Instead, somehow in the congregationally witnessable midst of things the work in and as of its details finds, there, recognized and identified in the midst of things, this, just this, of the matter that calls for study: To study formatted service lines we’ll go to supermarkets. Supermarkets are not the only place. No sooner have we watched a few service lines in the supermarket than we also find them upon entering freeway traffic. As soon as we find something on the freeway we make the trip to the check-in areas at the Los Angeles airport in order to elucidate the previously encountered long straight aligned lines of freeway flow by putting up at the airport with troubling mixed versions in the boarding areas of clear lines and “local interactional crushes” and from that with even more troubling messiness of mixed versions at the exit to the baggage area with its notably absent clear lines, and its local crushes that leak past the checkout clerk.

From all this we have “a first observation” of tutorial problems. They are this-worldly settings wherein order productive parties so collaborate as to exhibit “just what a social fact is that makes it accountably just that”—the exhibited order of service in supermarkets, the concerted freeway slowing together, safely inflate a repaired truck tire, talking hearable secrets in public to members of a secret society who have vowed to kill you if they hear you talking irresponsibly. Each of these, each thing, each object, each social fact in its unmistakable, accountable orderliness, that makes it just this social fact: over the ground of its ongoing production it is just this social fact that the order producing staff is making; and they are doing it in such a way as to make it accountably this thing, just this thing evidently: Godel’s proof, reading poetry, pedestrian crosswalk behavior, teaching introductory sociology in lecture format to undergraduates. Call this property the “characterization problem.”

I want to start my explication of tutorial problems with the order production cohort’s technical preoccupation with “the characterization problem.” That preoccupation is congregational, demanded, ubiquitous, and incessant.

Our first step in making that property observable is helped by introducing a matter of syntax. In order to see the property, notice that the social fact in it lives, local, actual course is not yet directly observed, but to start with is indicated by enclosing a description in ticked brackets: ①The exhibited order of service ②. ③Entering the traffic stream ④. ⑤Exiting the baggage claiming area ⑥. With it we have a as a first observation, that is a direct and an immediate observation, that a property from the order phenomenon’s identifying orderliness is used as a name for the phenomenon’s identifying orderliness. More. As well as any property from the phenomenon’s identifying orderliness being immediately observable, any property from the phenomenon’s identifying orderliness will name the phenomenon adequately and evidently.

Indeed, it is an immediately observable phenomenon of order that is publicly and openly watchable, a great same phenomenon of order, offering cause for wonder, that: In its exhibited accord with the characterization problem ①The exhibited order of service ② is technically preoccupying, methodic, mundane, ordinary, produced over the ground with, in, and as of vulgar competence, by just this local endogenous populational cohort, recurrently; AND the gang could not be less interested in the work that they are doing to produce it and exhibit it as accountably just that thing.

Question: What is the work that the local order production cohort is “doing” that makes the produced social fact accountably just that? What in the world does the work of proving Heath’s visible proof of the Pythagorean theorem consist of that makes it, not the work of proving, but the Pythagorean theorem? What in the world, what in and as of this-worldly work is this garage man doing in reinflating the repaired eighteen-wheel truck tires that makes this tire the accountably repaired truck tire finally and safely reinflated?! We ask, What in the world the accountably just that social fact is? We ask, What in the world is the exhibited existence of an order of service that makes it just that: the exhibited existence of an order of service?

Ethnomethodology’s standing task is to examine social facts, just in every and any actual case asking for each thing, what makes it accountably just what that social fact is?

III. THE ACCOUNTABLY EXHIBITED EXISTENCE OF THE ORDER OF SERVICE

The materials of this part do not correspond to the order of service, nor do they copy the order of service. They exhibit the existence of the order of service. The materials specify the order of service as this-worldly work, and real work.

“This worldly” collects the work of contingently actually-not-supposedly exhibited existent orderlinesses of a service line. This work is to be compared with the work of contingently actual-and-not-supposed exhibited orderlinesses of a service line rendered in work’s details of mimetic narration, of theater, of simulations, of up-close magic, of mock-ups, of confidence games, of lies, of fraud, of marks, indications, signaling, signifying, symbolizing.

“Real” collects about an orderliness that it permits and is available to further

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6. Manny Schegloff suggested this felicitous description.
7. I thank Lucy Suchman for the ever renewed analytic probity of this description on each next occasion that the produced plain appearances of queues are concerns of queuing’s practices.
9. I need to thank Eric Livingston for his discovery of the characterization problem.
10. This is the vernacular practice of “synecdoche.”
exploration to inexhaustible depths of contingent facticities without errors, mistakes, gaps, omissions, incongruities, absurdities, and any and all the rest of unavoidable and demanded properties of descriptions at work sites of adequacy and evidence.

