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From Pedestrian Thoroughfare to Public Space: The Social Life of the Esplanade Underpass

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the Esplanade Underpass, an underground thoroughfare in Singapore that supports a range of public users and uses, despite not being a formally planned or officially designated public space. The Esplanade Underpass serves as an interesting case study as most public spaces in Singapore are zoned and governed by regulations of various kinds. The Esplanade Underpass, however, is minimally subject to these forms of surveillance and control. This research asks: What are the characteristics of the Esplanade Underpass that set it apart from the narrative of order and control often imposed upon public spaces in Singapore?" Through participant observation and interviews, the study investigates the users and uses of the Underpass. The study reveals how a range of users of the Underpass adapt the physical space for various uses, consequently establishing a series of informal social norms. Through varied habitual uses, the Underpass has been transformed from a place of transit into a meaningful public space which possesses a vibrant social life. The study highlights the nuances of social engagement that can work to make spaces "public" and offers a novel understanding of informally formed public space in Singapore.

The provision of public space is central to the planning and design of cities. In public space, the city's political and social dynamics manifest; the diverse elements of its inhabitants, history and culture come together. Under modern city planning regimes, the creation of spaces for the public has been accompanied by a stronger emphasis on order and control. In this context, public space often becomes overly planned and regulated, sterile and controlled. From this, a contradiction arises. On the one hand, officially designated public spaces have become less inclusive of the diverse profiles and interests of the wider public. On the other hand, spaces not originally intended for public usage have emerged as vibrant spaces with various actors and activities. The public spaces of Singapore are no exception to this contradictory trend.

Opened in 2002, the Esplanade Underpass is an underground pedestrian transit space that connects the downtown cultural complex of the Esplanade Theatres with nearby landmarks, commercial buildings and transport networks. Originally designed solely for pedestrian transit, the Esplanade Underpass now hosts a variety of unplanned functions, including informal roller blading, dancing and picnicking. In the highly regulated city-state of Singapore, such transformation is rare. While guidelines exist on the usage of the space in the form of signage prohibiting certain activities, management and monitoring are minimal. As its diverse users adapt the space for their various needs, the Esplanade Underpass gains new meanings beyond its originally designated function, and becomes a well-used and well-loved space.

Through a qualitative study of the Esplanade Underpass (hereafter "the Underpass"), the study asks: who are the users of the Esplanade Underpass, and why do they come to this space? What are the factors that lead to the use of the Esplanade Underpass as a leisure space? How do the users of the Esplanade Underpass interact with the space, and with one another? This research draws upon the case of the Esplanade Underpass to analyse the formation, usage and dynamics of an informal public space in the context of Singapore, so as to better conceptualise the ideas of publicness and the urban public sphere. The study aims to shed light on the nature of public space that exists on the margins of functional modern planning discourses.

I begin with a review of scholarship relevant to the notion of public space and its definition, and provide an overview of the Singaporean context in which this research is grounded. I then proceed to outline the methodology used in this research, which is a qualitative participatory study of the space. The subsequent sections delve into the various aspects of the Underpass, its users and usage. The conclusion discusses the possible implications of the findings of this research for the study of urban public space.

Defining Public Space

What makes a space public? Geographer Kurt Iveson (2011, 4) defines public space simply as a space that is open to members of the public and contrasts this with private space, which is exclusive and closed off. Public spaces, in this sense, are spaces that allow free access. In the urban context, examples might include streets, plazas, or parks, which are commonly provided and managed by municipal authorities. However, increasingly in cities, open spaces that appear public may be privately owned or may develop as the result of private-public development partnerships. This has complicated the debate on what precisely constitutes public space in cities. Writing on the London context, Koch and Latham (2011, 518) assert that a necessary feature of public space is its ability to allow urban inhabitants to engage, interact, and come together around recognized common interests. In its ideal manifestation, public space has the users of the space at the core of its meaning, and social outcomes it makes possible are aligned with processes of collective deliberation among

people with diverse identities (Iveson 2011; Habermas 1962; Koch and Latham 2011). Public space then should be accessible to all, have diverse users and offer plentiful possibilities for human contact (Németh 2009, 2463).

Contemporary public spaces rarely attain this ideal state of inclusivity, and scholars lament the increasingly exclusionary nature of public space in the contemporary city. Iveson (2011), for example, notes that urban authorities often monitor and regulate "on behalf of a public that they claim is intimidated by begging, threatened by graffiti, menaced by boisterous groups of teenagers." (5). Sociologist David J. Madden (2010, 189) echoes this sentiment, claiming that spaces designated as public are increasingly becoming controlled, restricted and privatized, marked by exclusion and inaccessibility. This exclusion comes in the form of both the privatization of spaces for commercial purposes as well as the increasing control and monitoring of space to exclude elements of the public deemed undesirable. For Madden (2010, 190), public space reflects the wider political context, including the emphasis on social orchestration, surveillance and order. The right to use public space, supposedly the most open, democratic and inclusive element of the city, is foundational to city living. Thus, a draconian control of public space deprives the majority of inhabitants of their right to the city (Lefebvre 2003, 85).

A Space for the Public

A public space in its ideal sense seems impossible in today's cities, but some question whether it is necessary. Recent scholarship shows that traditional, purposefully designed or designated public spaces are not always the places where the ideals of public space are best realized. The essential features of public space, such as the coming together of differences and the exchange of values and norms, may be found elsewhere. In *Putting the Public Back into Public Space,* Iveson (1998, 23) draws on Iris Marion Young's idea that a "good" public space is one that contains multiple publics. This definition emphasizes that space is composed by actors and activities, rather than any official status or regime of legal access. Young's ideal of public space envisages users engaging with one another and deciding among themselves the norms of usage and interaction. This model of public space minimizes the risk of exclusion and inequality that is often seen in the promotion of a single ideal public (Iveson 1998, 22). Iveson (2007) draws on Young's work when he posits the notion of public space as "any space which is put to use at a given time for collective action and debate." (3). This suggests the possibility of public spaces where members of the public are able to assert their presence and rights despite the increasing restrictions, commercialization or privatization of space.

In his influential book *Life Between Buildings*, architect and urban designer Jan Gehl (2011) highlights the importance of the spaces "in-between" and their potential for connecting people and contributing to urban vitality. The ability for people to freely gather and engage in their desired activities in turn attracts others to use such spaces and thus generates vitality (Gehl 2011, 73). Sociologist Jeffrey Hou (2010) argues that while public space is supposed to be "open to all, well-known by all, acknowledged by all," (112) the actual making of public space is subject to the power and control of the state. Through a variety of case studies, Hou documents the ways in which urban-dwellers around the world have taken to pockets of forgotten space to carry out their desired activities. Acts of appropriation may differ from city to city, but Hou effectively shows that many cities have what he calls "insurgent public spaces," where new social arrangements are formed (Hou 2010, 12). Similarly, in their book *Loose Space*, Quentin Stevens and Karen Franck (2006) evoke pockets of space where, in the absence of excessive design, control and monitoring of authorities, there is a strong variety and representation of both actors and activities. These pockets of space and the acts of appropriation that they host thus loosen the tight control that authorities impose upon the urban public sphere.

Public space in Singapore

In the context of Singapore, urban space has historically been determined by functional planning principles (Hornidge and Kurfürst 2011, 346-347). Order in society is tied to both the legibility of the built environment and the effective regulation of space (Yeoh 2003, 268; Goh 2005, 75). Land in Singapore is neatly zoned by functions, such as retail, transport, residential, and so on. This quest for order was fitting in the immediate post-independence days of Singapore, given the social disorder and political instability of the new nation (Teo 1992, 171). The need and desire for order thus resulted in heavy social orchestration and paternalistic governance that are characteristic of Singapore's urban development policies (Dale 1999, 98).

The paternalistic nature of governance in Singapore manifests itself clearly in the planning and control of public space. To ensure order in public space, for example, the government implemented Section 141 of the Penal Code, which prohibits assembly of 5 or more persons in the public sphere for the purpose of protesting (Yeo et al 2012, 381). "Legal" protests must be granted prior permission, and are physically limited to the Speaker's Corner of Hong Lim Park (Padawangi 2014, 12). In this arrangement of order, the void decks of the Housing Development Board (HDB) residential estates are some of the few spaces in Singapore that are not so function-specific and are sanctioned to accommodate public

Figure 1. Railings placed at a void deck to deter young boys from playing ball games (Source: Jo, Ong and Chia, 2016)

social gatherings. HDB, a government body, develops and manages Singapore's large stock of public housing, which houses approximately 80% of the country's population. Constructed at the ground level of residential blocks, void decks were originally intended by the HDB as an "undifferentiated, open region, available for appropriation in different ways for different ends by different groups" (Cairns 2014, 81). They are used for a variety of functions, including weddings, funeral wakes, and as polling stations during elections; they include basic amenities such as benches and chess boards, allowing residents to use the space for leisure.

Despite this original intention to not prescribe functions to the void deck, there have nonetheless been attempts to impose order in these spaces via signage and physical installations (Tan 2016). Railings prevent ball games and signs prohibiting a variety of activities are prominently displayed (Figure 1 & 2). These are preventive measures to offset possible conflicts of interest between the various users.

Figure 2. Regulations seen at a void deck in Singapore (Source: Author)

The case of the void deck illustrates the constant intervention of authorities into the regulation of public spaces. In their investigation of public space planning in Singapore, Limin Hee and Giok Ling Ooi (2003, 505) point out that the current practice of planning produces public spaces that are "based on a mere superficial or aesthetic instrumentalization of 'difference'." The vision of public order that the Singaporean state has

historically pursued thus excludes diverse elements of the public that are considered disruptive to this age-old state narrative (Hee and Ooi 2003, 523).

This research seeks to contribute to the existing scholarship on public space in general and in Singapore specifically by providing a detailed case study of an unconventional space in the Singaporean political context of control and order.

Methodology

To carry out this study I adopted a mixture of qualitative research methods, including participant observation, semi-structured interviews, as well as photographic documentation. In studying public spaces, sociologist Jan Gehl and Birgitte Svarre (2013) recommend that the public be "observed, their activities and behaviour mapped in order to better understand the needs of users and how city spaces are used" (9). An observational study brings nuanced insight into the social life of the Underpass, as such observations may reveal dimensions that users themselves are not aware of (Gehl and Svarre 2013, 5). Indeed, through prolonged observation of the Underpass, I was able to discern activities that interviewees themselves failed to mention. Observational work was complemented by photographic documentation and activity mapping, which sought to capture individual actions as well as relational social patterns. The key focus of the investigation was the users of the Underpass: their presence and activities, their interactions with others, as well as their interactions with the Underpass built environment. These observations were carried out over 10 sessions on weekdays and weekends, each lasting an average of 3 hours. Observations were undertaken both in the daytime and at night to capture the possible variances in the usage of space. In total, the study draws on 30 hours of observation.

Semi-structured interviews were also carried out with two groups: a sample of users of the Underpass and individuals linked to organizations relevant to the maintenance and governance of the Underpass. Interviews were conducted with a subset sample of users of the

Underpass to understand their experiences in the space, and to access their accounts of why and how they use the space. According to Brinkmann (2014), interviews reveal how the interviewees "experience the world, how they think, act, feel and develop as individuals and in groups" (278). While observations necessarily require the observer to make assumptions and interpretations, interviews allow the subjects to better represent themselves in their own words. Interviews complement direct observations well, as they provide meaningful insights and alternative perspectives into the cursory observations of the researcher (Jackson 1983, 40). Eighteen interviews were carried out with a sample of users of the Underpass, with an average length of 20 minutes per interview. The users were selected for their engagement in specific activities which were routine and dominant in the space. In addition, four interviews were carried out with public and private entities relevant to the Underpass so as to gain a better contextual understanding of the creation of the Underpass, and the vision that authorities have for public spaces. These interviews were semi-structured, and the conversation developed based on the responses of the interviewees.

A Closer Look at the Underpass

With a total area of 1260 m^2, the size of the Underpass allows it to accommodate a large number of people. Sandwiched between two large commercial entities, the Esplanade Theatres and CityLink Mall, the Underpass benefits from "leaked" cool air. Thus, despite lacking air-conditioning, the temperature of the space is more comfortable than the tropical heat outdoors. Given its size and ambience, on any night, there could be five or six different groups using the space. A physical feature that complements the size of the Underpass to make it an ideal multifunctional space is its structural columns. There are 20 metal columns in the Underpass, each with a circumference of 2.2 meters. The columns informally act as "territory" markers for the users, and create a public-private nature to the space. While users always return to their "claimed" columns when they take a break from their activities, because these "markers" are impermanent, users still

Figure 3. The Esplanade Underpass on a Thursday evening (Source: Author)

adjust and adapt the extent of their territory to accommodate various other users when necessary. This configuration is ideal, as it gives both ownership of the space, and at the same time a sense of mutual responsibility over it to share.

Other features of the Underpass that are adapted in various ways are the floor surfaces and the wall. The tiled flooring of the Underpass is a favorite amongst users. The smooth floor is ideal for skateboarding and stunt cycling. Many dancers prefer the smooth flooring as it allows them to practice more complex moves with limited resistance. While a studio provides the same amenity, a studio is "expensive" and lacks the "rig-and-rag street feel" of the Underpass (Interviewee 9). The tiled walls themselves also have a peculiar use. Unlike a typical dance studio, there are no mirrors at the Underpass. Most dancers thus rely on cameras and hand phones to record their progress, or observe themselves through the minimally reflective surface of the highly-

polished, granite finished wall (Figure 4 & 5). In this way, users creatively make use of the architecture, adapting it to serve their needs.

