naturally tend to do here. It's just the way things are that, yeah. . . It's the size of the population but it's the values and principles, I think, as well, there's a big bit about that, so, so yeah, that's why, that's why I came back because people genuinely look after each other and help people and still, yeah, and there's just good values here about community and looking after people and doing things together. And we've got just a really good sense of fun . . . I think it's the culture. I think the culture's here first and then, but the music is just part of what they've done. Because they wouldn't have had lots of other ways to do this fun playful stuff together here but people talk about the dances and stuff that people used to have, like in people's kitchens and would dance all night in a kitchen. It's just that they looked for that kind of. So you don't hear about that in lots of other places it's not – it's just something that's about here, I think. . . Its [the music] part of it…Yeah, and it probably helps to keep that sense of community especially like when I was growing up, then a lot of the, there was loads of dances on and it was really kind of all different ages. Now, I don't know if it's so much that anymore like there was regular dances and we used to go along like little kids getting about on the dance floor and in between the dances and then the reel, peoples went out and nobody just, yeah. That's just the culture, I think here. But the music is a way of bringing everybody together probably. . . No, it's just everybody can join in, I think. Like my little one loves fiddle music. She can sit, join in,

> and dance and stuff. But she came to orchestra as well and just started dancing to orchestra, I was like, at three you're allowed to dance to the orchestra on the isle. . . But um, yeah, it's like something that everybody can do and you see at the Accordion and Fiddle Festival, a guy here from Whalsay and he's in his eighties. He was sitting playing tunes and there's people recording him because they like, 'he's got all these tunes that people probably don't know and' but there's like little kids coming in and joining in as well. It's just something that everybody can do and have that shared understanding and everybody'll know the same tunes. It's not like pop music or whatever. Everybody knows the tunes. Yeah that's the bit that kind of makes it different – C. Loynd, personal communication, December 6, 2019.

This is a long quotation and there is much to unpack here. This quotation and the following discussion relates to the Polanyian dynamic of disembedding (see 3.2) and the tension between individual freedom/mobility and human formation and 'life in common' (see 4.3). First, Loynd emphasises the degree of *roughness* that is present in playing CTMD. In order for there to be *gradients* of participants and *positive space* there must be *roughness* so that those who are not as proficient can participate, as Loynd says, being able to join in is what matters. Throughout all of the quotations, values, responsibility, and commitment are of particular importance. Music is a way to bring everyone together – the culture and **community** are there but facilitated by the music. In PL terms, there is a *deep interlock and ambiguity* between CTMD, **community** events, and other *centres*, and the more *interlock and ambiguity*, the *stronger* the **community** *centre* will be. Loynd also makes particular reference to **dances** and the *gradients* of and *contrast* in ages of those at the **dances** for facilitating **community**. Finally, her point at the very end about everyone knowing the tunes is particularly important. This is a clear example of CTMD as a shared, common, leisure culture. Loynd's comparison between pop music and CTMD, where everybody knows the tunes, is a great example of the tension between the freedom and mobility of modernity and place-based communal life (see Chapters 3 & 4). The *simplicity and inner* calm of the shared tunes facilitates the *strength* of the **community**, as this shared knowledge allows for the *gradients* of participation and age. While CTMD facilitates **community**, **community** requires more than just music, as Halliday explains below.

> The 'it' probably is the abstract nature of what being part of a community means. It means that just going there to learn music is not enough. You have to also buy into the wider culture that is entailed, well that that community embraces or supports or whatever. And it's very interesting because I think a place like that, with South Uibhst, a lot of those Western islands were, had extremely declining populations and the fact that they are now a draw card to people coming to be part of the culture of there is a way that sort of reinvigorating the islands and the cultures and validating it – F. Halliday, personal communication, July 19, 2019.

This point of *deep interlock and ambiguity* between CTMD and the wider culture or other aspects of culture as a catalyst for **community** bears repeating and is highlighted again in the following quotation from Kane.

> So that's probably one thing that I've noticed. That and practice levels. I think the practice level is a lot higher up here than it has been down Aberdeen stuff that I've seen in the schools. I think it's because its more, I think that's just down to the community. Because I mean, we're going to the street now and by the time I walk to the shop the bairns will come and speak to me and it's just. Because you'll only see them for half an hour a week down south. Whereas here you actually live with them, you know that's the thing. And I think that makes the full difference. . . Obviously it's a smaller area, yeah. But I think it's just a whole island community. I mean I've just never, I've ever experienced this anywhere else other than here. So it's good. But it's like Laura, my wife's a paramedic and it's like everybody speaks to her. But it's like, what I do now and playing in the band and playing, everyone will walk up to me and say, 'hi Andy, how you doing today?' and it's like I think, 'who are you?' But it's just, everybody knows ya, it's a great thing. Beautiful thing, yeah. That's probably the biggest thing I noticed is that, the bairns, when they get to that age, keep it going – A. Kane, personal communication, December 16, 2019.

A fiddle teacher with 70+ students, Kane explains that the differentiating factor for high musical calibre is living in a **community** alongside his students. There is *not-separateness* between the music and the rest of the **community** life, which encourages them to practice. Likewise, *repetition* of encounters between himself and his students allows them to flourish as musicians. The overlap of these nested *centres*, e.g., **music teachers and student groups**, **bands**, and **schools**, contributes to the *strength* of **community**, but it also suggests a *boundary*, as with the following.

> Like I mean, in terms of the scope of what you're doing, I mean I know that it's a huge motivator for visitors, that our culture is, and I think anything we can do that people get to know more and more about the culture, they fall in love with it, they stick around, and, they contribute. And it's a beautiful thing. So we got people coming from away. But then it's another matter of educating people locally about the culture, is important, in order to retain people. And that's a big thing. Like people who have cultural skills in Cape Breton are sticking around for work, they're sticking around for playing music and all kinds of things. So there's a retention rate. Especially those that are learning Gaelic and that kind of thing, because you've got a community here that you don't have elsewhere . . . Yeah, I would say, yeah, there's lots of kids that have come up through the years that are working. I know, I think of a student, Kala Camron, she's working for, I think she's working for Celtic Colours, but there's a number of them that, you know, I think about Dawn [Beaton] at Celtic Colours, that's one person who's been, you know, learning the fiddle and stuck with it and now she's the artistic director of the festival . . . And like Margie [Beaton], she's a fiddler and piano player and step dancer, she's the marketing director here, she studied marketing, but she's here. Me and my sister, like the workers that have been here, it's just been a wonderful opportunity because they have those skills, they're able to work and stay, yeah – D. Rankin, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

The *boundary* for **community**, while loose, does exist. Its existence is highlighted by the values and shared way of life in the quotations above, for without a *boundary* of some kind around the

shared way of life, there cannot be a way of life that is shared. In each of the above, commitment, shared values, and intergenerational relationships, illustrate hallmarks of **community**. And in each of the above examples, the music provides a platform and/or *strengthens* those that are already present. Although described mostly as a "sense of community" there is an understanding of wholeness, shared values, and unity that ties the **community** together.

Therefore: Foster *centres* at the smaller *levels of scale*, in particular those that bring together the young and old and which require levels of commitment, and in so doing **community** will develop. Likewise, make sure to operate with those in one's **community** with an eye to their involvement in your whole life, not always viewing people as part of one aspect of life.

Pattern links: **Community** is one of those patterns at the middling level of scale that interacts with many (most) of the patterns of this pattern language, both upward and downward. Upwardly, it links with **government** (2), **sub-regions** (3), **regional ritual** (4), **networks of friends** (7), and **online *centres*** (20), and downwardly it links with **homes/families** (5), **extended fmailiy** (6), **homeschooling** (8), **pubs/sessions** (9), **bands** (10), **church** (11), **dances** (12), **rites of passage** (13), **music teachers and student groups** (15), **camps** (16), **competitions** (17), **music hubs** (18), **fiddle groups and clubs** (19), **live performances/places to play** (21), **festivals** (22), **school** (23), **university** (24), **nursing homes** (25), and **charities** (26).

Chapter 13 Patterns of association

The patterns in this chapter are called 'patterns of association' because they both emanate from and *strengthen* the hearth patterns. All societies are characterized by nested patterns of association which range from family/kin, neighbours, community, tribe, nation, economy, etc. They are bound with the common thread of membership, connected by a cooperative or joint purpose. Anthropologists distinguish between primary and secondary relations: Tönnies' ([1887]1988) distinction between *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society). These relations have varying degrees of formal participation in or connection to the State, Market, and Livelihood spheres. The sphere of the State-Market (see 4.1), *Gesellschaft*, or society of individuals (Elias, [1991]2001; see also 3.2 & 3.3), is dominated by secondary relations – citizen to State and consumer/employer/employee to Market – and these relations are typified by formal bureaucratic exchange (State) and transactions (Market). Primary relations – family, extended family, face-to-face community, neighbours – are what Tönnies refers to as *Gemeinschaft*: they centre around the hearth (hence Chapter 12 hearth patterns), and are typified by reciprocation, gift exchange, 'embedded' market exchange, and more properly belong to the Livelihood sphere as iterated in this dissertation (see 4.2 & 4.3). As discussed in Chapter 3, the process of modernization saw a shift from traditional society to the society of individuals (Tönnies' shift from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*), which was mainly a shift from primary relations to secondary relations. The goal of this thesis is to elucidate a vision of what the rebalanced State, Market, and Livelihood spheres may look like (see 4.2), not one which disbands the State and Market nor eradicates the realm of Livelihood further. However, the operations of these spheres can be quite distinct. The 'patterns of associations' of this chapter link the 'hearth patterns' with the 'governance patterns' and 'patterns returning to the state'. With close association to both primary and secondary relations, they operate more formally in the State and Market than the hearth patterns, but also in a more organic, informal way than the governance and state patterns. The patterns of association comprise many of the CTMD transmission patterns as well as patterns that exist in the public sphere. They bind hearth patterns, governance patterns, and patterns returning to the state, making them integral to the PL of CTMD.

13) Patterns of association

15. Music teachers and student groups

16. Camps

17. Competitions
18. Music hubs
19. Fiddle groups and clubs
20. Online *centres*
21. Live performances/places to play
22. Festivals

13.1 (15) Music teachers and student groups

Problem/statement: Formal music lessons quite often become separate from other aspects of life; music teachers and students interact during the lessons, and occasionally at an end of year or Christmas recital, but not much beyond the formal music lesson. As such, **music teacher and student groups** do not have the opportunity to contribute to **communities** and cultural vitality in a substantive way.

Discussion: **Music teachers and student groups** is one of the primary patterns of association and operates in a more overtly formal or transactional manner than the hearth patterns. While there is a transactional element with respect to lessons and tuition exchanged for money, **music teachers and student groups** can extend beyond this transactional paradigm and create *strong centres* in themselves, as described by CTMD teachers below.

> So that's really important because when you're talking with sustainability, the problem with music education that I see at times is, you know it's like someone, why, why do you practice, because they make me . . . That's not going to be sustainable under any stretch . . . What I've been telling guitar students this week is, first thing I say is, 'you know, great that you're here, great that you have your own guitar, what you need to do', and I tell parents, 'spend the money, have it set up properly'. Because it's so hard on their hands it hurts. I don't want to play something that hurts . . . Well, the strings are too thick . . . So a lot of the pros here, I don't play with heavy strings but, you probably met Tony McMannis, Steve's friend . . . He plays with heavy strings, and there's reasons why. I don't like heavy strings. But if you put heavy strings on, a lot of acoustic guitars ship with, the kids are, the hands are going to be sore, they're not going to play. So first thing I did when I ran the other program was put new strings on, make it, make it so easy to play that a lot of pros would go, 'well, this is set up wrong'. Yeah, I know, but do we want them to play? My goal is to have them have a fun time, that's what sustainability is going to be, it's like going to the NHL, how many people are going to make it? Or do you want to have a healthy population that participates in sports – G. Atkens, personal communication, July 3, 2019.

Atkens highlights the importance of the informal or amateur music scene and the reality that the majority of young musicians will belong to this group. There are very few musicians who will achieve 'rockstar' status, but in order for a culture to be sustainable, there must be *gradients* of ability and professionalism (see Illustration 15) and room for *roughness* (see Illustration 16) in

playing. He shows the necessity of *roughness* in **music teacher and student groups** through his emphasis on the need for comfort and enjoyment and the positives of a 'wrong' set up.

The relationships between **music teachers and student groups** provide *positive space* and *good shape* for mentorship (see Illustrations 10 & 11), fostering a *deep interlock and ambiguity* between teachers and students (see Illustration 13) and other patterns of association, in particular **fiddle groups/clubs**, **live performances**, **camps**, and **community hubs**, as Mills describes below.

> I'm the nominated leader of the Shetland Fiddlers Society, yeah . . . Well it's all Trevor's fault because Trevor Hunter played with the Shetland Fiddlers . . . And he also used to teach, there was a few of us young ones back then, and so what he did was he, he was the leader of the Shetland Fiddlers at one point and deputy at one point so he, he brought in a few of us and he called us the Junior Shetland Fiddlers. . . And then once we got to a certain age we could then become part of the main band because back then it was always old men that was, that was playing . . . No want to sound sexist but it was, it was always the men who played the fiddle and then the women would knit or – S. Mills, personal communication, October 30, 2019.

Illustrating the *deep interlock and ambiguity* between **music teachers and student groups** and **fiddle groups/clubs**, Mills explains how Trevor Hunter played with the Shetland Fiddler Society and, through teaching her and her peers, introduced them to the society, of which she is currently the leader. This quotation also shows the importance of *local symmetries* and *alternating repetition* and *contrast* between these **groups**. The *local symmetries* and *repetitions* of the **groups** support and *strengthen* each other. The age *contrast* between the adult **fiddle group** and the youth **music teacher and student group** allows for the youth to thrive in their own right, but also to be introduced and mentored into the adult **group**.

There is also considerable *deep interlock and ambiguity* with respect to the roles of students and teachers – one can act in both capacities, sometimes simultaneously, *strengthening* the **music teacher and student groups**.

> I was still in school when I started [teaching music] . . . yeah. I was quite young, I was, I'm nearly eighteen now, so I was fifteen when I started [teaching at High Level Music] . . . Its, it was strange, my first pupil, I still teach her now, she's only four years younger than me or three years younger than me. No, yeah, she must be three years younger than me . . . So it's funny teaching someone like that close to your own age. . . I think it was also helpful at the beginning because it was so much less intimidating to be like, here's someone who's kind of like you in a lot of ways, so you can just chat to them about music, rather than have to like make it for a five year old . . . So I went to High Level and said I would like to be a piano teacher and they kind of knew my family anyway because we've been going there for years, like the shop and stuff . . . And then, once you're there if anyone asks them for a piano teacher they'll give them my number, and then also my piano teacher's not accepting pupils anymore, so if people ask her, she'll send them to me and then my old music teachers, both of them aren't accepting pupils either, so if they get anyone, they'll send them to me too . . . At the moment I have fifteen. I think. . .Yeah, when I was in

> school I was trying to like cap the numbers but now I'm not in school anymore so like last Christmas I had five pupils and this Christmas I have fifteen . . . Um, there's another boy called Winston [who also teaches piano at High Level Music], but he is still in school, so he does Saturdays, I think that's it – R. Treyonning, personal communication, December 20, 2019.

Treyonning explains how she became a formal music teacher at fifteen and that many of her students came upon the recommendation of her own teachers. This very well illustrates the creation of patterns/*centres* developing from other *strong centres*. Belonging to the *centre*, **music teacher and student group**, in the capacity of student, Treyonning was able to then create another **music teacher and student group** *centre*, this time in the capacity of teacher, by building on the *strength* of the initial *centre* (recall the discussion of mutual *strengthening* and unfolding of *centres* in Chapters 8 & 9). This passage also shows the importance of *deep interlock and ambiguity*, *local symmetries*, and *alternating repetition* of **music teacher and student groups**, as through these distinct and *bounded local symmetries* each *repeating centre* mutually *strengthens* each other.

Through *deep interlock and ambiguity* with other *centres,* **music teacher and student groups** *strengthen* other CTMD *centres*. Consider the following quotation from music teacher, Kane.

> I played with, I think you interviewed Peter Wood? Accordion player? . . . I play with Peter. And he's flat, he's just so busy. . . What is it, three, four, 'cause there was two yesterday. Five gigs this week alone. . . Um just with the bairns. And the bairns are fed up now. Just like 'stop, stop'. . . Um most of them are the older ones you saw at the String. . . That's my core. They come and do everything for me. And you don't have to, you know they're so you say, 'come on out, it'll be fine. Once you're out, it'll be fine'. But it's like, they'll just say, right, 'I've just got this thing, I've got this thing, can you do it for me?' Most of them are 'yes, no problem'. They're getting a bit older now, they start to work on Saturdays, so some of the Saturday stuff. But eh, they're absolutely brilliant. Once they're starting to grow up now, starting to fill up the voids with the younger ones. So we're starting to get them to play together. And do a lot more, so – A. Kane, personal communication, December 16, 2019.

Kane explains how he has a number of students that act as his 'core' **group** and perform up to five nights a week at different **live performances**. He and fellow **band** member, Peter Wood, share many students and support and encourage them to perform at many locations and events throughout the **community**. These **music teacher and student groups** *strengthen* the other CTMD *centres* of **live performances**, **bands**, **community**, **extended family**, and **family**, by providing another context for those *centres* to interact and *interlock*. It is also through these **live performances** that the **music teacher and student groups** are *strengthened*.

If they are *strong centres* with *good shape* and *positive space* (see Illustrations 7, 11, & 10), **music teacher and student groups** can form and develop other *strong centres* across various *levels of scale* (see Illustration 6), as described by White below.

> Yeah. So the lessons were individual. Um. One to one with Tom [Anderson] in the morning for about twenty minutes or so and then he had a group on a Monday evening. Ah which he ran called Shetland Young Heritage. That was the kind of main group. And then there was a training group called Junior Heritage Fiddlers or something like that. Ah we met kind of half an hour before the older students and then we graduated in time to the full group. And that was his kind of showcase for what he'd done in his life. All the tunes he's collected from crofters and fishermen all over the Isles and transcribed. And taught and ah kept alive that way . . . I started teaching quite soon after learning to play maybe six, seven years after starting. . . 14. Yeah, yeah, I started teaching. Ehm kind of assisting on a Saturday. After Tommy's day. . . Yeah. It's not your tradition to hold on to. You must pass it on. And that was Tommy's philosophy – C. White, personal communication, October 21, 2019.

White attributes her personal philosophy of traditional music to her teacher and mentor, Tom Anderson. It is clear that White has a lasting respect and appreciation for Tom Anderson largely facilitated by participation in this *centre*. Additionally, in this quotation White mentions four **music teacher and student groups** that were organized and run by Anderson alone. Additionally, she also, through her participation in the Saturday **group**, started teaching, thus creating a *strong centre* in her own right. Each of these *centres*, while *bounded*, is quite porous, exhibiting a high degree of *not-separateness* and *deep interlock and ambiguity* (see Illustrations 20 & 13).

Therefore: As music teachers, go to and host **live performances** with your students. Have group lessons and informal group sessions with your students to *strengthen* both this *centre* but also the *centres* at larger *levels of scale*.

Pattern links: As the first of the 'patterns of association', **music teacher and student groups** upwardly link with **networks of friends** (7), **dances** (12), **community** (14), **camps** (16), **competitions** (17), **music hubs** (18), **online *centres*** (20), **live performances/places to play** (21), **school** (23), and **nursing homes** (25), and downwardly with **homes/family** (5), **homeschooling** (8), and **bands** (10).

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13.2 (16) Camps

Problem/statement: Music **camps** are excellent *centres,* which provide tuition and motivation to CTMD musicians and participants both during and long after the **camps** conclude.

Unfortunately, **camps** can be isolated and disconnected from the other aspects of CTMD culture and often fold after a few years or do not have the *good shape* to become *centre* multiplying *centres* (see Illustration 7).

Discussion: **Camps** provide the *positive space* to bring together people of varying or *gradients* of ability in a compact and inspiring immersion of CTMD. Not least, as they are dedicated to music and music tuition with a single function and purpose: there are no distractions and they provide a lower threshold for participation (i.e., it is very difficult to be a 'shrinking violet'). They also foster many sub-groups of **networks of friends** that fold out into online relationships and offline meet ups in subsequent years, which sometimes form into more professional **bands**. A good example of this type of **camp**-friendship-turned-**band** is The Receivers ('Irish Millie', Willow, and Fern), an Ontario **band** who originally met at Rollo Bay Fiddle Festival and have since been nominated twice (in 2022 and 2023) for Canadian Folk Music Award 'Young Performer of the Year' (Irish Millie, n.d.). There are many examples below that illustrate the salience of CTMD **camps**.

A fundamental aspect of pattern languages is that they are deeply personal and context specific (see Chapters 8 & 9). *Bounded* by the *centres* at larger *levels of scale*, **camps** exhibit place-specific features, atmospheres, and cultures, as illustrated below.

> But um. The thing about these guys and what they're doing is that it's the presentation is professional. It's marketed properly. The narrative of it is correct. And the musicality is fantastic. And then when you incorporate the camp, you get all levels of that too then, so you've also got raw beginners coming and wanting to find their place in this culture. And they're welcome too. You know, you don't put them on stage Sunday afternoon but that's what the camp fills. The camp fills that need too . . . Yeah, I started a fiddle camp in 2010. I had gone to, 2006 I did the Rocky Mountain Fiddle camp, Johnson Vermont, the North East Heritage Fiddle Camp, and I went to the Yukon and did a week up there with seven students. All in the same year. It's the first time I'd ever been to a camp. And I was like, 'holy God'. And then I was literally sitting in a hot tub, looking at the Northern Lights in the Yukon at the end of this stint and the guys that had brought me up there, I was telling them all about these camps and he goes, 'you need to start the PEI fiddle camp'. And I was like, 'yup, you're right, I do'. So it took four years or whatever to get it and then we had the first one in 2010 and had mostly the same instructors as here. Like Vishten and we had Tim. And Andrea Beaton was at the first one, Chrissy Crowley was at the second. Helen McPhee. There were twelve or so of us. So I did that camp for three years as a week-long camp. But I burnt out. I was doing it all myself, which doesn't work and so I couldn't get the word out, I couldn't promote it enough to make money, so I cut it back to a weekend and it started making money . . . Nope. Not since this camp began. Well, actually, I've done one since. Not I just, I call it PEI Fiddle Camp by Design. So if a fiddling orchestra from Ontario or California wants to come to PEI and they can't come on this week then we can put together a camp for them whenever they want to come. So I've done three or four of those – W. MacDonald, personal communication, July 20, 2019.

Beginning with the Rollo Bay Fiddle Camp in PEI, MacDonald quickly moves to describe the *alternating repetition* of **camps** at different locales, which implies the necessity of regionally specific **camps**. CTMD provides the *positive space* for a range or *gradients* of ability and participation, and here MacDonald mentions specifically that there is room for 'raw beginners' at **camps**. It is imperative that there be *roughness* within these **camps** so that people of all abilities are welcome and consequently *strengthen* this *centre*. When pressed on what makes the Rollo Bay **camp** and **festival** 'work', MacDonald replied.

> A bunch of things. The location itself. The field. So they have a field to work with. I rented a church camp and so the costs were large and then people were staying in bunks and you've got bedding and all that stuff. Here people can camp. Set up their camper. Set up their tents. Their accommodations are their own responsibility. The field is just free and easy. So location is one. You've got forty years of history here. Three generations of Chaissons. I don't know how many Chiassons play right now but it's got to be like 30 . . . There's got to be at least thirty of them that are playing. And so it's strong and rich. And then there's star power. Because the East Pointers are hot and they're going around the world people are literally following them back to Rollo Bay. Like from Hawaii and Australia . . . And Vishtèn, Vishtèn's got the draw power as well. More so now even then they did in 2010 at the PEI Fiddle Camp. They had never been to a camp until they taught at the camp . . . Vishtèn had never been to a camp until I booked them to come to PEI Fiddle Camp. Most of the players here had never been to a camp, had never taught at one. And so, it's been, it's pretty awesome. And then they bring in guys like Shane Cook, you know, or André Brunet, who also have a draw. So there's those things. And then the festival, obviously. So the festival is already its own machine and promotion and history. And so when you say, 'yeah there's a camp at the Rollo Bay Fiddle Festival' . . . Attaching it to that is helpful. Hugely too. So we would do our camp the same week. We would start on Sunday and go right through til Friday. Finish Friday morning and drive up here. So that's, we would do it, and there's no reason not to. So. People are going to fly in from North Carolin or wherever, with their bagpipes or hammered dulcimers or…Yeah. You know if people are coming in, they may as well come the same time as this festival and stay for Rollo Bay. Because this is like the real thing, you know. You try to recreate it at a camp and you do concerts and dances every night – and it's the real thing – but capping it off with a thousand people in a field is a better way to finish a camp . . . It's one of the things, yup, yup. But they have a good balance too though. Because I've been to lots of camps that are referred to as star camps but they don't have the community feel – you know what I mean, it's like. It's depends on the camp. It depends on the organizers, if they get it. Star power doesn't give you the feeling . . . And when I went to get water before this last beer, Koady was at the water station filling up four giant plastic jugs, to put on the cart and go to whoever, to, he said, 'I gotta feed the troops'. And so he's delivering water to the volunteers – W. MacDonald, personal communication, July 20, 2019.

I include the entirety of these MacDonald quotations because they clearly and excellently show the *deep interlock and ambiguity* and *not-separateness* at different *levels of scale* and how they are mutually *strengthening* for *strong centres* (see Illustrations 13, 20, 6, & 7). In describing why Rollo Bay is so successful, MacDonald references seven other *centres* – **sub-regions**, **extended family**, **bands**, **festivals**, **dances**, and **community** – specifically explaining that the **camp** is successful because of the *interlock* and *not-separateness* of these *centres*. It is because this **camp**

is *interlocked* and *strengthened* by these other *centres* across *levels of scale* (and of course the charisma, hard work, and kindness of the Chaissons as MacDonald describes) that it is such a *strong centre*. Linking the **camp** with the **festival**, having great **bands** come and play and teach, hosting **dances** throughout the week, and cultivating the **community** atmosphere, all while being run by the **extended family** members of the Chaisson family, and drawing upon the **sub-regional** history and imaginary to connect the **camp** to a larger time-*scale*, MacDonald illustrates the mutually *strengthening* aspect of overlapping, *interlocking*, and nested *centres*.

Camps are often cited as instrumental in motivating CTMD musicians and for this reason I include many examples of them. I also think that a large reason for why **camps** are so instrumental in CTMD culture is because, in large part, these are the only places where the CTMD culture can exist in a context of conviviality, **community**, and informality and saturation (see 7.2 & 2.4). **Camps** maintain a residue or *echo* of pre-capitalist, viscous, and personal operations (see 3.1, 7.4, 9.2, & 9.3) as Scott explains about **camp**:

> So I would say, like for example, okay, we come here and we are very happy to leave things unattended, we'll walk around, you've no fear of safety or for your stuff, children. But if you left the gate and drove into Surrey that's what, a couple of k's down the road, I would lock my car. Because it's just, um, the rules change – N. Scott, personal communication, July 19, 2019.

In contrast to outside of **camp**, Scott is precisely describing how the 'rules' operate with high levels of trust and reciprocity at the **camp**. **Camps** maintain a residue of this face-to-face, pre-modern, embedded society described and discussed in Chapters 3 and 9. They are also foundational in CTMD transmission and perseverance. Corry explicitly states that Leahy **camp** in Lakefield, Ontario is the reason his sons play music.

> And two years ago I said to the boys, 'boys we can't, its $4000 every year to come here, because of the air fare and the – I said that's an expensive camp. They're wonderful people, there's no doubt, but guys we got to stop. And they said, 'Dad this camp is the reason we play music. . . And I go, like really, like that's a pretty good sales pitch. And we'll pay for it ourselves. And that's the true measure, right, you can tell me stuff, but if you want to put your money behind that, they haven't paid for it yet, but, but still worth it. I know it's, and they get so much out of this . . . Both right. And not just the music. The community that's here is really, really good in the first place. You can sit down in any corner and play music and people will join you and play music and it will be great. The instructors are top notch. The family is top notch. But Samuel and Xavier have really connected and, because they're similar ages and they sit down and talk accordion the whole time, stuff like that. So it broadens my boys' base way more. And they can now talk to Gary about playing jazz, whatever it is they want to do and just because they've made these connections. So, it's well worth it. It keeps us going and it keeps us thinking on a more broad spectrum, I think – J.D. Corry, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

In each of these examples there are instances of *deep interlock and ambiguity* (see Illustration 13); in the above, with respect to musical genres at the **camp** and between the **camp** and other *centres* such as **community, family, networks of friends**. But, like each of the other *centres* there is also a *boundary* on **camps** in that they are coherent and unified wholes, while also porous enough that they mutually reinforce other *centres* and are reinforced by them in turn. This *deep interlock* and influence of other genres, the *contrast* between musical styles, and *local symmetries*, in terms of **regional** styles, is apparent in the following quotation below as well.

> Yeah, its happiness and yesterday, you know, like there was a big concert, that's what you see, you see happiness. You see them play and they're so happy. So the style of music makes the musician very happy. You know like, you wouldn't, you go to a rock show or you know, those anyway, not all the music makes the artist happy you know, if you look at them sometimes they're very depressed and they seem very sort of solemn, but this type of music makes people very happy. Its opens links, you know, it makes a lot of links, a lot of connections . . . Yeah, you know I, there's a lot of Leahy people here and I was talking with them and they know I'm Quebec because of my accent, and its very fun, because they don't say, 'ew, we don't like Quebecer style'. They're like, 'oh my gosh this is so cool, you have nice stuff there, and it's fantastic, and blah, blah, blah'. And everybody's just nice. You know, like the Irish music, you know, it's like, like, people say, 'oh Irish is so fantastic', everybody wants to try it. Anyways, it is just very uplifting – F. Thibault, personal communication, July 2, 2019.

Thibault illustrates the functional element of CTMD (recall the function/origin discussion from Chapter 7) through the attitude of the instructors' and participants' willingness at Leahy **Camp** to incorporate and innovate with different styles. The *positive space* (see Illustration 10) exists for Thibault to participate, different musical style and tradition included, without any concern for the "right" way of playing. Because there is *roughness* and room for *contrasting* styles and regional differences, both the **camp** and Thibault are *strengthened*. This *roughness* and *positive space* contribute to the *good shape* of the **camp**, as illustrated by Richardson below.