I refer to records and renderings of several service lines: a line selling fish on Laguna Beach; lines in several business establishments, i.e. a delicatessen at lunchtime; a check-in counter at LAX; check-out lines in a local supermarket; entrants on stilts in the Pacific Palisades Fourth of July parade. The entrants are starting to move again after waiting for the parade to continue.

In each line the parties are collaborating in such a fashion as to exhibit the existence of an order of service.

In each line the parties are exhibiting the existence of an order of service in no other way than in witnessable orderlinesses of the order of service. Call these orderlinesses witnessable details of the order of service. (For the time being the term "details" is only an abbreviation for the witnessable orderlinesses of the order of service used in the interests of orderly exposition. The subject of "details" is discussed in an earlier chapter.)

Its witnessable orderlinesses are the empirical heart of the order of service.

They are empirical grounds for EM’s central argument, namely: EM studies furnish to Durkheim’s aphorism not only in its version as a central policy of the worldwide social science movement but to his neglected argument as well, its original and correct understanding as, and its claims to, an empirical legacy.

The witnessable orderlinesses in formatted queues of the existence of an order of service is EM’s propaedeutic case. The case makes teachable an introduction to the domain of phenomena of social order that were learned and are described by Ethnomethodology’s authors in tutorial problems and hybrid studies of work.

These claims take on their life in tours of formatted queues.

By witnessable orderlinesses I mean that in tours of formatted queues we observe these orderlinesses that compose the order of service. Only in actual tours of formatted queues can we observe these orderlinesses that compose the order of service:

1. We observe the phenomenal field properties of “place work.”
2. We observe Durkheim’s properties of social facts understood Ethnomethodologically.
3. We observe that all the orderlinesses of the order of service are recognized by all the parties. Therein is the meaning of “the identifying orderliness of the apparent line.”
4. We make the rediscovery in each next actual case and we are able in situ by direct observation to specify the recurrent research recommendation that “the ways in which the orderlinesses of the order of service are produced and managed are identical with the ways those orderlinesses are made accountable.”
5. We observe as the accountable properties of the order of service. What a social fact is that makes it just that.
6. We observe as the accountable properties of the order of service a social fact’s identifying orderlinesses.
7. We observe this: “All of a queue’s properties are locally produced yet a queue is seen by its production cohort as a pre-existing propriety object.”
8. We observe from one queue to the next, recurrently, “The temporally exhibited proper ordering of details.”
9. We observe from one queue to the next, recurrently, “The temporally exhibited proper ordering of details tied to the organization of the lived work of exhibiting just this thing.”
10. We observe “In the case of the formatted queue, the order of service—and all of its associated, dependent, observable, and observed properties—are produced in and as the way its production cohort has positioned itself so as to exhibit that order of service.”

IV. THE IDENTIFYING ORDERLINESS OF THE APPARENT LINE

All these properties are available to all the parties of formatted queues. Call that property the identifying orderliness of the apparent line.

13. “Apparent” means “in appearances.” No irony is involved, such as the usage that compares “apparent” with “real.”
(3) The apparent line, i.e., the exhibited existence of the order of service is watchable (witnessable) in these particulars of its identifying orderlinesses.

(4) The apparent line, i.e., the exhibited existence of the order of service's identifying orderliness, is amazingly sensitive to "small incongruities." Surprisingly small incongruities reveal coherences in whole structures at a time.

(5) Among the wonderful properties that are seeably the What More there is to it, is that the order of service exhibits its character as a transcendental order of service. The exhibited coherence of the order of service's properties permits the deep examination of their transcendentality. With that property as an examinable result we are no longer in sight of philosophers and philosophy. If you want to critically examine academic discourses about transcendental objects of everyday activity then begin your inquiries by touring and collecting queues.

(6) All of what is promised and observable above in the "So What's" (1) to (5) is only for the great recurrent property of the transcendental order of service.

The apparent line has another detail of its examinable production, the standing property that it is immortal.14 The line's immortality possesses another and a distinct collection of the apparent line's empirically observable.

"Immortal" means that at the work site, empirically observable, directly and immediately, there is this about the order of service: It is assured by reason of the turnover of its personnel, who themselves arrange for the turnover in the place where the service is being delivered. We observe that the immortality of the order of service has nothing whatsoever to do with lexical rhapsodies such as some theorized version of an ideal queue, "Given once and for all, it can last forever."