While the diversity of both users and usage gives the Underpass the semblance of a public space, it is not officially designated as one. It is under the management of Singapore's Land Transport Authority (LTA), and its primary and original purpose is to offer an underground route between the Esplanade Theatres, nearby landmarks, and the underground transport system. The Esplanade Theatres is a key stakeholder as many of its visitors pass through the Underpass. The early appearance of alternative expressive uses of the Underpass led to conversations between the Esplanade Theatres and the LTA (Interviewee 2). It was agreed that the best course of action was to not intervene with the activities at the Underpass, so long as these activities do not hinder pedestrian flow (Interviewee 2). The LTA, the owner of the space itself, tolerates the activities at the Underpass, provided that the Underpass

is able to maintain its original function as a pedestrian thoroughfare (Interviewee 4). The Esplanade Theatres is aware of the activities that go on at its doorstep; given its status as a cultural and artistic institution of international scale, and its desire to nurture local talents while at the same time maintaining the prestige of its art production, the Theatres made the decision to be a neutral party to allow budding talents a venue to explore their creative side. There was no intention to either stimulate or stifle this "incidental cultivation of spontaneous creativity" (Interviewee 2).

Figure 4. Two dancers using a tripod and their phone to record themselves (Source: Author)

The lack of constant regulation from government authorities and commercial entities further adds to the ability of the Underpass to accommodate varied uses. While public space in Singapore is typically regulated by surveillance cameras, CCTVs are not present at the Underpass. Many of the users interviewed affirmed that they have not seen or been approached by a figure of authority, such as a security guard. This lack of both commercialisation pressure and constant monitoring loosens up the space for "transgressive" behaviours. While there are signs that prohibit sleeping and skateboarding, these activities are constantly taking place at the Underpass.

Although the Underpass is a publicly accessible transit space, it was not designed and built as a public space in any conventional sense. The transformation of the Underpass from a thoroughfare to a public space shows that the meanings and functions of the built

environment, if let be, may change over time through the influence of different users. Stewart Brand's book *How Buildings Learn* (1994) argues that the built environment is not fixed in its meaning and function, but instead is invested with identities dependent on its users and their activities. Similarly, sociologist Tom Gieryn (2002) argues that buildings are "objects of (re)interpretation, narration and representation" (65) and are always experiencing a change of meaning based on users and their ability to reinvent the built environment based on their realization of its alternative possibilities. The Underpass, given its physical characteristics and its lack of surveillance, affords a range of possibilities that often cannot be realized in highly designed and controlled spaces. With its minimal provision of facilities, the Underpass remains versatile in meaning and function. As a space that is "empty of meanings," the Underpass readily "acquire[s] constantly changing meanings – social, political, economic – as users reorganize and reinterpret them" (Chase et al. 1999, 29). Lacking elaborate physical planning and minimal regulation, it is able to accommodate the fluidity of desire and usage, allowing users to design their own experiences.

Figure 5. A group dancing facing the wall to catch their reflection (Source: Author)

The Underpass as a Space of Convergence

Due to its unrestricted nature, the Underpass hosts a variety of users who flow in and out of the space. These users represent a wide range of demographics, and the social characteristics

Figure 6. Rollerbladers (top left), break dancers (top right) and domestic workers (bottom) at the Underpass (Source: Author)

of alternative users of the Underpass cut across age, gender, ethnicity and class. Many of the dancers and skaters who come at night are younger adults. While the dancers normally come in gender-exclusive groups, in general both are equally represented. At lunchtime on weekdays, office workers would come to practice a dance routine, or construction workers would come to have their midday rest. On weekends, the space becomes crowded with foreign domestic workers who spend their time catching up or practicing for a showcase, a common event among members of this community. There are also groups that come for weekly exercises, such as zumba or aerobics. Given Singapore's strongly articulated multiracial policy and its status as a global city that attracts immigrants from all around the world, the diversity of Singaporean society is inevitably reflected in the characteristics of the users of the Underpass.

The co-existence of users, whose profiles span across age, gender, ethnicity and class, implies that social relations of the Underpass space are defined not by users' demographic or social differences, but primarily by their activity at the Underpass. At the Underpass, the users were "skateboarders" or "dancers" or "picnickers." This was best exemplified when a female skater said she did not realize she was the only female in the space until it was pointed out to her by the interviewer (Interviewee 18). Social identities and divisions are left outside of the space, generating equality in terms of the right to use the space. This allows the Underpass to truly act as a space of deliberation and inclusion.

A common group of users at the Underpass are the break dancers. The dancers assemble at the Underpass almost as a nightly routine, and they have come a long way on their dance journeys. As one break dancer of the Underpass shared, when he first started

dancing his secondary school would issue warnings as "breakdancing was seen as bad and dangerous" (Interviewee 8). Having danced at the Underpass for 6 years, this male dancer and his group have found a space where they can practice freely and forge a community where they can learn from other dancers. Here, they also engage in acts that are normally seen as publicly inappropriate, such as dancing shirtless. This is one of the reasons why the dancers prefer the Underpass to government-sanctioned spaces such as *SCAPE.[1] The Underpass is thus appealing because it provides a setting for people to comfortably engage in activities that are restricted in other public spaces. In the foyers of private buildings such as the Esplanade Theatres and Changi Airport, dancers are chased out by security (Interviewee 10). In contrast, at the Underpass, users engage in their activities without needing to worry about legality and permissibility. In addition, those who use the space enjoy the accolades of spectators and those passing by (Interviewee 9). This adds to the sense of recognition and legitimation that young users are often denied.

Similarly, skateboarders are a common sight at the Underpass. Scholars, notably Borden (2001), have discussed the ways in which skateboarding is being incorporated into the city through the provision of skate parks, multipurpose recreational youth parks and skate festivals. However, for the most part, skateboarding is restricted to only these designated spaces. Further it is not recognized as a legitimate mode of transport in Singapore. One Underpass skateboarder spoke to this:

> At the foyer outside the Esplanade Park, skaters are not allowed. Even though scooters and bikers are allowed, the skateboarders get stopped. It's just a form of transportation for us, but the guards always stop us. (Interviewee 16)

While skate parks are laudable attempts by authorities to make space for skateboarding, the infrastructures provided "do little to replicate the freedom and spontaneity of the sport" (Owens 2002, 158). Another Underpass skateboarder shared his view: "Singapore also has no indoor skate park; and it is hot and rainy so we come here" (Interviewee 15)." The Underpass thus provides skaters with a refuge from the hot and erratic tropical weather of Singapore. According to this skateboarder, attempts to incorporate skateboarding into the urban environment of Singapore do not genuinely address skateboarders' needs, such as the desire for shelter and thermal comfort. At the Underpass, while skateboarding is technically prohibited as communicated through the regulatory signs, the lack of constant enforcement allows skateboarders to practice their craft.

Beyond young people and their various activities, the Underpass also provides shelter from rain and shine for many other groups who are not always given the luxury of space in the public sphere. On weekends, domestic workers make up the majority of the bustling crowd. These are typically Filipinos and Indonesians who live and work with Singaporean households and carry out daily family tasks. On Sunday afternoons, there are at least a dozen groups, with their picnic mats, just catching up with one another. I was told by a Filipino domestic worker that many of them come here to practice dance routines for events, while the Indonesian domestic workers would come to prepare for beauty pageants (Interviewee 19). The two women I spoke with told me that the space was free of distractions, thus allowing them to focus on their activities, reiterating once again the public-private nature of the Underpass. While it gets crowded and rather noisy on Sundays when various groups are engaged in their different activities, for the domestic workers who spend most of their week in the home of their employer, the lively and jovial atmosphere is very much appreciated (Interviewee 20).

As an incidental space, the Underpass acts as an inclusive neutral ground where users engage in activities that are often "unplanned, unscheduled, unorganized and unstructured (Oldenburg 1989, 33)" and from there engage with fellow users of the space. One competitive rollerblader who trains at the Underpass twice a week noted that many of the pioneers in her sport had come here to practice, and this was

how she got to know others who shared her passion (Interviewee 18). In addition, she made friends with the skateboarders, who "use [her] cones sometimes to practice." These interactions allow her to establish rapport with peers. Another dancer told me that he met his group of friends in informal dancing spots like the Underpass, and they became his mentors halfway through his dance journey. They have been dancing together since 2014, and have expanded their group through the companionship that they have found at the Underpass (Interviewee 9). These stories reinforce the way this space forges communities of interest that cut across other axes of difference.

While these activities and interactions can technically take place in other public spaces in Singapore, they rarely do. Loitering and skateboarding are actively legislated and frequently forbidden. Dancing in public areas, such as on the street, can be seen as disruptive to the orderly and seamless flow of people in transit. The constant regulation of public space reduces its publicness, removing those who do not contribute to the larger construct of order that is at times overemphasised in modern planning principles. By merely being present and active in the space, users contribute to the vibrant multi-publicness of the Underpass.

The Frictions and Seams of Public Interactions

While peace and order is often deemed as the highest good, in a space that attracts such a diverse public as the Underpass, this singular sense of order is harder to come by. In the words of architect H. Koon Wee (2014, 190), public spaces should "function as receptors designed to absorb and modulate the full range of expressions of the societies they serve, from celebratory events to difficult forms of questioning." This ties back to Iris Marion Young's definition of public space - as a space of contestation and negotiation. A space that is truly inclusive of various actors and their activities cannot avoid occasional conflicts.

At the Underpass, there is an unspoken and assumed hierarchy of use. The dancers associate the space with the Esplanade Theatres, a nationally renowned art institution, and believe that this is the space that the Esplanade Theatres is marking out for them. They thus feel that they have the right of usage over fellow skateboarders and cyclists. This belief is reinforced by signs that prohibit skateboarding. As skateboarding is a fast-moving sport, skateboarders at times run into spatial conflicts with other groups of users. One dancer shared with me about an incident when his group of friends got into an argument with a group of skateboarders who were recklessly doing stunts in the dancers' space (Interviewee 9). This led to a disagreement that quickly became heated, thus requiring a process of difficult negotiation.

Similarly, there is occasional disgruntlement among some dancers and skaters with respect to domestic workers who spend time in the Underpass. Younger users who engage in creative and artistic activities often find it hard to comprehend the choice of those who elect to use the Underpass to lay out their sedentary picnics. They find such actions not a 'productive use' of the space (Interviewee 15). There is an implicit judgement of what is the 'right' and 'wrong' usage of space, causing moments of confusion, discomfort, doubt and confrontation.

When probed further, it became clear that such contentions were not based on judgment of the different users per se, but rather based on actions and behaviors that did not comply with certain assumed protocols or norms. For example, many dancers frowned upon skateboarders who removed the lids off of rubbish bins to use as props, but forget to put them back on the bins (Interviewee 5). Others were unhappy with the litter that some picnickers left behind after their weekly gatherings (Interviewee 10). These minor irritations rarely manifested as outright hostility, but instead resulted in productive cooperation and exchange of values and mutual responsibility. While uncomfortable exchanges may occur, there is no explicit action to curtail other people's usage of the

Underpass, neither is judgment of other users a common occurrence. In the same anecdote above of the conflict between the dancers and the skateboarders, the dancer reflected that while the official law was on their side because skateboarders were technically not allowed to skate at the Underpass, the last thing he would have done is to resort to contacting the police as a means of resolving the issue (Interviewee 9). There is less concern with the rule of law, but more with common values and a code of conduct, which can be mediated through constructive exchanges.

According to Lefebvre (2003, 180), the dominance of the state over public space and social interaction creates a false understanding and representation of urban society that does not reflect its complexity and diversity. Jane Jacobs (1992 [1961],) echoes this sentiment by calling modern orthodox planning a "dishonest mask of pretended order" (143) through the suppression of organic dynamics and exchanges amongst members of the public. At the Underpass, there is no such mask of order. The adaptive and negotiated social order that exists at the Underpass signifies a space that is truly representative of the heterogeneity of its users, where the public is free to express its diverse nature (Cupers and Miessen 2002, 126). Mutual understanding and shared responsibility are values actively upheld by the users of the Underpass, rather than by any signs of prohibition and penalty, or by an authority of the state. This mutual understanding does not come easily – in fact, it may even come at the cost of occasional confrontations and uncomfortable exchanges. However, through negotiation and compromise, users at the Underpass create an internal code of conduct that upholds unique social norms and values. This will be explored in the final section of this paper.

A Space of Co-creation and Shared Values

Amidst the many activities at the Underpass is a social order that is arguably essential to the negotiation of conflicts and the peaceful coexistence of its users. The lack of surveillance by an external authority, as well as the limited imposition of the rule of law, requires a code of conduct that the users impose onto one another so as to accommodate the various actors and activities at play. When asked about the conflicts that occur at the Underpass, the majority of users affirmed the mainly peaceful interactions in the space. A skateboarder shared:

> This space gets packed with skateboarders on Wednesday nights and on the weekends but there is always space. Skateboarders don't fight over space; we are a very peaceful group. We respect other people's space. We give and take. (Interviewee 17).

Another dancer shared:

> Sometimes when we need to film [our dancing], some groups stop their music for us. And when they need to film, we stop our music for them. It's not like we spoke to them or they approached us, but it's because we respect them. (Interviewee 5).

There is tactful yet firm knowledge of how to share space. It is an intentional process, as there is no formal designation of space. The idea of "respect" was often mentioned by interviewees, along with the recognition that users were all facing the same "plight." Everyone needs some space, so everyone gives some space. Everyone needs to film their progress at some point, so users help one another out. This value of respect is not directly communicated between users, but it shapes the interactions at the Underpass to a great extent, as portrayed in these interviews.