> Yeah, so my thing was, Kai, Kai, is my five year old this year and he, there was never anything for him to do, so that's why I kind of approached them last year, last year I was here but I had a broken arm. I broke my arm two days before coming to camp . . . Yeah, it was really bad, so I was just on a lot of pain killers and couldn't move . . . yeah, I couldn't do anything, I was in a cast up to here so my whole arm was in a cast yeah . . . so yeah, and then I wasn't sure like, because I really did a number on the bone so I wasn't sure if I was going to be able to play again, but I am, I'm playing now, I can do this *turns arms* so I'm good. So what was I saying though, what did you ask before that . . . Yeah, so I decided that I wanted the, like Kai to be able to participate in something, so that's why I'm doing this younger kid . . . . Yeah, I think this has kind of become a part of our summer. Like this week now, you know, I mean my oldest daughter's eleven and she's, you know, getting to do more firm things, so she might not want to do it next year, but I feel like the other ones are all into it . . . I just love, well, A, I like, like having all the other kids who are into it, right, its inspiring, its motivating, they're more excited about it, like for me to just try and motivate them at home, it doesn't work. I love that they can try different things, so like Holly's trying piano, she taken clogging, she's never done that, right. Like, um, and then I love that they can see such high quality music too right, like the performance last night here was, stunning right,

> so it's just. And you feel like you're a part of something here right, you feel like you're um, yeah, just its just got a really good vibe to it so its yeah, that's it, really there's nothing else like this, right . . . So I am, kind of all of those things [teacher, student, parent] actually. So I have four kids. My older two, this is our third year coming and so they were doing fiddle and, some fiddle and some dance for the last few years, and they're continuing that. And my son Kai is five this year so I'm actually teaching a little beginner class like for four to six year olds. And then, I have a baby, so, and a few years ago I did, I participated in the master class and then now I just sort of, yeah – B. Richardson, personal communication, July 2, 2019.

The *roughness* of this *centre* also allows for the creation of nested centres at the smaller *level of scale* (see Illustrations 16 & 6). Seeing a need for the very young children to have a group lesson of their own, Richardson is able to create a class for them within the **camp**, creating a **music teacher and student group** of her own. Richardson illustrates the *gradients* of participation and *interlock* of roles; she is simultaneously a teacher, student, and parent. This *gradient* of participation is important because it allows those who may otherwise be outside of the *centre* to participate and belong.

> I love it, yeah, I volunteer. That's volunteer down there, I don't get paid. All three of us down in that office do not get paid. But we all go home and we're all so rejuvenated, there's so many more new ideas, there's so many more new stuff. And then I go home and I figure it out, I practice it and I. Like I go home going, two years ago, you know Shane [Cook] sat down and just explained to me a few little things, a few little tricks. And so now I can do [different] bowing and so it was worth it, it was worth every penny, it was worth all the volunteer hours. Yeah and then two years ago, also Louis Shryer's brother, Pierre Shrier, was here and I, he's the reason why I learned, I picked up the violin, that was Pierre Shrier. So I just saw him at a concert when my kids were really young and thought I want to be able to do that. So he was there so it was kind of like 'wooof, the guys who got me started was there'. And he taught me how to do the foot dance *taps feet* as you're playing, so what do I do? I go home and I spend months trying to get that down as I'm trying to play. So it gives me stuff to work on. Like I might not be in classes but I'm picking up stuff – A. Keitel, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

An amateur fiddler and step dancer, Keitel volunteers at Leahy **camp** every year but does not formally participate in the classes. Through her volunteer participation, she manages to learn ('pick up stuff') and be inspired to continue playing throughout the year after **camp**. This *roughness* and *positive space* that allows for volunteers to participate and learn at the **camp** also serves to connect the **camp** to the wider **community**. Volunteers like Keitel illustrate the *bounded* yet porous or *not-separateness* of successful **camps**. Through participants like her, the **camp** is bound to the *centres* at larger *levels of scale* such as **community** and **sub-region**.

Therefore: Make sure that **camps** are *interlocked*, overlapping, and intertwining with as many other *centres* as possible. Encourage the growth and innovation of other *centres* within the **camps**.

Pattern links: **Camps** links upwardly with the **sub-regions** (3), **community** (14), and **online *centres*** (20) patterns, and downwardly with the **homes/family** (5), **pubs/sessions** (9), **bands** (10), **dances** (12), **music teachers and student groups** (15), **music hubs** (18), **fiddle groups and clubs** (19), and **festivals** (22) patterns.

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13.3 (17) Competitions

Problem/statement: Competitions can become atomized and isolated from other *centres* in the CTMD scene. Likewise, through competitions, the personal, and distinct stylistic components can get diluted, generating a culture of musicians and dancers who are highly skilled but homogenous in their playing styles, technique, and repertoires.

Discussion: Views on **competitions** vary in different CTMD locales. Some think they act as *strengthening centres*, 'saving' or maintaining the tradition, and others think that they are a means of destroying the tradition. Both perspectives are accurate. Depending on the place, the music style, and local culture in different **regions** or **sub-regions**, **competitions** can either contribute to and *strengthen* the whole or detract from it. The president of Colaisde na Gàidhlig/The Gaelic College in Cape Breton falls strongly in the anti-**competition** camp.

> Well, I think it's like, the piping that we teach here, you can play in a pipe band, but you can also just play sitting in the house and play or sitting on a concert stage. And it was a big struggle at first. There was a big fight about it . . . Yeah. About generally in the world, the cultural world, because people felt that, because we don't have competitions in our fiddling and our step dancing and, although we teach Highland dancing and we're big fans of obviously our main instructor is Marielle Lespérance, six time world champion, but in our dancing, in our fiddling because of our style, there isn't a competition. And that's an important aspect of our music and culture . . . It just changes the, what it is . . . We don't have that . . . In fact, if they ever wanted to do that here I would walk out the door tomorrow . . . Without question . . . Without question. Because it's not, it would change the dynamic, because, you know, different Cape Breton fiddlers will hold their fiddles different ways. Different dancers, they'll do different steps and everybody's telling their own story through the dancing or the music, so if you change that story or if you say, 'no this is the story', they don't get to tell it. So, we're not machines. So anyway, I guess that would be it, I'm a big fan of, you know, it's, you'll hear words like 'lift' in our music . . . There's a lift, it's not a straight line and even if the speed is the same, the lift is different. There's lift. And the dancers, our dancers will be listening to the tunes, or they should be . . . And if they're not following some basic patterns of doing one foot, doing the other foot and then doing the sa, then they don't fit the music, and so I'll watch that because, because they're not hitting the end of a turn or the tune or they're not. But you know, there's still, we've got lots to work on too, like even our square sets, the old style square sets and some of the newer stuff – R. MacDonald, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

Highlighting the personal, story-telling aspect of the Cape Breton music and dance style, MacDonald maintains that if there were to be competitions, the dance and music would get

systematically standardized and thus destroy the integral, personal aspect of the Cape Breton tradition. I begin this discussion on **competitions** with the MacDonald quotation because I think it is important to emphasise (again) the deeply personal element of pattern languages (as discussed in Chapters 8 & 9); although patterns or *centres* are identifiable and replicable, they are absolutely context-dependent and personal. Thus even though **competitions** may be *strengthening centres* in some **regions**, **sub-regions** or **communities**, depending on the particulars of the CTMD scene they can also potentially erode the tradition.

In some **regions** or **sub-regions**, **competitions** are “the most important context” (Johnson, 2010, p. 148) for contemporary CTMD cultures, as with the Ottawa Valley style in Ontario (Johnson, 2010). **Competitions** can be *strengthening centres* that also provide the context for the informal transmission, teaching, and swapping of tunes, techniques, and styles, as Johnson explains:

> Before I give the idea that contests have turned this dynamic, creative tradition into a static, mechanical, even dead, performance, I hasten to add that I do not believe this to be the case. Contests are not solely about what happens on the contest stage; in fact, the stage is only a very small part of what Ontario fiddling and step dancing contests are about. The lifeblood of contests is what happens off stage: in the practice rooms and in the campground. Here dancers and fiddlers try out new techniques, steps and tunes, often working collaboratively to teach and critique and encourage each other (Johnson, 2010, p. 152).

Centres strengthen each other by pulling together and reinforcing each other (see Illustration 7). The above quotation from Johnson illustrates this operation of a *centre* with stickiness and life at the edges – the *roughness* of the evenings of the **competitions**, the *gradients* of formality, and the *deep interlock and ambiguity* of the *centres* within the **competition** allow for the creation of other *centres* across *levels of scale* e.g., **music teacher and student groups**, **families**, **networks of friends**, and **live performances**. It is also in this informal and unscheduled time at **competitions** that allows for *gradients* of participation which is instrumental in creating *positive space* and *good shape* for any *centre*.[16]

Competitions can be important catalysts for the transmission of tradition, as Anderson describes below.

> Or there’s a tune called, I don’t know, I dunna ken if it’s a Shetland tune, its Four Post Bay, and you hit the fiddle, don’t do that, I would not advise it unless you’re playing a knackered fiddle, but you, it’s just that, there’s descriptive tunes that’s . . . That’s known to Shetland. They actually focus on that for Young Fiddler of the Year [competition]. In the traditional section n, I

[16] Unfortunately, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, my field season was cut short so I was not able to attend the Ontario fiddle and step dancing competitions to witness this firsthand.

think one now has to be a descriptive tune, so it's something . . . Yeah. So it's really honing in on the Shetland style so it doesn't die out. A lot of the bairns now-a-days are playing in the more modern style, as such, which has a more, I don't know, like, I don't a ken what it would be like, but its yeah, it's more modern. Shetland style, especially when I was growing up, I'd never competed in the traditional section because I didn't like it, I didn't like it at all. . . I do, yes [like it now], oh yeah, I can appreciate it more. I appreciate it because it wasn't cool. I thought oophs that's boring. But it's not, we actually play a lot in the band, the Shetland, the Shetland style, Shetland trad like Maurice Henderson, ask him, he knows all about it. Definitely ask him about it . . . I did [win the Fiddle of the Year Competition] in 2004. I was just turning sixteen. . . So it's the, you've got your junior, intermediate, and your open . . . I think at the start, you can compete now at any age, as long as you could play it a specific tunes without music, now it's changed. So won the junior, came second in intermediate, won the open . . . Yeah, my suggestion was, it wasn't like my full idea, it was an overall idea of everybody, but it was to stop the Shetland traditional style dying out. . . Because emphasis, once you reached open section, you didn't have to, you didn't have to do the open, ah, traditional, sorry, you could just focus on that three tunes that you had to win. That now, you've got to do both to win overall and be the Shetland Fiddler of the Year. So that was, that was to keep the Shetland trad alive. Keep it going . . . I think it's important. I think Shetland is so well kenned, they're so well-known Shetlanders for their music, you look at the Folk Festival look at, even things like Up Helly Aa Fire Festival, anything, anything you see and you'll see that there's music. If you speak about Shetland you'll ask somebody, they'll say, oh music – L. Anderson, personal communication, November 27, 2019.

Anderson and other judges of the young Fiddler of the Year Competition introduced a traditional music requirement for the **competition**. By requiring the contestants to play traditional tunes, the judges were able to ensure the transmission of the traditional music through *not-separateness* and *deeply interlocking* the traditional and contemporary fiddling at this **competition**. Tying the **competition** to the larger **regional** history and imaginary through the traditional tunes also encourages the participation in other *centres* like the **festival** and the **regional** Up Helly Aa **ritual**.

Removing the choice of individuals in the **competition** to decide whether they want to play the traditional tunes is recognized, across the board, as a positive in the CTMD scene in Shetland, as White describes below.

Yeah, nobody can ever control these things of course. First and foremost, I'm very happy with where my teaching is. I'm teaching that core repertoire for anyone who wants to learn it from me. That's totally fine. What I really like is that Shetland's Young Fiddler of the Year Competition includes a traditional section and kids are judged on their knowledge of traditional tunes and contemporary compositions. And I think that's absolutely wonderful change that was introduced in the competition four or five years ago. Something like that. And those kids may hate learning these boring, wonky old odd tunes, they may think they're so boring. I don't know, maybe they love them. Probably a mix. But I'm so pleased that that is obligatory because that is. When they are forty or fifty, they'll play those tunes and love them with every cell in their heart. I think, "I'm so glad somebody made me learn these" because they're very dear and unique. And ah, can connect you with home wherever you are, which is lovely. So that's great. That means that the tradition is being upheld. The canon of traditional tunes is getting and airing. And if kids go on and learn classical styles and learn Scotch traditional, Scottish traditional music and that kind of more formal style that's great as well. Yeah, I feel it's all safe and it's all good and as long as there

> are good people who organize these competitions, who make a great job of organizing the folk festival. Make a good job of the Accordion and Fiddle Festival. Teach here. Brilliant teachers in schools. Huge credit [to] them for keeping up their amazing work. I mean it's just mind blowing, the standard of playing. Unfortunately you'll be gone by the time the competition happens – C. White, personal communication, October 21, 2019.

This lack of choice with respect to traditional music participation in the **competition** reveals a remarkable tension and even contradiction. The Cartesian individual as an autonomous, rational, and free agent is a distinctly modern form of self, the maintenance and safety of whom is dependent upon the capitalist economy and the 'Leviathan', dynamic and regulating welfare state (see Chapters 3 & 4). Rarely does any other type of anti-Modern, philosophical anthropology appear so clearly and unchallenged. This ascriptive nature of the **competition**, should be challenging as it undermines the conception of the self as a rational, autonomous, chooser, thereby abrading our common conception of self. However, the fact that this requirement is unchallenged and viewed solely as a positive shows the residue of shared, "life-in-common", coherent wholeness of traditional society.

As with Ontario ("Ontario Contests", 2022, https://www.ontariofiddleandstep.ca/ontario-contests), there are many *alternating repetitions* and *local symmetries* of **competitions** throughout Scotland that really *strengthen* the Shetland traditional music culture, as The Young Fiddler of the Year and twice All Scotland Junior Champion, Emma Leask, explains below.

> Yeah, I, well I was in the competition in Shetland, The Young Fiddler of the year in 2018 and I won the title that year. . . Yeah, that was really cool. But I've also gone away to like down south to the rest of Scotland like Faulkirk and Kattymur and Morfur and Perth, like to all these different places and competed with, obviously other people from Scotland. And it was, it is a lot of fun and you make new friends and I've managed to win the title of the 'All Scotland Junior Champion', twice . . . Yeah, there's usually one in Grangemouth and then in Bankery there's one that we go to with High Level and then there's one in Perth which is like huge, like the big one and then um Forfer which is, well it used to be in Kellymir but they moved it to Forfer this year and that one's a lot smaller so it's quite a contrast from Perth. Like Perth is the whole weekend. It's like a big party the whole time. And then, but Forfer's like a lot smaller, it's just a fiddle competition. . . Yeah, all of them are really different and the venues have changed a bit. But I like Bankery a lot because it's like, we have a ceilidh at night, like a big dance, and that's always a lot of fun because you know everybody that's there. And it's, that one's a lot of fun, I like that one – E. Leask, personal communication, December 19, 2019.

The **competition**, as a *centre*, is more fun or alive when it is *deeply interlocked*, interacting with, and generating other *centres*. Through attending these *repeating* **competitions**, Leask has developed a large **network of friends**. The **competitions** have *good shape* and *positive space* and it is important to note that each has a particular and different atmosphere and culture: each is

bounded in its own right, but through the participation of many of the same competitors, these different **competitions** exhibit a high degree of *not-separateness* and *deep interlock* (see Illustrations 8, 20, & 13).

Yet again, the importance of **dances** is illustrated here. Leask explains how her favourite **competition** is the one that has the big **dance** in the evening. As discussed in **dances**, dancing is often overlooked or abandoned as hokey, parochial, or embarrassing. But again and again **dances** are sited as being foundational in CTMD participation and the main reason for why any given *centre* is the most fun.

Therefore: Make sure there is time at **competitions** for informal jam sessions, playing, and tune and technique swapping. Link the **competitions** to other CTMD *centres* across different *levels of scale*, in particular, have **dances** in the evenings at **competitions**. Ensure that there is room for *gradients* of participation and that those who are not participating in the **competition** (e.g., parents, guardians, little siblings, etc.) have something to do so they will want to stay and contribute to the culture as a whole.

Pattern links: **Competitions** link upwardly with **community** (14), **online *centres*** (20), **live performances/places to play** (21), **school** (23), and **university** (24), and downwardly with **homes/family** (5), **homeschooling** (8), **bands** (10), **music teacher and student groups** (15), **music hubs** (18), and **fiddle groups and clubs** (19).

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13.4 (18) Music hubs

Problem/statement: Creative, one-off places, institutions, or initiatives are often discouraged or do not receive the necessary support required to get up and running, as, by their innovative nature, they present new and un-certain terrain. As Preece (2015) explains:

> Early stage arts organizations present challenges to such funders: their ideas lack tested outcomes and may also lack visibility due to their newness. This dynamic is further exacerbated when such funders are often inundated with requests for relatively small amount of funding from start-ups, resulting in efforts characterized by high risk and minimal return . . . Emerging arts organizations have particular pressure to demonstrate their best artistic efforts from the very start – just when it is most difficult to do so from a resources standpoint. In the unforgiving world of arts presentation, initial impressions and reputations are quickly forged and can be make-or-break for the nascent group (p. 468-469).

In short, **music hubs** often rely on **government** support for funding and charitable status and often cannot secure the necessary funding to make a proper go of it, as, before they exist, they cannot show the value of what they contribute to a local **community** and economy. There is a

paradox here. The purpose of the government funding is to reproduce the functions that would have emerged naturally in place-bound communities where mobility is limited (see Chapter 7). But the dependence on external funding, because labour and access to space are commodified thus making it necessarily transactional, creates a systemic vulnerability/weakness. This is made worse the higher up the bureaucratic chain you go – bureaucracy, rules and regulation, health and safety, insurance, litigation, etc. In essence, bureaucratic rules require a high overhead and are often prohibitive.

Discussion: Although each has their own specific atmosphere, culture, and mission, influenced by the context and culture of which they are a part, there is a lot of room for institutions, organizations, and associations to engage with and promote CTMD culture by bringing individuals together and fostering relationships. This type of *centre* I have named **music hubs**, as it is specific enough to denote what this kind of place might be but vague enough to allow for the place- and context-specific difference of each, as sometimes they take form as a school, college, gathering of self-employed music teachers, etc. While these **music hubs** look different in different locales, each serves the similar function of bringing together individual teachers, musicians, parents, children, promoters, etc., and providing a space for them to connect, collaborate, and foster relationships with each other, thereby increasing the surface-area-to-volume ratio in the social sphere.[17] Applying this biological principle to the social realm, the surface-area-to-volume ratio between personal interactions can be increased by having multiple social appendages that extend from a *centre* or social organism, thereby increasing the number and quality of interactions of the persons connected within that *centre*. In living CTMD cultures **music hubs** with high surface-area-to-volume ratios arise. When asked about the process of creating a successful **music hub** or school, Shetland Amnesty Trust's head of development and storyteller, Davy Cooper replied:

> You need a decent concert hall. I personally don't think that you need the latest high tech – nice to have but to me it's not the essential component. The essential component is, you know, people were playing fiddles a long time before electric pickups and that kind of thing. And there's little things that they tune them with. So it's mainly about the music. It's about good acoustics and it's about, you know, everybody being able to hear properly. But it's also about creating an atmosphere that people are comfortable in. So, you know, something that maybe in places that feel

[17] A principle in biology, a higher surface-area-to-volume ratio increases the exposure that any given organism has with the environment in which it is living. The appendages of filter feeders such as krill increase the surface-area-to-volume ratio, providing a larger surface area through which to extract their food (Kils, 1983). Likewise, the many internal branches of the lung increase the surface area, thereby increasing the efficiency of receiving oxygen and releasing carbon dioxide (Tortora & Anagnostakos, 1987).

> a bit old-fashioned, that has a bit of tradition actually built into the building. I take it this place [Mareel] has kind of evolved towards that. I think when it opened first it was very shiny and new and everything was painted white and covered in stainless steel but over the years here they've kind of, they've introduced elements that are more warm, more comfortable. . . And the other thing that I would do and again this is the experience with Fiddle Frenzy, is to make sure that if you're bringing people to a place to learn, it's a different thing if you're teaching locals, but if you're bringing people to a place to teach, make sure that they're exposed to the rest of the local culture, not just the music because that makes what they're experiencing so much more valuable . . . People don't come back if they don't enjoy their experience. So it's about giving people experience. And if you want to do something in, you know, a Canadian town, or in Shetland or in Orkney or in Nova Scotia or wherever, what's the point in going to Shetland if you don't enjoy Shetland. You might as well, you know, go to Toronto or Ottawa or…Yeah. People are coming here because they want to experience Shetland. And the same way people will go to Nova Scotia or Cape Breton or whatever. It's because, you know, you've listened to Shetlanders that have been to Cape Breton and they just wax lyrical about the place they just love it. But that's because of the place it's not because they've got a brilliant venue or anything like that. It's just mixing with the people – getting that vibe – D. Cooper, personal communication, December 19, 2019.

I include this long quotation to highlight the importance of **regional**, **sub-regional**, and **community** cultural influence on **music hubs**. The more **music hubs** *interlock* and are *not-separate* from the other CTMD *centres*, the more they can increase the surface-area-to-volume ratio of the local CTMD scene and the more they can contribute. This quotation also highlights the subsidiarity/distributist position (see 4.3 and 4.4) and the difficulty and importance of reducing the intrusion of bureaucratic rules and management so as not to overwhelm informal sites/*centres*. Cooper notes the significance of *roughness* (see Illustration 16) for creating an atmosphere where people will want to gather, highlighting the qualities of 'warmth' and 'comfort' in order for people to want to linger. Cooper focuses on bringing people from out of town and thus the emphasis is on place-marketing here, but the properties of *deep interlock*, *not-separateness*, and *roughness* apply to places which cater to both locals and visitors.

One such **music hub** that caters to both tourists and locals is Colaisde na Gàidhlig/The Gaelic College in Cape Breton, as Beaton describes.

> Yeah, I mean I did take lessons, I came here as a student. This is what I had my very first fiddle class here. . . I don't think anyone really thinks, I'm sure Rodney didn't think it either, I don't think we ever thought as students or whatever, that 'ah, this, I'm here for sure', ten years or twenty years, but, I mean, I really do give, something was bigger than me that I feel like brought me here. I'm so grateful. Because it's the best. But it's really nice. There's a lot of people that like Joe [MacMaster] would have come here as a student, now instructing. Kenneth, who is our school director, came through here probably ten years as a student and did a lot of work with the pipe band, the former pipe band that was here. Anyway, it has a big impact on people – M. Beaton, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

This **music hub** has provided a job and the consequent ability for Beaton as well as many of her peers and contemporaries to stay in Cape Breton. She continues to explain how this **music hub** operates.

> Yeah, absolutely. Yeah. Well, it's a kind of a big area because the college itself has a lot of facets to it. So there's, our education, like what's going on here now in the summer is our biggest and longest running factor here with the education of students. So we're always trying to reach a student base of who wants to, to learn this kind of thing, so we have kids here in the summer, in July, and adults in August, and so you try and reach parents, you try and reach the kids themselves on Instagram and then adults that might be in the area but also adults that might want to come from Ontario and spend their week here and learn this stuff as part of vacation. So there's a student audience and then there's a general public audience that can come and visit . . . So there's a tourist audience, if you will, that we're kind of in the realm of tourism, or we are, and then there's all different facets, like our kilt making is another avenue that you want to reach into pipe bands or dancers or people that are just interested in Scottish heritage and what that might entail. We have, we rent out our facilities so we also do like weddings and, you know, conferences or whatever, so there's that clientele, and then we have a festival as well, which is the start of July, so that's been a new arena of people where it's local but it's also trying to garner people to come from the States and come from Ontario and West, Western Canada or whom, wherever, to come and love some Cape Breton music. So it's a little daunting at times because it's kind of everyone and anyone, but at the same time we are kind of a niche as well, what we offer, so yeah, do a lot . . . Yeah, here at the college because we are the only institute of its kind in North America, is our, our stat, I guess, if you will. So we're unique and we're, we offer something unique, but at the same time it's not for everyone so we're kind of niche in some ways. So it's a little bit challenging at times but we also, and we're non-profit, so the budget isn't huge, so you do what you can with whatever reach that you can, so, it's really fun, I. It's, and I do graphic design so there's kind of the marketing stuff and then I do put a lot of time into just design and our branding and keeping things consistent and fun and so – M. Beaton, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

In explaining the operations of Colaisde na Gàidhlig, Beaton references seven other CTMD *centres* at different *levels of scale* with which it *interlocks*: **family**, **music teacher and student groups**, **camps**, **bands**, **dances**, **weddings**, and **festivals**. Each of these *centres* is a facet of the college, and, while each is *bounded*, the many-faceted college, *interlocking* and *not-separated* from each, pulls them together, allowing for the mutual *strengthening* of the different *centres*. As the only institution of its kind in North America, Colaisde na Gàidhlig provides workshops in traditional music, arts, and crafts, while connecting with and supporting the other adjacent *centres*.

Colaisde na Gàidhlig is unique in a sense, in that it is so *deeply interlocked* with the *local symmetries* and local culture in Cape Breton. At the same time, it is one of a type of **music hub** with similar functions in other locales. Treyonning describes High Level Music in the market cross (the town square) in Lerwick, Shetland, which operates differently but has a similar function.

> So like physically there's no other music centre in Shetland, so there can't be anywhere else like High Level in Shetland because there's no other centre. So we're all technically self-employed because we all teach our own lessons and are responsible for all our own stuff . . . In general everyone gets on really well. Everyone's very different and I don't think I would have been friends with any of those people had I not worked there or met them there. . . but because I have, like, and everyone's very encouraging and very supportive, and it's quite nice, I did teach music at my house for like a tiny bit, it's quite nice to have colleagues. To have other people there where you can be like, I've actually had quite a crap day so or you can be like, ten pupils just haven't shown up suddenly so now I'm a bit out of pocket and also I've just wasted hours of my life, and they'll be like, that's unfortunate, and you'll be like, a little bit yeah. But it happens to everyone there so there's a bit more, I think, experience of like a team, team spirit. And then things like this Christmas concert where pretty much everyone's pupils come together and everybody comes together, You're like, at the end of the day you're all trying to pass on music. And we all do that very different ways but everybody just is very passionate about what they do. And I think that's nice. You don't get anyone working there who's just, I don't think anyway, doing it just for a bit of money. Everybody there is like really passionate about their instrument and therefore is wanting to pass that, those skills on . . . So you get to know, like, you get some like people that are coming just before a gig and be like I need this thing for my gig right now. And we'll be there like why didn't you get this weeks ago, but also super cool so help yous out. And um, yeah, we all have been part of groups and all of that, like a group sometimes rehearse there, so like all of these people have basically met all of my friends. And I've met some of their friends . . . So yeah, I think if there was, I don't think it would be the same if there was somewhere like it, but then again I don't really know – R. Treyonning, personal communication, December 20, 2019.

High Level Music is a musical instrument shop on The Street (Commercial Street) in Lerwick, Shetland. The front room on the first floor is the shop with a large variety of musical instruments and sheet music for sale. The upper floors have many different rooms where self-employed music teachers rent the space and teach their students (https://www.facebook.com/highlevelmusic). Acting as a **music hub**, High Level provides the *positive space* and *good shape* to draw musicians, music students, parents, **bands** – the wide variety of those in the music scene – together, forging connections and facilitating relationships. As Treyonning explains, she had worked as a music teacher at her own home for a short while, but she enjoys the collegiality of working at High Level. She has developed a **network of friends** which she would not otherwise have done. An essential component of why High Level acts as a *strong centre* is that all of the music teachers are self-employed. They can develop their own **music teacher and student groups** on their own terms and then collaborate with the other **music teacher and student groups** affiliated with High Level. The **network of friends** of the various music teachers develops through collegiality and similar work experience, allowing them to work together to put on **live performances** with their students, such as the Christmas recital.

Having a **music hub** where many **music teachers and student groups** can interact creates *local symmetries* between these **group** *centres* in addition to allowing the teachers to get

to know their peers' students and vice versa. And this network of **music teachers and student groups** is by no mean small, as Nicholson explains below.

> Yeah. They've had it [High Level Music] for about ten years. Well, Fiona's had it for about ten years anyway. And at the time, there's tiny shop in like a loft, I taught in the loft. I was teaching about full time-ish; I had about twenty odd students through the week. And there's a few that would do bits and pieces and my dad did the weekend and maybe one or two through the week. And then they came over here and I don't know how many pupils are in here now. But it's ridiculous . . . There must be like between 150 and 200. I don't know. But I mean I . . . Andy does loads. Andy Kane does loads. He must have about 70. I have about 20ish. I don't know how many I actually have. It's about 20-25 mark. I've not counted in ages. And then you have Ben and Sven who do like guitar, drums, and Sven does bass as well. And then you have Jenny does the mandolin. Susanne does the singing and other stuff. And then there's piano and there's just loads. So there must be, yeah its quite nuts. It's crazy. It really is pretty nuts – A. Nicholson, personal communication, December 5, 2019.

Throughout the week there are upwards of two hundred students going through the shop for lessons, connecting each of these students with their teachers, but also with the other students, parents, siblings, and friends, while they may wait for their lesson or linger afterward. Many young **bands** also get together at High Level and practice, showing yet another instance of increasing the 'surface-area-to-volume ratio' of this *centre*. The *boundaries* for these **music hubs** are extremely porous yet still present. It is a place which gathers many *centres* across *levels of scale*, so in that sense, must have a very open *boundary*, but at the same time, the *boundary* still exists because there must be a place in or at which all of these other *centres* can converge, creating a *strong centre* in its own right.

High Level exhibits *roughness* and *contrast* between the different music teachers in their methods and their respective styles contributing to the *strength* of the *centre* as a whole. *Alternating repetition* between the different **music teachers and student groups** and *gradients* of participation of those within this **music hub** also *strengthen* this *centre* – one can enter as a shopper, to have a chat with the musicians, to spend time as a parent dropping off students, as a full time teacher, an employee or owner of the shop. Having these *gradients* within this one building allows for the mutual *strengthening* of the individuals within (recall the levitron metaphor from Chapter 9) and the **music hub** as a unity in itself.

The context and culture of each individual **music hub** differs greatly. Another **music hub** example in Lerwick is Mareel. Mareel has a very different atmosphere from High Level but performs a similar function of drawing other *centres* in, making them *stronger*, and promoting the creation of other *centres*, as chief executive of Shetland Arts, Howell, explains below.