Rather, just here, in just this place, is an arrangement of orderlinesses that are done by the local cohort, the local production staff, to exhibit this about the exhibited order of service: it will be there after the local staff leaves to be replaced by those who succeed it. Those who succeed it address themselves as well to this of what they are doing, that when they leave it will be there by those who will come after them.

Now we are getting into the WHAT MORE of the exhibited order of service's properties than that it is transcendental; specifically, that it is exhibitedly prior to and independent of any method or lexical device that is used to describe it. The existence of an order of service exhibits itself as the objective reality of the queue.

I'm dwelling on the property that the existence of an order of service exhibits itself as the objective reality of the queue. I'm dwelling on it for the good reason that with its properties of natural accountability, transcendentality, immortality, and objective reality I have only begun to explicate the autochthonous orderlinesses of formatted queues.

Transiency is a proxy descriptive characterization for witnessed things. Here is a case of it. High school students are milling around before they load the buses outside the Pacific Palisades library, it being the end of the school day. Drivers are waiting to load them onto the buses and drive away. They are milling. Nothing of queues is observable. That means all these gorgeous properties wait on their being exhibited in that after the bus drivers give each other the word they open the doors. The milling turns into separate lines witnessably moving to various buses. The properties that I described before—phenomenal field properties, transcendentality, immortality—become naturally accountable, unavoidable, unavoidably intelligible, without remedy, without alternatives, witnessably there. Above all they can be photographed.

The site makes me greedy. I grouch about the lack of money for multiple photographic versions. Not that multiple views are needed to make an argument that's good once and for all. Rather, the views freeze what is going on so that the work of examining them in seable series in these still frames provides what to look at and look for at the lived scene again. I'm thinking I'll use the filmic rendering as instructions with which to get access to what instead of filmic detail is actually and not supposedly the case.

If I can't do the recording job with photographs, I'll do it with what Livingston uses. He draws these crazy circles with noses. He arranges them in a line-on-the-page. The UCLA committee on research called the record incompetent and worse. They said that it is evidence of less than university-level work. It degrades the university. The UCLA Graduate Council refused approval of a seminar that used them as adequate description.

Pedantry can be counted on to miss the point. As soon as you see the nuttiness of his drawing, you understand. It might as well be nutty. Because you would not dare to read it off the page to decide its adequacy. You have no choice. You must take the drawing to that scene. There you use the drawing to start watching what the drawing affords in readable instructions is watchably the case. Like one-after-the-next. Who would have thought that the produced appearances of one-after-the-next could be so deep? Should you get engrossed you could spend days examining pairs of parties to the line and shuffling feet.

V. OBSERVABLE PHENOMENAL FIELD PROPERTIES OF THE ORDER OF SERVICE

Phenomenal field properties (called PHI) of "places," "positions," "alignment," "holding places," "holding alignment while moving the line," and "opening gaps to permit passage through the line," etc., are summarily abbreviated as phenomenal field properties of "place work."
The apparent line's phenomenal field properties, its PHI of "place work," its details of "place work," exhibit the order of service.

What in the world would this exhibited accountable existence of an order of service be? What in the world would this congregationally exhibited order of service that is so carefully accountably just that, be? What would it be observably and evidently?

In the first five chapters of Livingston's book he is concerned to specify, with the case of a formatted queue that he observed, what the order of service consists of in the apparent phenomenal field properties as of which the existence of the order of service is enacted and therein being witnessably exhibited is, according to a vernacular description of it, "done."

In the following description I use starred brackets, *( ) to mark off phenomenal field properties as observed empirical specifics in formatted queues that are cited in this discussion. I ask the reader:

Recall that the formatted queue is an oriented object.

For their adequacy and evidence it is unavoidable that descriptions exhibit the existence of an order of service, as a descriptive pedagogic order of argument.

Read these descriptions while watching a formatted queue.

Do not read only this description. And do not read this description while watching only one formatted queue. When reading this description, tour several queues.

*(There exists a head of the line); *(There is an end to the line); *(Persons are so positioned) *(as to make a great positioning-to-do about places in line), that is, *(taking places, marking, holding, counting, and aligning places . . .) *(In that places in line are procedurally and ongoingly arranged and available as a phenomenal line a newcomer is seen to) *(openly) *(examine the line of places) *(occasionally by passing alongside the line) *(from the front of the line) *(toward places at the end of the line) *(The end of the line is apparently watchably searched for and found by the newcomer) *(who then watchably so takes up a place at the end so as to continue the arrangement that was used to find it).