In giving respect, users expect respect in return, forging an accountable relationship of "give and take." Mutual understanding amongst users becomes a key reason why the Underpass succeeds in its provision for so many different activities. Users themselves would reinforce the social and spatial order of the space when this mutual understanding is compromised. As much as possible there is an attempt to promote the value of sharing space. The users themselves become a sort of authority, actively making sure that the norms are upheld and respected.
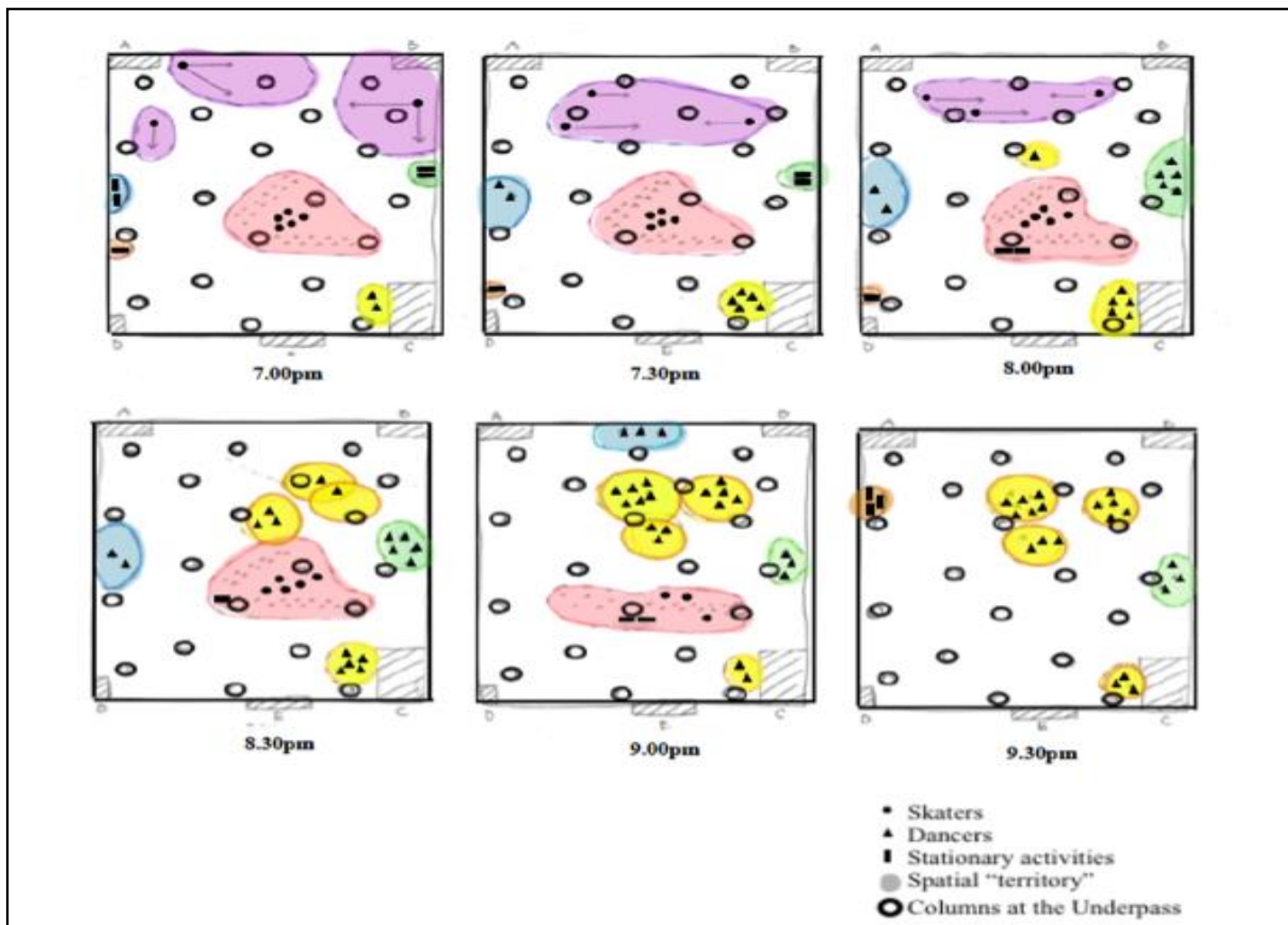
Figure 7. Diagrammatical representation of the activities at the Underpass in 30-minute intervals, from 7.00pm - 9:30pm, Thursday 09/02/2017. The different colours represent the changing "territorial" boundary of the groups. As seen, these

One dimension of how difference is managed at the Underpass is through a temporal sorting. Middle class office workers dancing at lunch time do not use the space at the same time as the homeless men bedding down for the night, or with the school-aged skateboarders. During early evening, the Underpass is dominated by skateboarders and rollerbladers, and later at night the break dancers arrive. Sunday is when space is shared with domestic workers. Such temporal trends in usage are expected and anticipated. While anyone can come and use the space, there is a general respect for the norms that have naturally emerged from the use of the space over the years.

Figure 7 represents this temporal-spatial delineation of space and the respect shared amongst users in the process of spatial negotiation. The "territory" of the different groups shift to accommodate new users coming in. On a Thursday night, for example, as the Underpass begins to fill up with more users at 8pm, the rollerbladers (red) rearrange their cones to make room for the break dancers. Similarly, as more pedestrian traffic flows in and out of the Underpass from 7pm to 8pm, the skateboarders (purple) will restrict their movements to where fewer people are passing by, instead of skating across the thoroughfare route.

In place of the standard modes of supervision of CCTV and security personnel, at the Underpass, the only constant "authority" is the cleaner, whose company is contracted by the LTA. The cleaner comes twice a day to clean the Underpass. He knows the people who come here, and when I was conducting my research he pointed to me the good dancers. The cleaner contributes to the life of the space itself, not

only by "holding the space" together through his work of maintenance, but also through his daily participation in the events of the space (Jacobs et al 2012, 3). The cleaner colludes in the making of the Underpass as a public space that accommodates alternative users and uses. In fact, he plays an important role in maintaining the unofficial status quo of the space. He does not report the skateboarders that he sees using the lids of trash bins as obstacles. When the longboard skaters spread chalk over the underpass floor, the cleaner does not report or scold them. Instead, he hands them a mop and a bucket, and asks them to clean up after themselves in an attempt to teach them to be "responsible" and to "respect other people" (Interviewee 07).

Where there is no existing structure and order, there can be more room for invention, creation and collaboration, thus resulting in users of the space being motivated and empowered to "reinvent culture from scratch" (Hughes and Sadler 2000, 149). This reinvention of culture shows itself in the interactions between the cleaner and his friends, amongst the dancers in the space, thus instrumenting a new social imagination that differs from the social programming of public space imposed by those in power (Holston 2012, 424). At the Underpass, property owners do not chase skateboarders out; security guards do not remove unauthorized objects stored by the public. The nature of the relationships that exist at the Underpass is not one between an authority and the public, nor one between a law-abider and a law-breaker. It is an instructive and constructive relationship between co-users of the same space. All of this brings back the centrality of the public into public space.

Conclusion

Despite being a space of transit, the Underpass has been transformed into a space that houses a truly vibrant public life made up of a diverse public. The Underpass was never designed with elements of an ideal public space in mind, and yet it is able to realize and fulfil the promise of a public space that is inclusive, representative and fluid in its meanings and norms. It is a space that succeeds in evoking a sense of ownership, empowerment and freedom, thus lending it the appearance of an ideal public space.

In the words of sociologist Henri Lefebvre, the city should be a space where conflicts are openly expressed and where inhabitants gain full participation in different processes and outcomes (Purcell 2008, 94; Lefebvre 2003, 163). At the Underpass, we see the mixing and mingling of different groups who use the space, all of whom engage in a process of negotiating the space amongst one another. We see official regulations being transgressed, as alternative norms of respect and mutual understanding arise. Such spaces as the Underpass allow users to realize rights to the city that are often lost in the bureaucratic production and control of space. If such a space were to be seriously considered and successfully incorporated into the planning of the city, Singapore would have the potential to become a more vibrant and adaptive city, especially in the fast-changing global scene.

In recent months, new developments have occurred in the space that pose an interesting provocation to this study. If before the Underpass was unique in its lack of surveillance and imposition of order, this uniqueness has now eroded as cameras have been installed at the four exits leading out of the space. Advertising boards that were once dilapidated are now renovated and used by the LTA for the announcement of their future development plans. One hypothesis of this paper was that the lack of tight surveillance at the Underpass has allowed for a diverse range of users and activities to flourish, consequently leading to a more representative and dynamic public sphere. This change in policy and control of the space creates a rare opportunity for a before-and-after study, where it is possible to test for the impact of surveillance and control on the publicness and the use of space. Such work, of which the present study contains many insights of the "before" condition, has the potential to have far-reaching consequence on the future of public space in Singapore.

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Endnotes

[1] *SCAPE is a popular government-run space in downtown Singapore that is specifically designated for youth activities. *SCAPE is typically packed with teenagers and is closely monitored by property owners.

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When Your Neighbourhood Changes: Living Through Gentrification in Amsterdam Oud-West

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study investigates the lived experiences of gentrification for locals in the urban neighbourhood of Oud-West in Amsterdam. A gentrification policy was used to turn this neighbourhood with a relatively low socioeconomic status and limited property investment into an attractive area of reinvestment and economic activity. For locals, this strategy resulted in changes to the urban landscape, such as soaring housing prices, new investment projects, tourism, and a new, transient, young urban professional group of inhabitants. Following this demographic change, the locals that have not been physically displaced nevertheless experience a sense of displacement. By analyzing the concept of 'transience', this study shows how the relatively short and less integrated stay of global young urban professionals results in a perceived loss of social cohesion. Moreover, this young urban professional population's increasing demand for an 'Airspace' type of hospitality radically changes local and authentic businesses, resulting in a perceived lack of diversity and authenticity. Furthermore, locals report how they experience new inhabitants to be less tolerant towards 'big city life', and have a stronger sense of malleability.

Gentrification is the process of a more affluent population moving into an area of lower socioeconomic status, typically accompanied by changing street views, rising prices, and the displacement of locals. Gentrification has been accelerating in cities worldwide. Often established by projects intentionally designed to reshape rundown areas, a gentrifying neighbourhood is marked by the rapid growth of new enterprises, hospitality businesses (such as new cafés, bars and restaurants), and property investment. Following this trend, Amsterdam's neighbourhood of Oud-West, traditionally a less affluent and multicultural area, has been gentrifying, with soaring housing prices since 2005 (City of Amsterdam 2016), and notable changes in its street view since 2010 (Agora Europa 2015; Borrel 2017). Bordering the inner city of Amsterdam, the neighbourhood has increasingly become frequented by tourists and inhabited by a more affluent population. In line with existing literature, the evaluation of gentrification is complex: on the one hand, it is regarded as a welcome advancement of the city's economy and competitiveness, livability and real estate value. On the other hand, different effects on the population include living through forced displacement, loss of affordable housing, community resentment and loss of social diversity (Atkinson 2004). Rather than understanding gentrification as a commercial development, this research aims to approach the discussion of gentrification in a critical manner by articulating its effects on long-time residents (defined as people who were either born in Oud-West or have lived there for at least 25 years) and their neighbourhood.

This article seeks to answer the question: How do locals of Amsterdam Oud-West experience living in an area that has been gentrifying rapidly? In order to answer this question, and using the relevant existing literature as a starting point, this study approaches gentrification in a multi-dimensional manner. Our main findings are that Oud-West has changed from a residential neighbourhood to a neighbourhood popular among an international, young urban professional, transient population. Whereas some of the local population has been displaced, most people face a similar sense of displacement without actually being physically removed.

While research on gentrification often focuses on its effects on a neighbourhood's existing population, this article is concerned with the perceived 'transience' of new people in the neighbourhood of Oud-West by locals, as well as the concept of 'Airspace' (introduced later). This research is of a qualitative nature, and aims to examine gentrification through the lens of local residents. The study is conducted by two researchers, one local to Oud-West and one who is originally from Cologne, Germany, and has lived in the Netherlands for two years.

In the second section of this paper, the theoretical framework will be outlined by means of a literature review. The third section provides relevant background information on Oud-West. The fourth section discusses the methodology as well as the study's strengths and limitations. We then describe our findings on how existing residents experience this form of gentrification: first, they see that the housing market will make it difficult for them and their children to remain in the neighborhood; second, they react to a change in demographics and declining diversity; third, they feel a lack of social cohesion with regards to new inhabitants ('the gentrifiers'); fourth, to them, new inhabitants are less tolerant, which is changing the neighbourhood; and finally, they feel estranged through the changing nature, and increasing homogenisation of shops and services.

In order to discuss the effects of gentrification more concretely in our interviews, we include the two case studies of De Hallen and De Rond. Both cases resemble two key reference points that symbolize the neighbourhood's recent development and illustrate how existing residents have been reacting to the gentrifying process.

Gentrification and the Creation of 'Airspace'

Gentrification, "the creation of space for the affluent" (Doucet et al. 2011, 1438), is used by policy makers to develop neighbourhoods with relative poverty and limited property investment into attractive areas of reinvestment and commodification. Yet in reality, these practices entail crucial changes for local residents. Previous qualitative research on the lived experience of locals in gentrifying areas shows that its evaluation is complex. Doucet's (2011) research in Rotterdam mainly discusses the influx of new shops, renovated housing and the upgraded image of a neighbourhood, including falling crime rates, and demonstrates that locals recognise the positive aspects of an improved neighbourhood. Reportedly, locals feel proud to live in a now popular neighbourhood that was once an undesirable one (ibid). Unlike other research, Doucet reports that no tension was perceived between new places catering to new residents and existing places for locals.

The city's aim in developing a run-down area and attracting different income groups is to improve the neighbourhood and create a community that mirrors the socioeconomic, cultural and ethnic diversity of the city's diverse population at large (Atkinson 2004; Doucet 2011). The outcome, however, is typically a takeover by the more affluent layer of gentrifiers in terms of housing, shops, and hospitality, rather than cohesion. Gentrification has therefore been described as an attempt to conceal rather than solve inequalities of income and opportunity. In the long run, as the original inhabitants are directly or indirectly forced to relocate, the intended diversity within the population fades as the neighbourhood homogenises into an upper-class area (Atkinson 2004; Slater 2006; Lees 2008; Boterman & Gent 2014). Further research by Criekingen (2009) and Shaw & Hagemans (2015) reveals a discrepancy between locals and new residents in terms of integration and sense of community. On the one hand, new tenants are usually young adults with a higher education degree, who themselves associate gentrification with the positive notion of upward social mobility. On the other hand, locals indicate that newcomers do not invest time and effort into the community, and do not integrate into the culture of sociability, which is often based in and around local shops (Butler 2003). Consequently, a more affluent neighbourhood comes with an uneven distribution of wealth, which changes shop fronts and their pricing. This has negative consequences for the lower-income classes and their social life. In Shaw and Hagemans' (2015) study, participants describe a lack of choice of affordable stores, such as butchers and fruit shops, because local places start targeting the new, more affluent, consumer. In the process of gentrification, old shops close and are replaced by new ones, isolating gentrifiers from the existing community (Lees 2008; Gent 2013). Locals feel increasingly segregated from new stores and restaurants, which is not deliberate but the result of income disparity and lifestyle differences (Butler 2003).