> We've had someone say, we've had someone say, 'I would have left Shetland if it wasn't for Mareel'. We've got that in a customer service, customer feedback thing. There used to be a musician based here called Kris Drever who's a member of Lau and when we applied to creative Scotland two or three years ago for funding he provided a letter of support that basically said, 'without Mareel, without the recording studio, I could not live in Shetland'. . . Unfortunately he made the decision last summer that he couldn't live in Shetland, but I think it would have happened much sooner. I think um, the fundamental purpose of Shetland Arts is to make Shetland a great place to live. And I think if, and very much included in that is being able to see 'Star Wars' at one minute past midnight on the day it opens and then being able to go home, get on Facebook and talk about it with everyone else in the world that has seen it at one minute past midnight. That's an incredibly important role for us, normalizing life in Shetland, making sure that you can make the decision to move here and know you're not disadvantaging your kids, know there is cultural stuff happening. Its tragically never going to be what we can do elsewhere – never going to be what's offered in Glasgow or Edinburgh or anything like that but the fact that stuff happens … and the fact that when Mareel opened, one of the big things about this place and this was pre— me, was the drinking culture in Mareel was very different to the drinking culture at all the other pubs, you know. As a single woman you could come here, have a drink and you wouldn't get harassed by oily, do you know what I mean, and that sort of thing is quite important, now you've got Fjara, you've got the Dowry, you've got the String and all those places are opened up. And it's brilliant, whether we would have got those places without this place, who knows – G. Howell, personal communication, December 12, 2019.

The UK's most northerly music, cinema, and arts centre, Mareel, offers a wide variety of services and facilities, including a recording and broadcasting studio, a large auditorium, and a digital media production suite (shetlandarts.org/venues/mareel). *Contrasting* with the *rough* atmosphere of a **pub session** and many of the other **hearth patterns**, this **music hub** provides professional level audio recording and performance opportunity to accommodate the wide *gradients* of amateur to professional musicians on Shetland. The atmospheric *contrast* between a drink and **performance** in Mareel and a pint at a **pub session** provides the opportunity to experience these *alternating repetitions* depending on people's mood or particular taste, thus contributing to the CTMD culture as a whole. Mareel, as with other **music hubs**, connects the larger **regional**, **sub-regional**, and **community** traditions with the innovative and contemporary playing and styles of contemporary musicians. This **music hub** is also part of a **charity** that brings together individuals and **bands** and many other *centres* at a smaller scale, which shows the ability of **music hubs** to connect *centres* across *levels of scale*. **Music hubs** are instrumental in connecting small and large scale CTMD *centres*.

Therefore: Ensure that **music hubs** are *deeply interlocked* with the other CTMD *centres* of a **region**, **sub-region**, or **community**. Lock into the local culture and place-specific elements of your particular locale; in addition to *strengthening* the **music hub** this will also help with place-marketing and *strengthen* the **community** as well. Allow a degree of *roughness* so that the

individuals within can contribute to the whole and imprint their personalities on the **music hub**. Look to a variety of public and private areas for investment and support when trying to start a **music hub**, as local businesses often provide the necessary capital, especially if one cannot get **government** support.

Pattern links: **Music hubs** are link upwardly with **region** (1), **sub-region** (3), **regional ritual** (4), **networks of friends** (7), and **community** (14) at the larger levels of scale, and **homes/family** (5), **bands** (10), **music teachers and student groups** (15), **competitions** (17), **fiddle groups and clubs** (19), and **live performances/places to play** (21) at the smaller levels of scale.

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13.5 (19) Fiddle groups and clubs

Problem/statement: Isolated and separated from the events and aspects of daily life, **fiddle groups and clubs** can have difficulty retaining members and increasing their numbers, leading to increasingly aging and unsustainable participant groups.

Discussion: **Fiddle groups and clubs** excellently keep the balance between formal and informal associations. Extending from hearth patterns across various *levels of scale* and within **communities**, **fiddle groups and clubs** function as another *centre* which brings people together. They allow for *gradients* and *contrast* in ability and age and create social bonds within the **community**, while polishing the skills and abilities of the individuals within the **group**. As an adult learner, Damron credits her ability to play the fiddle to participation in this **fiddle group** and the **group** leadership of Trent Freeman:

> So I started, I picked up the fiddle late in life, when I was almost fifty and played with a fiddler group on Vancouver Island. I learned from a young man who was twelve at the time and he has since gone to Berkley and won a Juno award, Trent Freeman [from The Fretless] . . . And I mean, Trent was twelve when he would sit up there and lead that and it didn't matter, so the way we, the way it was set up was it was a two hours on Tuesday. The first hour was, well, it's like slow jam, fast jam, right. It was slow and everybody took a turn. So you didn't have to play but everybody got to pick a song. So we played 'Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star' a lot of times, because that's the song somebody could play or 'Cock of the North' *singing* da da, da da, da dun, da da, but hey, that was the first song I learned and I could hardly wait 'til they played it, right. So um, and it didn't matter how many times you played it and it didn't matter that Trent sat there from the time he was twelve 'til the time he was went away to university at eighteen or nineteen and then came back many, many times . . . Think how many times he played 'Cock of the North' or 'Twinkle, Twinkle' – L. Damron, personal communication, July 2, 2019.

Damron mentions two examples of *alternating repetition* (see Illustration 9) which contribute to the *positive space* and *good shape* (see Illustrations 10 & 11) of this **group**. Initially, there is the *repetition* of the **group** itself – every Tuesday – that creates the stability and routine required to maintain the **group**, create cohesion, and learn the tunes. There is also *alternating repetition* between the tunes themselves – 'Cock of the North' and 'Twinkle, Twinkle' – that is required for those who are just starting out to participation and learn in this **group**.

Damron's example also illustrates the need for *gradients* of participation and ability with the **group**. She explains how the first hour was a 'slow jam' so that everybody, regardless of age or ability, could participate. Then after the first hour, it would move to a fast jam, also providing the *positive space* for those who were more accomplished or experienced to play and participate in a manner befitting their ability. It is important though, that these are not two separate events or **groups**; there is *not-separateness* here between those in the beginner range and proficient players, providing learning, teaching, and mentorship opportunities across a range of ages. For example, Trent, at twelve years old, taught Damron who was in her fifties. The *gradients* of age and ability are not unique to this particular group but are present in other **fiddle groups** with *good shape* and *positive space*, as Treyonning explains below.

> And you get fiddle and accordion clubs, which run in all of the, not all, the local community halls. Which again, tends to be more traditional paced music. But if you like playing music I think you generally take what you can get almost. . . So, it was really fun, I went to one when I was like eleven, ten to like thirteen . . . Or Fourteen. And it was really nice. Everyone there was very, very lovely. Very, very encouraging. Even when you start, when you started I was not equal, it was all fiddle as well, I was not equal to levels, and that's okay, there weren't any of the adults who were like, we think Rebekah shouldn't play at this bit. They're so encouraging. Like join in, like play what you can. Don't play what you don't want to. If you're comfortable, that's fine. And they're all very talented musicians who can play by ear and do cool stuff, so it's like, it's slightly older but it's still community – R. Treyonning, personal communication, December 20, 2019.

Treyonning, a seventeen year old piano teacher and fiddler in Shetland, UK and Damron a fiddler in her sixties from British Columbia (who I spoke with at Leahy Camp in Ontario) provide very similar explanations to the operations of **fiddle groups**. Treyonning also refers specifically to the presence of *gradients* of age and ability in her explanation, citing her ability to participate as much or little as she liked and the welcoming and encouraging attitude of the older and more accomplished musicians for her success. Both of these examples show the *contrast* of experiences and perspectives of the different participants within **fiddle groups**. Treyonning's

example also exhibits *alternating repetition* in the *local symmetries* which operate in the various local halls throughout Shetland.

Fiddle groups and clubs maintain the balance between formal and informal associations.

> Fiddle Sticks is a band that is put together by Sally Peerie and she takes anybody in her band. Like beginners are welcome in her band and there's kids all the way up to, we had a ninety year old that was playing with us at one point in time, we still have several older people in their eighties, late seventies and eighties playing with us. And basically it's a band that plays for, we do fundraisers for other people. We don't do fund raisers for ourselves but we do fundraisers for the church, we do fund raisers for the Celtic group in Douro, we did that during their St. Patrick's day, we played for them, basically fundraisers to raise funds for somebody else. . . . The St James United Church . . . In Peterborough [Ontario] . . . So it's nice because when I first started playing [with] a group, if I made a mistake, you don't hear that mistake. You know what I mean, you kind of blend in with everybody else. So you're not afraid to play. So, and even when I first started playing, sometimes I could only play the first of the bar but it didn't matter . . . You'd play the first of the bar until you got that song down and you go home and practice your little butt off and then you really got to play more than the first of the bar, maybe the slower part and let somebody else take the faster part. But at least you got to play. And so Fiddle Sticks has been wonderful because anybody is welcome . . . in the band. And Sally gets uptight when it comes close to a concert like she gets *slaps her hand*, you know what I mean, but other than that you're there just to enjoy. You want to go home and practice so that's the way to do it – A. Keitel, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

Keitel refers to Fiddle Sticks as a **band**, and there is certainly some overlap between **bands** and **fiddle groups and clubs**, but her description of how it operates, places it more firmly in the pattern **fiddle groups and clubs**. This **group** exhibits the properties of *gradients* and *contrast* with respect to age and ability. This example also shows the *interlock* and *not-separateness* between **fiddle groups and clubs** and other *centres* across different *levels of scale*. In this one example, Keitel explains how this **group** *interlocks* with and supports other **fiddle groups**, **church**, and **live performances**: those other *centres* are supported and *strengthened* by the **fiddle groups** and the **fiddle groups** are *strengthened* by their *interlock* with the other *centres*, not least because of the opportunity to **perform** for a live audience.

These **live performances/places to play** are important for **fiddle groups** as *centres* but also provide the opportunity for the individuals within to acquire new skills and sharpen their technique. When I asked Keitel if she played/learned by ear or through written notation, she replied:

> I don't, depends on what I'm playing. If I'm playing songs, when I play for Fiddle Sticks, I play solos and I don't play with music, so I have to learn them by heart, so in that case, I'm not sight reading, I'm learning to make sure that I've got it in my head. But when I'm playing, I created a little group in Keene for women who are learning to play violin and they're on, they're stuck on the page, so I've been teaching them how to sight read off the page and doing simple tunes off the page . . . About that group?. . . There were three women who used to take lessons with Julie Fitzgerald, who had come to this camp. And Julie's gone on tour and then got um Jeremy

> Stillman's wife, so she's an O'Hara? . . . I can't think of her first name, she's from Douro . . . Anyway, she was teaching them for two years and then she had a baby last year and then they didn't have a teacher. So they were looking to play and approached me and asked me if I would play with them and so we've created this little band. There's three women and myself and then we also hooked up with the husband of one of the women who plays guitar and his friend who plays the beat box and then one of my friends who plays the flute joined. So now we're a group of seven. And we've started playing, I encouraged those women to play, but to play for somebody because when you don't play for somebody, you don't practice, you practice a lot more if you do. So we've been going on, we've been taking our songs to the retirement residence in Keene and playing for the retirement residents and then we got asked to come up and play for the retirement residence in Lakefield, so that was a surprise. And today we got asked to do the Canada Day celebrations in Keene, so we did the Canada Day celebrations in Keene . . . That's how it's going, yeah – A. Keitel, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

This smaller **group** that Keitel coordinates developed out of her involvement in the larger **fiddle group** and shows how *strong centres* support and generate *centres* at the smaller *levels of scale* and how the smaller *levels of scale* support and *strengthen* the larger *levels*. This example also illustrates the *strengthening* property of *deep interlock* between *centres*. Keitel's **group** is *strengthened*, and the participants' skill level increased, by **performing** for live audiences. Keitel also explicitly mentions how they **perform** for **nursing homes** and take part in **regional ritual**.

The *interlock* and *not-separateness* of **fiddle groups and clubs** with other *centres* is ubiquitous for flourishing **fiddle groups**. Simpson explains below how the Shetland Accordion and Fiddle **club** gave rise to the Shetland Accordion and Fiddle **festival** (the 33rd **festival** took place in October, 2022).

> The festival started thirty-two years ago. It started, they had a club to begin with that they went through the winter and then they decided that they would make it slightly bigger and have a weekend . . . Which has always been in October. At the present time it runs from Thursday to Monday. . . With concerts on Thursday and Friday, grand dance on Saturday and various other bits in between. It's basically been the same format I think for that time, with occasional tweaks here and there. But it's always been the four, four day event, so – U. Simpson, personal communication, November 4, 2019.

In addition to *strengthening* the CTMD **community** in Shetland, this **festival** is also a great source of income for the **region** through tourism and place-marketing, and hosts one of the biggest traditional **dances** in the UK with up to 1500 participants (Shetland Accordion & Fiddle Festival, 2022). It is also a great example of how a *strong centre* at a small *level of scale* can generate other *strong centres* with high impact on a **region** or **community** as a whole.

Fiddle groups and clubs have *boundaries* that are porous and allow for the requisite degree of innovation and novelty.

> And its. You have the minutes to do, you have the club to organize, you have the various acts to get for the club nights, from September to March, there's four of the nights during the winter we get a band up from sooth . . . So again, that, you have to organize that well in advance to try and get as good a fare for them to come up as possible . . . That kind of thing. But the cost, the cost of tickets like flights and that is . . . It's shocking . . . because you, I mean, you can't get, but can you get a discount on it, I don't know if we do. For the festival we block book and then put names on as the time goes on . . . For the ones that are coming up for sooth, we'll block book say twenty seats on the Aberdeen flight and ten seats on the Edinburgh flight and so much on the Glasgow one – U. Simpson, personal communication, November 4, 2019.

As vice chair and secretary for the Shetland Accordion and Fiddle Club/Festival, Simpson has various responsibilities, not least organizing the musicians who come from out of town. While the **club** is *bounded*, they also make sure to have visiting acts from the mainland UK for four of their winter club nights, ensuring a degree of *not-separateness* from the larger **regions** and protecting from insularity in their own **club**. **Fiddle groups and clubs** perform an important function, often acting as a magnet, pulling 'hearth patterns' and 'patterns returning to the state' together in a healthy and positive manner.

Therefore: As with the other *centres* make sure to *interlock* **fiddle groups and clubs** with other *centres*, in particular **festivals**, **schools**, **nursing homes**, **pub sessions**, **families**, **regional ritual**, **dances**, **church**, and **charities** to ensure the *strengthening* and sustainability of the **fiddle groups and clubs** themselves, but also so that they may *strengthen* those other *centres* as well. *Repetition* and consistency is essential for **fiddle groups and clubs** to ensure that people know when, where, and how to participate.

Pattern links: Upwardly, **fiddle groups and clubs** link with **festivals** (22), **schools** (23), **nursing homes** (25), **regional ritual** (4), **dances** (12), **church** (11), and **charities** (26), and downwardly with **pubs/sessions** (9) and **families** (5).

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13.6 (20) Online *centres*

Problem/statement: While the internet can provide connectivity, communication, information and learning, and entertainment opportunities and innovation, the effects of internet use/screen time, on youth in particular, require further investigation as to the overall positive or negatives (Jericho & Elliot, 2020). Online communities can also remove or isolate children from the 'attachment village' required for healthy socialization, maturity, and well-being (Neufeld & Maté, 2013). In Ontario during the COVID-19 pandemic, children's screen time increased from

2.6 hours a day to 5.9 hours a day, with parental stress and low income being significant factors in screen use (Seguin et al., 2021).

Discussion: In the Foreword to *The Oxford Handbook of Social Media and Music Learning* (Waldron, Horsley, & Veblen, 2020), Schippers (2020) states:

> With the prominent presence of social media in every aspect of our lives, we have no choice; it is an untenable position to think that they are just a bad dream (although sometimes they are) and that they will quietly disappear (just as some music educators hoped that jazz, hip hop, and world music would). There is a new reality . . . Social media – and information technology at large – have structurally changed virtually all aspects of how we engage with music (p. v-vi).

The following 661 pages outline different case studies and discussions on the influence, issues, and positives of social media and music education. And indeed any cursory thoughts on the enormity of social media's influence corroborate Schipper's claim. With the exception of some of the hearth patterns, social media are used to promote, market, and connect most of the CTMD *centres*, e.g., **festivals**, **live performances**, **camps**, **schools**, **competitions**, **charities**, etc. The use, influence, and effects of social media on CTMD raise important and interesting questions, and could fill reams and reams. However, it is not the primary focus of this thesis and thus, herein, I discuss the innovations and internet *centres* as they presented themselves throughout my conversations with CTMD participants, teachers, students, etc. Perhaps the reality is, as Marshall McLuhan often said, "we don't know who discovered water, but we know it wasn't a fish", and that social media has permeated CTMD culture to such a degree that participants do not recognize the need to comment. But perhaps too, the vestigial face-to-face context present in CTMD cultures does significantly curtail the transformative aspect of social media on CTMD as a whole, thereby accounting for the paucity of social media references. Either way, I can only present the data as they appear. While there are undoubtedly online CTMD communities (Waldron, 2011), the internet/social media references in this thesis all point to the use of online innovation and resources. They are *centres* themselves, but they mainly serve to augment, *interlock*, *strengthen*, and connect other *centres*, rather than primarily act as standalone online **communities**.

I spoke with Liza Austen Strange the founder and director of Fosbrook Folk Education Trust (see **schools**) during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic. At that time, online innovation was an important component and allowed the program to continue. It also highlighted effective innovations to continue using after the return to in-person activity.

> I think we will continue to use some of the Google Classroom portholes after we go back. I think they've been good in, in many ways. And the online rehearsals is a very easy way of getting people, getting the children together. I have about twenty-five on the line at a time. And again, its, its, not ideal but it's okay . . . You set yourself a Google Classroom up, you can put your teaching videos and things on there and, and encourage the children to use that in between coming to rehearsals . . . I think that's something we've learned from this, this the COVID-19 that you can get by. It's not ideal, but you can get by. And of course it's very, the Google Classroom is a very safe platform which we opted for in favour, we favoured that because it is a safe platform and I don't think Zoom is entirely 100% safe. So we've opted for the Google Classroom, which what they use in schools as well here . . . I've never had any problem with it [Zoom] we did use it from time to time but I'm more used to Google Classroom now, so I do my home teaching on it because I'm teaching violin and piano online at the, in the evenings, when the children, because most of the children are back at school now although there are some classes off because of COVID – L. Strange, personal communication, December 7, 2020.

As Strange explains, the online tuition alone is not ideal, but it does provide a means of getting the students together, keeping them connected, and aiding practicing, to the point where she considers continuing with it after the lockdowns. This acknowledgement of the online *centre* alone not being ideal, illustrates the need for *deep interlock and ambiguity* between the **school**, **music teacher and students**, and **online *centres***. There has to be a degree of *not-separateness* with online *centres* so that they may operate as *strengthening* and connecting *centres*, rather than weak *centres* that isolate. Strange also explains how the **online *centre*** allows for the uploading of teaching videos which can encourage practice between in-person classes. This highlights the *strengthening* property of *alternating repetition* between **online** and in-person classes.

Online *centres* can also overcome geographic **regions**, **sub-regions**, or **communities** that are geographically isolated and <u>too</u> *bounded*, as Shetland accordion teacher, Peter Wood, explains.

> Yeah, so about eleven or twelve [schools he teaches music at] or something . . . Yeah, all around, different islands as well. I teach in Yell, I teach in Whalsay. I actually do some remote teaching now as well. . . Yeah, it's the same idea but it's through a thing called VC. And we call it blended learning because what we do is we work three schools on a router, that one, once every three weeks I'm there and teach the other schools from there. And the next week I'll, so its alternate weeks . . . it's so they still get to see me face to face every three weeks . . . I don't mind it now. I really don't mind. And when the, when we introduced this into the, it was to basically make it more available to everyone, you know, because it there, obviously, as you know the geography of Shetland or any other places even in the mainland is quite remote places, where it wouldn't be worthwhile sending a tutor to a school say in Fair Isle or somewhere like that, you couldn't do it or other ones it just wouldn't work. So I find that the technology we're using is great because that lets us offer that then at least . . . And the one thing, when we, when we did start it, I wasn't bothered by it because I had studied in done a lot all online like that way, and if anyone was speaking of it, it was the parents . . . they found the children are not bothered at all . . . Because they've grown up in this technological world that we are in now . . . And they're quite happy to see themselves on a screen . . . Doesn't matter. So for my instrument it's worked okay, for the accordion it's been absolutely fine. I can understand maybe wind instruments or strings, just

> beginners its might be quite hard, you know, tuning and things like that – P. Wood, personal communication, December 10, 2019.

Wood explains that for areas with geographic *boundaries* that are too tight – that are too far or remote to get to every week – he is able to teach students accordion **online** and then teach in person every three weeks at the respective locations. The *alternating repetition* between **online** and in person **music teacher and students groups** is important: the **online** classes provide music tuition when in person ones are otherwise unavailable, but likewise, the students are not simply left to **online** classes. The **online *centre*** makes the *boundary* of these remote and isolated areas more porous, allowing for a greater participation and *interlock* with other *centres*.

The creation of **online *centres*** for music tuition is common, especially for musicians who are quite accomplished and require a higher calibre of instruction.

> They've each taken a course from Roxanna Sabir in Vancouver, to be fiddle teachers. She does online teaching to teachers. . . And kids from Scotland and Australia and Canada all jump on and do that. . . Yeah, it's a, that's exactly the platform [Skype] so. The Sabir sisters are four girls from BC, Southern BC, who a couple of, and Mark Sullivan's wife is one of the Sabir sisters – J.D. Corry, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

> Skype lessons are huge. You can, so I studied, so I went to college for music and then I went to university, never graduated, have a learning disability, a little too ADHA *squirrel* and then, but I always wanted to write . . . So, I studied privately with somebody, that was really cool, he was local . . . And then I met a guy who, in LA, who's just a genius, and so, I couldn't fly to LA every week for lessons . . . And lessons were over on Skype and they were so amazing that when I would get to LA and have a lesson in person, there was no difference . . . From a compositional standpoint, it was like really easy, because I would write the music, send him the music, I would record the music and everything, so there was absolutely no difference. We were in the same room, that's fine . . . From a teaching guitar perspective sometimes it's a little harder because you can't, I can feel when I'm in the room when its going on a little bit more, compositionally, it's a breeze – G. Atkins, personal, communication, July 3, 2019.

In both the Corry and Atkins examples, those receiving the **online** lessons are high calibre musicians. In order to receive instruction at such a high performance and ability level, **online *centres*** provide the opportunity to cross *levels of* geographic *scale* and provide the room for *gradients* in ability and professionalism in **communities**, **sub-regions**, and **regions** that may otherwise not host such proficient musicians. The Atkins example in particular illustrates how **online *centres*** connect different *levels of scale*. After taking lessons from a local guitar player in his **community**, Atkins was able to move to a 'genius' teacher in LA via **online** lessons. This created a higher degree of *not-separateness* between his **home** and the teacher in LA, and consequently connected different *levels of scale*.

This ability of **online** ***centres*** to transcend different *levels of scale* and geographic **regions** can have a downside as well. Atkins also explains how the **online** ***centre*** made no difference when he was a student learning **online**, but sometimes it does while he is teaching other students as he cannot get the feel of the room. Likewise, Nicholson illustrates a similar problem below.

> Well, sight me on the fact that it should be free. It shouldn't be, it's been a cheap. And they pay for it and the lessons are less now. And they've started doing video lessons. They've started with like, and to be fair, some of the schools are really far away. They take a long time to drive to, but, again, you don't get, some of them, we'll see what happens. I mean there is, there is, you know if you go like to Unst, you know, its two ferries away. It takes you hours. I mean the likes of mine. I have to. I can't ever go to those schools because it's different, it's funded differently. I have to pay my own. You know I'd have to pay my own ferry fare. And I can't pay a ferry fare to go and teach one pupil – A. Nicholson, personal communication, December 5, 2019.

It is clear in Nicholson's explanation that his thinks that exclusively **online** guitar lessons are inferior to in person ones. And while he acknowledges that some of the **communities** are far away, making it difficult and expensive to get to them, his frustration with moving from in person to **online** lessons is apparent, as he believes that this will have a detrimental and inequitable effect on the students living in remote and often poorer areas. Nicholson's concerns regarding inequitable access are consistent with research that shows that increased screen time in school-aged children is associated with lower household incomes (Seguin et al., 2021). The worry is, with the possibility of **online** lessons, that this will become the default for those who live in geographically remote areas and that those in **government**, **school** boards, or other decision makers will default to **online** classes – removing the possibility for students from these areas to have in person lessons and creating an inequitable distribution of music tuition. Nicholson's quotation, again, illustrates the importance of *alternating repetition* between in person and **online** lessons, especially when teaching children in **schools**.

Of course, **online** ***centres*** are not exclusively comprised of lessons. Below, Richardson explains how an **online** ***centre*** connects and *strengthens* those in the Ontario Celtic music scene.

> I'm co-admin on a page called the Ontario Celtic music scene . . . A Facebook page, it's not a large community yet, started a few years ago, a year and a half ago, two years ago maybe . . . So relatively new. It was created by a fellow by the name of Tom Speck who was in another Celtic band called Screeched Inn . . . So he started it . . . Sort of thing, so uh, but within that community now we have, I've probably lost track but there might be twenty to thirty Celtic bands or individual soloists or whatever that are within it, same with local venues and fans that just kind of go there and kind of can catch wind and if anyone's looking for bands or instrumental players or whatever they can go through a list that we have on that page and then they can research themselves . . . Yeah, so I had, our band name is Old Man Flannigan's Ghost and we, really much wanted to kind of just promote bands, I mean, not that we had a developed a great name or

> anything for ourselves, but we maybe were slightly more well-known with the Toronto community and so we just started holding kind of Celtic nights where we would bring in another band, often from outskirts, smaller areas, and usually that had, less of a following or less of an opportunity to play to do like an opening for us and just to kind of promote Celtic music and promote them, promote us, promote the scene sort of thing. So we met a few bands doing that and Screeched Inn was one of them and when this page started up he asked if I would help out on it and that's kind of how it that got going – S. Richardson, personal communication, July 2, 2019.

This example from Richardson highlights the mutually *strengthening* aspect of overlapping and *interlocking centres*. In the explanation of how the **online** ***centre*** started, Richardson references five other *centres*: **community**, **bands**, **live performances/places to play**, and **sub-regions** across *levels of scale*. This **online** ***centre*** creates *deep interlock* and *not-separateness* between all of these other *centres*, connecting these *local symmetries*. With 902 current members, the 'About' tap reads:

> Welcome to the Ontario Celtic Music Scene page. This page exists to promote all of us and, through connection, make our scene stronger. On this page you will finds bands, artists, musicians, venue managers/owners and lovers of Celtic music. It also serves as a place to Celtic fans to keep aware of local shows that they may diversify, come out and support various bands, and get to see/interact with musicians and other similar fans. #supportlivemusic (Ontario Celtic Music Scene, n.d.).

This **online** ***centre*** allows for *gradients* of participation on the site; **bands**, solo artists, venues, and anyone interested in the Ontario Celtic music scene is welcome to join and participate to varying degrees. However, this **online** ***centre*** also has a *boundary*, as it is a private site – anyone can find the group but only members can see who is in the group and what is posted – ensuring a degree of safety and *positive space* in this *centre*. This *centre's* primary purpose is to *strengthen* of the Ontario scene, primarily through the promotion and connection of **live performances/places to play**, which, again, illustrates the need for *alternating repetition* between **online** and in person *centres* for these **online** ***centres*** to be *strengthening*.

On the whole, the online aspect of CTMD seems Janus-faced. On the one hand, it is a function of that atomized, non-sticky, individualized, mobile, technology-mediated, *gesellschaft* modernity (see Chapter 3) – the culture that erodes CTMD at every level. And on the other hand, the countervailing movement back to CTMD, in both the function and origin modalities (see Chapter 7), has been aided by online connection.

Therefore: Use **online** ***centres*** to *strengthen* other CTMD *centres* and ensure that they do not erode or totally replace other *centres*. Wherever possible, create *alternating repetition* between

online *centres* and in person *centres*. Limit the **online** use at **home/family**, **school**, **live performances**, **homeschooling** whenever it will detract from the *strengthening* of those *centres*. Make an effort to connect with those who might otherwise be socially or geographically isolated to create a more porous *boundary* allowing for greater *gradients* in participation within **online *centres***.

Pattern links: Upwardly, **online *centres*** link with **sub-regions** (3), **competitions** (17), **festivals** (22), **schools** (23), **university** (24), and **charities** (26), and downwardly with **networks of friends** (7), **bands** (10), **music teacher and student groups** (15), and **homes/families** (5).

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13.7 (21) Live performances/places to play

Problem/statement: Whether bound by red tape, an inability to compete with larger-scale venues and rock- and pop-star performances, or a general lack of **community** support, there is a dearth of **live performances/places to play**, especially for new and young CTMD musicians, which has crippling effects on the music culture as a whole.

<u>Discussion</u>: As noted by Alexander (1979) in his Chapter "Patterns of Events", spatial and social patterns are deeply connected and even inseparable (see also Chapter 9). He explains, "The quality without a name is circular: it exists in us, when it exists in our buildings; and it only exists in our buildings, when we have it in ourselves. To understand this clearly, we must first recognize that what a town or building is, is governed, above all, by what is happening there" (p. 62). With this connection and mutual dependence of spatial and social structure in mind, I debated between whether **live performances/places to play** is one pattern/*centre* or two distinct but interacting patterns/*centres*. In the end I have decided that it makes the most sense as one pattern/*centre*. But **live performances/places to play**, perhaps more than any other pattern herein, highlights the deep connection between the spatial and the social. As such, throughout this pattern I frequently make reference to the geometric space with which the social pattern is entwined because, in short, one cannot have **live performances** without **places** in which **to play**.

> Playing like, there's a, I don't know if there still is, I mean I'm not, I'm completely out of touch with that now, but community. And you need places to play. You need venues. You need places you can go and practice, like. Like, I'm, we were really lucky, the band now and Fiona [owner of High Level Music – partner of Arthur's dad] just let us practice in her garage. You know. We didn't have to like look for somewhere to play. Um, when the community halls started getting tight on the under aged drinking, which isn't great, but there's nowhere else for young bands to play. Young bands, starting out, they could go and play a gig in a hall. There friends would come to the gig. You learn how to play to an audience. You know, like, experience – its depends what

> you want to do. If you want to play music with people, if you want to be in a rock band playing gigs, which is what I've always wanted to do and I see there's still kids that want to do that. Still young teenagers that want to start playing in a band. They want to go out and play music, for whatever reason, loud, you know, whatever. They need places to play – A. Nicholson, personal communication, December 5, 2019.