All these phenomenal field properties have an additional enacted coherence that is affiliated with their coherence that is enactedly exhibited as the order of service: their coherence is witnessingly moral. Its morality recapitulates the property mentioned previously of indefinitely deep availability to inexhaustible exploration once the analyst catches on to just this collaboratively exhibited existence of an order of service.

The analyst who catches on therewith receives a gift of inquiries: A first advisory in the gift is that if you want to study lines get into lines.

Of course that advice is not sufficient, let alone is it an only thing you can do to uncover organizationally perspicuous practices. EM's emphasis on coherences of observable orderlinesses addresses the properties that their recognition and intelligibility is immediate, direct, and unavoidable. These properties put an immediate premium and obvious usefulness on incongruity procedures. Organizational, characterological, bodily, interactional, trouble markers. Getting into line while wearing inverting lenses will reveal the phenomenal field properties of bodily work and body parts that bear with immediate perspicuity on witnessable congregational competence with the exhibited order of service. To reveal incompetence, consider how frequently mothers in line carry or otherwise restrain their children. Consider also that once you get into line persons will not therein question that you have rightfully gotten into line unless you start screwing around. Then you get instructed.

Formatted queues make up a tutorial problem in which a first observation, and a gorgeous real-world detail, is the watchable coherence of orderlinesses that observably consist of the apparent line in and as of phenomenal field properties. Call that first observation of coherence naturally accountable orderlinesses.

Add to that first observation that consists of naturally accountable orderlinesses the following further coherences:

The naturally accountable orderlinesses are available to all the parties.

All the naturally accountable orderlinesses of the exhibited existent order of service are available to all the parties.

And so too are all the further material properties of the exhibited order of service available to all the parties.16

Phenomenal field's witnessed details are collected as "Naturally organized ordinary activities." PHI's witnessed details specify a serious collection. By serious I mean that the collection's criterion of inclusion highlights the property that the coherence of the apparent line's phenomenal field properties is available to and is exhibited by the parties in the apparent line as the coherence of figural contexture. Their coherence is autochthonous.

Ethnmethodology's concerns with phenomena of adumbrational coherences have their empirical origins in descriptions of practical actions and practical reason by Calvin Mooers. These were followed by studies by myself and my students at UCLA and UC-Irvine of the Mooersian catalog, sight-specifically ordinary tasks with inverting lenses, formatted queues, way-finding journeys with occasion maps, etc.

Tutorial meetings with Aron Gurwitsch began in 1946. The dissertation and subsequent EM studies originated in phenomenologically tutored concerns with

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16. Call these "further properties" interchangeably "What More" "Just What" "the Missing What" "the That" "the Just That."
description and analysis of the coherence of objects. These were directed to their practical objectivity and practical observability. Carried out by deliberately misreading Gurwitsch’s The Field of Consciousness, Part Two, Some Principles of Gestalt Theory.

The misreading consisted of learning as sociology’s relevant enterprise to discard not only Gestalt theory and Gestalt principles as these were respesified by Gurwitsch’s transcendental phenomenological researches. Gurwitsch’s respesified generics of Gestalt theory and principles consisted of generics based on line drawings, lecture, and laboratory demonstrations; many of these were interpretations of published reports, extensive erudition in academic controversies specified with classic texts of philosophy and intellectual history, and remedial literary arguments.

These were replaced to accord with the post–World War II demand in the social sciences that general theorizing of organizational phenomena be motivated by actual researches that made use at actual work sites of explicit careful descriptions of discipline-specific methods. The problem of the coherence of objects had to be addressed with work-site stuff. It was to meet these constraints that local, endogenously produced, witnessed observed phenomenal fields of ordered phenomenal details are empirically specified in any actual case in coherent Gestalt properties of procedurally produced and naturally accountable organizational objects.

Gurwitsch’s results were appropriated by Ethnomethodology to the interests of the worldwide social science movement to empirically specify, and workplace-wise to learn, design, recognize, teach, administer, etc., what adequate methods and evidence could be in descriptions of the congregational production and accountability of social order.

VI. ORIENTED OBJECTS AND PHENOMENAL FIELD PROPERTIES OF SOCIAL FACTS: THEIR MUTUAL EXPLANATION

Formatted queues are paradigmatically oriented objects. Oriented objects and formatted queues provide to the comparative study of each other a cornucopia of mutual elucidative properties. Both objects are ubiquitously prevalent. They assure an endless source of first observations with which to describe instructably observable phenomenal field properties of social facts. Both are specifically uninteresting and specifically unremarkable. For both, production is done by one and all with vulgarly commonplace expertise. Therein the jobs of comparing them are an assured very low-cost, very high-production mine.