As explained by Shaw and Hagemans (2015), displacement does not require physical removal, but also refers to relational and social elements. They argue that the dream of 'revitalisation without displacement', the evidence-based policy dream of gentrification without negative impacts, is very problematic. Gentrification is not only problematic in terms of displacement, but a sense of loss of place through a transforming neighbourhood. The gentrification process requires many local shops that serve as local meeting points to close down, which strongly impacts the neighbourhood's lower income groups, hence creating a sense of loss of place through a transforming neighbourhood. Gentrification is not only problematic in terms of displacement, but over time, communities become alienated from their neighbourhood, and locals start to leave (Butler 2003). This is in accordance with Butler (2003), who argues that despite the emerging social disparities, local populations of gentrifying neighbourhoods still feel a strong emotional attachment to the area. However, their perceived identification with the neighbourhood declines, which points to the dynamics of displacement. Gentrification is not only problematic in terms of displacement, but over time communities become alienated from their neighbourhood and locals start to leave (ibid).

The existing local cafés and shops that close down are replaced by certain types of places that cater to the new, transient, population. By transient, we mean the fleeting, on-the-go characteristic of the international young urban professionals that live in Amsterdam Oud-West temporarily, ranging from a week to a couple of years. The phenomenon of global transience is described in Chayka's (2016) article 'Airspace', which elaborates on the above-mentioned culture of 'the gentrifiers' and its effects on local culture. The typical gentrifier is described as privileged, young, and affluent, someone who moves to cities like Amsterdam for work, often for a limited amount of time. Since the introduction of online accommodation services like Airbnb, the international young urban professional has started to live a different lifestyle. The connectivity of social media facilitates the search for authentic experience, staying at local people's homes and going to a local café rather than conventional hotels and tourist traps. He therefore coins the concept of Airspace, which describes the phenomenon of new cafes, bars and restaurants favoured by a global transient population as described above. As Chayka explains, gentrifiers are a symptom of globalisation and a new form of modern cultural imperialism. He states that while a gentrifying neighbourhood becomes "less diverse as buildings are renovated and storefronts replaced", urban areas around the world start resembling each other and become interchangeable. As local shops and hospitality start to cater for their new clientele to meet the demand of their 'authentic' needs, they turn into Airspace. This is defined as "the realm of coffee shops, bars, start-up offices, […] that share the same hallmarks everywhere you go: […] Minimalist furniture. Craft beer and avocado toast. Reclaimed wood. Industrial lighting. Cortados. Fast internet."

With regards to gentrification and the demand for something unique, exotic and non-corporate, the designated tourist space in the city centre shifts to residential areas. Therefore, Airspace refers to a globalised common culture and identity for the gentrifier, which often comes at the cost of truly authentic places, creating a division between those who can afford the inner urban area claimed by airspace, and those who cannot (Chayka 2016; Sloane 2016).

Introducing Oud-West and its Demographic Changes

Oud-West is one of the most densely populated neighbourhoods of Amsterdam, with 13,000 homes per square kilometer (Gemeente Amsterdam 2017a). The entire area was built between 1875 and 1940 on what were then the fringes of the city. As explained by Schade (1981), cheap and substandard dwellings were created to accommodate the working and lower middle classes during a rapid expansion of Amsterdam during the industrial revolution. The houses were of such bad quality that they often collapsed; new building regulations slightly improved the situation throughout the beginning of the 20th century, but the neighbourhood was still dominated by cheap rental houses. Oud-West remained a typical lower and lower middle class neighbourhood for the remainder of the 20th century.

Over the past 20 years, the area has undergone major changes, which the 2017 area report of the municipality of Amsterdam provides insights into (Gemeente Amsterdam 2017a). First, it explicitly mentions the presumably positive effects of gentrification. Social housing is sold off to the private sector, the creative industry and tourism are the fastest growing industries, unemployment and criminality rates drop, and children have better average school results. 48% of the inhabitants of Oud-West are "New Urbanites", a statistical category for people that have moved to Amsterdam from other parts of the Netherlands and 'the Western World' when they were between 18 and 55 years old. The report states that "Oud-West (…) has gone through major developments over the past 20 years. The area was coping with major deprivations, both in terms of the maintenance of buildings and in a socioeconomic sense. (…) Multiple rental properties, both owned by corporations and private owners, were sold off, making the area accessible to other groups of people" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2017a, p. 2).

Whereas the previously mentioned report provides statistical evidence of socioeconomic changes, understanding the decreasing ethnic and racial diversity is more challenging. Oud-West is home to a diverse group of residents, however, there are simply no statistics available

on ethnicity, because it is not commonly used as a category of analysis in the Netherlands. The only existing data of use refer to nationality and migration background. In terms of nationality, there were 177 nationalities living in Oud-West in 2007, and that number had dropped to a varying range of 80 to 109 in 2014, depending on the area of Oud-West (Gemeente Amsterdam 2014). Migration background is more complicated, as the definitions have changed over the years, with categories such as "industrialised/non-industrialised" and "western/non-western" all meaning something slightly different. Moreover, inhabitants are only seen as having a migration background if they are first or second generation migrants; effectively, the grand-children of migrants that arrived in the Netherlands in the 1950s and 1960s are not categorised as migrants, but simply as Dutch. 2017 statistics do show a decline in inhabitants with a Surinamese, Antillean, Turkish, Moroccan and "non-Western" or "non-industrialised" migration background when compared to 2002 (Het Amsterdamse Bureau voor Onderzoek en Statistiek, 2002; Gemeente Amsterdam 2017b).

These demographic changes were accompanied by transformations in the street view, shop fronts and hospitality. Over the past decade, almost all main streets in Oud-West have undergone dramatic changes (Borrel 2017). Two illustrative examples of these changes that are discussed by participants in this study are the opening of the De Hallen and the closing of the De Rond bakery. The two case studies of De Hallen and De Rond are two of the most illustrative examples of gentrification in Oud-West. The renovation and refurbishment of former tram station the De Hallen is the most prominent case of this process, and therefore serves as a focal point of the study. The municipality of Oud-West had been struggling to find a purpose for the De Hallen, which was in use as a tram depot until 1996, and was increasingly pressured to take action when the building was squatted in 2010 (Agora Europa 2015; Borrel 2017). Finally, a solution was found with a group of investors, and a range of different concept stores and a cinema were opened in the newly renovated complex in 2014. The renovation process was controversial, and can be seen as symbolic of overall change in the neighbourhood.

De Rond, located at the heart of Oud-West, was one of the very few bakeries in Amsterdam with a permit to open its doors as early as 3am. It was an institution for those looking for after-hours food for over 40 years. The bakery's new neighbours, having bought an apartment in the adjoining *pand* [a unit of four or five floors of apartments stacked on top of each other, usually owned by a private landlord or cooperation, typically part of a larger housing block], started filing complaints regarding noise, smell and vermin (AT5 2016; Posthumus 2016). After a lengthy process and local protests, the bakery had to close its doors in January 2017.

Methodology

This qualitative research took place from September 2016 until January 2017 and aims at assessing the lived experiences of gentrification for locals. Thirteen semi-structured in-depth interviews with a total of 17 participants were conducted, lasting roughly 60 minutes each. Eight interviews were conducted with individuals to obtain their perceptions and experiences. Three interviews were conducted with two generations, one mother and daughter interview and two father and daughter interviews, which provided further insight into the dynamics of gentrification as experienced by different generations. Furthermore, an interview was held with a father and son who have owned a local business in Oud-West since 1989, but who live elsewhere in Amsterdam. The design of our interview guide was mainly shaped by previous literature on gentrification, and topics that emerged during the interview with the neighbourhood coordinator of Oud-West held prior to all other interviews. The neighbourhood coordinator liaises between inhabitants and the City council, and accommodates citizens' initiatives such as street parties and urban gardens. We therefore interviewed him to gain insights into the municipality's perspective on the effects of gentrification of Oud-West. We refrained from using the word 'gentrification' due to its negative connotation (Atkinson 2004). The two case studies of De Hallen and De Rond are suitable topics of discussion, providing allegories for wider issues. All interviews were conducted either in Dutch (7) or English (6) and took place at participants' homes or workplaces. One interview was conducted via

Skype. We selected participants who were either born in Oud-West or who have lived there for at least 25 years. Twelve respondents were from a Dutch background, one from a Dutch-North African background, two with North African background and two with a Southern European background.

The context of the study was partially personal, as one of the researchers is local to Oud-West. Therefore, our sample was recruited through personal communication and snowballing. The personal factor enabled the disclosure of intimate information based on confidentiality and trust. The second researcher is not from the Netherlands. She took the role of the outsider, which allowed for clarifications that invited participants to give detailed descriptions of topics that came up during the interviews. It can be argued that this is one of the strengths and weaknesses of the study. Both researchers were present in all interviews, which were recorded and transcribed in their original language. All transcripts were skimmed to identify big themes and collect first impressions, followed by an in-depth analytic process in order to create coding themes, words and phrases. Coding was partially based on the literature review and partially open to ensure that new data could be captured. The relevant parts of the Dutch interviews were translated into English for the means of this report. Every participant was given a pseudonym in order to guarantee confidentiality (see appendix I).

During the interviews, it became clear that all participants were to some extent aware of the current public debate around gentrification. Some interviewees explicitly understood our research to be of a political nature or were well-informed on theories of gentrification, and clearly approached our questions with a certain agenda in mind, exaggerating either the positive or the negative aspects of gentrification. Therefore, we must take into account that our participants' previous attitudes on the debate of gentrification could potentially have influenced the information they shared with us. Both the roles of the researcher as an outsider and insider could have encouraged participants to respond to more socially desirable accounts, or inhibited them from

sharing their true opinion or experiences of gentrification; our intentions and integrity as researchers were questioned on a number of occasions. However, opinions were diverse, and cover the full stretch from overly positive to overly negative. We believe their explicitness has enabled us to identify exaggerations.

The majority of the interviewees reflected on the widespread critique that gentrification has received in the media, and in turn compensated by emphasising the positive changes during the earlier open questions. In line with previous research, essential renovations, increased safety and overall tidiness were highlighted. The best insights on the lived experience of our interviewees occurred during the personal questions regarding their past and future in Oud-West, what they find important in their neighbourhood, and their ability to identify with the neighbourhood. It was particularly during personal stories and anecdotes that reflected on the housing market, new neighbours, new shops and cafés and changing street views that our interviewees gave us valuable information. Some interviewees indicated that they found it conflicting or hypocritical to embrace both the enjoyable and problematic sides of gentrification, and felt the need to pick a side in the beginning: luckily, most interviewees opened up about the complexities as we discussed more tangible examples later on.

Notably, most interviewees started the interview from a less critical position than the one they ended with, which reflects the complexity surrounding the discussion of neighbourhood change, or recent changes and their assessment as either positive or negative effects for local residents. In future research more attention should be paid to specific examples relating to gentrification, which in our study proved to enable participants to evaluate change in a more multifaceted manner. The critical approach toward gentrification on the negative as well as positive aspects enabled a profound assessment of the complexities during and after gentrifying processes. Moreover, the real implications of gentrification could have been extended to interviewing locals who were incentivised through monetary means to move to establish factors that could prevent involuntary displacement based solely

on financial necessity. This would enable more inclusive socio-economic and ethnically diverse communities to occupy and claim their right to the city centre.

The Housing Market: A Generational Property Problem

Decreasing affordability of housing in Oud-West is a recurring theme in our interviews. Whereas living in Oud-West was accessible to a wide variety of people up until five years ago, two modal-income jobs combined are now not enough to rent or buy property. As social housing disappears (that is, apartments that are part of Amsterdam's affordable rental housing program), rental apartments have become scarce and solely available on the expensive private market. *Panden* (apartment building or properties) that become available on the housing market are exclusively bought by private investors or more affluent buyers. To illustrate the contrast, Morits explains that in the 1970s, two adjoining *panden* were sold "for 80.000 or 70.000 guilders" [roughly 35.000 euros]. On the contrary, in 2014 the run-down single *pand* where Tristan used to live in, which "[was] in quite a bad state and in need of renovations, especially the roof because it was almost collapsing", was sold to a group of investors for 1.55 million euros. There has been an increase in property sales, largely because of investors who buy dilapidated buildings or apartments, renovate them and sell them for profit. In fact, all tenants and homeowners report to receive up to fifty attempts of *uitkopen* a year, the process in which investors offer a sum of money to the tenant or homeowner to leave their homes to make space for project development. In a bought *pand*, apartments are often sold individually or rented out for higher prices. The purchasing price ranges between 450.000 euros to "1.1 million for one floor" (Alexandris). The increased popularity of Oud-West is illustrated by the rent paid by old and new residents. Fatima and Jaida have lived in Oud-West for the past 29 years and are paying 600 euros a month. New residents are expected to pay between 1400 (Fatima) and 2500 euros (Alexandris).

Housing prices affect locals hugely, especially regarding their future in Oud-West. The interviews reveal a notable difference between property owners and tenants. Those who own property can provide a future for their children in the neighbourhood, and have seen an extreme increase in the worth of their property. In comparison, tenants are certain that their children will end up living elsewhere, and they themselves cannot move into a different house if they wish to remain in Oud-West as the affordable housing has almost completely disappeared. Interestingly, almost all homeowners note that when they bought the house, they did so rather reluctantly. As Hendrik explains, "[in 1992] we had been waiting for four years. A good place to rent was impossible to find, with two bedrooms and a little more space... But yeah, we wanted to stay in the area. I'm a carpenter, so I'm quite handy, and we saw this *pandje*. It was really in a terrible state, but it was cheap, so we could afford it. I thought it would be too much work, but my wife was like, "We have to do it!" and yeah, in hindsight... It was a good choice." Hendrik's account underlines how Oud-West has changed from an underinvested and affordable neighbourhood.