Nicholson explains that it is essential that musicians, young musicians in particular, have **places to play** if a music scene is going to be alive. Musicians need **places to play** that are not simply in their own **home**, formal lessons, or **school** recitals. Nicholson continues:

> Access to music from a young age is crucial. And access to spaces to play music outside of education. Like, yeah, they can get a lesson in school and play in school and play at home but you need to go somewhere else too. And like, yeah. If you're a youngster and you want to go and play in a group. There is other things – there are plenty of things, you know, I'm not, again I'm not an authority on – I don't want to talk about it as if there's nothing, because I'm sure there's things that I'm not so aware of… But yeah, spaces to go and play – A. Nicholson, personal communication, December 5, 2019.

These patterns/*centres* are *interlocking*, overlapping, and nested, and when any of these patterns or *centres* become isolated from others the 'aliveness' decreases. **Live performances/places to play** is a pattern that *deeply interlocks* with other *centres* such as **school**, **home/family**, **community,** etc., and each mutually *strengthens* and reinforces the others through the **performances**. The following story from Johnson is a particularly charming example of the *deep interlocking* property of **live performances**.

> And one week [at The String's Young Musicians' Night] when I was so hot, it's not always so hot in Shetland, that we had to open the front window here because everyone was just melting upstairs and Fraser was singing 'The Boxer', Simon and Garfunkle's 'The Boxer' . . . Anyways, he started on the lie la lie, lie la lie, and somebody outside started singing along with him . . . And Fraser's mum was nearly, it was so lovely, and then he got the giggles and but, you know, it was . . . Yeah it certainly, and people were coming in off the street saying, oh I heard, I heard music and followed it . . . And we were getting certain visitors every week, they weren't related to any of the young musicians, but you know, they'd come the first week and were like, well that was really good I've brought other friends to see this – L. Johnson, personal communication, November 9, 2019.

This very sweet example of Fraser singing demonstrates *gradients* of participation (see Illustration 15), as those on the street could join in the **live performance**. This example illustrates the power and importance of **live performances/places to play**. Through this open window, the street, the public, strangers, audience, performers, and the restaurant attic venue were all brought into relationship with each other. And in so doing, *strengthened* and increased the aliveness, *not-separateness*, and *positive space* (see Illustrations 7, 20, & 10) of the street and public space, as well as the **live performance** by bringing in more people who "weren't related

to any of the young musicians”. This example also points to a distributist maximum of small enterprises and minimal public regulation (see 4.3 and 4.4), i.e., libertarianism (with respect to the state) for households, in the form of less formal licensing, less corporate ownership, more community ownership and control of spaces, to provide the opportunity for more public/private spaces and interaction.

Live performances/places to play must cross multiple *levels of scale* and exhibit *contrast* in their locales to allow for *gradients* of participation and to bind together multiple *centres*. Atomization, individuation, and privatization are direct functions of energy flows, pushing human activity to increasingly private and isolated spheres (see Chapters 3 & 4). The above example illustrates the importance of street performances as a location for **live performances/places to play**. Not only does busking contribute to a **region’s**, **sub-region’s**, or **community’s** place-marketing and tourism strategies (see Chapter 5), as shown by the Loynd quotation below, but it also provides a means of pulling together people of a particular **community**, increasing viscosity on the street.

> So what the cruise ships will see is like the kids playing on the street and stuff in the holidays which is such a good way for them of making money. They’re making like 70 quid a day or something. That’s good – C. Loynd, personal communication, December 6, 2019.

Busking provides the children with a decent income, but it also contributes to the marketability of the town to tourists. These **live performances/places to play** also contribute to the establishment of relationships within a **community** and the formation of young people in particular, as Corry explains.

> Then they started busking, probably nine years ago at the farmers [market]. Like even my wife said, you’ve got something, and she goes, why would you ever put yourself through that – for her, that was a terror. And I said, I’ll take them and they started busking and they busk for themselves and for charity at the same time. So they’ve always known that a percentage of your case goes to charity. So they’ve raised, you know, lots of dollars for the um Slave Lake fires and the Fort MacMurray fires and stuff like that. They’ve done a lot of that plus they give a bunch of their money to the Tanzanian orphanage as well. So they’re pretty good about learning that because that’s a part of it, right . . . It’s got to be a part of whatever you do, is to give back, right. And they’re giving, they’re putting themselves out there but people are pretty generous and I got to say that like, I’ve never played with them but I’ve stood back and watched for eight, nine years, and it’s absolutely a study in human character to see what happens. And I’ll watch them, for example, we’ve got Huttorites out there, and you don’t have them here, but a Huttorite is similar to the Mennonites but they live in a colony, they are, it’s a religious sect and they all come from the same German-Russian border, you know they’ve been related since 1700s, anyway. I say, there’s a little Hutterite boy that comes and puts money in your case every week and I say, he doesn’t have a lot of money because they’re allowed a certain allowance. And I said, for that kid to put coins in your case, that’s pretty significant, there’s something there. And then they would play, that had one guy walk up one day and he says, can you guys play happy birthday. Well we don’t

> know how to play it but, they were young, they said, but we'll try. And they did it. And he goes, thank you it's my birthday and my mum and dad birthday . . . and I'm going, holy cow you guys, you don't know like what you bring to people right. And another one came up and said, can you play this song, can you play this song, can you play this song? And they played three songs and she put twenty bucks in the case. Twenty bucks is pretty significant. And I said, you don't know if that was her mum's song, her dad's song, or her song. You don't what you've done, right – J.D. Corry, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

Diamond (2013) argues that music provides the "space for contested point[s] of view, multiple narratives, and differently aesthetically defined politics" (p. 162), and in the above example from Corry, we see exactly that. Through the **live performance/place to play**, people of many walks of life and backgrounds are brought together, simultaneously *strengthening* each other. These informal street performances allow for a different type of audience interaction and participation, creating the room for *gradients* and range of participation.

It is imperative that **live performances/places to play** extend across *gradients* of informal to formal and amateur to professional venues across many *levels of scale*. In doing so, **live performances/places to play** provide the *good shape* and *positive space* for many different people to participate, as with the following examples.

> I suppose from a very personal point of view, um the opportunity to perform publically has pushed me on creatively. And I suppose it does every musician, just extrapolating from myself here, to write new songs about new topics and to kind of reinterpret the tradition in a new way. Yeah, there's lots of bands doing that really effectively. Um yeah, and writing, composing, performing traditional material, interpreting it differently. Um writing in the traditional style, there's many permutations of that. Which is really exciting – C. White, personal communication, October 21, 2019.

As White describes, the experience of **live performances/places to play** inspires musicians' creativity, musical ability and skill. Corroborating White's statement, MacDonald explains that a variety of **places to play** are required to maintain interest and excitement for both participants and audiences alike.

> I have figured out that, in recent years, that in order to be excited about playing I have to be doing a variety of things all the time because it gets stagnant if it's kind of the same thing all the time. So I play piano, also. So I play piano with five or six other fiddlers. There's a regular session on Thursday nights at the Old Triangle in Charlottetown that I have been hosting for the last four or five years, which is neat. Amateur players show up but some top notch players show up too. And visitors show up in the summer from all over the world. And you just sit around at a table and play tunes. So that's nice. And then there's a bunch of places. I, the brewery here, Copper Bottom, just opened, almost two years ago, and since they've opened I've been hosting a traditional music thing on Sunday afternoons, 3 to 5 . . . At the brewery. And it's in my hometown, in Montigue, and I'd never played a gig in my hometown before that. And now I do one every week . . . Yeah, I book other people too, so I play once or twice a month. And I book people that are coming through from anywhere, all over the world. And a lot of Cape Bretoners were there through and fifteen or sixteen other acts from the Island that I try and keep on a rotation. And mix them in, sort

> of thing. So that's a nice standing gig. It's like a weekly buzz which is nice – W. MacDonald, personal communication, July 20, 2019.

These quotations from White and MacDonald highlight the need for *gradients* of professionalism and *levels of scale* (see Illustrations 15 & 6) in **places to play**, as there must be a place for those who cannot fill a massive venue to **perform**. But they also, particularly with the MacDonald example, illustrate the *strengthening* capability of multiple *centres* of *local symmetries* and *alternating repetition* across *levels of scale*. It is also important to have larger **live performances/places to play** as these inspire and encourage musicians' abilities as well as increase place-marketability, as Rankin explains below.

> It's amazing. So. But that was kind of cool. And then in terms of shows here like Natalie was on the Johnny Reid Tour and so she had me and a group of us in a professional dance group, dancing in that show and it was 7200 in Sydney and it was like packed, crazy – D. Rankin, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

Having the opportunity to perform in this professional and large-scale **performance** was inspiring and encouraging for Rankin. The difficulty arises when these massive-scaled, professional venues undermine the vitality and sustainability of the small-scale, local, **community live performances**, and for that reason there must be a high degree of *not-separateness, alternating repetition,* and *deep interlock* between the *local symmetries* and *centres* across the *levels of scale*. Peterson explains below how larger-scaled **live performances** can undermine those at the smaller *levels of scale*.

> Whereas if you are, if you're a small, intimate venue seated, you know, that, you're concentrating on every single aspect of that performance. So every nuance and like lyric you can hear clearly, every style of playing, you really appreciate every single bit of craftsmanship that's gone into it. Whereas, a bigger venue, dan, you know, you don't have the attention, attention span to focus on that, so you're basically going to be, and you can't see it because it's so far away, so you're basically going to be relying on, you're just there for a dance and participating and that's as important but it's definitely, yeah, the type of venue, type of ATMs, definitely has an impact on, on what people get out of it, I suppose. And I think that's, again the problem with the industry here, is that it's a lot easier to market the big, you know, it's more economical to bring in a band that does that kind of thing. They're laughing because they [get] a thousand people to and that's maybe not, it's a bit like anything, the craftsmanship that's gone into it, might not be, its good but people are prepared to pay to watch something that's not that and it's like anything, you know, if people won't appreciate what goes into it then. Then they get, they're not going to, they're not going to go for the more expensive option over the less accessible option, so – L. Peterson, personal communication, November 14, 2019.

In this example, Peterson explains that the local **community** music in Shetland suffers because it is 'more economical' to bring musicians from out of town who are able to fill a thousand seat venue, than supporting small-scale local concerts or **performances**. There are a number of

interesting elements in this claim. Firstly, I think it is important to note that a theatre that can hold a thousand is not reaching the large-scale stadiums and performances of an Ariana Grande or Justin Bieber. Even so, Peterson recognizes that these larger-scaled **performances** undermine the ability of small-scale **live performances/places to play** to compete in terms of marketability. It also touches on the tension between the commercialization and monetization of music versus music as common pool resource and social glue (I discuss this tension further in Chapter 15). However, it again highlights the necessity of *levels of scale* with respect to **live performances/places to play** and the *good shape* (in a spatial sense) required in these **places to play**, as Webb explains below.

> And very, you're squeezed in a corner. Which is good, but then it's bad at the same time. Yeah, there's like no, there's no like venue. . . Like a music venue. . . For that kind of bar size. . . Yeah, I know, it is weird, like me and Gary wrote, like we're always speaking like, oh that shop there would be a perfect place to have a bar. . . I would love to, yeah. Me and Gary are speaking about it all the time, about doing it . . . And we would just like have it as a bar but Friday and Saturday night have a band on, two bands and just make it, just a live music venue that's, like, like something that you would find on the mainland, right – I. Webb, personal communication, November 24, 2019.

Isaac Webb is describing playing at the Douglas Arms (colloquially known as Marlex) in Lerwick, Shetland, one of the few **pubs** in Lerwick that has **live performances**. In this pub, the musicians are crowded in a corner and are often stepped on or tripped over by patrons. He continues:

> There is a lack of like small, well, maybe not small but like, of small to mid-sized venue that is perfectly built for like having different bands or artists, or, like you've got Mareel, which is, which is fantastic. But for, but it's quite a large space and it's a lot of space to fill. But then you've got like your small pubs but they're not really catered that well for having bands on . . . If that makes sense, so there's no like dedicated space for like a stage or a sound system, things like that. So yeah, for me it would be having a small to mid-sized bar with a stage area, a good sound desk, a good sound engineer, and that's purely what it's for. It's like a live music bar and I think Shetland really lacks that . . . Yeah, its, kind of, yeah it, like I've never really thought about it until now, but yeah, like, but like the pubs that we play in its really weird like you'll just get kind of shoved in the corner. And it's like, well, it is what it is, and you're fine and you get on with it and you go with it. And, sometimes it can be really good, but sometimes it can be really challenging, because you don't have the space. You've got people coming in and tripping over you and falling into you and, which is fine in some respects . . . Fine in some respects but then in others, it's like, actually no, this isn't actually that great – I. Webb, personal communication, November 24, 2019.

There is a dearth of small- to mid-sized **places to play** and that that is detrimental to the music scene in Shetland; *levels of scale* are imperative for **live performances/places to play**.

In order for **live performances/places to play** to be *strong centres* there must be a high degree of *not-separateness* and *deep interlock*. Consider the following example from McKenzie.

> Well, I originally got into sound, in Shetland there used to be like a, it'd be like a youth gig, like a youth concert would be on every weekend. . . And it would be bands from south that would come up and some big names, some not and they'd be, they'd come up and play and the engineer in Shetland, he's a good friend of mine and just said, I was just like, if you ever need a hand and it just kind of, that's how it went. And unfortunately they don't do those anymore. So like I think when I was eight, maybe about eighteen, nineteen they stopped and that was due to licencing laws and police issues, and you know, a lot of youngsters who were very, very drunk every weekend causing, and it did cause issues, but at least it was in one area. . . but anyway, that stopped and now, and then I went south and I worked for some bigger companies doing bigger events but I never really wanted to make it a career so it's just, I just enjoy doing it – R. McKenzie, personal communication, November 15, 2019.

McKenzie describes how he became interested in being a sound engineer through helping out his friend at **live performances** during his teenage years, showing again the importance of **live performances/places to play**. He then continues to explain that these **live performances** have since been cancelled.

> I'd say it's what connects the, kind of the, yeah, traditions to the young culture. You know, youngsters are picking up a fiddle and playing a tune that was played by, you know, potentially by their mum or dad, their grandparents, and by their grandparents. . . You know, so it links, but I think, I don't know, I'd say it's a difficult one because it's not strong as it could be. And I suppose that's . . . The, I suppose music tradition. It's kind of getting a bit di, in my opinion it's getting a bit diluted. . . And yeah, I don't really know how to, trying to think how best to, so certainly my generation, like Lewie's generation, there's a lot of music on, there's a lot of venues open at the weekends, there's lot of people interested in music, like when I was younger I always played in a band. And I can think of ten, twenty people in my, kind of in my friend base that all played in bands . . . And so, and whether that was folk music or whether it was rock or whatever, like there was a music culture . . . Once we started losing the venues for the youth and so there's not the, there's not the amount of venues available . . . And whether you can put that down to the fact that the counsel and police thought it was a bad idea to have kids drinking and that, the simple fact was it was a, it was a music-based scene that gave the youth something to do. . . Yeah, well that['s] it. They're just not in a condensed area, I suppose. . . And I feel that's had a knock-on effect. I think there were too much, there was too much focus on the drinking and the bad behaviour and yeah, so they were looking at the negatives, and it was like right, easy thing to do is to stop this and then there won't be, there won't be the drinking, there won't be the violence, there won't be fighting, you know . . . Whereas they weren't looking at the fact that all these kids were involved in the music scene. Quite often there was people there because friends were playing, and that's kind of, I suppose drifting away from the folk and traditional music because it was more like you know rock a kind of rocky like dancing . . . but a lot of people have stepped away from music and when you step away from music altogether then there's, it has a knock-on effect . . . now my wife will say, you know, music's not seen as a priority subject anymore, so what does that say, straight away that says that they're, the government and the council aren't viewing as a, important anymore, you know, you're better off going and getting your English, your maths, your sciences and do, physical education and music for example for fun . . . Rather than looking at it as, not necessarily a career but you know, you can be a music teacher you can be a artist, you can be, you know, it has a knock-on right on through to the TV film industry, you know, people forget that you know if there wasn't music, there wouldn't be films, there wouldn't be, you know . . . So. yeah, I feel that its, that's certainly had a knock-on from, from when I was young. And knowing that I was, every weekend I was listening to music or, like live music. Whereas now, its, there's not as much. I mean there's new venues opening, smaller venues in Shetland, String and I believe the Dowry is opening a small type venue as well . . . And that will have a good effect, do kind of open mic nights and. But certainly yeah, like the old, older end of the committee still keep going with the

> traditional music and the kids still pick up fiddles and they still, you know and they see mum and dad or their granny or granddad playing a fiddle and go can you teach me. And certainly I, more and more rural areas I'd say that's a bigger thing – R. McKenzie, personal, communication, November 15, 2019.

This is quite a long quotation, but I include the entirety of it because McKenzie touches on some important tensions. He mentions how music binds together **families** and **extended families**, connecting the younger generation with their parents and grandparents and explains the connection and mutual reinforcement of **networks of friends**, **bands**, and **live performances/places to play**. The main tension is between underage drinking and the **live performances/places to play**. McKenzie notes a decline in the music culture on Shetland because of a lack of **live performances/places to play** for young people. Due to licensing laws and underage drinking, the venues shut their doors to the young performers and the council and police decided to shut down the **performances**. However, as McKenzie describes, they were too quick to overlook the positive effects of a music culture on the youth and the 'knock on' effects that shutting it down would have. Instead of 'fixing' the drinking problem, it just removed the thing that was preventing the party from being solely about drinking and pushed the youth from the public and supervisable sphere, creating an even higher degree of separateness between youth and adult socialization. There are two important things to note. First, the problem of underage drinking, I think, was perhaps exacerbated because these concerts were solely for the youth creating a youth culture that was entirely separated from other generations (I will discuss in more detail in **schools**). It is of course natural and healthy that teenagers seek out places to socialize among themselves away from adults or children, that is not the issue here. But it can become problematic when their socialization becomes completely and necessarily separate from older generations and peer-to-peer relationships take primacy over parent/guardian/adult-to-child relationships (Neufeld & Maté, 2013). As evidenced by immaturity and aggression, unhealthy sexual activity and bullying, and inability to connect with emotional intimacy and vulnerability, these peer-to-peer relationships can stunt emotional development and maturity (Neufeld & Maté, 2013, p. 164). Second, cancelling these **live performances** in many ways did more harm than good, as it had detrimental effects on the music culture as a whole, and, as anecdotal evidence suggests, pushed the youth culture into more private and hidden areas where drinking and drug activity continues. I feel the need to stress again, as with **pubs/sessions**, I am not advocating for underage drinking, but rather to note that a society with strict and highly regulated policy and

laws that simultaneously atomizes individuals and groups within it, often causes detrimental and even devastating effects. And that perhaps there are better, healthier options available. In 2008, Shetland had three times the UK national average of heroin and cocaine usage with surging numbers from those under the age of twenty-five (Carrell, 2008). These numbers continue to rise; in May of 2021 £135,000 worth of heroin was seized in Lerwick, Shetland, which was to have been distributed in the local market: five times the previous record (Armitage, 2021). I am not suggesting and would like to distance myself from any insinuation that those who shut down the youth concerts are responsible for this surge of drug use. However, I do think it is worth noting that there was a shift in heroin use in the early 2000s from "older", "self-controlled", and "unproblematic" long-time users to "younger" and "less controlled" users (Stallwitz & Shewan, 2004) and that this shift occurred around the same time as the cancelation of these youth concerts.

I include this example and discussion as it highlights the importance of *not-separateness* and *deep interlock*, *gradients*, and *contrast* of age and generations with respect to **live performances/places to play**, as well as spotlighting how important music cultures can be especially for youth. CTMD **live performances** provide the context for bringing generations together and encouraging healthy and well-socialized behaviour, as Johnson explains below with respect to her daughter's involvement in the CTMD scene.

> She's alright. Quite a good kid. I love the fact that music, this involvement in music and having the pride in what you're doing in the teenage years, it's a hugely important thing, to keep them on the straight and narrow. . . I think. In my opinion . . . You know so that they're, it's a difficult time being a teenager, isn't it . . . Yes. Mine's so long ago, I can't remember. And ken in this day and age and social media, it's so different as well. But I like the fact that, you know, she's not out every weekend in not very many clothes, sticking her tongue out and taking selfies. She's out every weekend gigging – L. Johnson, personal communication, November 9, 2019.

Johnson is pleased that her daughter spends her socializing, free, and weekend time gigging and playing music as it provides a healthy, productive, and generally safe context for teenage socialization and maturing, contrasting with to the social patterns that Johnson sees in some of her daughter's peers. This quotation from Johnson, again, illustrates the importance of *alternating repetition* and *local symmetries* in **live performances/places to play** as there must be a variety of them for **bands** and musicians.

Live performances/places to play as a pattern, primarily shows the importance of *centres* at different *levels of scales*. This pattern begins to show what a CTMD culture with unity

and wholeness looks like by emphasizing the salience of nested and *gradient*, formal and informal, public and private, and very small to very large scale **live performances/places to play**.

Therefore: Encourage **live performances/places** to play in any way possible. Remove restriction or any sort of paperwork/red tape from busking or street performances. Support and invest in small to mid-sized music venues, bars, restaurants, etc., that support and host **live performances**.

Pattern links: This pattern, **live performances/places to play**, is the 'pattern of association' that most links the 'hearth patterns' with the other pattern categories. It can be difficult to define the upward and downward links of this pattern in particular because this patterns presents itself across many levels of scale. With that in mind, however, very simply, upwardly, this pattern links with **sub-region** (3) and **regional ritual** (4), and downwardly it links with **homes/families** (5), **extended family** (6), **networks of friends** (7), **homeschooling** (8), **pubs/sessions** (9), **bands** (10), **church** (11), **dances** (12), **rites of passage** (13), **community** (14), **music teachers and student groups** (15), **camps** (16), **competitions** (17), **music hubs** (18), **fiddle groups and clubs** (19), **festivals** (22), **school** (23), **university** (24), **nursing homes** (25), and **charities** (26).

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13.8 (22) Festivals

Problem/statement: Operating costs for smaller scale **festivals** can often be too high to make them financially viable and unsustainable. Likewise, many **festivals,** particularly **C**TMD **festivals**, have difficulty attracting younger participants, often causing them to be unsustainable in the long term.

Discussion: Music **festivals**, in particular embedded **festivals**, *strengthen* **communities** by establishing and fostering relationships between members of the **community** (Fiedler & Wickham, 2021; see also Chapter 5). **Festivals** provide incredible opportunity for place-marketing, tourism, and economic development (Gibson & Davidson, 2004; Aldskogius, 1993; Derrett et al., 1998; Gibson, 2002; Gibson & Connell, 2004). As Warren and Eleanor Robinson, the co-founders of the Goderich Celtic Roots Festival explain, a main motivator for starting the festival was the economic regeneration of their town.

> W: yeah. When we started initially it came out of a death, which sounds ironic but we were at a folk music group that did mainly Celtic music. And one of our members died. And we held a fund raising concert in his honour to establish a scholarship in his name. And about five hundred people

> came out and said 'oh we love this music; wish there were more of this kind of thing'. Eleanor and I had been folkies from the 1960s and had gone to a lot of folk festivals and so we, we sat on the back steps
> E: Of the auditorium
> W: Of the concert steps and said, 'what do you think?' And we thought, 'uh we could try it' and we started this, this was in February, do we start this year or next year? We looked at each other and said, 'if we wait another year, it wouldn't happen'. So we made the decision in February. Our first festival was in August. We, the other secondary reason we had for doing it was because Goderich lost, a small town lost, a lot of it's manufacturing base. And we, so we needed, so we thought, something to bring money into the town.
> E: And both our kids worked in the tourism industry. One at Point Farms in the provincial park and the other at the tourism centre. And the idea was, people come here and it's really pretty, what do they do at night? 'We love your town. What's there to do?' After you've golfed and you've ridden horseback or you've swum, there you are . . .
> W. The fellow who ran the local hotel said 'your festival is worth ten thousand dollars in print advertising to me. Because once people come to Goderich'
> E: They like it
> W: 'They return'
> A: Wow, yeah.
> W: 'you bring them here so they actually get to see it
> E: Because they stay
> W: He said, 'that literally is worth ten thousand dollars'.
> E: I mean, like the first time, few years it was just the weekend right, but they stayed for two nights in hotels.
> W: And so now, now it's eight days because they come on Sunday and then they don't leave until a week from then, Monday, they stay the following Sunday night, so you've got all that coming. And, you know yourself, it's hard to be on holidays and not spend 200 bucks a day
> E: Yeah.
> W: You can, you know, it really is. So that's the money. We've been told and I don't know if you can ever use this, but we've been told that the lowest possible
> E: Ratio
> W: Economic effect that you can have, you take your budget, and ours is roughly a quarter million dollars, multiply that by eight, that's the economic spinoff – W. & E. Robinson, personal communication, September 2, 2019.

Not only can **festivals** provide considerable economic influx, they can also extend tourist seasons for some locales, as is the case with Celtic Colours in Cape Breton.

> And so, what we've seen with that is the economic benefit of what, how attractive this culture is to an outside audience and what they does for our culture here and that there's such an audience now from outside Cape Breton, which is a new thing. And so some of those key players are bringing awareness here and then we're actually reaping the rewards economically for the fir, for maybe the first time . . . Cape Breton in general and the province in general. It's a, it's a game changer for us, it's extended our season, it's extended our, our offering, it's something that sets us apart from other destinations and it's because things are rather rich here. So the other factor that happens there is that in order for us to have a rich offering, we've got to feed the grass roots of it – M. Beaton, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

Beaton's explicit mention of the need "to feed the grass roots" illustrates the *not-separateness* of the **festival** as it is not something set apart and imposed on the **sub-region** or **community**, it is growing from and nourished by the grassroots. Each of the examples sights the *deep interlock*

and *not-separateness* of the **festivals** with other businesses, **families/homes**, and other *centres* in their respective **communities** and **sub-regions**. The lengthy quotation from MacDonald below illustrates the salience of *deep interlock* and *not-separateness* of **festivals** with local businesses for mutual success and economic gain.

> And then, Kitchen Fest, we created that. And that's almost about a hundred shows on Cape Breton Island. So if you're doing anything about the economy. What happens, I think, at a traditional festival, the festival hires acts. Then the festival depends on what comes through the door to stay alive. So our model is different. Our model is: partner with the private sector, so Red Shoe Pub or Doryman Tavern in Chéticamp, small one, other ones that we do ourselves too and other. And they pay a management fee to us for the music. But they get a great deal, it actually costs them a lot less. But whether there's ten people or a hundred people through that door it doesn't matter . . . So ten dollars goes through the door at the Doryman Tavern, they keep it. The more people that go through, the better it is for them. So the money stays in the community. The money doesn't come back to us. We know what we make every year. We never, we don't have a loss. We're a festival that doesn't, don't lose money . . . Yeah, we have sponsorship through the governments and private sector and we charge, you know, them per night, depending on how many shows. And in other cases we have some different models with some groups, for their benefit. But the idea being support venders that play traditional music throughout the year. We have a Gaelic host every night. A Gaelic host, so Abigale MacDonald, 19 years old stands up, sings a Gaelic song. We show cased everybody in the room that this is not an older person's language, this is alive. She speaks to the crowd, she teaches a song, maybe she sings a song, she comes back half way through. And there's a hundred times that's happening around Cape Breton over those nine days and, you know, we're, we're not just pushing if off to the side . . . Let's say on an average night it cost us just for the music and the sound that night at a local pub, let's say it costs us say 16 or 1700 dollars and the pub maybe pays a third of that or less . . . And we make up the rest through sponsors over the whole festival. So we know that we're getting say 500 dollars that night, so they need to get a few people in to, but if they get a hundred people . . . Well, they make money on the door . . . The sponsors get the promotion out of it. So we market, you know, those companies and we market bodies of government and all that sort of thing. You know, over nine days and they get a lot of promotion so it's a marketing. And we have partnerships with, you know, Labatts and Chronical Herald and all the rest. And we have over seventy restaurants as well in a neat local program, at no cost to them. And we market, they have to have a local dish, locally grown or locally caught, and we give them free advertising. And that way, we just do that because it's local music, local food . . . It's 95% local . . . Yeah, I said one day that I decided that I was going to call, there was three venues I called from here, I set out called the Red Show Pub and I called Governors in Sydney and I called Celtic Lodge and I said, 'I'd like to do a festival. This is the way I'd like to set it up. Would you guys be interested because I would need three or four that would kind of be, you know, when I go to governments and see what they say.' And they all said, 'yes, we're in'. And then we had about, I forget how many shows the first year, you know, but it was probably, you know, maybe we had sixty shows or something the first year. We had no restaurant program the first year. And I started organizing that around December at the first year. We just had year six. We went from 5000 people the first year and we had about close to 13,000 last year . . . And I know one local pub or one local venue, the first year, what they said was, they doubled their sales, so this is where the money stayed with them, they got door, they paid us a fee but they got the liquor, so that means they hired extra waiters, waitresses, made money and this place had music year round. So for us, they doubled their sales that first year . . . And they had over five hundred people. This year they had over nine hundred people. So that means on money, and we don't charge them any more, so it's not about, they keep the money. The money's being recycled in that community . . . Our goal, promote traditional music, live music being played there. They're happy, we're happy, musicians get more playing, sound techs get more. Everybody is, and we're simply packaging what's already happening in communities. The other benefit is that it's

> not, we're not trying to do something that's not our own. It's authentic . . . Yeah. For us, the other part, the festival is marketing. So we have limited marketing dollars. And this way, we have a much more significant marketing presence, you know, business wise. So we can reach out to potential students and so it is, you know, we're starting to see a, you know, we have an increase this year. We had 122 the first week, 116 the first week, youth. We had 122 last week. We had 93 or 94 this week. We have a workshop week which is, varies every day. And then we have adults and we're full – R. MacDonald, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

This explanation of the operations of Kitchen Fest in Cape Breton excellently illustrates the *deep interlock*, *not-separateness*, and mutual *strengthening* of *strong centres* (see Illustrations 13, 20, & 7). In his explanation of the **festival**, MacDonald references eight other *centres* explicitly: **live performances/places to play**, **community**, **government**, **sub-regions, regions** (through reference to Abigail speaking and performing in the Gaelic language), **pubs**, **camps**, and **student and teacher groups**. This **festival** is *strengthened* by *interlocking*, interacting, and overlapping with these *centres*. MacDonald shows the importance of *alternating repetition* and *local symmetries* by explaining that he initially needed three venues at which to host the **festival** – the vision of this **community** regeneration could not be executed at one locale (see Illustration 25). This example also demonstrates the importance of *gradients* of participation with respect to organization involvement of **festival** stakeholders. Having each venue or **pub** pay a low but guaranteed fee and keep the profits from those coming through the door, provides MacDonald and the **festival** organizers with the stability and knowledge of the available funds. As such, it is easier for MacDonald and the **festival** organizers to see where additional funds may be needed when seeking **government** or private sponsorship. It also removes some of the marketing responsibility and work, as it is then in the best interest of the venue or **pub** to get as many people through the door as possible. Finally, it ensures that the money stays in the **community** through supporting local businesses, extra staff, local food producers (MacDonald mentioned the requirement of locally produced menus), etc.