Both objects are omnipresent work sites of real, this-worldly, actual-not-supposed particulars of congregationally embodied concerted workplace practices.

In live exhibits, oriented objects provide an endless source of first observations with which to describe inductably observable phenomenal field properties of social facts, with both being endlessly various and certainly assured in their appearances of ordinary things.

The compare-able properties of both objects are occasioned. They are locally produced. They are only locally witnessable, and are only emplaced witnessably there. Therein they are massively produced, recognized, intelligible, and witnessable. Available to everyone and to them with astronomic prevalence they are seen but unnoticed; and neglected.

Their neglect is an apparent neglect. It is a witnessable neglect. In any actual case their neglect is observable evidentially as the apparent absence of articulate observations to specify that and just how they are nonetheless unavoidable, without remedy, and without alternatives. They permit no escape, no time out, no postponement, surrogates, substitutes, or proxies. In their exhibits of phenomenal field properties oriented objects are a neglected domain of endogenously produced and accountable orderliness.

In their exhibits of phenomenal field properties oriented objects are a neglected domain of endogenously produced and accountable orderliness of social facts. In the literatures of the social science movement the omnipresent properties of oriented objects are rendered as discipline-specific details of good work of science in social science. In the literatures of the endless arts and sciences of practical action and practical reason properties of oriented objects are displayed characteristically by being rendered as carefully described details of lexical generics, or as properties of arithmetic, or Euclidean and projective geometry; or as properties of the judgmental dopes of formal analytic consciousness, or as rational strategies, common purposes, or psychiatric histories, or as work-site specifics written in disembodied protocols of good work in manuals of actions-as-a-rule, or histories of progress through remedial consequences of troubles, with operational definitions specified in standard operating procedures, and so forth.

The point: Just in any and every actual case the order properties of formatted queues that are distinctive, singular, and unique to the order of service escape from accountability with the same careful methods that are used by the social science movement to describe them. Formatted queues mask with their commonplace order of service a point of vast experiential entry to sociology’s ordinary society.

CONCLUSION

The identifying orderliness of social facts and its various workplace-specific topical relevances to the parties is a discovered research subject in tutorial problems and in hybrid EM studies of work. To introduce and illustrate this claim in this docu-
ment formatted queues are sketched with descriptive characterizations. The characterizations are written to be read at the work site and are meant to be read at the work site alternately as descriptive/pedagogic orders of argument. When they are read in this way alternately as descriptions or instructed actions it will be observed that the characterizations do NOT correspond to Durkheim’s social facts. Nor do they copy Durkheim’s social facts. Nor do they imitate, represent, write in place of, offer as a plan, schema, essence, or model for Durkheim’s social facts.

Instead, read alternately in vivo as descriptions or instructed actions, they exhibit Durkheim’s social facts.

ONLY when they are read in this way do they exhibit Durkheim’s social facts. Only read in this way do they exhibit his neglected social facts. And then the exhibition consists in its work in and as of the local endogenous populational cohort’s congregationally produced and witnessable adequate and evident workplace completeness and sufficiency of instructed actions.

“Steering by the stars in Micronesian navigation”
“Way-finding journeys with occasion maps”
“Traveling waves in freeway traffic”
“Making music together”
“The collaboratively enacted prognosis for terminally ill patients in the intensive care unit of a Veteran’s Hospital”
“Galileo’s inclined plane demonstration of the real motion of free falling bodies”

Described “from the bottom up” each study specifies the particular social fact’s identifying orderliness as a distinctive researchable case of the Shop Floor Problem. Each study provides in workplace-specific, discipline-specific practices adequate and evident empirical warrants to the particular discipline’s distinctive constituents of the Shop Floor Problem.

The particular discipline’s distinctive constituents of the Shop Floor Problem escape from accountability with the same methods of formal analysis that are used to describe it.

Just what escapes? Just how does it escape?

The escape from accountability17 and the demonstrably absent accountability of the shop floor constituents reveal and exhibit as curious absurdities the corpus claims of the literatures of the analytic arts and sciences of practical action and practical reason. The literatures of the social science movement are consistent, reasoned, clear, lucid, coherent, reproducible, teachable, correctable. In any actual case the claims are also wrong, unavoidably wrong, and in any actual case without remedies or alternatives.