Hendrik's daughter Stephanie moved into the second floor of the *pand* when it became available, illustrating a wider trend: all of the younger generation interviewees are only able to access the housing market in Oud West due to a parent-owned *pand*, as a tenant or as a (part) owner. Ella is in the process of buying an apartment in her mother's pand and notes:

> For me it was easy, because I bought the apartment from my mother so it was not on the market... But more generally, the prices are extremely high and there is a lot of overbidding. (...) It is not possible to fund it at two full-time wages. (...) I've seen a lot of struggles from my friend group, many in my friend group still work it out, but hardly no-one works it out without the support of their parents... None of them succeeded in Oud-West [but in other areas of Amsterdam].

Such support is not available to all our interviewees: people like Tristan and Willem whose parents do not own property in the neighbourhood moved to adjoining

neighbourhoods such as Nieuw West where houses are a little more affordable. Fatima is in her mid-20s and still lives in her family's rental apartment in Oud-West. As a supermarket cashier, she cannot afford to buy or rent anywhere nearby, including the adjoining neighbourhoods. Fabian lives in social housing, and explains that whenever social housing becomes available in his street, it is renovated and sold off on the real estate market, or upgraded to a rental house on the free market. As social housing has a typical architecture, many locals are surprised by this, as Tristan notes: "I thought to myself, 'Like, you can't just sell them because it just says social housing - who will buy this?' and then they sold one ground floor for 3,000,000 euros last year and people have been mad about it. And I fully agree, because you need to save that [social housing opportunity]." Consequentially, these sell-offs mean the exclusion of social groups based on socioeconomic discrimination, forcing certain groups out of the neighbourhood who previously could afford to live there, and thereby increasingly making way for more affluent groups to move into Oud-West. All interviewees report similar dynamics in their streets, confirming the existing theories on rising prices and class segregation in gentrifying areas.

Changing Demographics: Declining Diversity

As we have seen in the previous section, the neighbourhood has seen a changing housing market, which brings with it an influx of people of a higher socioeconomic status. The image drawn by our interviewees is that Oud-West has changed from a multicultural working and lower middle class area to an area for international young urban professionals and tourists. Alexandris and Dimitri note: "You do notice more people with money and more expensive apartments and things like that... People tend to buy more new bikes or are willing to spend more on bike repairs."

Existing residents feel that the multicultural character of Oud-West is declining rapidly. Stephanie illustrates the decreasing diversity reported by most of our interviewees when talking about her school: "[in the mid-1990s] at my primary school - we were a group of 8 that were called the Hollanders, as a joke you know. But apart from that they were from Ghana, Turkey, and Morocco... Very diverse. And everyone was mingling happily, it was great fun. You should have a look at Kinkerhoek, where I went to school – when I look at my neighbours now, there will mainly be Dutch children with blonde hair and blue eyes. The area has definitely gotten less diverse." In further reflection on ethnic diversity, Hendrik talks about the community of different Hindu-Pakistani families in the street, who all left for a neighbourhood in Nieuw-West in a relatively short amount of time. Their houses were old and run-down and they were likely financially incentivised to leave, additionally being attracted to the spacious, nicely renovated suburban houses.

Moreover, participants state that decreasing multiculturalism is problematic because it changes what they see as the nature of Oud-West. Tristan and Ella explain why a multicultural and ethnically diverse neighbourhood is preferable. They indicate that they feel more at home in adjoining neighbourhood De Baarsjes, which is demographically comparable to Oud-West from 20 years ago. Tristan mainly talks about the cultural aspect, as he speaks fondly of Ramadan and its liveliness in the streets, and the neighbourly food sharing around that time. Ella describes the importance of diversity for a neighbourhood as something more political:

> Because I think that diversity helps for a lot of... values. I think if you have a diverse area, people are used to that. And I think in the current society that would really help. (...) it's always easy for people to relate to groups if they know one person. So if they have like, a Moroccan neighbourhood where they get cookies from, or something with sugar, I think in general for people their whole view, 'oh that's so nice!', I think they will be more willing to welcome those people.

Transience of New Residents: A Lack of Social Cohesion

In our interviews, all participants indicated that the changing housing market is closely linked with the transience of new residents in Oud-West. With the new housing prices, people in more affluent positions are attracted to the area and buy into it. Key in understanding this new inhabitant, as mentioned by Chayka (2016), is that they are career-driven internationals who often do not settle in these houses permanently because they only remain in the city for a limited amount of time. Morits notes how the turnover in new residents is high: "they used to be here for longer than ten years, that's longer than two years or a couple of months, like what we have now". Michiel reports how he has experienced three different neighbours in the last 15 years. This high turnover rate shows how in the past years Oud-West has experienced an accelerated circulation of residential people. That way, the neighbourhood appears to be in an increasing state of transience, most noticed by local, non-gentrifying residents. In connection to this, Willem describes a feeling of anonymity because he does not know his neighbours' names anymore. Alexandris also notes that "if you live somewhere you get a feeling for the place, but if you only live there for a couple of years… I can tell you, everyone knew each other a little bit around here. And nowadays, some people don't even know their neighbours, that has really changed".

Another new development is the use of residential properties for short-term sublets to tourists. Tourists rent an apartment through websites like Airbnb, and only stay for the weekend or a couple of days. This transient factor, previously non-existent in Oud-West, adds to local residents' growing distance to their neighbourhood and its people. Hendrik and Stephanie report on how four addresses in their street have become regularly rented out to Airbnb tourists. As an example, a two-floor apartment of a *pand*, previously occupied by two families, got sold to a single expat woman. She travels a lot for her job at an international bank, and rents out the apartment to Airbnb

guests. Stephanie feels estranged by this change and expresses how this affects her relationship with the new owner: "I've only greeted her twice, and that was it. It's a huge change [...] From a man who was like the face of the neighbourhood to a woman who I've only spoken to twice in all these years." The presence of Airbnb is illustrated by Jessica and Fabian: "Every Friday afternoon it starts, and Sunday evening, Monday morning (...) you hear the little suitcases". Hence, what used to be a residential area is becoming increasingly popular among tourists and temporary residents, which is reflected in the high turnover rate.

This is problematic, as all but one of our interviewees indicate that a sense of neighbourhood community is an important part of living in Oud-West. Everyone has at least some family and friends in the area, and it is important to know your direct neighbours and see familiar faces in the wider area of surrounding streets. In the past five years, the area has become less social and more private. Hendrik explains that historically speaking, Oud-West used to have a close community and social appeal:

> There are many people living here now that we don't have contact with at all (...) They're a little more reserved, or scared, I don't know. (...) There used to be a lot of social cohesion in this neighbourhood (...) there was a different kind of social environment, and the people were definitely more social. (...) there used to be a good mix of people.

New People, New Mentalities: From Tolerance to Malleability

Existing residents feel that new, transient inhabitants demand that the area around them change according to their own liking, disregarding the neighbourhood's existing community and their traditional local meeting places. According to Huub, the neighbourhood coordinator, new inhabitants are characterised by a different mentality and attitude towards the gentrified neighbourhood compared to those who have resided there before and

during the gentrifying process. He notes that resident participation rates have risen in terms of initiatives and suggestions over the past five years, ranging from flowerpots to projects to support the local elderly. The typical new inhabitant of Oud-West does not hesitate to approach the municipality when they see room for improvement. Huub explains they are typically more highly educated, and understand how to navigate the bureaucratic system efficiently. They know who to contact within the municipality or local governance, and how to communicate their wishes clearly and effectively.

Existing residents claim that the other side of the assertiveness of the new, transient residents is that they lack the tolerance necessary to coexist in big cities. The new inhabitant has demands and wishes for the neighbourhood to change. Huub explains that "people consider the neighbourhood malleable, as long as they shout loud enough". This sense of malleability creates a certain clash between new inhabitants' wishes and those of local people and businesses. As an example he mentions a young family that moved in across from a bar, and then complained that "there is a bar on the corner, and it is so noisy, so it has to go" within a month of moving in. Most interviewees had similar stories of local business owners that struggle with new neighbours.

As explained previously, the closing of the local bakery as a result of complaints was highly controversial. All interviewees that spoke about the bakery indicated they find this mentality of new residents hard to understand, unacceptable, or even outrageous, "especially considering its important function as the last remaining bakery [De Rond in the neighbourhood]", as Hendrik notes. Willem mentions: "People [new residents] are maybe not used to living in a city. They come here, they buy a house and they start to complain (...) but it's a big city, you have to get used to it, you live with more people and not by yourself."

An interesting note is that all participants initially reflected positively on change. Yet when asked about specific incidents, such as the bakery closing down, strong emotional reactions were revealed. This shows that when

confronted with events or changes in a concrete way, locals realise how elements of gentrification cause them to reconsider their initial positive evaluation. An illustration of this is Fatima, who had been very positive about change and respectful towards the new neighbours, until she was asked about the bakery:

> We now don't have a bakery anymore (...) don't go live next to a bakery then. You know? The bakery was there first, and it's here to serve the area. What kind of person complains about that? It's incredible what kind of effect one address [person] can have. I think it's ridiculous. What are the rest of us supposed to do? (...) You should just go live somewhere else.

Huub is astonished by the amount of complaints by Oud-West's new residents, noting that: "I mean, you're moving to an area, so you firstly do research: what kind of people live here? What kind of shops? What kind of neighbourhood is it? So first you explore... And then you decide to buy the house, and the next moment you realise: I don't like this or that... and I'm going to make sure it disappears. That really happens, people literally do that."

New Places for New People: Airspace and Changing Shop Fronts

Interviewees evaluate the refurbished or newly opened cafés and shops with a feeling of displacement without being physically displaced. As an example, De Hallen and its concept stores, new hospitality and pricing were discussed and evoked mixed responses, but predominantly elicited a sense of exclusion. New places are appreciated, yet most participants do not seem entirely comfortable visiting them, feeling that they are directed at a different crowd. Willem describes his De Hallen visit as a certain form of appropriation of a culture and a lifestyle that is not his own, noting that "I don't really go there for food because I don't really feel like... It's like, maybe for urban young professionals and I don't feel that way. (...) It's also crowded and expensive (...) I think I was a hipster one day and first had frozen

yoghurt and then a movie and, I felt happy with my girlfriend, which was nice (...) it's still expensive. I'd rather go to a pizza place where I go to for 28 years now or something." Participants that were less explicit about the exclusivity of the De Hallen still describe feelings of inaccessibility and socioeconomic divide. Stephanie's account reflects this:

> Signing up for a [jewelry making] workshop was quite expensive, but you could also just walk through and have a look around. (...) I thought that was fun. (...) the building has really improved and looks nice. I think it's a shame that the completion... Well, I can't eat anything there because I simply cannot afford to. (...) It's really a huge contrast [to Oud-West before]... I thought to myself: wow, this is really meant for the new people in the neighbourhood.

In sum, the only appeal for local interviewees is the convenience of having a cinema in De Hallen, which adds to their perception of the neighbourhood as comfortable. Almost all of the existing residents described their experiences with regards to the development of Airspace in Oud-West. Participants gave their own descriptions; for instance, Fabian stated that "[cafes] are all the same. First, they break the walls down and they leave part of the stones seen, and then the interior is like 'we use some different chairs, and some different tables (...) And a lot of rough wood and metal, and we put something hip on the outside'. But actually they all look the same but in a hip manner." The new Airspace interior design brings a rise in prices too, as Jessica notes: "Like, you would be able to get a beer for 2,50 maybe and now you go in a bar like that and a beer will be like 4 euros like without breaking a sweat. And not referring to a normal-size German beer here, we're referring to a small beer."

This homogenisation and sameness which participants reflect on illustrates an increasing socio-economic divide between people who can afford to frequent new places and those who cannot. The new Oud-Wester is in a more economically viable position compared to the previous residents, and is unequivocally part of

the globalising cultural hegemony. Jessica gives a detailed characterisation of the new people who frequent Airspace and are progressively occupying space in Oud-West:

> The people inside [those cafes] are also all exactly the same (...) They will all be wearing slightly too expensive jeans with some sort of white, too expensive white shirt or blouse, they all have exactly the same not super blonde-blonde hair with a bit of a spoeling [conditioner]. They all drive [ride] the same bikes, they all talk the same, they all have the same tan, and they probably all studied, like, communication and business.

The opening of new shops and hospitality businesses (see figure 1) often entails the closing or renovation of local shops and public places, which takes away key meeting points for local social interaction, such as the children's playground, which was replaced by a garage, or the bakery De Rond. Morits illustrates how he grew closer to his neighbours through visits to the local butcher. The queue was a great place to start a conversation with a familiar face. Over time, these casual interactions led to a form of friendship, which constitute very significant components of neighbourly sentiment. These are the local, affordable and smaller places where people meet and feel welcomed. In their absence, these important social interactions and opportunities to form relationships with neighbours are concurrently declining. Fatima shares her memory of the local snackbar [Dutch shop selling chips and other deep-fried snacks]. To her, it was the neighbourhood's cornerstone for socialising, where she used to meet her friends, describing it as *gezellig* [fun, social, cozy, welcoming].

Since its change of hands and renovations, the place changed significantly. The snackbar now sells organic chips, environmentally conscious snacks and locally produced soft drinks for a significantly higher price. Its brown walls and plastic interior have been replaced by a white, clean look with trendy furniture, fitting in with the earlier described concept of 'Airspace'. Fatima has not been there since the renovations: "it [used to be] more... open. It was easier to go there (...) when I walk past it now I

Figure 1: New service showing design markers of gentrification, photo taken by authors.

don't think to myself, "oh, I want to get some chips there", you know? (...) The organic-like stuff and the stuff that is really "in"... that kind of stuff is not my thing, really, I guess that's why I don't find the place appealing." Therefore, Airspace implies consequences for local residents' perceived identification with Oud-West and the shops and hospitality it offers.

This influx of new people brings a different attitude and atmosphere to the neighbourhood. Tristan feels that the new cafes and bars have a different mentality towards customers, being less focused on the personal relationships. He also reflects on how 'old' restaurants and bar owners respond to the new customer's demand: "[they are] still the same people but they did see that they needed to pick up on things. Which gets a very weird result because (laughs) (...) now the stuff in there has Buddhas on them." This change alienates many locals as the familiar becomes

more and more unfamiliar, which influences the sense of belonging and the attachment with the neighbourhood. Jessica gives a striking account of this, stating: "you go live abroad and then you come back to your place and you're like 'Oh, this is my place'. It's maybe not the best place in the world but it's my place. And now you walk there and it's like 'But... now it's their place'."