The Folk Festival in Shetland operates in a similar fashion with respect to the venues of the **festival**.

> Fifteen [music acts] yeah, from around the world and then try like, trying to get a mixture of, spread it all out across genres and trying to please everybody and then we get forty venues sorted and according transport and then we match up orders for each venue and events, all entirely done by volunteers . . . Yes. We pay for the halls, we give a donation to each hall, but they host us, voluntarily host us for the bar takings and the, and the love of the Folk Festival . . . But we give them a donation. . . .The halls say, yes, yes, of course come to us, bring your people, we'll open the bar so we get the profit on the bar . . . Yeah, and then we give a donation to the hall and also we donate some money towards the food because they'll feed the artists between sound checks and it's a maga event. So it goes, it lasts over five days, so. So we start on a Tuesday, end of April,

> beginning of May, on the Tuesday, when everything's done, dotted and crossed the committee will go away on the boat, so twelve hours over night down to Aberdeen. In Aberdeen round up everybody because we say, the festival starts in Aberdeen, we get you on the boat, get you to Shetland. So meeting at the airport, train station . . . Everybody goes down to help. We take a mini bus down so we can run to the airport, pick people up, all their luggage; get everybody together on the boat. Then we sit down with a park and explain to them, right, so you're going to be playing eight different gigs this weekend, don't know if we told you that when we booked you but, explain how it all works, and that transport will always be there, food will be there if you're outside the town. They, they stay with local families, they're all hosted . . . I know, it's so good. And they love it. . . Generally they love it. And become part of the family or if they have any down, which they don't have much of the weekend, then usually the host family will let, will take you to go see the cliffs at Aesthness, or lets go and see the puffins at Sunburgh or something – L. Johnson, personal communication, November 9, 2019.

The Shetland Folk Festival operates in a different manner than Kitchen Fest – the halls receive a donation for voluntarily hosting the **festival** acts – but it is still a mutually beneficial relationship between **festival** and halls. The **festival** gets to use the halls for a small donation and the halls get to have a **community** event while keeping the bar sales. Johnson also mentions that the **bands** and any other personnel coming from elsewhere are hosted by local **families**, another example of *interlock* and *not-separateness* between *centres*.

Festivals, as with the other *centres* herein, are *strengthened* by the *centres* with whom they *interlock* and interact. The more *centres* interacting, the more they are mutually *strengthened*, as with the accommodation for visiting acts/**bands** at both The Goderich Celtic Roots Festival and the Shetland Folk Festival.

> We have some musicians that freak out a little bit because as a musician, I know that sometimes when you stay in people's houses they can be a nightmare, because I've done it a lot. And so sometimes it's a nightmare in terms of, literally, a horrible place to stay, which I can tell you stories about and or as a musician you're like ok so they want you to stay up 'til 2 in the morning and talk to them and then they want you to get up at six in the morning and talk to them and then they want you to come home for supper and talk to them . . . So the musicians here come here and it's like it's their own home for the week, you know, nobody bothers them but in the end they end up becoming friends and they have relationships – C. Prasker, September 2, 2019.

> So yeah, that's how the accommodation works. So there's a bank, probably about 60-odd people that, families in Lerwick that we have to use. And that's all visiting musicians and all visiting production crew, as we take in a lot of our crew from the mainland of Scotland, just to try and get the most professional sound that we can get. . .Yeah, I think it's definitely a unique feature and I think with that, like, it depends, in my, like I think personally sometimes I would appreciate it, and sometimes I would want my own space and I think there's probably and element that really loves it and gets a really positive experience and there's probably some that are like, I would rather have just had a hotel room and, you know, like it just depends on your personality but, but because of that and because, I think, the whole nature of the festival we, we book a band and they have to pretty much stay for the whole festival, they don't just fly in and play one gig and then fly out. So it's quite a bubble, like it's quite intense few days. And they're kept very busy so I think it's got a reputation as a festival that some people just 'get it' and some people don't. So it tends to attract bands that want that whole experience anyway. . . People that, some people that, people that, usually people that are here want to come back again. So hopefully that's a good sign that, you

> know. And I think that accommodation and the hosting is a big part of that. And generally there's hundreds and hundreds of volunteers involved so I think that whole kind of, you know, if it's so many people involved for the whole weekend, that they just create this lovely, people really get to know each other by the end of it. . . Not just the bands getting to know each other, but they'll get to know the people that are help, you know working on the gigs and people that are working at the festival club and, so by the end of it, there's this really nice kind of atmosphere. And I think that really attracts a lot of people, band-wise to come here – L. Peterson, personal communication, November 14, 2019.

Having the home-stay accommodation really helps to establish and *strengthen* the relationships between the host **families** and the visiting **bands**, sound engineers, lighting crew, etc., cultivating an atmosphere of conviviality and **community** at these **festivals**. As noted by both Prasker and Peterson, there are some who prefer the anonymity of a hotel, but this type of **festival** which focuses on **community** tends to attract people who are interested in the that type of home-stay experience. The **festival** is *strengthened* by the relationships forged at the home-stay experience by bringing together **family/home** and **festival** and facilitating long-lasting **networks of friends**.

In order for these **festivals** to have *good shape* and *positive space*, there must be a high degree of *roughness*, unscheduled free time, *contrast* with respect to age and ability, and *gradients* of skill and participation, as these properties provide the room for organic and 'alive' interactions, as illustrated by the following example.

> Um, yeah, maybe community would be good angle to, but, yeah, like for me, the reason it's ideal is because, firstly, I think, mostly, it creates community. So like, you come here and you think, you feel like you're part of something and, you know, you make friends, you see them year after year if you come back. You feel welcomed. Like I think the whole organization has this value of like being welcoming and friendly and inclusive. So I think that has a lot to do with it. And it's just like you're just kind of hanging out, living here for a while but you have amazing music. But yeah, you come for the music but I think people really come for the people . . . Well, I think a lot of people do, I'm sure some people come just for the music but it's just, it's a package deal, you know, you have all that together and then now there's a lot of dancing, like square dancing that's incorporated Friday, Saturday night, probably Sunday night too and then the informal jams in the evenings are like where the magic happens, you know when all those awesome musicians are together and informally jamming. Like when I was saying earlier that I love it like that magical like, you know, combination of energies, as opposed to a structured show that's all like polished. You just like the serendipitous coming together of, in the tuning room, you'll see; it's pretty cool. It's pretty cool because it goes, you know, all night because it's, yeah, it's just epic, it's awesome . . . Yeah, so it's just a good combination of all of that, family friendly . . . You know, it's like, it's awesome for the kids, the kids are running around, they're making friends. It's like, it's all generations too . . . Yes, that's a good thing, of course, yes, yes. It just feels like a real community. It's not just a certain age group. It's not just kids, it's not just elderly, it's not just um thirty year olds or whatever, it's everybody. And they're all kind of brought together for that love of music. And it's just such a good feeling, yeah – N. Arsenault, personal communication, July 18, 2019.

Arsenault describes what she thinks makes the Rollo Bay Fiddle Festival in PEI great. She mentions **dances** as one of the key aspects that make this **festival** fun and inclusive: as discussed

in **dances** this *centre* is perhaps the most underrated and one of the most important with respect to binding **communities** together. She also notes that the 'magic happens' at the informal and unstructured jam **sessions** that take place in the evenings in the tuning room – highlighting the salience of *roughness* for the *good shape* of **festivals**. While the formal and polished performances of the **festival** are great, Arsenault says that the 'combination of energies' in the impromptu and informal nightly jam **sessions** are where the real 'magic' happens. She also touches on the contribution of *contrast* and *gradients* of ages which create a **community** atmosphere. Halliday and Anderson make a similar point with respect to *roughness* (see Illustration 16) below with reference to the Rollo Bay Festival and Shetland Folk Festival respectively.

> I think camping on site has a big contribution to the sense of community and culture . . . Because sometimes with other camps if people are living off site in different locations you miss a lot of those incidental exchanges and serendipitous interventions and things like that that build the connections and the networking and the sense of community, I suppose. There's nothing like seeing somebody running across the field in their undies where their towel blew away or something to foster a conversation that you're not going to get everywhere – F. Halliday, personal communication, July 19, 2019.

I like this example from Halliday as it shows that there is more than one way to create a **community** atmosphere and facilitate *deep interlock* and *not-separateness* between those hosting, participating in, or playing at **festivals**. In contrast to the host-family practice of the Goderich Celtic Roots and Shetland Folk festivals discussed above, Halliday describes the camping accommodation of Rollo Bay. The camping versus host family accommodation practices of different **festivals** illustrate the personal and context dependence of pattern languages, as different **festivals** take different routes to achieve the outcome of conviviality, aliveness, and **community** spirit. One of the features that makes Rollo Bay great is that everyone camps at the **festival**: the *roughness* of accommodation and room for human interactions, comical and otherwise, "build the connections and the networking and the sense of **community**".

Echoing Halliday and Arsenault, Anderson explains that the best part of the Shetland Folk Festival takes place the **festival** is over and everyone gathers at the Lounge Bar for informal **sessions** and good cheer.

> Yeah, absolutely, like if you go to say the likes of, my favourite time is the Monday of the Folk Festival, I think I told you this. Maurice and Grant and them will all agree, they will all agree Monday is the favourite, that's like the end of the Folk Festival it's terrible, but everybody, like the kind of ones that you play with, like those guys, and some the other ones that just kick about the festival, meet in the Lounge Bar downstairs on a Monday and we just play, we don't play for

> people, we've done the stage work, we've done the serious kind of, so it's just the joking and the laughing and, just drinking and just having a fun, and just playing as and when you want and I love that . . . Yeah, and you get, when we had JP Cormier, he turned up just out, out of the blue started playing, singing at the front door, just not even in the door, we were just like, awesome. Like there's some serious musicians sitting there, you're just like, oh it's great, and you hear some amazing, amazing styles, so I love that, that's kind of relaxed side of things. So you can just have a laugh – L. Anderson, personal communication, November 27, 2019.

Again, we see this property of *roughness* and informality creating the *good shape* and *positive space* of the **pub session** at the **festival**. The atmosphere also allows for *gradients* of participation which makes the **session** far more inclusive of a range of abilities. Another aspect to note is the 'amazing styles' that Anderson mentions. As people are coming from all over the world, the musical styles differ. This infusion from other **regions** across the globe contributes to the atmosphere and success of **festivals**, while also highlights the importance of porous *boundaries* (see Illustration 25).

An aspect of the success of these **festivals** is their commitment to creating *local symmetries* and *alternating repetition*. The Shetland Folk Festival, Accordion and Fiddle Festival, and Kitchen Fest all take place in different venues and locales throughout the **region** and **sub-regions** (see Illustration 25), as Simpson explains explicitlyregarding the Shetland Accordion and Fiddle Festival.

> Well, apart from, apart from, well supporting the local halls and taking it to the community because a lot of times everything gets centred in Lerwick . . . And you have like people in Unst or Yell the outer islands that wouldn't necessarily travel that far. So when we try to go to all corners to make sure that, you know, you can go down the road to your local hall to something that's on rather than having to travel . . . The logistics is a nightmare . . . Yeah. It's an absolute nightmare, but at the same time its, it makes it Shetland-wide and you can't have it all in Lerwick anyway . . . Or else you'd have to change the whole dynamic of the, of the festival, itself, because there's not enough places in Lerwick for you to be able to do that. You have the club and I mean there's a few halls in Lerwick, but then that would detract from the club . . . So we like to keep just Lerwick is the club and that's it, the festival club. And then whatever hall is available to do, and that's another thing we have to start doing quite early as well – U. Simpson, personal communication, November 4, 2019.

One of the goals of the **festival** is to operate at various locations, in particular rural locations throughout Shetland, as Lerwick, as the biggest city in Shetland, often hosts most events. Keeping the central hub of the **festival** club in Lerwick but having the *local symmetries* and *alternating repetition* of concerts throughout the rural areas and outer isles allows for each of the smaller venues to be *centres* in themselves. At the same time it contributes to the *strength* of the **festival** as a *centre* or whole in its own right. Through cultivating these smaller *levels of scale* and *alternating repetitions* of *local symmetries*, the **festival** maintains the atmosphere and charm

of a **community festival**, which allows for the cultivation of relationships between performer and participant, while simultaneously allowing those travelling to the **festival** to explore these smaller **sub-regions** and **communities** of Shetland (again, see Illustration 25).

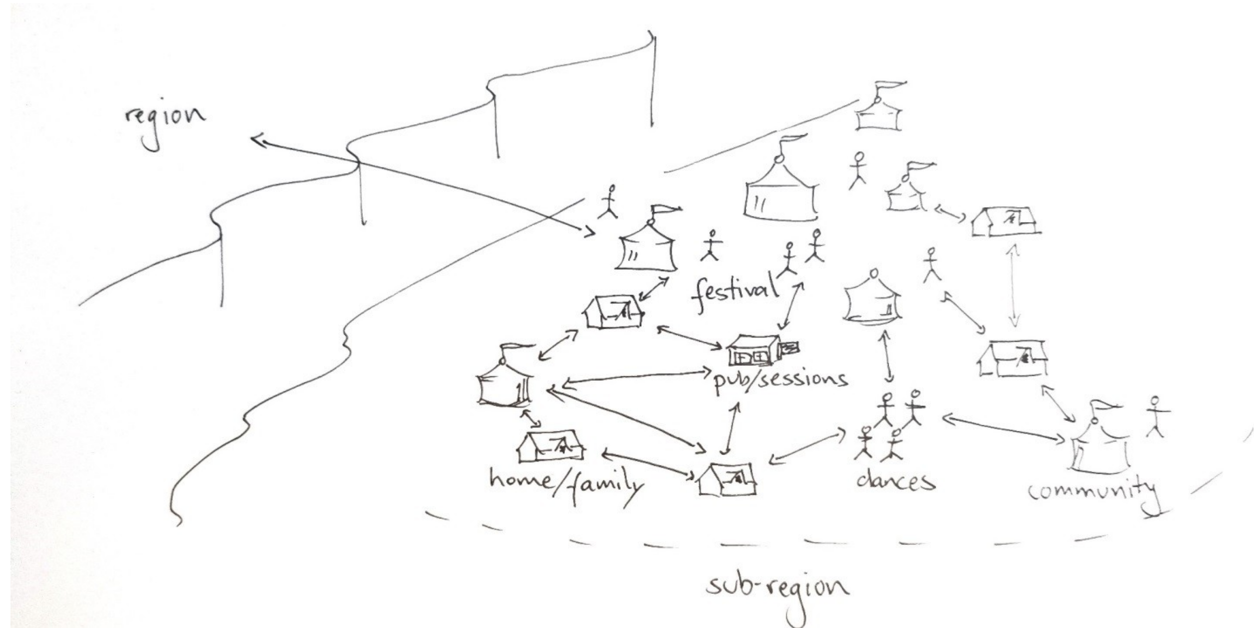

Illustration 25: A festival embedded in many other centres to allow for the mutual strengthening of all centres. It is also nested in and strengthened by the larger region.

Cultivating the *local symmetries* and *alternating repetitions* also shows the necessity of *levels of scale*, as McKenize explains below.

> I like, well, my favourite venue's Clickimin. It's the biggest one. And it's always the one that the most work goes into so for me that's, that's always good to see that like in, fully up and running in the middle of the gig when people are enjoying themselves. So for me, that's, yeah, that's my favourite venue. But my favourite thing about the whole festival would just be, I suppose, atmosphere throughout the whole, so like the as I mentioned earlier like the committee is like family and you can support each other every possib, well close to every possible scenario, you know bereavements, children being born in the middle of the festival . . . Yeah Mairi went into labour at, where was that? Yeah, in the middle of the Folk Fest, at the start of a concert at the Clickimin. . . . So she was rushed off to give birth and no matter what happens, you know, we've had people ill, we've had you know, stressed or depressed and everyone supports each other. And so that's like, no matter what happens you can always rely on the committee. And so I suppose for my its, its seeing a whole year's worth of work come together and just being able to enjoy it – R. McKenzie, personal communication, November 15, 2019.

There are two aspects of *levels of scale* that are important in the above example. The first is the need for *levels of scale* with respect to **live performances/places to play** at **festivals**. As people differ in their tastes and their likes and dislikes, it is important that **festivals** take into consideration the differing preferences of participants with respect to the size and atmosphere of

performances. While some prefer small scale intimate **performances**, others prefer a larger party atmosphere, as McKenzie does. Thus it is important to have a range in *levels of scale* at **festivals** to accommodate these differing preferences. The second is that, as McKenzie describes, there are *levels of scale* with respect to social *centres* within the **festivals** themselves. The **festival** committee volunteers so much together that they form something like a '**festival** family', even to the point of supporting each other through deaths, labour, and mental health difficulties. Acting as social *centres* at different *levels of scale*, those participating in and organizing the **festival** cultivate the atmosphere and culture of the **festival** as a whole.

There is a final point with respect to *boundaries* and *levels of scale*. Each of the **festival** locations is *bounded* but porous. With the Shetland **festivals** as with the tuning room at Rollo Bay, there is a central place for those at the **festival** to come together and jam, hang out, and get to know each other. The Shetland **festivals** do this quite well by having the **festival** club. Located at the Islesburgh Community Centre (and conveniently located right beside the hostel), it serves as a central place for all involved in the **festivals**. It has many different **sessions** going on in the various rooms well into the wee hours of the night. A favourite time of most involved in the **festivals**, this hub provides a variety of well-*bounded* but very porous **sessions** that allow for free movement but which also cultivates an intimate atmosphere of creativity, conviviality, and friendship with room for *gradients* of participation and age, as McKenzie explains.

> The Folk Festival you've got, you know toddlers crawling around right away up to, you know, retired pensioners coming out to enjoy the music, and everyone's there the right way through the age and then party's the same, like you'll have the youngsters out really enjoying just having a party and then you'll have, you know, people who've played fiddle for years will come and sit down, have a tune in, in the club – R. McKenzie, personal communication, November 15, 2019.

Keeping the *good shape* and *positive space* that allows for these *gradients* requires constant and conscious effort.

> Yeah. It's very, yeah, it's very slight I would say. I would say that the audience is definitely younger, I would say. Like the festival club audience is now is. . . Which is good in one sense, but it also you don't want to alienate, you don't want to be seen as that. . . You want it to still be a mixed. And I just think like Friday, Saturday now, it's almost like a big party and personally I would almost like it a little bit more the other way again, because you see, you don't want to put people off. I can imagine that my father's generation being like, I'm not going to the festival club on Friday night because it's just full of young kids. That kind of atmosphere. . . .So to me that would be the concern. But it's still like its people are, you know, one in, one out past the, you can't complain about that when a lot of festivals are struggling to get people in. But for us it's just keeping that balance – L. Peterson, personal communication, November 14, 2019.

McKenzie recognizes that what makes the Folk Festival so unique and special is the wide range and inclusivity of all ages. It takes continuous effort to maintain these *gradients* and *contrast* in age so as not alienate any demographic.

Therefore: Embed the **festival** in as many other *centres* as possible to ensure that these *centres* can mutually support each other. Partner with local businesses to alleviate operating or marketing costs and ensure a mutually supportive and lucrative experience for both parties. Consider host **families** and/or camping as accommodation to both reduce some of the operation costs and to create the space for *centres* to be interacting with each other. Support local **bands**, sound engineers, and other stakeholders in order support the local **community** and so as not to create ill-will within the **community**. Make sure that there is plenty of unscheduled time and opportunities for informal **sessions**, interactions, and the development of friendships.

Pattern links: As a pattern at a larger level of scale, **festivals** link upward with **regions** (1), **government** (2), **sub-region** (3), **regional ritual** (4), and **community** (14), and downwards with **homes/family** (5), **extended family** (6), **networks of friends** (7), **pubs/sessions** (9), **bands** (10), **dances** (12), **music teacher and student groups** (15), **camps** (16), **music hubs** (18), **fiddle groups and clubs** (19), **internet communities** (20), **live performances/places to play** (21), and **charities** (26).

Chapter 14 Patterns returning to the state

The goal of this pattern language is not to provide a vision of a stateless society, but rather to create the space for the emergence of the realm of Livelihood (see Chapter 4). As delineated in **governance patterns**, the principle of subsidiarity is an important and commonly overlooked principle for healthy and effective governance (see also 4.3 and 4.4) and there are certainly aspects of state involvement that are conducive to vibrant societies. The patterns in this chapter are characterized by their formal connection to the state as state-funded and state-run *centres*. Diverging from the 'hearth patterns' and 'patterns of association', they depend upon and encourage state support; even so, there is still the recognition that, within these patterns, there is room for *gradients* of state involvement, i.e., that there should also be **home**, **community**, or privately operating *centres*. As with **schools** for example, while it is important to have publically funded **schools**, it is equally important to make room for **homeschooling** (see Chapter 12) or alternative **schooling** options. The common thread running through each of the patterns within this chapter is the formal relationship with and connection to the state.

14) Patterns returning to the state

23. Schools
24. University
25. Nursing homes
26. Charities

14.1 (23) Schools

Problem/statement: While students of smaller **schools** consistently outperform those who attend larger **schools** (Bryk & Driscoll, 1988; Gladden, 2000; Grauer, 2022; Howley & Bickel, 2000; Husbands and Beese, 2004; Lee & Smith, 1995), **schools** are becoming increasingly large, standardized, and centralized. Not only does this require students to travel longer distances to get to **school**, in itself undermining the 'hearth patterns' (in particular **family-home**, **extended family**, and **community)**, it also has detrimental effects on students' experiences and learning in **school**. At the same time, the data on whether large **schools** provide an economy of scale, and thus operate more efficiently, remains inconclusive (Grauer, 2022).

<u>Discussion</u>: The education and formation of children is paramount to the flourishing of both the individuals within and a society as a whole. **Schools** is a thus an important and exciting *centre*

within this pattern language, not least because there is a lot of room for innovation and creativity. Fosbrook Folk Education Trust is an innovative and successful example of a creative alternative.

Established in 1980 by Liza Austen Strange, Fosbrook Folk Education Trust is a "is a voluntary organisation dedicated to providing high quality dance, music and song classes for young folk enthusiasts in Stockport [UK]" (Information about Fosbrook Folk Education Trust, par. 1). I quote Strange extensively in this pattern because her explanation and words are far better than any paraphrasing I could attempt. With respect to how this program got started, she explains:

> I started it almost forty years ago. And it started off being a dance group in the school where I work, um, we always took a team of dancers to the school folk dance festival which was held at the town hall. So I, I was a new teacher in the school and I was invited by an elderly lady who felt her time for doing it was probably ending, and so I joined in with her initially and then took over doing it. And I found out very, very quickly that we needed to have some live music rather than using recorded music for the dancers. So um, I got an accordion, which I found I could just play actually. I didn't have any problem playing it because I had been a guitarist so I understood about chords and things, so I found I could play it reasonably well. I have improved a lot over the years but learned enough that I could accompany the dancing. And at the same time there was quite a lot of interest amongst the, the children and their parents really, on getting something going, so there were parents wanting to dance as well and wanted to play music and, and eventually the music caught up with the dancing and we ended up doing both things and getting a lot of invitations to go and perform, not only at the school folk dance festival, but a lot of other events in the locality and eventually folk festivals in Great Britain and then folk festivals abroad, which we're still doing but, until this year of course. This year's been a disaster for everybody [because of COVID-19] – L. Strange, personal communication, December 7, 2020.

Strange identifies the necessity of **live** music for **dancing** – another clear example of *strong centres strengthening* each other (see Illustration 7). In response to a question on the mentorship aspects of this program, Strange responded with the following.

> What happened was schoolchildren were involved; it's a junior school, which is the children from seven to eleven. And when they got to eleven they wanted to continue. So the head teacher said, 'well, I'm quite happy for you to bring them back into school after they're gone'. So we just continued for the ones who had left and gone to the local senior school. We sort of produced an after school club for and music lessons after school, I employed staff, over the years I've built my staff up to the point where, when it all stopped in March last year we had a lot of staff teaching fiddle and piano and accordion and theory, music theory and composition, and it was extremely successful . . . The children are always encouraged to look up to the older children and the older children feel it's their, their role to teach the younger ones and to encourage the younger ones to behave well and be polite and work well with each other, be kind to each other. So that's generally. The tag line we have is 'commitment and opportunity' but it's also inclusion, we're keen on inclusion, then children are kind to each other – L. Strange, personal communication, December 7, 2020.

Beginning with music classes at Banks Lane primary school in Stockport, UK, Strange explains that Fosbrook started as an after **school club** to accommodate the children who were entering

secondary school and did not want to stop their music education. It is worth noting, although this section is called **schools** that Fosbrook Folk Education is not technically its own **school** and perhaps falls more properly into the **music groups and clubs** pattern. However, as it started at a primary school and as it has a very close affiliation (it is hosted in the primary school) I include it in this section, as an example of the kind of innovation that **schools** can achieve.

Mentorship of the younger students by the older ones is an essential part of Fosbrook, both with respect to the *ethos* of it, but also as it is a key component in the sustainability of the program, where the "repertoire of the group [is passed on] via a 'cascade' method" (Information about Fosbrook Folk Education Trust, par. 2). These properties of *gradients* and *contrast* of age and ability (see Illustrations 15 & 14) allow for the formation, socialization, and education of the younger children. In order for this socialization and education to occur there must be a high degree of *not-separateness* between the younger and older students. In this Fosbrook example, *not-separateness* of ages is achieved more easily because the music lessons take place on Saturdays. However, integration and *not-separateness* in age, and consequent mentorship, could also be achieve in regular **school** hours through music lessons and practice sessions between the older and younger students, or the introduction of mentorship requirements in **school**. But before getting too far into the discussion, I will continue by explaining more of the operations of Fosbrook.

Up until the COVID-19 lockdowns precluded in-person activity in March of 2020, the layout of the day was as follows.

> The Saturday morning, which obviously at the moment is suspended, they came and they did social dancing in the morning and then they did their instruments and then they went to their bands and played in different ability bands and then they did their clogging after the break time and then everybody sings at the end of the morning because we have a lot of folk songs that they sing and the traditional songs from our area, so obviously it would have been the carols at this time of the year, most of the carols from the Sheffield area, there's a lot of ver, very strong pub singing in this Pennine area here – L. Strange, personal communication, December 7, 2020.

What is perhaps most striking here is the *alternating repetition* (see Illustration 9) between the music and **dancing**: the day begins with **dance**, moves to music (instruments), then to **bands** practice, back to **dancing** (but clogging this time instead of social), and then finishes with music (singing) again. As Strange mentions in the first quotation above, the live music is necessary for **dance**, and this *alternating repetition* between music and **dance** is mutually *strengthening*. It is also apparent, even in this brief description, that Fosbrook is *deeply interlocked* with many other

centres across multiple *levels of scale*. This *centre* contains and generates multiple smaller *centres*: **dances**, **bands**, individuals playing music, etc., but it is also *deeply interlocked* (see Illustration 13) with the larger **community** and **sub-region** and history through the singing of the Sheffield songs of the Pennine area. They are learning the songs of the **pub** singing – further connecting the students with another *strong centre* within the **community** and **sub-region**. The students sing Sheffield carols at 'this time of year', which ensures that they participate in the seasonal rites and celebrations and the larger **regional ritual**. The *strengthening* aspects of Fosbrook's *deep interlock and ambiguity* with other *centres* is illustrated in greater detail below.

> The parents really like it. The parents like the fact that we have a lot of family folk events. Well, obviously not at the moment, but we did. Normally at Christmas we would have had a Christmas carol service and a Christmas party. And what we do is, on the night when we're having an event, we open the doors about half past five/six o'clock and we put tables out and families come and they bring their supper. And they just, they like to sit round and they like to watch what their children are doing and join in with the dancing. And, and also we bring performers in whenever anybody is touring, if we can afford to have them we pay them to come and entertain. So we've got, in a little borderly town school we have a very high classes performer coming in to entertain. So it's [a] very good, like, education program. And the parents love that. So they've very big supporters as well . . . We have sort of a community program. Because obviously the parents want to see their own children perform as much as possible and I'm keen that the parents see a little bit of the wider folk world. And they're keen to see their children perform because obviously when we take the children out to perform they can't always come with us. It tends to be that we go with the kids and travel. We take a bus and travel and, and stay in very basic accommodations. And I have a good group of people who come with me to cook and you know, look after costumes and things – L. Strange, personal communication, December 7, 2020.

In this explanation of the operations, Strange refers to six other *centres*: **family**, **regional ritual**, **live performances** (of which she mentions many), **community**, **region**, and **dances**. Furthermore, Fosbrook originated from the **school's** participation in a folk dancing **festival**. This aspect of parental engagement is essential. Having **families** come to the **live performances**, bring and eat dinner, and then participate in the **dancing**, ensures that these events are made up of many overlapping, *interlocking*, and mutually reinforcing *centres*. The **families/homes** are strengthened by interaction and *interlock* with other **homes/families** and with the **school** (see 9.2). By ensuring the involvement and participation of the parents, in part by having room for *gradients* of participation (see Illustration 15), and thus of the **family** as a whole, the **live performances** and events of Fosbrook become wholes. They are *strengthened* by the other *centres* – **families**, **bands**, **dances**, etc. – which in turn *strengthen* the **school**. Without the parental support, this type of program could not operate, so it is essential to pull the parents into the **school**. It is important to have others from outside the **community** come to **perform** at

Fosbrook because bringing in other musicians introduces the parents to the 'wider folk world' (another *centre* at a larger *level of scale*). But it also ensures against insularity in Fosbrook. While this **school** is well-*bounded*, having the **performances** from those outside of the **community** keeps that *boundary* porous and creates the *positive space* (see Illustrations 8 & 10) for innovation and creativity.