Conclusion: The Changing Identity of Oud-West

This research has provided rich insights into the lived experience of gentrification for locals in Amsterdam Oud-West. The accounts of research participants show how the neighbourhood has gone from an underinvested, lower socioeconomic and ethnically diverse area to a more popular and touristic one, with a transient, temporary population that earns a higher income. One of

our most interesting findings is how this new group of transient inhabitants changes the neighbourhood. First, local shops and hospitality start to cater to this new type of global resident, adapting their style to become indistinguishable from coffee shops in other metropoles. This global phenomenon of 'Airspace' is powerfully present in Oud-West. These changes happen at the expense of local, authentic places that served as meeting places or were simply a vital part of the neighbourhood, such as the bakery. Locals report increasing disengagement with new residents, and a strong disassociation with new places, estranging locals from their neighbourhood, as if they are being displaced without actual physical removal. As a consequence, the increasing homogeneity in places and people comes at great (emotional) cost and spatial exclusion for locals.

This is especially manifested in the new residents' lack of tolerance and malleability, which demonstratively decreases locals' liveability in the neighbourhood. This final point has not been captured by previous literature thus far. The influx of tourists and Airbnb culture represent reasons for respondents to move to other neighbourhoods that resemble Oud-West before its gentrification. The changing housing market strongly affects the local populations' ability to live in Oud-West. All interviewees are continuously incentivised to leave, and with the demise of social housing, locals and young inhabitants can only remain in Oud-West if supported by their families financially or through inheritance. Besides the decreasing affordability of housing, new shops and hospitality represent socioeconomic exclusion to locals. Arguably, also the change in character makes these new places alienating. The decline of local shops triggered by gentrification results in a loss of social meeting points, and involvement in neighbourly socialising culture becomes increasingly difficult.

Participants were aware of the wider debate on the positive and negative impacts of gentrification. Because participants understood that gentrification is meant to improve the neighbourhood, many of them emphasised positive changes in general at the beginning of the interview. Yet, when confronted with concrete, specific examples different responses were triggered. The closing of De Hallen and the De Rond bakery evoked emotional reactions and clearly demonstrate that a more thorough evaluation brings out more negative aspects of gentrification.

Appendix I: Overview of participants

Type of Interview	Name	Age	Ethnicity	Form of Residency
Individual	Carolina	20	Dutch	Parents own property
Individual	Ella	32	Dutch/North African	Property owner
Individual	Felix	64	Dutch	Tenant
Individual	Geert	65	Dutch	Property owner
Individual	Mortis	58	Dutch	Property owner
Individual	Michiel	51	Dutch	Property owner
Individual	Tristen	27	Dutch	Tenant
Individual	Willem	28	Dutch	Tenant
Mother and daughter	Jaida and Fatima	51 and 27	North African	Tenant
Father and daughter	Fabian and Jessica	49 and 26	Dutch	Tenant
Father and daughter	Hendrick and Stephanie	58 and 24	Dutch	Property owner
Father and son/ Local business	Demitri and Alexandris	62 and 29	Southern European	-
Neighbourhood Coordinator	Huub	-	Dutch	-

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Ethical Regulations of Medical Research Involving Human Subjects: Exploring the Perspective of Trial Participants

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ABSTRACT

In this paper I address the question of whether the existing ethical regulations of clinical research ensure protection and well-being of human subjects. Drawing on ethnographic data gathered in Berlin, Germany, I show that German institutions which are meant to ensure the ethical validity of clinical research cannot address posed issues. It appears that these institutions (Berlin Ethik-Kommission in particular) only evaluate research protocols and do not consider the broad spectrum of processes and interactions involved in clinical research. The experience of professional human subjects, as well as the consideration of the every-day life in a clinic, shows that there is much more to clinical trials. The argument of this paper is that the inability of institutions to address protection of human subjects originates from the bureaucratic logic of their organization. Drawing on Bauman's (1992) argument that the bureaucratic machine is characterized by separation between morality and purpose, with the example of Berlin Ethik-Kommission, I argue that the bureaucratic machine cannot be sensitive to morality and ethics, even if these are its main purposes.

Keywords: commercialized clinical research, ethical regulations, biomedicine, critique of modernity, participant observation

The industry of commercialized clinical research has expanded in the last two decades. As QuintilesIMS Institute (2016) reports, the global Pharmaceutical market reached US$1.11 trillion in 2015 and is expected to reach US$1.5 trillion by 2021. With rising markets and expanding industry, there is an increasing demand for clinical trials to test new drugs worldwide. Simultaneously there is a worldwide increase in the productivity of research and development among pharma and biotech companies, due to the "growing collaboration between manufacturers and regulatory authorities to align on clinical trial design" (EvaluatePharma 2016, 27). Whereas the industry is optimistic about its success, scholars of social science have addressed issues of exploitation and unethical research in the pharmaceutical industry (see e.g. Elliott 2017, Abadie 2010, Petryna 2009, Elliott & Abadie 2008, Petryna 2006). Whereas scholars like Petryna (2006) study ethical dilemmas in the arena of global human subject research, and scholars like Elliott and Abadie (2008) focus on the situation in the United States, I seek to approach ethical dilemmas of clinical research in Germany, specifically in the federal state of Berlin. Gainotti and Petrini (2010) argue that compared to US regulations, European legislation guarantees more security to research participants, at least in respect to insurance of human subjects. It is particularly interesting to consider Germany, as one might expect it to have more advanced regulations. Given the fact that Germany is a birthplace of the Nuremberg Code - "the most important document in the history of the ethics of medical research" (Shuster 1997, 1436), one might believe that Germany would be particularly careful with the protection of human subjects.

Drawing on the data gathered during my ethnographic study, I will show that German institutions, which are meant to ensure the ethical validity of clinical research, cannot address several important issues. It appears that these institutions neglect the actual practices (in sense of Bourdieu 1977) of commercialized clinical research, since they only evaluate research protocols and do not consider the broad spectrum of processes and interactions involved in clinical research. The experience of professional human subjects shows that there is much more to clinical trials than these institutions are considering. The argument of this paper is that the inability of institutions to address the protection of human subjects originates from the bureaucratic logic of their organization. Drawing on Bauman's (1992) argument that the bureaucratic machine is characterized by separation between morality and purpose, by using the example of Berlin Ethik-Kommission (ethics committee), I argue that the bureaucratic machine cannot be sensitive to morality and ethics, even if these are its main purposes.

This paper is focused on professional healthy human subjects involved in Phase 1 clinical research. As Phase 1 trials are first in-human studies to determine drug safety, higher doses of drugs are tested on this Phase (Joffe & Parks 2009). Less than 10% of products entering Phase 1 testing reach the market (ibid). Given the high failure rate, most of the drugs that are tested in the Phase 1 are either not safe or not efficient, which means that professional human subjects are potentially exposed to high risks. Therefore, it is important to address the protection of professional healthy human subjects. This paper can be seen as a contribution to the ethical evaluation of the delicate situation of human subjects in clinical research.

The Ethical Regulation of Clinical Trials in Germany and Berlin

According to Deutsch and Lippert (2010), regulations of the conduct of clinical trials in Germany are similar to those in other member states of the European Union (ibid., 321). In this context, the Directive on Good Manufacturing Practice (GMP) (ISPE 2018) and the Guidelines

Good Clinical Practice (GCP) (ICH 1996) are considered guiding documents. However, the German law also takes the Declaration of Helsinki (World Medical Association 1964) into account (ibid., 245). "Das deutsche Arzneimittelgesetz" (the German Pharmaceutical Law) formulates that it is a function of the Ethik-Kommission to protect volunteers from excessive risk of physical injury, ensure informed consent, and secure the privacy of human subjects. This goes hand in hand with the concept of research ethics committees, introduced after the first revision of the Declaration of Helsinki, Article 23, in the year 1975. However, in the German law, the Ethik-Kommissionen (ethics committees) are not thought to monitor clinical trials as prescribed in the Declaration. The law offers no clear guidelines regarding how Ethik-Kommissionen should be built or behave. It is a responsibility of "Länder" (German federal states) to build Ethik-Kommissionen, and it is a responsibility of Ethik-Kommissionen to interpret the law.

Specifically in Berlin, as an interview with Dr. Stoeter (2017) revealed, the Ethik-Kommission is primarily concerned with procedural questions. It is there to evaluate research protocols to ensure that the risk of harm to human subjects is minimized, to define who can participate as a human subject, and to confirm the amount of "Aufwandsentschädigung" (expense allowance) for participation. The Berlin Ethik-Kommission is not capable, however, of regulating the conduct of a trial once it has started. After a trial begins, it is the responsibility of an "Überwachungsbehörde" (surveillance authority) to make sure that formalities are respected, that no violations are taking place, and that the clinical trial company provides accurate reports. However, the "Überwachungsbehörde" does not monitor each trial conducted in Berlin, but instead only samples studies randomly and investigates those that caused complaints. The Ethik-Kommission is also not responsible for monitoring and evaluating all processes that happen before and after the trial, such as recruitment strategies used by companies conducting clinical research.

Methods

To study the question of whether the existing ethical arrangements ensure the well-being of human subjects, I draw on the data gathered during my fieldwork. I approach this question through observations made in Berlin, Germany. In the context of Germany, Berlin is a poor city with the fourth highest Armutsgefährdungsquote [approx. 'risk of poverty rate'; an indicator used to measure relative income distribution in Germany] among German federal states for the year 2016. Berlin's Armutsgefährdungsquote was 19.4, while the median and mean rates for Germany overall were 16.95 and 16.9125, respectively (Statistisches Bundesamt 2017). This might be one of the factors which influences the availability of larger pools of potential human subjects. Since I am studying medical ethics in a German context, through the case of Berlin, the core of my argument is inductive in its logic. This paper is explorative in nature, because there has been very little ethnographic work dealing with the life-experience of human subjects involved in clinical trials in Germany; Sachs's (2015) journalistic dairy was the only other example I could find. Given these two factors, qualitative methods have been used. I engaged in one month of fieldwork and conducted one semi-structured interview with an expert.

Most of the empirical findings presented in this paper are the results of my fieldnotes. My aim was to study how commercialized clinical research works for its participants. As thinkers such as Max Weber and George Herbert Mead have argued, it is essential to understand how human beings make sense of social processes and use structures, systems and institutions (Gardiner 2000, 4). Inspired by Gardiner's claim that "everyday life deserves to be taken seriously and is worthy of intensive study in its own right" (ibid., 207), I decided to engage in an analysis of how commercialized clinical research works for its participants: human subjects. Apart from engaging in participant observation in the field of clinical research, I closely consider the biographies and experiences of my two key informants, Elli and Katz (pseudonyms). While presenting their portraits, I seek to promote a more intimate

manner of engaging with research informants. Particularly inspired by Kapoor's (2004) interpretation of Gayatri Spivak's writings, I prioritized face-to-face encounters and attempted to reduce the intensity of the process of objectification. In my role as participant observer, I followed the enrolment process for a clinical trial at CTCB (fictitious name):[1] completed the registration procedure, visited the "Infoveranstaltung" ['information event'; refers to the event where potential human subjects are invited to learn about the trial they have applied for], did the "Voruntersuchung",[2] and talked to people in the field. As a coding technique, I have used open coding (see Emerson et al. 2011, 171), which gave me an opportunity to engage open-mindedly with the analytic dimensions, categories and concepts and comprehend the relations between them.

Regarding the expert interview, I conducted an interview with Michael Stoeter, M.D., who works for the Ethik-Kommission in Berlin. The information obtained gives essential insight into responsibilities and tasks of Berlin Ethik-Kommision. One of the central limitations of this fieldwork and the interview is related to language since German is not my mother-tongue. The scope of this work is also limited since both my key informants come from Ukraine, and thus, are representative of a very specific population. The main challenge I had to face during my research was to establish a reflexive approach – in sense of Kapoor (2004) – when interacting with my informants. Especially with regard to how I obtained the data, I recognize my lack of skill in self-reflexivity.

Fieldwork

I now want to describe what clinical trials are like for their participants. I first briefly introduce recruitment strategies used by clinical trial companies that I encountered during my fieldwork. I then bring my own experience of enrolment at the CTCB clinic, as to give a glimpse into the everyday practices at a company conducting clinical trials. Central to my fieldwork is the consideration of experiences of professional human subjects, since it provides insight into their logic, reasoning and attitudes. I seek to build my argument essentially by bringing profiles of my key informants Elli and Katz into the spotlight.

Recruitment Strategies

My fieldwork has shown that companies that are conducting commercial clinical research use various recruitment strategies. They advertise in public places, target networks and reinforce participation of those who are already in their database. CTCB and CKP (fictitious name), for instance, advertise in Berlin train stations and in public transport. CTCB also rewards those trial participants who recruit new volunteers: he or she could receive additional compensation ranging from 50 to 200 Euro (with the top rate applying if one finds a healthy human subject older than 60), on the condition that the new-comer completes the study successfully. Trial companies also reinforce participation of those who previously expressed interest in participation. Within four months of sharing my contact information I received 7 e-mails and 4 letters regarding trials in CTCB. NVS (fictitious name) sent me 21 e-mails promoting their clinical trials and 1 e-mail encouraging me to recruit other volunteers to win a new Apple iPhone 7. Companies may use innovative advertising strategies as well such as advertising on Instagram: presumably because of my browsing activity I noticed a "sponsored post" on my news feed saying that people with a dermatological illness could receive nearly 4.000 Euro at CTCB.

Enrolment Process

In order to give proper insight into the realities of clinical trials research, I will now introduce the enrolment process I went through myself. To enrol for a study at CTCB, I filled in an online application and received a call from the recruitment team the following day. On the phone, I answered a questionnaire, which included questions regarding my personal details, medical history, nationality and skin colour. Interestingly, when I was telling the man on the phone my height and weight, he then sounded encouraged, because my BMI-Index was appropriate. He was also encouraged later on when I said "no" to all illnesses and disorders he listed. Just for the record, I did not know what most of these illnesses and disorders were, not least because of the complicated medical language. I tried to ask the meaning of some of them, but the list was so exhaustive, and the telephone situation was not conducive to lengthy conversation. My informant Katz advised me to deny any prior illness or disorder

to maximize my chances to be invited for the next stage of enrolment, saying: "They will not figure it out anyways". At the end of the telephone interview, I received an invitation for "Infoveranstaltung" for a Phase 2 study - which demonstrates the relative safety and efficiency of a new drug (Seely & Grinspoon, 2009) – for human subjects with iron deficiency which would take place in some four days.

Arriving at the "Infoveranstaltung" at the CTCB clinic, one needs to pass the reception before heading to the room of the event. People that are not invited cannot enter; they are first asked at the reception where they are going, and their ID-Cards are then checked in the room of the event to make sure that only registered people attend. The "Infoveranstaltung" was run by the doctor who was in charge of the conduct of the trial. The doctor referred to a PowerPoint presentation behind him. One of the first things we were asked when the "Infoveranstaltung" began was whether some of us participated in trials before. From 16 people in the room, at least four had experience with other trials (consider that this event was for a Phase 2 trial). Recalling my fieldnotes:

> My general impression was that the doctor didn't try to explain to us many of the details, especially not regarding the medication itself. We are supposed to know how we proceed, what should we do and what should we not do. Side-effects were named at such a fast speed that I could barely switch from one topic to another. But I should acknowledge that they gave us this thick bunch of papers explaining a lot of stuff. I'll take a look at home (from fieldnotes 02.02.17).

The thick bunch of papers had 62 pages, which included the informed consent form for participation in the trial, information regarding CTCB, involved sponsors, insurance, the rules of the clinic, and information on the medication that was being tested and its side-effects. We were also instructed on preparations for the "Voruntersuchung", which included restrictions on our physical activity as well as our eating and drinking habits.

The "Voruntersuchung", which happened couple of days later, was held in a very efficient environment. When I arrived at the receptionist's desk, a woman who was introduced to me as a doctor asked me whether I had any questions regarding the trial. There were people waiting behind me and the environment was not created for an in-depth talk regarding the trial. In a hurry, I signed the consent form and was asked to show my registration certificate ("Anmeldebescheinigung").[3] I showed a pdf document on my smartphone and no other questions were asked. I took a seat in a small waiting room, which was not completely a room, but part of a corridor. There was an awkward PTT – Pneumatic Tube Transport – through which nurses would exchanges boxes of test tubes filled with the blood of potential human subjects for empty ones. The PTT machine was making noises which I and some other people in the room doing the "Voruntersuchung" found funny. Just next to us there was the room where blood was taken. The door was mostly open, and one could see the three tables where nurses were more like supermarket-cashiers: they were taking blood from people and ringing filled test-tubes up with the same "Beeep" sound produced by a supermarket checkout. After I had my own blood taken, I waited in the room listening to "supermarket" sounds, the ridiculous PTT-machine and a radio, which was set to a channel playing the kind of music used to try and create a "positive atmosphere" (reminding me of a supermarket again). Afterwards I was told to proceed with electrocardiography, which took place in a curtain-walled room with two beds. Just as at the blood station, the environment was very efficient:

> Nurse made me undress, not particularly friendly and wasn't very gentle with electrodes. When the machine was connected to me, she didn't cover my feet, so I felt a bit cold, but was not allowed to move. And the nurse seemed busy, and left me in the room alone very soon, so I didn't have a chance to ask (from fieldnotes 16.02.2017).

After the electrocardiography was performed and I started putting my clothes on, the next

potential human subject was already in the room. This approximately 55-year old woman was asked to start undressing and she seemed more confused about the procedure than me. The nurse only mentioned that we both are girls and there is not much to be ashamed of. The final stage of the "Voruntersuchung" was the private visit to the doctor in his office, where I was asked about my health and where I could at last ask questions about the medication which would be tested.

Professional Human Subjects

Professional human subjects are those who participate in three or more usually Phase 1 clinical trials per year. They know what to do to raise their chances of being recruited as a human subject. As my key informant Katz indicated, sometimes these people participate in clinical trials for different firms in different German cities, such as Berlin, Mannheim, Ulm and others. Professional human subjects often disregard non-participation recommendations: they either do not report that they have been participating in a trial recently, or they enrol for another study before they are allowed to, or they engage in parallel trials.

Katz. A 42-year-old professional human subject, Katz engages in four trials per year and his livelihood depends on this income. Katz comes from Ukraine and is fascinated by life in Germany. He currently has a semi-legal status in Germany. Having a Polish visa (which is known to be easier to obtain for Ukrainians), he is not registered in Germany. The story of Katz's involvement in trials traces back to 2002 when he was first introduced to the industry of commercialized clinical research by his brother. Interestingly, his brother learned about trials in a German "Kneipe" (pub or bar) when he was out drinking beers with his friend: they accidentally met a woman who happened to work in CTCB. She told them about her job and about the opportunity for a free health-check ("Voruntersuchung"), which they were then invited for. Very soon Katz's brother visited CTCB and shared information about "easy money" with Katz.

In our talks, Katz recalled that at that time, coming from Ukraine, he could not believe this was a real opportunity. They (the clinical trial company) give you a place to stay, they feed you, and they also take great medical care of you – "what's the catch?". At that time Katz was still trying to establish his life in Ukraine, switching between jobs like driver and cook which he found very physically demanding and too poorly paying. For more than 7 years he worked as a driver for an oil company, driving an old truck (made in the USSR) on the poorly-equipped bumpy roads of Ukraine. Katz acknowledges that this job caused problems to his spine. His 3-year-long employment as a cook demanded he spend hours on his feet. Given this job experience in his country, Katz developed a logic that every job available to him would have a negative effect on his body. Katz does not deny the fact that his engagement in clinical trials might result in side-effects; "but so will every other job", so in the end it did not make much difference for him. In 2013 Katz decided to give up his house, two dogs and friends in Ukraine and move to Germany with his girlfriend to enjoy the country's better living standards. "It's easier to learn another language than to make a change in my country," he said. Katz sees life as too short to struggle for survival in Ukraine, so he prefers to look for opportunities abroad. After the experiences that Katz had in his country, engagement in clinical trials appeared to be an easy, and sometimes even pleasurable, source of income.

Elli. Elli is another professional human subject from Ukraine. This 30-year-old woman has a degree in law but has never worked in this field. In her country, she used to make a living by giving manicures and pedicures. Now she is in Germany with a semi-legal status. She is not registered here and thus cannot acquire a "normal" job, however she can still earn her livelihood with clinical trials without violating the law. Like Katz, Elli too sees her engagement with them as a job, as an incident which happened during her participation in one trial at CTCB demonstrates. At the trial, there was a woman who wanted to sleep with the window open, but other human subjects in the room expressed objection to this. The woman then decided to talk to the nurse to find a solution, like a different room. When she came to the nurse and asked for a separate room, "the nurse had looked at her as if she asked for something extraordinary". While the woman

was puzzled at the reaction of the nurse, Elli was puzzled too, but at the reaction of the woman: "What do these people expect? It is a job, they are paid for it!"

Elli's first trial was conducted in 2014. She usually engages in two or three trials per year and seems happy about her occupation. Through clinical research, she does not just make her living, but also has opportunities to travel around Germany, monitor her health, even gets the feeling that she is helping humanity. Elli was particularly proud of her participation in a study about the testing of a medical product for asthma patients.

As Elli and Katz's profiles show, people in economically disadvantaged conditions are ready to accept the side effects of their occupation. Moreover, these people show a high degree of compliance and obedience, and thus can be seen by companies conducting clinical research as a godsend. They will do their best to have perfect physical indicators to have a chance to participate in a trial, and will likely be the last ones to refuse to continue to participate. According to Katz, robbers and bottle collectors (for "Pfand")[4] are present during trials, which might indicate that it is often people who struggle with economic survival who participate in commercialized clinical research.

Body Treatment and Manipulation

Professional human subjects are aware of what kind of physical indicators they need to raise their chances of participation in clinical trials and know how to achieve demanded results. In general, body treatment involves committing yourself to a healthy lifestyle, like healthy food, occasional jogging and gym use. Even though smokers are allowed in some clinical trials, professional human subjects usually do not smoke at all. Katz occasionally smokes, but he has never reported it to any of the clinical trial companies he engages with. A few days before a "Voruntersuchung" or a trial, he does not touch cigarettes. Alcohol and drug consumption among professional human subjects is usually avoided in general or "paused" before and during the clinical trial.

Apart from engaging in a more or less healthy lifestyle, professional human subjects

engage in direct body manipulation. The body mass index (BMI) is sometimes targeted. Elli is a tall and slim woman, and before the "Voruntersuchung" she eats a lot of Syrniki (fried quark pancakes, usually consumed together with sour cream or jam) to achieve more weight and improve her chances of being recruited. On the day of a "Voruntersuchung" she drinks a lot of water (2 litres in one morning) to be heavier for tests. Specific physical indicators are sometimes targeted for direct manipulation. With the help of the Internet, trial volunteers figure out such delicate questions as those regarding drug consumption. One of my participants, a professional human subject and a regular cannabis consumer, used the Internet to find out how to lower the THC indicators in his urine within five days. When it comes to more specialized information, one may consult professionals. Elli, for instance, was consulting doctors in her home country on how to improve certain blood indicators. It is also not uncommon to consult those who work for the company conducting clinical trials. Katz, for instance, adopted a very social, polite and respectful approach in his interaction with employees of companies conducting trials in Germany – he knew them by name, brought them chocolate and chit-chatted with them. As a result, he was getting valuable advice on what was needed to maximize the chances of being recruited.

Certain manipulations of physical indicators of human subjects are also initiated by doctors from companies conducting clinical research. Katz told me about a very interesting incident that happened to him. After participation in a "Voruntersuchung" for a trial he wanted to enrol for, he received a call from a clinical trial company. The doctor explained that Katz's physical indicators were good, but unfortunately, he had low iron indicators. The doctor said they would provide him with the necessary medication to improve his indicators for free if he wanted. Katz agreed, picked up the "iron pills", took them for a week and participated in the trial afterwards.

Sometimes the manipulation of physical indicators takes the form of exploitation. Elli told me how she did a trial with a woman on

hormone medications. The trial was about testing a contraceptive pill for women and participants were supposed to take no other hormone medication. Elli was sharing a room with a woman, who already had gone through menopause and was thus not eligible for participation. By taking her own medications, the woman achieved appropriate physical indicators and was allowed to participate. She never reported this manipulative act to the doctors as they would have "kicked her out" of the study. It is not clear, though, if the woman systematically engages in manipulations of her physical indicators to participate in clinical trials and I cannot contextualize her behaviour, since I have not encountered her myself.

One of my respondents shared a story about how he falsified test results. His income was mainly generated from clinical trials and for long time he was actively involved in being a professional human subject. At some point in his "career" when he was applying for the next clinical trial, one of the tests revealed that he had pancreas issues. As a result, he got rejected for the study he applied for; moreover, he landed on a black list as an unhealthy human subject and was therefore not able to participate in the studies at this company. To take himself off the black-list he was taking medications to normalize the figures. He also forged a certificate from a doctor to prove that he had no problems with pancreas. After sending the document to the company conducting clinical trials, he was removed from the black list and could participate in trials again. It is worth mentioning that the pancreas incident occurred at the time when he was engaging in parallel trials, however, this informant was "not sure" whether his problems were the outcome of participating in more trials than recommended, whether it was a particular trial, or whether it might have been the unrelated result of his own health. The informant never reported these possible side-effects to the companies that tested medication on him at that time, because he was aware that he violated the non-participation agreement and considered the outcome to be his own fault. This participant still takes medication to normalize indicators for his pancreas and continues to participate in trials.

During my fieldwork I heard about another example of falsification of information related to physical indicators. This time the falsification was initiated by the doctor. A man of 57, a German citizen whom I met in the waiting room of CTCB, had just completed a trial and was telling me about an incident that happened to him. At the beginning of one trial he had low blood pressure and was therefore not eligible for participation in the study. Usually there are "Ersatzprobanden" (replacement volunteers) for every trial, but there was none for the given trial due to the lack of appropriate volunteers. When the nurse discovered that the man had low blood pressure she consulted the doctor on whether she should include it in the protocol. The doctor replied that it was needless to mention this information and that the volunteer should be able to participate in the trial. This example shows how sometimes, due to the lack of volunteers, certain points of research protocol regarding the demanded indicators can be neglected.

Discrepancies Between the Perspectives of Institutions and Human Subjects

The main task of the Ethik-Kommission in Berlin is to evaluate the research protocol to make sure that risk of harm is minimized. My criticism (and not only mine: see Elliott & Abadie 2008, Petryna 2006 etc.) is that ethic commissions, or review boards (in case of other countries), are only concerned with the research protocol. My fieldwork has shown that the interaction between the companies conducting clinical trials and potential/actual human subjects begins before, and does not stop after, the actual conduct of the trial. Relations that arise during the recruitment, enrolment, "Voruntersuchung" and after the trial are eliminated from the responsibilities of Ethik-Kommission and are therefore not subject to ethical evaluation. The company conducting clinical trials can use various strategies for recruitment that go unreviewed for their ethical validity. In fact, these strategies are used to promote professionalization of the role of being a human subject and encourage trial

participants to recruit people from their own personal networks. Advertisements in public places certainly target specific demographics through the way they are located. Paying human subjects for providing a new volunteer might motivate trail participants to provide extra instructions to new participants on how to enrol and perform competently, which will raise the chances that he or she will enter the field knowing how to behave and complete the study. Finally, numerous e-mails and letters encourage professionalization among human subjects. People from databases are regularly reminded of clinical trials and they are exposed to honoraria they could receive for participation. One last point: it could also be the case that certain advertisements might have promoted illness among potential human subjects. A CTCB Instagram advertisement for a dermatological illness trial that promised nearly 4000 Euro for participation could possibly encourage certain populations to acquire the ailment just to allow for participation. The telephone interview and the "Infoveranstaltung" are also not examined by the Ethik-Kommission. During my fieldwork at various stages of my own enrolment process I encountered situations that I found disturbing and somehow wrong. First, the encouragement on the phone from the recruitment team might impact the answers of potential human subject. Second, the "Infoveranstaltung" was not meant to give me an understanding of what kind of medication was being tested, but rather of the conduct of experiment and house rules of the clinic. Finally, at the "Voruntersuchung" I experienced everyday life at a company conducting clinical research. In this highly depersonalized, efficiency-oriented environment, human subjects are not seen as individuals whose private sphere and emotional well-being are of concern. Human subjects in this context appear neither as actual volunteers, nor as actual workers.