Deep interlock between ages and the mentorship and introducing students to music at a young age are also essential for Fosbrook's sustainability.

> So I attended just a normal state school in Stockport, Banks Lane, which is where Fosbrooks is held. It's probably one of the only primary schools in the country that teaches free music classes for a week. Because you don't see, in the UK, music taught in schools until secondary school properly in primary school, maybe only like linked into a different lesson. So it was from Liza I really enjoyed music, I started playing piano for her and, and when it came to leaving the school and going to secondary school I asked and went back to Fosbrook and so that's how it all started just because I went to the school where she teaches, which is where Fosbrook is based and then I really enjoyed it and never left – N. Bradbury, personal communication, March 14, 2021.

Bradbury explains how he began piano lessons in **school** with Liza Strange, and really enjoyed them and, because he already loved music, he wanted to continue with Fosbrook. He has continued to volunteer throughout his adult life, mentoring other students, and giving his time and energy to this program. But as Bradbury mentions, he attended one of the few primary **schools** in the UK that offers music tuition.

Whether in Ontario, Shetland, or other locales, whenever cuts need to be made to education, music is often the first to go. As I argue elsewhere (Beresford & Veblen, 2023), building on Gellner's (1983) exposition of the role of education in the process of nation formation, music is often considered less important than math or reading as these subjects are required to facilitate the ease of Market transactions. As Nicholson points out, people do not have to pay to be taught math, so what is different about music tuition.

> Um, which I don't like at all. You don't have to pay to be taught maths, why do you pay to be taught [music], you know I'm biased, I'm biased about it, but. I thought it was really cheap. It's a really easy target to go after . . . And if the councillors don't play musical instruments they don't care about that, so. . . Well, you know what I mean. It's not like everybody that makes that decision, they're just like 'ah well, you know, the can pay for their fiddle instruction'. I'd rather they were made to pay for maths or something else . . . Well, you know what I mean, like pay, let's pay for those, let's see how many people pay, you know, to learn math and French. Well, I shouldn't give them any ideas, they might just make it, get rid of it altogether. But, you know – A. Nicholson, personal communication, December 5, 2019.

Regardless of the cause, the fact remains that music and music programs are often the first cut and last initiated, as K. Anderson testifies.

> So in, I love music all through public school and I was going to take music in grade nine and wasn't sure what, but I knew I was going to join the band, take music, and the London Board of Education back then, you see, and it's always, you know, in their wisdom, they thought, 'okay, we're going to create a program where these kids', we were kind of in between one school called Sir Adam Beck, I think it's an office now and Lukas in the north end, so we were closer to down town. They said, 'okay those kids, we're going to send, you can go to Lukas in the north end', which was a newer school, but you can't take music'. . . 'But if you go to Beck you can sign up for whatever you want'. And they thought that was enough to drive a bunch of thirteen year olds, who really, really wanted to play music. But a bunch of thirteen to fifteen year olds, they're following their friends. And I always look back and I think, 'what a dumb thing the board of education did'. Now, in hind sight, I studied French instead. I was allowed to take that, so I took French all through high school, so that was good. But. And then I didn't have the nerve to stand up for myself and say, 'I want that music program'. Or even in grade ten, I should have said, 'I want to take music' – K. Anderson, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

Music cuts in **schools** have devastating effects on students' musical abilities. Anderson stopped playing music in **school** and only recently took it up as an adult. Looking back, she regrets being given the choice to drop music in high school.

Another issue with cutting music tuition in schools is that it augments (and ossifies) the class distinction between those whose parents can afford private tuition and those whose cannot, denying children from lower income families the possibility of a music education, as L. Anderson explains below.

> Yeah, they cut the lesson times to twenty minutes I think and charged and I was lucky, I got free lessons the whole way through school. And I absolutely am so grateful that I did. Because now, there's a sort of cross over between the schools and private tuition. So some pupils are getting both, which is having a kind of clash effect because teaching is so different, and our music teachers are so different, that you can see there's a slight overlap on their, on the tuition . . . It just depends on how much our parents want to pay for tuition. Like do they want to keep going with the school and private or do they want to go private and, or just school. But it, a big knock-on effect from when the tuition fees came in. Definitely . . . Yeah, people can't afford it, I mean, especially now-a-days, it's very, very difficult. Seeing that, the amount of bairns that are playing now-a-days is high, but it's just depends on who it is and who can afford to do what. Which I don't think is very fair. I think everybody should be given an equal bloody chance, but definitely, definitely. . . I think you can get funding. . . I think so, but I've, I've not, I don't really have anything to do with the tuition side of things so I don't know the ins and outs. But I would presume so. But its, it's a tricky one. It's a shame, I think it is really sad the day they introduced tuition fees. I campaigned against it. And a lot, a lot of musicians our age and kind of up below actually, really went for it, saying, what the heck are you doing . . . yeah, it's a shame. I mean, I say it's a shame but the amount of bairns that are still playing and starting is high, so it's obviously not, it's not too bad, but it's definitely had a knock on effect for those that feel like they can't do lessons. You know, kids are aware, they ken, they know it their parents can't afford it, they know, so they don't or they quit or, and if they didn't have that financial burden, they might still be playing – L. Anderson, personal communication, November 27, 2019.

The loss of free music tuition in **schools** created a wider gulf between socio-economic classes in Shetland. As Anderson says, children know when their parents cannot afford something, and some quit due to the real or perceived financial burden of music lessons on their parents. Now, of

course, those on councils or education boards are not looking to limit the possibilities of children's education by removing music just for the sake of doing so; they are often under heavy financial pressure and have to make cuts somewhere. Music lessons, particularly one-on-one private lessons are expensive and it is often difficult to (immediately) see how music tuition contributes to the **school** or larger society (this too though is often a result of a consumer/producer metric of capitalist societies). But there are certainly ways to cut the cost of music education while simultaneously increasing the musical output and ability of **school** children.

Consider the following quotation from Johnson.

> Yeah, because school is so, they're so bad aren't they, because they can't speak to anybody that isn't in their year, they can't be seen talking to somebody that's two years younger than them, or something, it's ridiculous – L. Johnson, personal communication, November 9, 2019.

Age segregation and atomization of individuals is a problem in capitalist societies (see Chapters 3, 7, & 8), and also happens in **schools**, where upper level students do not commonly interact with lower level or younger students. However, as illustrated by the Fosbrook example, the mentorship of the younger students by the older ones allows both for the younger students to be educated in the music repertoire and **school** *ethos*, and allows for the older students to learn responsibility through mentorship. Another positive of this 'cascade' method is that it significantly reduces the cost of music tuition – instead of needing a hundred private, on-on-one lessons, there is room for group lessons where the students are both learning from an instructor but also teaching each other across a range of abilities.

One means of ensuring musical ability and participation in **schools** is operate a little more ascriptively, encouraging each student to learn from a limited repertoire, with some on fiddles, a few learning how to accompany on piano, and depending on one's **region**, some playing pipes, accordion, or guitar, and by learning to **dance**. **Dancing**, as noted many times previously, is a commonly overlooked but essential part of flourishing CTMD cultures. There must also be many **places to play/live performance** opportunities for the students both at the **school** and *interlocking* with other *centres* outside of the **school**.

The creation of *local symmetries* and *alternating repetition* (see Illustrations 12 & 9) is also important, not least to provide other *centres* at where the students can **perform**. In Shetland, **school** music is done very well in some respects, and in others there is room for creative

innovations and solutions. One of the main reasons there is such a vibrant traditional music culture in Shetland today is because Tom Anderson had the foresight to bring fiddle tuition into the **schools**.

> Yeah, yeah, definitely it does become part of the community. And I think Shetland on the whole is quite proud of the musical heritage, I mean it really is their, but I suppose Tom Anderson when he had that kind of foresight to think I'm bringing fiddle in the schools, that's really what started it all. And then other instruments came on after the back of that. But there's very few things in Shetland you'll go to that there's not music – P. Wood, personal communication, December 10, 2019.

And while there have been cuts and costs associated with these lessons, there are still a large number of accomplished musicians in Shetland.

An aspect that undermines **sub-regional** and **community** resilience in Shetland, and in turn the CTMD culture, is the centralization of high school students in Lerwick. Leask explains:

> I play, yeah. And I write songs. A lot of songs that I did was me own material. But I dunna, well write, sing into me phone and show it to people or play it. So I donna, I just never learned. It was easier to do it by ear. I mean I cheat at school – just hear it once and off you go, but set the book afore you and you get on me…but um I did get fiddle lessons with Tammy (Tom Anderson) when the fiddle lessons were first starting in Shetland, I was in second year in the secondary finished the primary education, so I was about twelve or thirteen, thirteen maybe. Because you've got to. But if you go on at school you've got to leave the island and go down and board down in Lerwick, if you want to go on at school. . . No, you just board. You went home every weekend. And the more remote islands like Foula and Fetlar and Fair Isle didna get home until the big holidays. But I think they [get] home more often now but it's not every weekend. That's the choice you have to make. So you can stay and finish your education on your island but if you wanted to go on at university or study different subjects, you didn't have the choice – F. Leask, personal communication, November 23, 2019.

In addition to the safety and social concerns associated with children leaving home as young as twelve that I discussed in **homeschooling**, and the potential of undermining and atomizing the **family/home** to even greater degrees, this centralized **school** also precludes the ability for *alternating repetition* and *local symmetries* of small-scale and local **schools**. This issue of centralized schooling is not unique to Shetland, of course. In Ontario, this is an increasing problem, as it is deemed more 'efficient' and 'economical' to amalgamate students from larger and larger **regions** into bigger and more centralized **schools**. For example, the Student Transportation Services of Ontario (2023) website states that:

> Except in special circumstances, Junior Kindergarten to Grade six (6) pupils should not be transported on the bus for more than one (1) hour. Except in special circumstances, Grade seven (7) and eight (8), and secondary school pupils should not be transported on the bus for more than one (1) hour and thirty (30) minutes (pars. 14 & 15).

While laudable to have a time limit on bus ride duration, this still means that some students can ride the bus upwards of three hours a day. Instead of large, centralized **schools** it would be more conducive to education to have networks of smaller **schools** that would provide the requisite *alternating repetition* of *centres* to be mutually reinforcing. It is well documented that students in smaller **schools** consistently outperform those from larger ones (Bryk & Driscoll, 1988; Gladden, 2000; Grauer, 2022; Howley & Bickel, 2000; Husbands and Beese, 2004; Lee & Smith, 1997). One of the main arguments for large **schools** is that they were thought to be more cost effective, but, as Grauer (2022) explains, "Research is still scattered and unreliable, but our own studies indicate that larger schools with enrollment in excess of 1,200 have not produced expected economies of scale that result in better lower per-pupil costs when compared to true small schools" (par., 26). Conversely, as with the Fosbrook example, when other *centres*, e.g., **family**, **extended family**, **networks of friends** are pulled into the **school** there is more room for volunteering and lower cost operations. The operational costs of **schools** could be further offset by fundraising through **live performances** and increased tourism and place-marketing for **regions**, **sub-regions**, and **communities** due to vibrant CTMD scenes fostered in the **schools**. Also, with more interaction and support between public **schools**, private **schools**, and alternative schooling options like **homeschooling**, there is more room for innovation and **school** support, which could help **schools** be more active *centres* in **communities** (see Illustration 26).

In pattern 84: Teenage Society, Alexander (1977) argues that we ought to:

> Replace the 'high school' with an institution which is actually a model of adult society, in which the students take on most of the responsibility for learning and social life, with clearly defined roles and forms of discipline. Provide adult guidance, both for the learning, and the social structure of the society; but keep them as far as feasible, in the hands of the students (p. 418).

Alexander explains that, contrary to the rites of passage of traditional society which aid the psychological demands of the transition from childhood to adulthood, modern high schools fail to 'provide this passage' (p. 416) for teenagers. One of the ways that could aid teenagers in this transition could be to partner local high **schools** with elementary **schools** and **nursing homes**, where part of the responsibility of the students would be the mentorship of the younger students and required **live performances** in local **nursing homes**. This would provide the context for many different kinds of mentors and mentees and positives such as guidance for the mentee, responsibility and opportunity for growth from the mentor, and diminished loneliness for those in

the **nursing homes**. It would also create another gravitational pull (recall the levitron metaphor from Chapter 9) for both the individual students and the **schools** themselves.

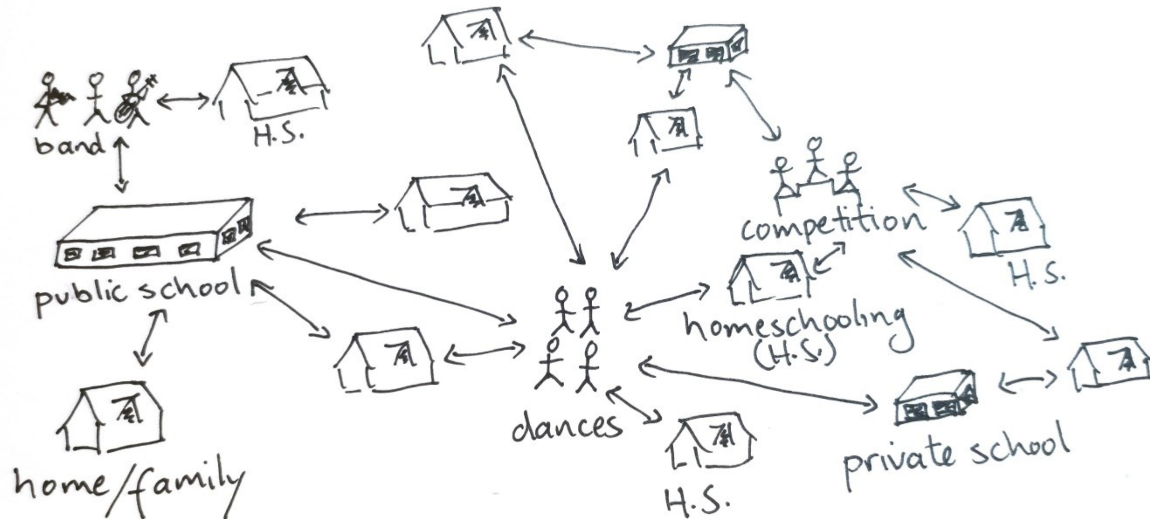

Illustration 26: A network of **schools**, both public and private, which interact with **homeschooling** families and the larger **community** through **dances**, **live performances**, **competitions**, etc.

Therefore: Create a network of small, public, and private **schools** which also have the opportunity to interact with **homeschooling families** in the **community**, whether through **competition**, **live performances**, **dances**, etc. Within these smaller **schools** ensure that there is a high degree of interaction between the older and younger students and provide the context for a 'cascade' of learning and mentorship. Host events where parents and grandparents can interact and participate, volunteer, and perhaps run, e.g., **dances**, **live performances**, etc. Have the **schools** *interlock* with other *centres*, in particular **nursing homes** and other **schools**.

Pattern links: **Schools** upwardly links with the larger **government** (2), **sub-region** (3), **regional ritual** (4), **community** (14), **church** (11), and **university** (24) patterns, and downwardly with the smaller **homes/families** (5), **extended family** (6), **networks of friends** (7), **homeschooling** (8), **dances** (12), **music teacher and student groups** (15), **competitions** (17), **fiddle groups and clubs** (19), **live performances/places to play** (21), and **nursing homes** (25) patterns.

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14.2 (24) Universities

Problem/statement: The outmigration of educated and skilled labour from rural areas and small towns is well documented (Di Biase & Bauder, 2005; Feintuch, 2004). The growing pressure for postsecondary education and the location of universities in urban centres increases the outmigration of youth from rural areas and small town **communities** (Looker & Dwyer, 1998). Likewise, the loss of traditional industries and the erosion of local labour markets offer little incentive for educated youth to return (MacDonald, Sinclair, & Walsh, 2012). Universities often act as one-way passages out of local **communities**, **regions**, and **sub-regions**. At the same time, mental health problems are on the rise within **universities**. For example, anxiety problems have increased by 33% since 2018 in Canada (MacDonald, 2022), and, as Ontario's Universities states, "providing effective support for mental health challenges is one of the most pressing issues facing Ontario students on university and college campuses today" (2022, par. 1).

Discussion: As with **schools**, there is a lot of room for innovation and creativity when it comes to **universities**. One such innovative example is the partnership between Cape Breton University (CBU) and Colaisde na Gàidhlig/The Gaelic College, as president of Colaisde na Gàidhlig, the Honourable Rodney MacDonald explains.

> Yeah, so we bought this building here, I'll show you a picture of it. It's an old convent. *Grabs photo.* So this building is an old convent . . . And it's, there's three floors. There's a dining room in this area, there's a small gym, there's classrooms, offices, and upstairs accommodations . . . And there's some acreage around it and a small house behind it. So we do those courses already with them. If, so, some students come here when they take that four week course, some take it for credit. But others who don't . So you get some people that come, might just take it for interest. So you get more that just take it for interest than for credit, ironically. So this, what we're looking at here is a partnership with CBU. It's our building. It'll be our courses, but you would register as a CBU student. Our goal is September 2020. We have a renovation project which has to happen this Fall . . . I met with their [CBU], you know I'd been talking with a couple staff and high up in the academic aspect in CBU and then I went to the president and some other senior people, about seven or eight other people and made my pitch – here's what we want to do and the great thing about it is, they had done their process and I knew that they had done this process, going out. They want to have greater Cape Breton Island presence. They get very few people from the Western side of Cape Breton that go to CBU, they all go to St FX . . . People like myself . . . So they would only get a handful of people that would go from the rural parts of Cape Breton, a handful of people . . . Yeah, I think we just, well we're the same coastline too, right, we're right here, an hour away . . . And then actually culturally connected to them, everything. So they're, they were typically the university of, but their goal was to have a Cape Breton presence. We're buying the building, putting the courses on, doing all the work . . . Yeah. For, with some assistance and some and you know, they give us a few dollars every year to help out a little bit, to different programs and we, you know, we promote them. So for us it's, you know, good for them, good for us, it's simple – R. MacDonald, personal communication, July 24, 2019.

Wishing to attract more Cape Breton students, Cape Breton University partnered with Colaisde na Gàidhlig to develop a joint program. Recognizing that students from the west of Cape Breton

Island usually go to St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, CBU wanted to incentivize them to attend CBU instead. Located in Mabou (the western side of Cape Breton), the collaborative satellite campus of CBU and Colaisde na Gàidhlig provides a local hub for the students they are trying to attract. This partnership provides a recognizable opportunity for potential students, as many of them have attended the **camps**, summer programs, **dances**, etc., at Colaisde na Gàidhlig. Colaisde na Gàidhlig advertises to their students about the **university** program and partnership with CBU, and CBU helps to cover some of the operating costs of the small satellite campus (an instance of subsidiarity/polycentric governance as discussed in 4.3 and 4.4). Although the Gaelic immersion course is only a year long, the idea is that, once the students are affiliated with CBU, they will be more likely to finish their degrees at that institution. This satellite campus and partnership also creates *deep interlock* with the **community**, and **sub-regional** history and tradition by focusing on the Gaelic language.

Even with the creation of folk music courses and programs in **universities**, youth outmigration from local **communities** continues. As Henderson explains below, many of his peers and contemporaries who studied music live outside of Shetland.

> Yeah, and there's more folk studying now the music formally at a higher education level. . . They do get, I mean, you couldn't study a degree in folk music when I was at school. I think that only came in, maybe in the end of the nineties, I think so. Might be, maybe the mid-nineties it started, but yeah, the first graduates of that program would probably be near the end of the, 99 or something. . . Or 2000, I think. Jenna Reid, did that one. They went away and studied but yeah that, Chris Stout, he went away, he did Classical, because they didn't have folk music degree, and he probably would have done the Classical anyway, but, yeah, that's. So folk are thinking, oh, you can actually take this to degree level and then get your, whatever you want to do, teaching qualification, or do a masters, or go into some other genre, or be a professional musician or composer. I think that my ambition was a bit low, maybe, like going to the Lounge Bar for a tune. . . I really didn't see it like that with playing the fiddle. You know, a tune on the fiddle. But I don't know how much folk are encouraged to get in the music line. Certainly when I was at school, it wasn't a thing you would take too seriously. I didn't even do class music as a subject. But then, yeah, the teachers definitely put you down to what you're going to do at university or what are you going to do yeah, wouldn't encourage you to go and do music . . . So I don't know if that's, you need to ask some younger ones if they do that now. But I can think of a number [of] professionals, well, you probably know a lot of them, well, likes of Chris Stout and Kevin Henderson. And Kevin didn't do, he didn't go on, he was an electrician, and then he went on, he auditioned for Boys of the Loch to go for Aly Bain and he made his break out there and had that to build on, so he's been doing that a long time now. . . Yeah he's in Norway. So he was, me and Chris and Kevin were all kind of the same time at school. I was two year above them at school. And then there's likes of Jenna Reid, she's a few years younger and her sister, Bethany, they went and studied. It's like, yeah Katriona who's a MacDonald, who's a bit older, she went and did music but it's kind of Opera kind of thing . . . In London. One of probably first ones to go and do a formal kind of degree or something, but there's a number from them, Ross Cooper, Kathy Gelder, Louis Nichol, she plays, played in a band with her, that was in Newcastle. . . They all went to, there's a few, Kristen Henry, I'm probably missing ones out, but a number are going to Glasgow and done stuff there. So I think that's definitely changing, folk area, nearly all those live away

> from Shetland. So they've gone away and studied all that stuff and we do get their music and they are back here for festivals here, you kind of miss their mixing around here – M. Henderson, personal communication, November 8, 2019.

For many, degrees are a one-way ticket out of their local **communities**. This quotation also illustrates another tension between professional and amateur musicianship and the accompanying and rivaling views on the role of a musician in a **community** (I discuss this tension in greater detail in the following chapter). The salient point for this pattern is that a degree in folk music operates similarly to any other degree; it is a catalyst for outmigration. Young people from areas with vibrant CTMD cultures can now get a degree in traditional or folk music, but in itself, this degree does not help them to return to their home **communities**. If instead of giant **universities** located mostly in urban hubs, there were a network of smaller scaled or satellite campuses throughout many different **regions**, **sub-regions**, and **communities**, this would provide the opportunity for students who wish to remain to do so. The idea is to provide the possibility for students to remain in their **communities** if they wish, not to require those who want to leave to stay. The partnership between **universities** and other institutions creates *not-separateness* and *deep interlock* between the **universities** and other *centres*. Often public **universities** are so *bounded* that they are removed from any **community** life and, while contributing economically to **regions** through students' expenses and purchases, the students are not involved with the events of the city or town. By ensuring that the **universities'** *boundaries* are more porous with respect to local **communities** they can become more mutually *strengthening centres*. **Universities** should also cultivate *centres* within at smaller *levels of scale*.

In **music hubs** I discussed the value of increasing the 'surface-area-to-volume ratio' of social *centres*; this applies to **universities** as well. In the modern **university**, the 'surface-area-to-volume ratio' is extremely low: there is enormous room for innovation and creativity with respect to *centres* within **universities**. Drawing on the patterns for **pubs**, **places to play/live performances**, and **bands**, one of the first things that **universities** could easily do, is help to facilitate student-built, -run, and –managed **pubs** within each different department. The establishment of many student-run **pubs** would create **places to play** and provide *positive space* and *good shape* (see Illustrations 10 & 11) for student **bands**; increase the *local symmetries* and provide *alternating repetition* and *contrast* (see Illustrations 12, 9, & 14) between the respective **pubs**; provide the space for *gradients* of participation and *roughness* (see Illustrations 15 & 16)

around the ‘edges’ of the social sphere for students from other departments to come hang out, speak, drink beer, and exchange ideas and debate; foster collegiality and conviviality between the students within each department, but also provide a space for students and professors to interact in a manner highly beneficial for the students; *strengthen* each department as a *centre*, thus, while in a way increasing the *strength* of departmental *boundaries*, it would also provide a point of contact for students from other departments to enter into other departments – making the *boundary* simultaneously *stronger* and more porous; and provide a point of contact and opportunity for *deep interlock* and *not-separateness* (see Illustrations 13 & 20) for local businesses with the **university**, specifically with respect to brewing, food preparation, and **performances**, etc.

By simply removing the red-tape and allowing for the students to build, start, run, and maintain their own **pubs**, this would increase the **places to play/live performances** within the **university**, in turn increasing the skill and ability of student musicians. It would also likely increase the number of student **bands** on campus, and help to mitigate students quitting music when entering **university**, a common phenomenon, as Keitel describes below with respect to her own children.

> Um, I did try, they took music lessons for many years. I’ve got one who plays piano, one who plays guitar, but they’re not doing it right now they’re, they’ve just finished university and I think through university, they just didn’t play. And maybe when they start having kids of their own they might pick it up again – A. Keitel, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

Increasing the **places to play/live performances** and creating room for *roughness* and *gradients* of ability by simply allowing student-run **pubs** on **university** campuses would potentially decrease the number of musicians who discontinue playing music at **university** by providing the context in which to play. Likewise, as music, in particular participation in live music is linked to increases in health and wellbeing and decreased mental health problems (Hillier et al., 2012; MacDonald et al., 2012), the creation of a network of **pubs**, **live performances**/**places to play**, and vibrant music scenes at **universities** would no doubt decrease the mental health problems of students and increase/*strengthen* the **university** as a *centre*.

Therefore: As with the other *centres*, increase the *interlock* and *not-separateness* between the **university** and other local *centres*. Instead of only having massive **universities** create a network of **universities** that extend across *levels of scale*. In order to facilitate the creation of smaller-scale **universities** and partnerships between **universities** with other institutions, on a policy

level, eliminate some of the red tape (and thus expenses) for founding new institutions (see **government**). Within **universities**, facilitate the creation of student-run, -built, and -maintained spaces, in particular departmental **pubs**/**live performances**/**places to play**.

Pattern links: **University** links upward with the **government** (2), **sub-region** (3), **regional ritual** (4), and **community** (14) patterns, and downward with the **homes/family** (5), **extended family** (6), **networks of friends** (7), **homeschooling** (8), **pubs/sessions** (9), **bands** (10), **dances** (12), **live performances/places to play** (21), and **charities** (26) ones.

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14.3 (25) Nursing homes (old people)

Problem/statement: The elderly are often excluded from society, left isolated, and moved into nursing homes where they can have little interaction with those outside of the **nursing home** itself, especially if they do not have family who comes to visit them (Jansson, Muurinen, Savikko, Soini, Suominen, Kautiainen, & Pitkälä, 2017; Pitkälä, 2016).

<u>Discussion</u>: In *A Pattern Language*, Alexander (1977) has a pattern called 'Old People Everywhere' (pp. 215-220), in which he states:

> There is a natural tendency for old people to gather together in clusters or communities. But when these elderly communities are too isolated or too large, they damage young and old alike. The young in other parts of town, have no change of the benefit of older company, and the old people themselves are far too isolated (p. 216).

Citing the creation of retirement communities which exclude anyone under the age of sixty-five, Alexander continues:

> The fact is that contemporary society shunts away old people; and the more shunted away they are, the deeper the rift between the old young. The old people have no choice but to segregate themselves – they, like anyone else have pride; they would rather not be with younger people who do not appreciate them, and they feign satisfaction to justify their position (p. 216).

While it is rather presumptuous of Alexander to speak for many people and say that they 'feign satisfaction', he touches on an important and serious issue: the 'shunting away' of the elderly from society. Alexander's pattern 'Old People Everywhere' articulates a vision for how a society that respects the elderly could look, and, while espousing it, I'll not reiterate his pattern here. The segregation of the elderly and their relation to CTMD cultures is a recurring issue. The problem that Alexander identifies and the one throughout my research is the same, but the patterns look slightly different. As this chapter is 'patterns returning to the state' I discuss **nursing homes** that are state run and operated. As well as the possible methods of making them more embedded in

communities and *interlocking* and *not-separate* from other social *centres*. I would like to note that in a more embedded society with a rebalancing of the spheres of State, Market, and Livelihood, there would likely be less of a need and the room for less state run **nursing homes** (for an in-depth analysis of lower-growth healthcare options see Zywert, 2021). One of the ways to easily achieve less dependence upon the state for elderly care is to remove some of the zoning laws, building permits, and other red tape impediments, thereby allowing grandparents to move more easily into **family homes**.

In their current state, **nursing homes** often illustrate the problems that arise when a *boundary* is too rigid and there is no degree of *not-separateness* and *deep interlock* with other social *centres*. The result is isolation, decreased mental health, increased dementia, and other health problems for inhabitants (Findlay, 2003; Glass et al., 2004; Wills & Day, 2008). The negatives of social isolation in **nursing homes** became even more acute during the COVID-19 pandemic, with many residents characterizing the lack of human contact as 'inhumane' (Loriggio, 2021). That being said, when I started doing my fieldwork, I was initially struck by how many CTMD musicians perform in **nursing homes**. A large part of the *ethos* of CTMD is about 'giving back' and participants recognize the opportunity to do so at **nursing homes**.

> Okay, and for me, I hope I don't get emotional, but for me, it's not about say me anymore and you know, like the pressure, well singing competitively, I always thought of the audience, always thought, 'okay, we have to sing this genuinely, you know it's about giving to them. As a young girl it wasn't like 'oh I can sing listen to me – listen to me'. I think as an adult and like my goal is I want to be able to go to a senior citizen's home and say, 'could you let me play for them and bring them some joy?' I think, that's the, that's one thing I thought you [were] wondering, how does this music, how does this music, how does your perception of music change as you age? And I, for me, for me I find it's about giving back. Like if I, I've been given this talent what difference does it make if I can play that in my basement? You know breed this, and then playing with somebody and socialize and you know like with these group, 'do you know that one? Not really but hum a few bars'. You know, so it's the social and the giving back – J. Johnson, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

CTMD is social music (see Chapter 7). Johnson plays in a seniors' home in order to facilitate the 'giving back' component of CTMD. To be able to play in a **nursing home**, however, often requires knowing someone who works there.

> Like I sat around a campfire one time and somebody said, 'do you know 'you are my sunshine'?' I said, no, I said, but let's do it right now. Let's learn it. So everybody kept singing it over and over and this one friend, she kept saying, 'you missed a note, you missed a note'. Okay, okay, so we'd stop and we'd figure that out. And I play that tune all the time now, I go to a seniors home once a month . . . And when I play that, of course everyone starts to sing it, because everybody knows it . . . Yeah, yeah, and it's on an assisted living floor so they, you know, they're falling asleep a lot or some of them have dementia. The first time I went, this lady had severe dementia where she

> just kept moving her chair closer and closer and she was like a foot away from me and the personal care worker came over and was all apologetic and I, and my dad was in a, um, a nursing home before he passed away, so I knew what to expect. And anyway, she was really close and I said, 'don't worry', and I said, 'this is just like an Irish fiddle session where you're crammed in together, we're always this close . . . Now that one I don't [go with other people]. It came about because I knew a friend who worked in this retirement home. I said, 'oh you know what I always thought it would be fun to play at a seniors residence', partly because it would be, you know, yet another goal, you got to practice a lot, figure out your little playlist and, and go and play. And so Ellen said, 'oh, I'll got ask the social director'. And so the social director, Paula, said, 'yeah Karen come on in'. I said 'listen', I said, 'I'm not that great', I said, 'but I want to, it's a good goal for me and then you know, you guys get, maybe, some free music, if the residents like it'. So anyway, she keeps asking me back every month – K. Anderson, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

Anderson describes learning 'You Are My Sunshine' at one social *centre* (campfire) and then brings it to another *centre* (the **nursing home**), highlighting the sociability of CTMD and the mutual *strengthening* nature of *centres*. This example also shows the benefit of the **live performances** for both the residents of the **nursing home** and Anderson. The residents, in particular the woman with dementia, benefit from the live music and Anderson from the opportunity to put on a **live performance** in another setting. Playing at **nursing homes** is a recurrent theme throughout CTMD musicians, as Corry explains below.

> And their gigs are all over the place. The rule of thumb we have is we never say 'no' to a seniors' home. Even if they have no money, never say no, because those people feel the music and know the music. My mother-in-law was in the hospital for three and a half months this winter and my boys would go into the hospital and play and, you know, people would stop and enjoy the music, right? She had a roommate who was in her nineties and the boys come out of the room and go, 'Barbara knew every song we played'. I said, 'she sang to every song you guys played' so, I said, 'that's tremendous' . . . And when they play because they do all kinds of Old Time music in Old Folks Homes, Old Time dances, concerts, like they do a variety of stuff . . . But if you do an old time, an old folks home, you want to have stuff they can tap their toes to or dance to – J.D. Corry, personal communication, July 1, 2019.

This example from Corry, again, illustrates the *strengthening* and generative nature of *centres* and the centrality of **dancing**. By **performing** at the **nursing home** and playing 'Old Time' music, they are able to create the context for **dances** within the **homes**. This example also shows the need for *positive space* and *good shape*, which allow for *gradients* of participation among the residents, for those who wish to **dance**, as well as those that want to simply listen and enjoy or tap their feet along with the music.

These **performances** also provide a low cost and effective antidote to the health problems that often accompany life in **nursing homes**, i.e., isolation, depression, and loneliness, as Thibault explains.

> Well, yeah, the only thing I can say is like music in a way is very inexpensive hobby . . . Inexpensive. And it's very fulfilling because you know when you jam together, you work together

> people appreciate how you do things, it's very good for your, not ego, but your personality, expressing oneself, and achieving something, and, and it makes people very happy also. And we do a lot of volunteering, like you know old people's place . . . Yeah, so it's a big part, you know you play for them and they're like, 'oh gosh, this is so fun'. So it gives a lot of happiness, you know – F. Thibault, personal communication, July 2, 2019.

Performing in **nursing homes** brings a lot of joy to both residents and performers alike. While it is clear that playing in **nursing homes** does happen, in each of these examples, it is a person or a few people who enter from outside, play, and then leave. While laudable and no doubt a positive experience, the number of *interlocking centres* is quite low, showing that there is a lot of room for innovation with respect to **nursing homes** that could increase their *strength* as a *centre* and to allow them to also be *strengthening* for other *centres*.

One such innovation could be to partner **nursing homes** with **schools**, where **school** children would be encouraged to put on a number of **live performances** and host **dances** within the **nursing homes**. These might encourage residents to play or form **bands** as well. Like with **schools**, have a network of smaller-sized **nursing homes** to create *local symmetries* and *alternating repetition* (see Illustrations 12 & 9) so that the students and residents can actually get to know each other and establish relationships. **Nursing homes** often have *boundaries* that are far too tight, which do not allow for *deep interlock* or *not-separateness* with other *centres* in **communities**. Partnering **nursing homes** with **schools** would create *deep interlock* and *not-separateness* with other *centres*. By hosting **dances** and **live performances** in **nursing homes**, parents would be motivated to come and watch their children perform and perhaps take part in the **dances**, creating another *interlock* with **homes/family**. For residents who may not have **family** or **extended family** of their own or have **family** who may not be able to visit, these bonds and relationships between residents and **school** children could be invaluable.

Another innovation, for those who have religious affiliations, could be to bring **church** services or celebrations into **nursing homes**. Not simply to have places of worship in **nursing homes**, but have the priest, pastors, and choirs from **churches** in and around the **community** come in for specific days and services, in addition to the services already offered in **nursing homes**. Not only would this pull **church** and **nursing homes** together in a mutually *strengthening* manner, but would also provide the context for others in these **churches** – **families**, **extended families**, individuals, etc. – to come into the **nursing homes** and establish

another *interlock* between *centres*. Connecting the **churches** and **nursing homes** would provide more context for fusing **nursing homes** and **regional ritual**.

In **church** I discussed the old ritual of perambulating (beating) the bounds as a possibility for connecting **church** with **regional ritual** and **community**. One could similarly attach **nursing homes** to **community** through the establishment of **regional rituals**, both religious and not, wherein the elderly (living in any places and variety of homes), **nursing homes**, and the members within the **community** are central to the **ritual**. In doing so, instead of viewing **nursing homes** as set aside, forgotten, or places of obligatory visitation, as they so often are, they could be moved to a central and integral role within the **community**.

Therefore: As with the other *centres*, **nursing homes** should be encouraged to interact, overlap, and come in contact with as many other *centres* as possible to ensure that they can be *strengthening centres* within **communities** and for the health and wellbeing of members within. Create partnerships between **schools** and **nursing homes**. (Re)Establish **regional rituals** that focus on honouring and incorporating elderly persons and those living in **nursing homes**. Foster reciprocal relationships between **nursing homes** and other *centres* to facilitate the relationships of those within the different *centres*.

Pattern links: **Nursing homes**, as with the other 'patterns returning to the state', links upward to the **government** (2), **sub-region** (3), **regional ritual** (4), and **community** (14) patterns. It also links downward with the **homes/family** (5), **extended family** (6), **bands** (10), **church** (11), **dances** (12), **rites of passage** (13), **music teacher and student groups** (15), **fiddle groups and clubs** (19), **live performances/places to play** (21), **school** (23), **university** (24), and **charities** (26) patterns.

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14.4 (26) Charities

Problem/statement: As with other state-run institutions, state-funded **charities** run the risk of undermining the organic and grassroots associations that would otherwise provide aid and support within **communities** (see also **music hubs**).

<u>Discussion</u>: It is widely accepted that arts **charities** run deficits, but this does not have to be the case (Kaiser, 2012), and there are examples of arts **charities** that not only do not run deficits, but actually make a surplus each year. Graeme Howell of Shetland Arts is the chief executive of such a **charity**. Within four years of becoming chief executive, Graeme Howell turned Shetland

Arts from a deficit-running **charity** to a successful **charity** with a surplus. When asked what the secret to his success was, he answered with the following.

> Yeah, we've made a surplus for the last four years. . . Well, yes it is. However, you just need to know whether you can afford to do, do you know what I mean, you just got to make tough decisions. So although, I mean we turned, we've sort of pulled off about a two hundred and fifty thousand pound turn around in our fortunes over the last four years. . . Yeah. That does deserve a 'wow'. I won't be modest about that. Which is about ten percent of our turnover, which is quite incredible. . . Yeah. . . Its' all me. We've done it by being much more open about finances within the organization. We've done it by giving ownership to managers of their own budgets and giving them responsibility. And we've done it by having decent systems and processes in place. So everything we do goes through a sort of stage-gate development process. So someone comes to a meeting and says, 'I've got this idea'. We have a chat about it. They then come back with a worked out budget: what are the targets; what are going to be the audience numbers; who's it going to engage? We have another chat about it. And it's either gets killed off or progressed to the next step as we go. So we got a pretty good handle on what we're doing, which is the key way to balance a budget, as it were. Um, what else do we do? Yeah all sorts. We do work in care homes, work in schools. Everything you'd expect. I mean, it's a bizarre organization because normally, normally, there would be a number of organizations like this . . . in a location. And you'd have specialisms and everything, whereas we're very much a throw it against the wall and see what sticks type organization. So we've just got the contract to deliver an arts' trail in Lerwick, which is, so another organization raised sixty odd thousand pounds from the government for an art trail and then have subcontracted the delivery to us because we're the people locally who do this sort of thing. So yeah, so there's kind of a lot of different bizarre ways we work – G. Howell, personal communication, December 12, 2019.

This example embodies some contradictions while also illustrating the importance of overlapping *centres*. In the running of this **charity**, Howell credits the success to 'giving ownership to managers of their budgets and giving them responsibility'. This is an example of the principle of subsidiarity at play (see 4.2). The **charity** made a surplus once those with the proper authority were able to actually be in charge of those aspects under their care. Howell does oversee and speak with the managers, but they are generally independent and in charge of their respective spheres. Of course, the only measure of a **charity's** success is not whether or not it can make a surplus, however, as Howell points out, the surplus does allow for the programs to continue and for new initiatives to start. The other aspect of this quotation that is important is that they are involved with many different *centres* and that allows them to try out many different creative ideas. However, Howell does point out that it is precisely the lack of *alternating repetition* and *local symmetries* that is the weakness of arts provision in Shetland, as explained below.

> I think there's a massive structural weakness to arts provision in Shetland because there isn't more than one organization. It's not healthy. It's not good. And at various points, I'm sure we'll still talk about it, we talk about spinning various bits of the organization out into another company so that there is sort of…I think the other challenge is, is that we're never ever going to do enough of what you want. . . Yeah. We, well, what you want especially. But what an individual wants, you know,

> if you're particularly into theatre, we're never going to do enough theatre. If you're particularly into contemporary dance we're never going to do enough contemporary dance. And you sort of, you only know you're getting it right when everyone's moaning because you sort of haven't gone . . . You sort of haven't gone too far one way or another – G. Howell, personal communication, December 12, 2019.

It is a structural weakness that Shetland only has one, centralized arts **charity**, as this makes them incapable of fostering all of the areas that need support – to the point that they are trying to decide how to split the agency so that it can operate more effectively (again pointing to the distributist 'maximum of small enterprises' maxim, see also **live performances/places to play**). Howell's comment illustrates the need for *alternating repetition* and *local symmetries* in order for **charities** to be *stronger centres*. But it also demonstrates the importance of *alternating repetition* and *local symmetries* in areas where subsidiarity is being enacted, as one centralized organization cannot properly ensure that the job is being done at "the most locally distributed scale possible" (Mehaffy et al., 2020, p. 278). Without the *alternating repetition* of *local symmetries*, there cannot be a locally distributed scale as one centralized institution in principle cannot also be locally distributed.

There is the danger that arts **charities**, as with other state-funded institutions, can undermine the creation of vernacular, grassroots, or **community** cultures (see 4.3 & Ostrom, 1990), especially if there is a competing vision as to what 'success' looks like or tension with respect to the purpose of arts and music. I discuss this tension at greater length in the following chapter, but it is worth touching on with respect to **charities** here as well. Howell describes a situation with respect to their contracts and local **bands**.

> Biggest problem with say putting on Haltadans, well Haltadans is always, they were performing two weeks later somewhere else, they're playing at people's weddings, seeing Haltadans isn't a 'special' thing. And so you sort of question, well why are we putting them on? We don't need to be. Yeah, exactly. There's no point us doing that. They're you know um, I mean taking Haltadans on a rural tour made it different to what they would normally do, but um, yeah, sort of two weeks after that tour they were playing at the 'food fair' they were, do you know what I mean, so its… and it's an interesting conversation with a local bands. So we have a restrictive clause in the contract, so if you're playing for us, the clause actually says is that you need to ask us if you can do a gig within four weeks inside, in Shetland – G. Howell, personal communication, December 12, 2019.

Haltadans, is a **band** comprised of some of the best traditional and folk musicians in Shetland. They often play at **community** events, **weddings**, and other **live performances** throughout Shetland. As Maurice Henderson, fiddler of Halterdans (also of Fiddlers' Bid) explains:

> Well at the moment, I play in a band called Halterdans and there's five of us in the band, three fiddle, guitar, and a bass. And so we play around, basically around Shetland. You kind of laugh, I

> think about our concert halls get smaller and smaller like they get playing at like Foula, the Foula Fest and the remote island out there and Fair Isle and Fetlar and we, we love going to those places because its more than just one night you go for a few nights. Hang out there, just make it, enjoy, its more than just the music, the social side of it, just being in Shetland and you might be off in the boat fishing and then back at shore for the tune at night and I kind of like that type of thing – M. Henderson, personal communication November 8, 2019.

As is clear from Henderson's quotation, the social and **community** *ethos* is of central importance to himself and the **band**.[18] But, as Howell explains, in order to make a Haltadans performance 'special' when being hosted and promoted by the **charity**, the **charity** includes a restrictive clause in the contract precluding the performers from taking another gig within four weeks inside. For a **charity** like Shetland Arts whose remit is to, "place the Arts at the heart of Shetland, to educate, promote, support and develop the practice and enjoyment of the Arts by all" (Shetland Arts, 2023, par. 2), it is difficult to see how having a restrictive playing clause in their contracts supports local, **community** music and events or the **bands** that play at them. This restrictive clause is for the purpose of encouraging ticket sales, but it also reveals a deep tension between professional musicianship and their participation in formal markets, and **community**, vernacular, and largely common-pool resource music cultures. The vernacular, **community**, common culture and associations are undermined by the operations of formal markets, and this example from Howell is an example of this erosion. In order to combat this erosion and conflict, it is essential that there be *deep interlock and ambiguity* and *not-separateness* between the **charities** and the **communities** they are meant to aid.

The *deep interlock and ambiguity* and *not-separateness* with **communities** for the successful operation of **charities** are illustrated by Cooper, below.

> Well, I think it's partly that [tireless work that makes the charities work so well]. As I say it's partly there's always been strong community here. And the advantage of these organizations is that they can reinforce community. And I know Shetland Arts makes the deliberate effort to make sure that some of its performed that some of it's done in community halls. That not everything happens in here [Mareel]. We're the same. We work a lot with community groups and try to develop community heritage. And using volunteers in the community to do some of the recording of stuff because that is a level of engagement for them that. Some people don't like sitting around talking about things, they'd rather be out doing things. And if you tell somebody, 'okay there's five hectors up there, go and collect all the flowers on it'. They could go off for most of the summer. And because it changes with, you know, so you might be doing a survey in February. You might be doing a survey on a different species in April but under the same gun so there's lots that can be done at different times of year. And a lot of it is about finding the things that people

[18] This *ethos* is abundantly clear and extends to hospitality to visitors as well. When I was there, I was invited to a Haltadans' gig at the Bigton country hall. After the show, I was also invited back for dinner with a few of the performing **bands** and we ended up socializing and jamming until 5:30 am. The love of music, sociability, and hearth culture is apparent in the operations of Haltadans.

> really value. And that often isn't the thing that we necessarily think that they should value. So sometimes society thinks that something is important but you go and ask somebody local – that isn't necessarily the thing that they want. . . So they're looking at it from a different perspective. They're valuing certain things at that local perspective gets listened to. Whereas I think a lot of other places it gets largely subsumed into, you know, it's too complex to go and get everybody's opinion. Therefore we will take a view and that view is what we want from it. If you try doing that here somebody will come along to you and tap you on the shoulder on the street, you know Commercial Street and say, 'boy, by the way', and that's the reality of here. You're very visible. And you're very available. And you can't hide in an office because they will see you in Tescos. Some days I find it difficult to get out of Tescos simply because of the number of people who want to speak to me about something. It's not that I spend my time shopping, it's the amount of time that I spend explaining things to people. Sometimes explaining why we can't do something that they think is vital. But it is very much the case. If you're a local councillor everybody will know you and everybody will knock on your door and say, 'why haven't you done something about this?' And there's a degree of accountability in small communities that you certainly do not get in big ones – D. Cooper, personal communication, December 19, 2019.

This quotation from Cooper resonates with the section of Ostrom's (2012) 'The Future or the Commons', in which she discusses 'the relationship between larger and smaller units of governance' (polycentric governance, see also 4.3). Illustrating the same mutually *strengthening* relationship between larger and smaller *centres* at *levels of scale*, Ostrom argues that larger and smaller governance units can be mutually supportive and effective, but "it is important that they [large units of government] do not assume that the locals do not know very much and tell them what to do! If there is some respect for the local user, the technical information provided by larger units can be very helpful" (p. 81). What makes the **charity**, Shetland Amenity Trust, work so well is that they listen to the members of local **communities** and, not only take their perspectives and values into consideration in the operations of the **charity**, but leave considerable room for local agency and initiative. The interplay between **charity** and local **community** is essential so that the **charities** do not undermine the **community** operations and *ethos*. By listening to those 'on the ground', through *deep interlock* with **communities**, **charities** can work to find creative areas for support.

Therefore: As with governance patterns, apply the principle of subsidiarity to **charities**, allowing those at the most appropriate and distributed scale to be in charge of operations. Engage with local **communities** and allow them considerable agency and input regarding the needs of their own communities. Work to ensure that there is no conflict of interest between the running of the **charity** and the lattice of mutual aid and reciprocation within local **communities**.

Pattern links: This final pattern, **charities**, links upward to the patterns of **region** (1), **government** (2), **sub-regions** (3), and **regional ritual** (4), and downward to **homes/family** (5),

extended family (6), **bands** (10), **church** (11), **dances** (12), **community** (14), **music teacher and student groups** (15), **music hubs** (18), **fiddle groups and clubs** (19), **online *centres*** (20), **live performances/places to play** (21), **festivals** (22), **school** (23), **university** (24), and **nursing homes** (25).

SECTION V: Conclusion

In this final section, after a brief summary of the arguments of this thesis, I propose some initial policy recommendations drawn from the 'pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance'. I also discuss areas where the PL of CTMD is or would not be successful, as well as limitations of my research. I conclude with some remarks on the contributions of this work and areas for further research.

15 Conclusion

After a brief summary of the arguments of this dissertation, in this chapter I offer some concluding remarks on the 'pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance', commenting specifically on some of the broader policy applications or recommendation stemming from this pattern language. I also provide some discussion of the contexts in which the pattern language of CTMD would not be successful, as well as the limitations of my research and 'hind sight' alternatives I would otherwise have pursued. Finally, I comment on the contribution and further research areas stemming from this work.

15.1 Broad policy applications and recommendations

The twenty-six patterns herein constitute a 'pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance'. These patterns also constitute a pattern language for Livelihood, viewed through a traditional music lens. Throughout this dissertation, I have argued for the need for the re-establishment of the realm of Livelihood and proposed a PL of Celtic traditional music and dance as a means to do so, based on a number of coalescing and complex problems and foundational premises. The following summation describes the essential components. The process of modernization erodes the long-established networks, relationships, associations, and survival units of traditional society, or what I refer to as Livelihood. This erosion pushes towards a society of hyper-individualism with hyper-mobile individuals who are dependent upon the State-Market as their primary survival unit. It also leaves place-bound communities susceptible to the vagaries of the Market (see Chapters 3 & 4). While the State-Market unit is dependent upon perpetual capitalist growth, the surpassing of planetary boundaries (Persson et al., 2022; Rockström et al., 2009) and increasing ecological devastation mandate a change of course as, à la Jevon's paradox, the creation of cleaner energy offers only a short term solution at best (Wang, Jiang, Zhan, 2019). While, of course, the future is unpredictable, we can encourage and steward a political economy that is more embedded, informal, reciprocal, and less dependent upon capitalist growth. That is, we can work to re-establish the realm of Livelihood (see Chapter 4). Developing a pattern language of CTMD offers a hopeful means for re-establishing the realm of Livelihood which would consist of more sustainable, resilient, and embedded communities and economies. In the short term, the pattern language of CTMD can also contribute to the socio-economic resilience of place-bound communities through place-marketing, place-making, and by strengthening social relationships both internally and externally.

While I discussed the components of each pattern in the previous chapters (see Chapters 11-14), in what follows I outline sixteen policy and/or governance recommendations that apply broadly across the pattern language of CTMD.

a) Apply the principle of subsidiarity in government as well as to forms of association across all *levels of scale*.
b) Focus on and encourage the 'function' modality with respect to CTMD events and associations so as not to mute the social positives of CTMD cultures. That is, highlight and encourage their ability to bring people together, build community, social cohesion, etc., rather than focusing on getting tunes, dances, styles, ornaments, etc., exactly in line with a given Tradition.
c) Decentralize some schools, charities, universities, and other state-supported institutions to accommodate more local needs and build resilience for smaller scaled institutions.
d) Remove centralized government restriction and bureaucratic red tape on the local, community level in terms of zoning, insurance, permits for performing in public/busking, licensing, etc. in order to facilitate the more community based and diverse participation in social *centres*.
e) Celebrate the seasons of the year with regional, community, and public and religious ritual.
f) Remove restrictions that preclude the participation of people across a range of ages for CTMD events (see also d).
g) Have, host, and attend dances!
h) For public universities or other institutions, remove barriers and/or have alternative measures for entrance for those who were educated through alternative means.
i) Incorporate and overlap as many *centres* as possible to ensure mutual strengthening and support. Rather than hosting events that are isolated, instead incorporate and overlap with other *centres*.
j) Ensure some informal, free time at events that would benefit from this (festivals, camps, competitions, etc.) for the establishment and fostering of organic and grassroots connections.

k) Learn local stories and histories and incorporate these into rituals, community events, education, etc. Not in a way that tips the function/origin balance fully into the origin modality, but in a manner that supports and strengthens communities.
l) Use the internet to support (and not detract from) other *centres* through participation and supporting in-person activity. E.g., perhaps have restrictions on use in homes or have online groups that enhance rather than replace in person events.
m) Support local and small to mid-sized performance venues, pubs, etc. (see also d).
n) Whenever possible, support low-cost alternatives to ensure participation across a larger socio-economic spectrum.
o) Establish networks of smaller schools, universities, nursing homes, etc., that interact with other *centres* in communities across *levels of scales*, so that they do not become isolated from the communities of which they are a part. Make sure they are integral to the community and other *centres* to ensure the mutual strengthening, flourishing, and well-being of each.
p) Ensure charities and government aid actually support and strengthen their target communities rather than undermine them. To do so, work closely with members of those communities (as per Ostrom's advice, 2012).

These sixteen policy recommendations stem from the 'solution' patterns of the PL of CTMD. These recommendations would contribute to the successful revival and establishment of CTMD cultures which could be used for increasing community resilience through place-marketing and tourism externally, and place-making, relationship building, and re-embedding internally. They could also help to nudge our socio-economic systems towards a more sustainable, resilient, and embedded form of political economy to (re)establish the realm of Livelihood for a new State, Market, and Livelihood configuration.

It is important to note that this is by no means a panacea. The PL of CTMD offers a glimpse of what the (re)emergence of Livelihood could look like. Just as it is nearly impossible to imagine how Alexander's architecture can fit with an Amazon or Walmart distribution centre, so too is it difficult to imagine how a PL of CTMD fits with modernity on the whole. Even though it is difficult, creativity is needed when trying to build a more sustainable future and the Stockholm Resilience Centre is operating in a creative manner. They are collecting what they call 'Seeds for Good Anthropocenes', which are imaginative and innovative ideas and case

studies for building a more sustainable modernity (Pereira et al., 2019). The need for these 'seeds' is based on the argument that, "people choose their actions based on their view of society and their expectation of the future. If our only views are negative, we're likely to steer towards a negative future" (Seeds of Good Anthropocences, 2019, par. 2). Consequently, they collect, share, and identify visions of a "just, prosperous, and ecologically diverse" (par. 6) future. The vision of this PL of CTMD is one such seed. That being said, there is certainly room for improvement with respect to methodological shortcomings or limitations, further investigation, and the exploration of deep tensions.

15.2 Potential problems with the PL of CTMD, study limitations, and further research

As discussed throughout this thesis, this PL can be applied to places that already have a degree of auto-regeneration – places that have, to some degree, survived contact with the modern world. It is not accidental that I chose to use the place-bound traditions that I did for this research (see Chapters 5 & 10). For these areas with a vestige of CTMD context, there is room for the PL to be applied in a constructive and meaningful manner, which can facilitate and contribute both to place-marketing and to the development of more resilient and embedded communities. That being said, there are some difficulties in application, some areas where I was disappointed that it did not gain more traction, some remaining deep tensions, and areas for further research.

One of the most difficult, deep, and controversial tensions is between that of place and mobility. Initiated by Gopinath and Stanyek (2014) there is a whole sub-genre of music and mobility studies for, as Ó hAllmhuráin (2016) declares, "music has been in a constant state of mobility for millennia, long before the present age of the digital sublime" (p. 34). And indeed, he is correct, as illustrated by works which track the movement and origins of different traditional tunes (see for example Henderson, 2016, *In Search of Willafjord*). It is also the case that the degree of spatial and social mobility of our current age is unprecedented and transformative (see Chapter 3). Thus while music has been in a 'constant state of mobility', the spatial and social mobility of modernity is radically different than that of any pre-modern societal precursor (Gellner, 1983).

While I was speaking with participants, one of the questions I asked was whether they viewed any sort of tension between the highly mobile, touring, rock-star archetypical musician life and living in vibrant place-based, local, traditional music communities (see Appendix). After

thinking about this question for a moment, the common response was: 'it's no different now than it ever was, music has always moved around', as typified by MacDonald's explanation.

> I think the travel has always been part of it. But like years ago they wouldn't have been, like fifty years ago people weren't leaving here to go on tour playing, like they were leaving here to work in the lumber like to work in the woods in New England or Quebec or, you know they were travelling for work or going off to war or whatever it is. People were always travelling and the music was going with them. So they're coming home with tunes, they're coming home with, you know, new inspiration and stuff so that has always happened. The travel part has always happened – W. MacDonald, personal communication, July 20, 2019.

As discussed in Chapter 7 and above, in a sense, this is true, music has always travelled. However, the degree and manner of movement is unprecedented. Participants correctly recognized that this question challenges dearly held liberal values such as individualism, mobility, and certain concepts of freedom, choice, and autonomy, and consequently showed discomfort. Yet it is a problem we face in liberal democracies, discomfort notwithstanding.

The relocalist 'small is beautiful' vision proposed by Kohr (1957) and Schumacher (1973) and espoused by green activists is not, as Quilley (2012) argues, a liberal agenda. The view of Livelihood, the PL of CTMD, I propose in this thesis resonates with the relocalist, green, and distributist 'small is beautiful' vision (Kohr,1957; Schumacher; 1973; Alexander, 1977; 1979; Chesterton, 2002[1926]; Belloc, 1977[1912]; Ophuls, 2011). It is a grassroots, bottom-up societal configuration of individuals who are tightly bound together in communities of reciprocation and obligation. While green, this configuration is not a liberal vision and disputes some of operations that have become 'second nature' in liberal democracies. The tension between place and mobility speaks right to the heart of this tension between green localism and liberal cosmopolitanism. As such, and, not surprisingly, aspects of it sit uncomfortably with the members of liberal democracies with whom I spoke during this research, as aspects sit uncomfortably with me.

In looking for solutions to build more sustainable socio-economic systems, giving some space to uncomfortable tensions and trade-offs is required, precisely so that we can find solutions that will allow us to maintain as many of the social positives of modernity as possible. There is a large and growing body of limits to growth literature that tells us we cannot have our cake and eat it too. But only by engaging with these difficult tensions will we be able to determine how to have some of our cake and still be satisfied. Limited by the scope of this study, I chose to focus on the patterns that are present in CTMD cultures that 'makes it work', rather than doing a deep

exploration of this tension. However, it is a tension that requires further exploration as we continue to search for sustainable socio-economic alternatives.

Another facet of the competing visions of green localism and liberal cosmopolitanism within the PL of CTMD is the tension between musical performance and participation in a capitalist market and musical participation woven into the fabric of community and permeating through all aspects of life. Not surprisingly, individuals who make a living as musicians are often displeased when they are expected to play for free at community events, dances, weddings, etc. As mentioned in the pattern **places to play/live performances**, the commercialization and monetization of music can be antithetical to music as common pool resource or social glue. In Shetland there is considerable tension in this regard, as Shetland based musician, Jenny Sturgeon explains:

> I think it's a shame. I think everybody, nobody should be asked to ever work for free . . . Because I did that when I worked as a biologist and a lot of that culture, in Zoology, is based on you volunteer until you get a, get a paid job and it's just, it takes the piss. I think. Because you're a skilled worker as a biologist and you're a skilled worker musician and nobody, you know, you don't ask your plumber to work for free, so nobody should be asked to work for free. And even, it doesn't have to be much. Just a gesture. And, it's good. And there's way that that, I think that could work maybe better – J. Sturgeon, personal communication, December 28, 2019.

Sturgeon's point is absolutely valid, but it also highlights competing perceptions of the place of music and the role of musicians in Shetland. It illustrates the tension between the role of music in capitalist modernity and that of more traditional, common-pool and reciprocal pre-modern precursors. The irony is that one of the main reasons that the traditional music scene in Shetland is so vibrant today is because it managed to retain this reciprocal, common-pool, and volunteer-based structure despite its touch with Modernity (in addition to the funding for tuition from the oil boom of the 1970s). Now the traditional music hubs help facilitate musical participation in the Market economy. At the same time, the commercialization of this music and music culture can undermine the community, common-pool, and grassroots culture. I am in no way arguing that musicians should not be able to make a living – I would like to quickly distance myself from any statement of this nature. What I want to point out is the tension herein and illustrate that the process of re-embedding will require a decrease in Market transactions and a greater dependence upon reciprocal relationships of obligation and trust. When these different types of societies are in conversation, tensions arise. This tension also requires further investigation for how the process of re-embedding or descaling can be done in an equitable and just manner.

Moving on from deep tensions, one of the practical problems of using the pattern language sensibility as a technique relates to the function/origin problem I discussed in Chapter 7. The common sense perception and operation of stakeholders and participants of traditional music is in the origin modality (see Chapter 7), whereas the PL of CTMD operates more in the function modality (see Chapters 7 & 9). The difficulty herein is changing the perception of CTMD stakeholders to think more functionally so that the PL technique can gain influence or traction. In architecture, by contrast, there is not such a harsh disjunction between function and origin in the traditional idiom, even though Modern architecture which operates in a narrow functional mode can go terribly awry. Modern architecture often entirely separates different functions and does not allow for an integrated, unfolding, and unconscious wholeness, but rather it takes *one* function. For example, this is a residential area so zoning prohibits a pub, grocer, or barber shop in this location. Conversely, traditional settlements – many of the settlements of Alexandrian inquiry – have churches, pubs, houses, market places, etc., forming coherent and whole settlements. There are no rules as to where one can build and, as such, a pub can spring up at the end of the street operating out of the ground floor of the home. However, when talking about traditional music, function/origin becomes problematic in the sense that the functional, vernacular dimension of the music gets distorted by the focus on origin.

‘Folk music’ and ‘art music’ classifications were invented to support nation-states (Gelbart, 2007). Consequently, the condition for folk music survival in the modern world often presents as ‘authenticity’. This ‘authenticity’ allows folk music to survive and find a new place; however, it also means that folk music is sometimes insular. It can be locked into one kind of peripheral role, thereby muting its potential in terms of community resilience, cohesion, and re-embedding, as the ‘origin mode’ of authenticity often results in fetishizing elements that are detrimental to the tradition and perpetuation of culture. But, as Chesterton explains:

> If you leave a thing alone you leave it to a torrent of change. If you leave a white post alone it will soon be a black post. If you particularly want it to be white you must be always painting it again; that is, you must be always having a revolution. Briefly, if you want the old white post you must have a new white post. But this which is true even of inanimate things is in a quite special and terrible sense true of all human things. An almost unnatural vigilance is really required of the citizen because of the horrible rapidity with which human institutions grown old ([1908]2004, p. 8).

The PL of CTMD would gain more traction and could move from a peripheral to a central role in establishing and fostering relationships, place-marketing, and re-embedding by operating more

functionally. The visceral attachment of identity to CTMD makes such a shift from origin to function difficult.

As explained via Barfield's unlearning how to ride a bike analogy (see Chapter 8), the modern State-Market is considered ubiquitous and it is very difficult to imagine anything different in our lives and operations. Yet, as Gellner (1983) explains, it is a fairly recent phenomenon. Personally I think that the vision of many networks of cantons promulgated by Kohr (1991[1941]), Schumacher (1971), Chesterton (2002), and Alexander (1977; 1979) is a more promising and sustainable alternative to giant, faceless, centralised organizations. Regardless, the production of culture in Modernity has become the role of the State, which, in turn, produces the origin/function problem. This problem of disassociating culture from State-mediated production also requires further investigation to allow for the emergence of grassroots pattern languages.

Another difficulty with the PL sensibility of this thesis stems from the social aspect of this research, and is a difficulty that is not present to the same degree with architectural pattern languages. The contrast between vernacular architecture and Modern design and architecture is startling and spatial arrangements are less noticeably morally charged. And while Alexander often does make morally charged claims, he can make the case without always having to comment overtly on human action and behaviour. Even so, one of the main criticisms leveled at Alexander is that he operates in an authoritarian manner imposing an "illusory objectivity on other subjects" (Saunders, 2003, par. 4). While Alexander often exhibits a "vegetarian-stew earnestness about his enterprise that has put off modernists for decades" (Lange, 2019, par. 6), he can always appeal to a spatial, structural design rationale.

The contrast between vernacular settlements and Modern designs makes the case more obvious for architecture, but this same contrast makes it more difficult with respect to the social sphere, as at the heart is the difference between the 'I-we' balance (sensu Elias, 2000[1968]). As previously discussed (see Chapter 3), the individual of traditional society is a 'social creation' (MacIntyre, 2009, p. 128) who operates in a drastically different manner from the autonomous, morally sovereign, free individual of Modernity. MacIntyre (2009) offers a conception of humans with 'dependency', 'vulnerability', and 'animality', or 'dependent rational animals'. And, as discussed in Chapter 9, this philosophical anthropology challenges the common conception of humans in liberal democracies who are exemplified by the Cartesian individual.

As I argue elsewhere (Beresford, 2023a), the metaphysical foundation of Alexander's project disagrees, dissents, and defies that of Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment thought which constitutes the foundation of our conception of modern selves. Moreover, the common objections to Alexander are not too forceful, but rather not strong enough, as his level of dissent from modern metaphysics is masked by the obvious truism of the critiques of dehumanizing Modern architecture. When it comes to social patterns though, the same dissent is augmented.

Motivated by ecological and social pressures, this research investigates and offers a response to some of the more drastic ills of capitalism. A philosophical anthropology that is relational, exhibits plasticity within limits, and perhaps requires a shared life-in-common for flourishing (as the patterns herein are built upon and suggest) opposes the unconstrained, hyper-mobile, and hyper-individualized self of modernity that has become 'second nature' (sensu Elias). The contrast between Amazon distribution centres and the York Shambles is apparent, but the appeal to spatial arrangement conceals the fall back on human action. With social patterns, however, while the contrast is in a sense less 'touchable' as it is not built of bricks and stone, the implications of the contrast are augmented and require a reflection on human action, concepts of freedom, obligation, reciprocation, etc., which consequently makes the adoption of the PL of CTMD more difficult. While it may be difficult to adopt, it is not anti-modern. Lange (2019) argues that, "while Alexander is not a fan of giant expanses of glass, there is little in the book that precludes modernism" (par. 7), as is also the case with the PL of CTMD of this thesis. I have repeated many times throughout this thesis that this is not an anti-modern project, but rather a project motivated by the desire to address some of the ills of capitalist modernity. The social configurations and patterns of this dissertation are not elucidated to devolve into some fictitious, pre-modern 'Days of Yore', but rather, to provide a glimpse of a new, more sustainable modernity: a new Market, State, and Livelihood configuration. It is more difficult to envision the unknown than to recall pre-existing myths, consequently the vision of the shared or life-in-common aspect PL of CTMD appears chaffing against the liberal ideal. The relationship between shared lives-in-common social pattern languages and a sustainable modernity requires further investigation and is an area that I would very much like to explore.

Given the scope of my study I was unable to do ethnographic research where the PL of CTMD does not work. In hind sight I would have done a series of interviews with people in contexts where the PL of CTMD does not have traction. For example, in Shetland there are

aspects where CTMD culture is not adequately re-inventing the tradition of everyday life from the ground up. While promoted as *the* Traditional music of Shetland, CTMD culture is often pushed to the periphery in terms of context and wider culture. As such, the capacity of traditional music in terms of generating social cohesion, resilience, and re-embedding is muted. Precisely those persons who would benefit the most from participation in CTMD culture are those who are not in contact with it. In the future I would like to do a series of interviews in cases such as these and compare them with the findings of this thesis.

Unfortunately some of the field work of this project was restricted due to the COVID-19 pandemic, as it precluded any site visits and socializing ultimately limiting my time spent on site in Cape Breton, PEI, and Ontario. I began my fieldwork in July of 2019 beginning with a week spent at Leahy Camp in Lakefield, ON. I then drove out for site visits to do participant observation and semi-structured interviews in PEI and Cape Breton. I flew to Scotland the beginning of September 2019 and after three weeks in Aberdeen, moved to Shetland from October 2, 2019 to January 27, 2020. My intension was to continue site visits at the Canadian locales throughout 2020, but the COVID-19 pandemic prohibited my ability to so.

15.3 Concluding remarks

While there is certainly room for further investigation and improvement, my findings show that pattern language theory provides a useful framework to analyse human networks and relationships through the lens of Celtic traditional music and dance. The forces of capitalism cause increasing degrees of social disintegration and incoherence by emancipating the individual from social obligations and networks and dismantling those networks: this results in a society of increasingly individualized individuals dependent upon the State-Market (and consequently a growth economy) as their primary survival unit. Within this paradigm, the social *centres* which operate through mutual obligation, reciprocity, and dependence are few (see Chapter 4). Capitalist societies are dependent on perpetual economic growth, incredibly vulnerable in the face of any economic decline or collapse, and ultimately unsustainable.

There are intimations here of the way this musical culture could work. As this thesis has shown, pattern language theory is a productive way of analyzing what makes CTMD cultures work (when they do) and illustrating some areas where they could be made stronger or more resilient. CTMD has youth in it, but it is not a ‘youth culture’. It stands in the face of the episodic, peripatetic youth tribes that are vehicles for autonomous freedom sans responsibility,

obligation, or reciprocity. By contrast, CTMD intimates a different kind of culture: one of reciprocation, obligation, and responsibility towards kith, kin, and community. Applying pattern language theory to the vernacular culture of CTMD provides a means of increasing resilience through building societies with higher numbers of grassroots, social networks and associations, or social *centres*. As such, the PL of CTMD provides a hopeful means for increasing socio-economic resilience in marginalized and peripheral areas of the North Atlantic. Likewise, while this particular application of pattern language theory is very geographically and culturally specific and relates to areas in the global north, the same general pattern language approach to human networks and associations could have application to other music/hearth cultures in the context of modernizing/individualizing, and thus application to areas in the global south. Furthermore, to the extent that the process of modernizing/individualizing has not gone as far in some areas of the global south, there may be more social patterns present and consequently any intervention could be more of a defense of the present and recurring patterns and less of a resurrection for these areas.

It is widely uncontested that a transition to an alternate modernity is necessary (Spash, 2017) and that this new modernity will likely look radically different than current iterations. Yet much of sustainability literature either provides negative, dystopian scenarios or is highly theoretical or speculative (Perieira et al., 2019; Orr, Kish, & Jennings, 2020). Addressing the negative futurism, as stated above, a sub-section of the Stockholm Resiliency Centre is developing 'Seeds for Good Anthropocenes': imaginative and innovative ideas for building a new modernity (Pereira et al., 2019). Similarly, this dissertation offers a blueprint for re-building and creating a potential stronghold of civil society. By establishing patterns of society that are more ecologically benign, developing pattern languages of resilient communities can offer a much needed and practical approach to transitioning to a more sustainable modernity. The 'pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance' provides a glimpse of what a new Market, State, and Livelihood configuration of a more sustainable, ecologically benign, and partially re-embedded modernity might look like, as well as a framework by which to nudge society in that direction.

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Appendix: Interview guides for Celtic traditional music and dance stakeholders

Interview guide for musicians and music teachers

a. Can you give me a brief history of your musicianship, i.e., how did you start playing music? How long have you been playing? What instruments do you play? Is there a history of music in your family?
b. What is the main reason for teaching/playing at this event?
c. Did you learn through formal lessons or was there an informal context that facilitated you learning? Or combination of both?
d. Do you play other instruments or in other music styles? Classical, jazz, etc.? Was it mostly learning by ear or through sight reading? If one or the other, did the other contribute to your playing ability, technique, style?
e. Did you grow up playing with other traditional musicians, e.g. family members, friends, etc?
f. Is music a part of your family or extended family, parties, etc.? Like at a Christmas party would the instruments come out and people jam?
g. Is playing music associated with other aspects of your life, say, church, or schools, other events in your local community/context?
h. Do you play at sessions? Are there other people around where you live with whom you can play?
i. How did you get involved with this particular event? Did you know other people involved beforehand? Or the other musicians/instructors?
j. Do you tour or travel a lot going to festivals, camps, competitions, etc.? If so, how do you find balancing that and a family, work, etc.? Do they come with you? Do they play as well?
k. Do you have a favourite event/venue for playing? If so what is it that you like about it?
l. Do you notice any changes in number of musicians, events, places to play? Or the ages of people who are playing? Why do you think that is?
m. Could you define the genre of music that you play? And give a definition of traditional or folk music? How does it differ from other genres?
n. How do traditional music and dance interact or relate to each other?
o. What is the role of language (e.g., Gaelic, Shetland dialect, etc.) with respect to regional musical style and ornamentation?
p. In an ideal world, if you could do anything (or remove any barrier) to increase the vibrancy of the traditional music scene what would that be?
q. Is there any tension between the place-based community context required for a vibrant traditional music scene and the touring, traveling, ‘rockstar-type’ life of a professional musician?
r. What role do you think that traditional music has in society? Is traditional music or the traditional music scene in conversation with mainstream social movements or issues?

s. Is there anything political about traditional music, playing traditional music, or supporting traditional music? If so, in what way?
t. Is there a question or topic related to Celtic traditional music and dance that I have not asked you about that I should have? Is there something that I have missed that is central to this culture?

Interview guide for children and music students

a. How did you first get involved in Celtic traditional music and dance? And do you play other styles of music as well e.g., classical or jazz etc.?
b. What instruments do you play?
c. Do you like it? Or do you have a favourite one? Why do you love it/ what do you enjoy the most?
d. Would you call this traditional music? Folk music? Why? Or have you ever thought about what type of music is it?
e. Do you mostly play by ear or learn through sight reading? If one or the other, does either sight reading or oral learning contribute to the method you like best?
f. Who is your teacher? How did you hear about them?
g. Are there any online forums that you use to play or learn tunes? E.g., session.org ?
h. Do you have brothers and/or sisters who play? Or do your parents, grandparents or other family members play? If so, do you play with them?
i. Do your friends play as well/do you play with them?
j. Do you go to a lot of camps and/or festivals? If so, is it the music that you love about them or are there other aspects that you like better? If not (if they don't go to camps/festivals), would you like to, why or why not?
k. What is the best part of the camps/festivals/competitions?
l. Do you do any busking or other performing stuff?
m. Are there a lot of other events or parties that you can play at or with similar music e.g. ceilidhs or barn/square dances, sessions?
n. Where are you from? And are there people where you live who you can play with or do you mostly find that you have to come to camps etc. to play with other people? I.e., is there a music community where you live?
o. Do you have a favourite tune? Can you tell me about why you like it?
p. Do you write/compose your own tunes at all? Can you tell me about that?
q. Do you have any traditional music "heroes" or are there celebrity traditional musicians that have inspired you? What about them in particular speaks to you? And what do you think the role of mentors is in traditional music? Are you perceived as such by any younger students?
r. Do you think Celtic traditional music and dance is important? Why or why not?
s. In an ideal world, if you could change anything to help (or remove any barrier to) the traditional music scene, what would it be?

t. Is there anything that you would like to see more of in terms of music education or music tuition?
u. Is there a question or topic related to Celtic traditional music and dance that I have not asked you about that I should have? Is there something that I have missed that is central to this culture?

Interview guide for parents

a. What prompted you to get your kids into this music? Was it the music alone or are there other aspects of it that you found appealing? For example was it the music or was it more a lifestyle aspect of this type of music and consequent culture that you were most intrigued by?
b. Is there a history of this type of music in your family? Or any music?
c. How do you find getting to lessons and other traditional music events? Does it conflict with or make it difficult to get to other activities or does the music take priority?
d. Is there a context at your home that facilitates or makes it easier for your children to play with other musicians? I.e. are there ceilidhs or barn dances or other types of events that are in a similar vein.
e. Do you have more than one child who plays? Do they play together and if so, do you think that contributes to their proficiency and enjoyment of the music?
f. Do you do a lot of travel because of the music?
g. Are your children involved in other events e.g., festivals, competitions?
h. Do you live in the country, city, or small town? Do you think that where you live influences aspects of the music or music context? Does where you live a factor in your decision to get involved in this type of music?
i. Does traditional music have a specific role in your child's education/formation? If so, what is it? How does the traditional music culture compare to the wider/mainstream youth culture?
j. Does your child attend public school, private school, homeschool, or any other type of alternative education? Does traditional music play a role in how you educate your child?
k. If you could change one thing to make the traditional music scene more vibrant (or remove one barrier), what would it be?
l. Do you consider participating in traditional music culture to be a political statement? If so, what is it saying? If not, could you please explain why not?
m. Is there a tension or difficulty with respect to any travel associated with traditional music participation and having a unified or place-based home and family life?
n. Is there a question or topic related to Celtic traditional music and dance that I have not asked you about that I should have? Is there something that I have missed that is central to this culture? Or to music and family life? Anything at all?

Interview guide for those in economic development and place-marketing

a. Could you tell me a little about the organization that you work for and your position here? What is the main remit of your organization, target demographic, etc.?
b. What are the main areas for development/marketing? And what is the primary way that you market those?
c. In terms of both place-marketing and economic development, is the goal to increase the marketability and increase the number short-term visitors to this location or are you looking to increase the long-term 'stayability' of this place? If the former, what is your main method? If the latter, what are the things that people care about when moving to a new place?
d. What role (if any) does culture play in marketability and economic development of a region? If it does play a role, what are you doing to either support, engage, and/or promote culture?
e. What role (if any) does traditional music and dance culture play with respect to place-marketing or economic development of this area? Are you aware of this culture? How do you view it? Do you have any formal interaction with it in your role at your institution? How does it compare to mainstream culture, both in itself, and in terms of development and marketing?
f. How could Celtic traditional music and dance culture be mobilized or used in a manner that would gain more traction for place-marketing or economic development?
g. Do you have any engagement, interaction, or participation with Celtic traditional music and dance in your personal life outside of work?
h. Is there something that I have not asked you about that I ought to have with respect to place-marketing, local economic development, and the role of art and music in these spheres? Or anything that I have not asked that you would like to speak about?

Glossary

Aliveness: Aliveness is synonymous with MacIntyre's (2007; 2009) concept of flourishing. As Alexander describes, "as man is alive when he is wholeheartedly, true to himself, true to his inner forces, and able to act freely according to the nature of the situations he is in … to be happy, and to be alive, in this sense are almost the same. Of course, a man who is alive, is not always happy in the sense of feeling pleasant; experiences of joy are balanced by experiences of sorrow. But the experiences are all deeply felt; and above all, the man is whole; and conscious of being real" (Alexander, 1979, p. 105-106). Aliveness, happiness, or flourishing is not solely dependent upon the inner 'forces', but is also dependent upon other people and our surroundings.

Alternating repetition: Alternating repetition is the fourth of the fifteen properties of wholeness, and "is the way in which centres are strengthened when they repeat, by the insertion of other centres between the repeating ones" (p. 239). E.g., **households**, **dances**, **households**, **pubs**, **households**: the aliveness of each within the repeating pattern is increased through the interaction with the other social centres, which also, simultaneously strengthens the whole.

Boundaries: The third of the fifteen properties of wholeness, boundaries refers to the way that a centre is strengthened by the demarcation of an in-group facilitating stronger bonding within. It is important that the boundary be porous and allows for the bridging with other individuals and centres: "The boundary also unites the centre with the centres beyond it, thus strengthening it further" (p. 239). E.g., a **music club** is strengthened by the bonds between members within the **club**. However, the **club** must also be open to new members (and allow for members to leave) – exhibiting porosity – and connect with other centres as a **club**, thereby strengthening both the **club** and the other centres (**festival**, **community**, **bands**, etc.) with which it connects.

Capitalism: In this dissertation I use Belloc's definition of the capitalist state. A capitalist society is one where the ownership and control of private property (both land and capital) is maintained by a small number of citizens, while the majority of citizens are proletarian. In such a society, " the method by which wealth is produced … can only be the application of labor, the determining mass of which must necessarily be proletarian, to land and capital, in such fashion that, of the total wealth produced, the proletariat which labors shall only receive a portion" (Belloc, [1912]1977, p. 49-50).

Centres: Centres is another word for 'wholes' in the Alexandrian lexicon. Alexander uses centres instead of wholes in order to convey the nested and relatedness of wholes/centres. There are four essential components to centres, "centres themselves have life. Centres help one another: the existence and life of one centre can intensify the life of another. Centres are made of other centres (this is the only way of describing their composition). A structure gets its life according to the density and intensity of centres which have been formed in it" (Alexander, 2002a, p. 110).

CTMD: Celtic traditional music and dance is a genre of music and dance that is based on the fiddle but includes a variety of instruments such as piano, guitar, whistles, accordion, etc., and has a variety of dance styles including Ottawa Valley step, Cape Breton step, square sets, and ceilidh dances. It originated in France, the British Isles, and Northern Europe, but, as it moved back and forth across the Atlantic, it is also heavily influenced by the First Nation and Métis peoples, especially in Canada. While each location often houses different regional styles and repertoires, there are common features to CTMD cultures, these features include oral/aural transmission, face-to-face participatory contexts, the facilitation of 'communitas', and the presence of a 'rural idyll' myth. CTMD cultures also often exist in geographically peripheral areas with unstable economies and harsh climates.

Contrast: The ninth of the fifteen properties of wholeness, "contrast is the way that a centre is strengthened by the sharpness of the distinction between its character and the character of surrounding centres" (p. 240), as well as the distinction of those within a centre which create a greater degree of 'aliveness'. E.g., a **pub session** with both older and younger people and beginner and highly skilled musicians will have a greater degree of 'aliveness' both in itself and with respect to the **community** on the whole, as it allows for more people to participate.

Deep interlock and ambiguity: Deep interlock and ambiguity is the eighth of the fifteen properties of wholeness and refers to "the way in which the intensity of a given centre can be increased when it is attached to nearby strong centres, through a third set of strong centres that ambiguously belong to both" (p. 240). E.g., Lori is a teacher and Ben, Jen, and Toby are her students (first centre). Ben, Jen, and Toby lead slow sessions with beginner musicians (**sessions** as second centre). Ben, Jen, and Toby make up an ambiguous and interlocking third centre of student/teachers which connects those in the slow **sessions** to the more experienced **teacher and student group**.

Echoes: Echoes is the twelfth of the fifteen properties of wholeness and is the way that a centre is strengthened by the reverberation of centres (events and groups) and memories through time, as well as the recurrence of centres across space. E.g., there is a history/tradition/legacy of a particular **dance** in a locale that extends through generations, strengthening the individual **dances** when they occur. Or, **pub sessions** occur across many different **communities** each with a similarity or echo of each other but also each has their individual atmosphere or particulars.

Fifteen properties of wholeness: The fifteen properties of wholeness there are fifteen fundamental properties that are present in strong centres or coherent wholes. Those properties are: *levels of scale*, *strong centres*, *boundaries*, *alternating repetition*, *positive space*, *good shape*, *local symmetries*, *deep interlock and ambiguity*, *contrast*, *gradients*, *roughness*, *echoes*, *the void*, *simplicity and inner calm*, *not-separateness* (Alexander, 2002a, p. 144). These

properties "are, in effect, just the fifteen ways in which centres can help each other come to life…they make things have life, *because* they are the ways in which centres can help each other in space" (Alexander, 2002a, p. 145).

Function modality: As identified by Gelbart (2007), function modality is a means of classifying a tune by "how it would be used on a particular occasion, and what sentiments it depicted" (p. 20). The classification by function was ubiquitous throughout Europe prior to the 18th century and the formation of nation-states.

Good shape: The sixth of the fifteen properties of wholeness, good shape is closely tied to positive space, and refers to the way that a centre derives strength from the actual shape of a give centre. E.g., the boundary of a **camp** is not too tight and allows interaction with the town in which it is located; the **camp** is structured such that there is time for unscheduled, free time (the heart and soul of **camps**); the **camp** admits and caters to both highly skilled and beginner musicians/dancers, etc.

Gradients: The tenth of the fifteen properties of wholeness, gradients is the way that a centre which allows for a spectrum (participation, age, ability, etc.) will have a higher degree of aliveness and be a more coherent centre. E.g., a **pub session** that allows for varying degrees of participation, or gradients of participation (from the person right in the middle deciding the tunes to the person on the periphery tapping their feet and sipping a pint), increases the range and number of those of the in-group.

Livelihood: Livelihood consists of the "informal processes of exchange, familial care, place-bound community, mutual aid, and reciprocation" (Kish & Quilley 2022). The realm of Livelihood can operate alongside a contraction of the market, through the extension of more libertarian (with respect to the state), bottom-up, communitarian, and localized groups of families and place-based communities. This type of configuration would operate upon increased levels of trust, reciprocity, mutual obligation, community engagement, informal markets and market places, and a "dispersed pattern of ownership such that the great majority of households own solely or in cooperation, a variety of productive means, from gardens and domestic kitchens, garages, basement workshops, and community factories" (Kish & Quilley, 2022, p. 77).

Levels of scale: Levels of scale is the first of the fifteen properties of wholeness and "the way that a strong centre is made stronger partly by smaller strong centres contained in it, and partly by its larger strong centres which contain it" (p. 239). E.g., the social pattern/centre of the **festival** is made stronger by the **bands** within it, and also by the strength of the **community** in which the **festival** is held.

Local symmetries: The seventh of the fifteen properties of wholeness, "Local symmetries is the way that the intensity of a given centre is increased by the extent to which other smaller centres which it contains are themselves arranged in locally symmetrical groups" (p. 240). E.g., a **community** is strengthened by clusters of smaller, symmetrical centres (**households**, **bands**, **live performances**/**places to play**, etc.) which contribute to the strength of the whole.

Not-separateness: The fifteen (and final) of the fifteenth properties of wholeness, "not-separateness is the way the life and strength of a centre depends on the extent to which that centre is merged smoothly – sometimes even indistinguishably – with the centres that form its surroundings" (p. 241). E.g., **dances** at **festivals** or **camps** are centres in their own right, but are not-separate from the **festival** or **camp**, thereby increasing the strength of the **dances** but also the **festival** or **camp** as well.

Origin modality: As identified by Gelbart (2007), origin modality is a means of classifying tunes based on who wrote them, their place of origin, etc. This method of classification was invented in the 18th century to aid in the formation and solidification of nation-states. While it is a relatively recent invention, the classification of tunes by origin has become almost ubiquitous and folk music is almost synonymous with place/ethnic identity, authenticity, and origin.

TNO: *TNO* is the acronym for Christopher Alexander's four volume set *The Nature of Order* used throughout this thesis.

Pattern language (PL): Pattern language is a theory developed by Christopher Alexander (1977; 1979) where a pattern language is defined as "a finite system of rules which a person can use to generate an infinite variety of different buildings […] The use of [the] language will allow the people of a village or a town to generate exactly that balance of uniformity and variety which brings a place to life" (Alexander, 1979, p. 191). Pattern languages have been identified and developed in many diverse fields, and in this dissertation the PL refers to the nested, interlocking, and overlapping social patterns which together form a 'pattern language of Celtic traditional music and dance' or a 'pattern language of Livelihood'.

Polycentric governance: Polycentric governance refers to "a system in which many diverse centers of partial authority collectively cover the full range of governance tasks" (Ostrom Workshop, 2023). And where, "this multilevel configuration means that governance arrangements exhibiting polycentric characteristics may be capable of striking a balance between centralized and fully decentralized or community-based governance" (Carlisle & Gruby, 2017, p. 927). Polycentric governance resonates with the principles of subsidiarity.

Positive space: Positive space, the fifth of the fifteen properties of wholeness, is the way that a centre draws strength from the other centres within and adjacent to it. As Lefebvre ([1974]1991)

explains, social space is the production of the dialectic triad of spatial practice (the perceived space), representations of space (the conceived space), and representational space (the lived space) (see also Than, 2019 for very brief but helpful explanation). Drawing on Lefebvre, positive (social) space, is created in centres by the relationship between those within a centre and the interaction of centres right next to it, which makes room for the hybrid 'third space' (sensu Bhabha, 2004), which allows for difference. E.g., positive space is created at a **music camp** by allowing room for a range of ages and abilities, formal participants, parents/guardians, or volunteers to all participate and interact within the centre.

Roughness: Roughness is the eleventh of the fifteen properties of wholeness, and refers to the way that a centre draws strength from the irregular, loose, or unstructured components of a social centre. In essence, where the context is not smooth and there is a lot of space for unpolished, free, and organic social interactions. E.g., a **camp** that has unscheduled free time and thus a higher degree of roughness allows for more organic interaction, playing, jamming, and bonding between participants, which in turn both strengthens the conviviality of the **camp** but also contributes to the creation of new centres (**bands**, **networks of friends**, etc.).

Simplicity and inner calm: The fourteenth of the fifteen properties of wholeness, simplicity and inner calm refers to the nature of social centres to reduce the number of centres required while contributing to the overall strength of a centre and the ability to create positive space within a centre. E.g., a strong CTMD centre allows for less bureaucratic red tape within (less formal centres) while contributing to the overall strength of the centre itself.

Sociometric: Sociometric is a riff on the term 'geometric. Alexander's pattern language is a geometric for three dimensional design configurations which deals with the underlying architectural patterns that make up spaces. I apply that concept of design to understanding the configurations that make up nested human associations and networks, which constitutes a sociometric. A sociometric refers to a method of identifying the different replicable social patterns that are present in any given situation.

State-Market: The State-Market refers to the mutually dependent and mutually reinforcing pillars of capitalist modernity, which together comprise the State-Market unity. The Market relies on the State to create an 'artificial ecosystem' through regulation, zoning rules, and increasing bureaucracy, to which the Market is best adapted, and the State relies on the fiscal tax transfers from the Market. The State-Market is an operation of the 'society of individuals' and is the primary survival unit of the Cartesian, Modern individual. It continually erodes the realm of Livelihood.

Strong centres: The second of the fifteen properties of wholeness, strong centres describe the way that a given strong centre creates a social hub which pulls others centres into its field and

simultaneously strengthens them. E.g., a vibrant or 'alive' **pub session** at a **festival** draws other centres to itself, and in so doing, both strengthens the **session** itself, as well as the other centres (**bands**, **families**, **networks of friends**, **community**, etc.) that are at the **session**.

Subsidiarity: The principle of subsidiarity argues that it is unjust "to assign to a greater and higher association what lesser and subordinate organizations can do" (Pius XI, 1931, par. 79); social activity should be done at the most appropriate scale, and larger associations should not absorb or assume the activities that are fitting or appropriate to the smaller scale. Or as Mehaffy et al. (2020) state, subsidiarity should "aim for the distribution of tasks to the smallest possible scale that will be effective in resolving them" (p. 279).

The void: The void is the thirteenth of Alexander's fifteen properties of wholeness, but in the context of this thesis it is the way that the hyper-individualism and the concomitant culture of 'liquid modernity' (see 3.3), as a Weberian type, provide a foil to the communitarian, embedded, and hearth culture of CTMD cultures. For example, the trusting, reciprocal, and communitarian nature of a CTMD **festival** or **camp** appears more vibrant in contrast to the transactional and fungible exchanges of the Market society.

Wholeness: Wholeness is "a system of centers which, working together, create the gestalt of a given part of space" (2002a, p. 364). In order to understand wholeness, it is paramount that one understands, "the wholeness is made of parts; the parts are created by the wholeness. To understand wholeness we must have a conception in which 'parts' and wholes work in this holistic way" (Alexander, 2002a, p. 84).