My fieldwork has also shown that the research protocol is not always fully respected. Examples such as that of the man who, despite his low blood pressure, was still allowed to participate in a clinical trial demonstrate this. Since defining who is eligible for participation is the task of the Ethik-Kommission, it is very problematic that the clinical trial company,

particularly the doctor, decided to take the authority. Essentially this example shows that there is no monitoring of the conduct of clinical trials and doctors feel free to implement their own (even if minor) modifications to the research protocol. The fact that Katz was given extra medication ("iron pills") to be eligible for participation also indicates how companies conducting commercialized clinical research may use different techniques to approve more volunteers for trials. Healthy human subjects are per definition not supposed to take extra medication, and I doubt that the research protocol mentioned that it is legitimate and/or ethically justifiable to offer free extra medication to potential human subjects to improve their physical indicators.

The Ethik-Kommission may influence the definition of the healthy human subject, tolerating or not tolerating certain deviations from the perfect indicators (Dr. Stoeter 2017). My fieldwork has shown that healthy human subjects are not necessarily healthy, and their physical indicators are sometimes the targets of manipulation. Particularly in cases where the income of trial participants depends on results of the tests, appropriation of physical indicators may result in severe exploitation of health. The examples above show how indicators, such as blood consistency, can be target to manipulation. Whereas I cannot make a statement regarding how widespread these practices are among human subjects, my brief fieldwork also revealed that companies conducting clinical trials have their role to play in "creating" the perfect body, through practices such as offering free medication and "turning a blind eye" to minor deviations from demanded physical indicators. Further investigation is needed on this matter.

Dr. Stoeter mentioned that for the Ethik-Kommission it is important to make sure that there are no further benefits involved in participation in trials. My fieldwork revealed central importance of the "Voruntersuchung", which attracts certain populations and can therefore be considered a further benefit and part of recruitment strategy. People I talked to, especially those from Ukraine and Russia, were interested in doing the "Voruntersuchung" to check their health. Coming from a country with

decaying healthcare system, one is attracted the idea of a free check in Germany. The "Voruntersuchung" is also an essential element of the recruitment strategy which might "trap" the attracted populations. The way I experienced the setting is that once you enter, you "wallow", gradually developing trust to the setting and the professionals. After the "Voruntersuchung" I myself had the idea of taking part in the trial: I was familiar with the company, they seemed knowledgeable about what they do, the place was clean, and the staff seemed professional. These considerations of specific institutional settings can be linked to writings of Foucault. Indeed, medical power has capacity to appear as positive and benign, whereas its oppressiveness is obscured (Jones & Porter 1994). Even though a clinic where trials are conducted is something different from a clinic where patients are treated, both have medical power in common. During the "Infoveranstaltung" and especially "Voruntersuchung", potential human subjects encounter this specific institutional setting. Researchers at CTCB are defined as doctors; the equipment they use is that of the hospital. The professional atmosphere of the setting is meant to communicate trust, which also contributes to the elimination of fear of risk. Human subjects might not be aware that the doctor who is in charge of the trial might be no doctor at all. According to regulations, the researcher only needs to be "appropriately qualified" and have at least two years of experience in research (see Deutsch & Lippert 2010, 426). Linking it to the criticism above, one sees how the Ethik-Kommission is primarily concerned with procedural questions and with research protocol results within a narrow focus. Because of this, the significance of the "Infoveranstaltung" and the "Voruntersuchung" is neglected and these are not subjected to ethical evaluation.

Finally, in the interview, Dr. Stoeter from the Ethik-Kommission claimed that these are "tricks" of human subjects which enable the existence of professional human subjects, whom he referred to as "Proband-Touristen." The term "Proband-Tourist" – approx. "experimentee-tourist"– was particularly well-known in 80s and 90s in Germany when the problem of professionalization of trial

participants was more visible. It appears that it is necessary to reconsider his assumptions on this issue. When I was talking to professional human subjects, they denied the fact that they fake their ID-Cards, register with different names or something of that sort. Elli and Katz claimed that it is relatively easy to engage in multiple trials within a short period of time and companies conducting research rarely check with the database in Freiburg. Elli also told me that clinical trial companies need to pay for this check. I tried to contact the VIP-Check[5] and ask about the conditions but received no reply. Both Elli and Katz, being on a semi-legal status in Germany, claimed that the regulations for enrolment in this regard are very easy: they were never checked for visa, and most of the trial companies in Germany do not request registration papers.

The issue with "Proband-Touristen" relates to the fact that only companies conducting clinical research see the human subject in person. As Dr. Stoeter explained, neither Ethik-Kommission, nor "Überwachungsbehörde" can see trial participants due to concerns related to privacy. "Überwachungsbehörde" can only access anonymized, pseudonymized information about human subjects, whereas the Ethik-Kommission is not thought to access this sort of information at all. However, the creation of the VIP-Check eliminates the necessity to consider "Proband-Tourismus". Dr. Stoeter claimed that this problem was acute in the 1980s and 1990s, but the establishment of a database of human subjects in Freiburg solved it. In fact, it did not, but it ended the discussion. Even if the database in Freiburg somehow improved and ensured monitoring of human subjects' participation in trials this would not solve the problem, as this may drive human subjects to other countries in Europe and conduct trials there. The creation of an EU-wide database is not expected within the next decade. This not just because such projects take years of negotiations, but also due to Brexit (Brennan 2017): the European Medicines Agency, currently located in London, will be busy with its own relocation, restructuring and recruitment of new personnel. Therefore "Proband-Tourismus" was, is and will remain an issue in Europe.

The Problem

In summary, my fieldwork revealed that the assumptions of institutions which are meant to ensure the ethical validity and well-being of human subjects in commercialized clinical research, are detached from the actual practices. Institutions and regulations are unable to address issues of exploitation. As Elliott (2017) put it, it is an ethical issue whether the human subject's poverty and desperation are taken advantage of. "To exploit someone is to take unfair advantage of them, usually in a relationship of unequal power" (ibid., 526).

When thinking of Berlin Ethik-Kommission, or any other institution meant to ensure ethical validity of clinical research, one needs to consider their bureaucratic organization. These institutions are closely linked and sometimes determined by the needs of a rapidly expanding pharmaceutical industry (see QuintilesIMS Institute 2016). As the most technically advanced type of organization, developed bureaucracy enables maximum productivity and efficacy, which is particularly desirable in a capitalist market economy (Weber 1978, 974). In this respect, bureaucratization reinforces the expansion of the capitalist market economy and vice versa. Though being productive and efficient, bureaucratic type of organization cannot be seen as a good in its own right. Bauman (1992) warns about the destructive potential enabled by the development of bureaucratic action and mentality. According to him, the most dangerous aspect of bureaucracy is the separation between morality and purpose. On the one hand, bureaucracy implies the division of labour. As a result, practical and intellectual distance between the actor and the action is created. In such a context, the action does not possess prior purpose, neither can it be subjected to moral evaluation. Moral responsibility is thus replaced with formal and technical responsibility (technisch-formale Verantwortung), which cannot comprehend the action as a mean to an end, rather action becomes an end in itself (see ibid., 113). On the other hand, bureaucracy implies dehumanization (Entmenschlichung), as it reduces the objects of its action to purely quantitative units. Human beings are reduced to numbers, which eliminates the possibility of applying rules of morality or ethics to them. Only human beings – and never numbers – can be subject to moral evaluation (see ibid., 117). Being bureaucratically organized, institutions that are meant to ensure the ethical validity of clinical research too are unable to make it ethically unambiguous. The problem arises not because Dr. Stoeter is doing a "bad job", but because ethics cannot be ensured within a bureaucratic machine due to its dynamics and logic.

The division of labour between different institutions involved in ensuring the ethical validity of clinical research, specifically between the Ethik-Kommission and "Überwachungsbehörde", does not allow either of these institutions to see the bigger picture and spot potential of exploitation. Dehumanization, in particular, highly anonymized handling of human subjects, eliminates the possibility of spotting actual individuals behind numbers and pseudonyms. For the Ethik-Kommission dealing with ethics becomes a procedural question of approving a research protocol and is thus related to formal and technical responsibility, as Bauman would put it. This ethnographic study has shown that practices of clinical research cannot be reduced to research protocol. Stories I have picked up in the waiting room at CTCB, and those my key informants shared with me, show how multi-layered the practices of clinical trials are. The distance between Berlin Ethik-Kommission and the CTCB clinic allows many minor and major violations of research protocol to happen. Ethik-Kommission is thus unable to see the actual implications of clinical research, address issues of exploitation or understand the logic of "Proband-Touristen". The bureaucratic context of the Berlin Ethik-Kommission transforms ethical approval into a mere formality.

Conclusion

But is it possible to ensure the ethical validity of clinical research? Since the bureaucratic machine is characterized by the separation of morality and purpose, it can hardly offer a solution. An option could be to target the core of clinical research itself: biomedicine, questioning its origins, biases and possibly false assumptions. Indeed, biomedicine, also

defined as modern Western medicine, is rooted in Western scientific thought (Curtis 2004: p. 36) and is therefore based on dualist assumptions and a natural-sciences methodology. Its core idea is built on Cartesian dualism (Hall 2000), which says that the body consists of a series of parts which are eventually separated from the mind and which are to be treated by doctors and biologists. Regarding methodology, modern medicine seeks to apply methods of natural science (Wiesing & Marckmann 2004). In particular it accepts the experimental approach. Central here is the idea that human biology can be used as a standard for comparison. As Margaret Lock and Vinh-Kim Nguyen (2010) rightly point out, there can be biological differences between people who make themselves available for experimentation, and those who have no need to subject themselves to clinical trials. This makes the biological comparison problematic. One might wonder how social embeddedness creates the difference between those instrumentalized for trials and those indirectly benefiting from them. It is also a question whether or how existing social hierarchies contribute to the availability of research subjects for experimentation. Further research is needed to understand how to deal with unethical clinical research.

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Endnotes

[1] CTCB is a fictious name for one of the multinational life sciences consulting firm which operates in Berlin. This company conducts clinical trials on behalf of its pharmaceutical clients to expedite the drug approval process. Here and further I hide the real name of clinics to make sure that no inconvenience is caused to my informants.

[2] "Voruntersuchung" – in English: "preliminary examination" (translated by the author) – refers to tests done to potential human subjects before clinical trial to find appropriate human subjects with demanded physical indicators. These tests usually include examination of blood and urine for clinical chemistry, haematology, hormones, infectious diseases and illegal substances. These tests are supplemented with impedance cardiography and personal talk with the doctor.

[3] "Anmeldebescheinigung" – in English: "registration certificate" (translated by the author) – is a document which proves that a foreign national is currently residing in Germany; it particularly refers to those foreign nationals who are citizens of the European Economic Area.

[4] "Pfand" – in English: "bottle deposit" (translated by the author) – is a price on a bottle that you get back if you return the bottle to a certified outlet in Germany. The amount of money varies from 0,08 to 0,25 cents.

[5] VIP-Check is a database in Freiburg created in 1990 to monitor the compliance of human subjects in Germany. According to Dr. Stoeter it is accessible to most of the clinical trial companies that conduct Phase 1 trials. See the Web-Site: http://feki.com/.

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Dying Professions: Exploring Emotion Management among Doctors and Funeral Directors

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ABSTRACT

There are few more emotive experiences in life than death. Drawing on Arlie Hochschild's concept of emotional labour, this article compares the emotional responsibilities of two groups of death professionals: doctors and funeral directors. It addresses the lack of comparative studies in the otherwise robust literature concerning emotional labour in the workforce. Through qualitative analysis, I identify how funeral directors and doctors believe they should feel in regard to death, how they manage these feelings, and the related consequences of this emotional labour. This analysis suggests that the emotion management of these professionals is primarily influenced by two key factors: prioritizing the emotions of others and stifling one's own strong emotions. Differences became apparent in terms of how these factors are managed and what the related emotional consequences may be, due to the respective reliance of the funeral directors on surface acting and the doctors on deep acting emotion management strategies. In the future, it would be helpful to complement existing research with participant observation studies in order to better illuminate the meaning that emotional labour has for individuals in practice. Due to their unique position of encountering death as part of a job, death professionals have much to teach each other, as well as the broader population, about accepting and managing emotions related to mortality.

Keywords: emotional labour, death attitudes, emotion management, surface acting, deep acting

Like death, emotions are inseparable from the human experience (Glomb and Tews 2004). Our worldviews are discovered and derived from feeling (Hochschild 1983). Studying emotional experience in the workplace sheds light on the social-psychological processes related to wellbeing in the modern North American economy and society as a whole (Wharton 2009). Emotion management studies in particular can help craft effective interventions to prevent the negative consequences associated with emotional labour (Bianchi et al. 2014; Hochschild 1983). For instance, funeral directors and doctors encounter death from unique perspectives; in crude terms, for doctors, death is loss, whereas for funeral directors, it is gain. Doctors are committed to the healing process and in many fields of medicine dying patients threaten their defined role, leading to feelings of failure and inadequacy (Auger 2007; Palgi and Abramovitch 1984; Strazzari 2005). In contrast, for funeral directors, death signifies business; it is both expected and relied upon. These contrasting perspectives may shape how doctors and funeral directors conceptualize death, which could in turn affect how they form their emotion management strategies. Thus, strategies from one profession may provide insight into skills that could be used by the other.

This article investigates how frequent workplace encounters with death shape the emotion management of doctors and funeral directors. Drawing on semi-structured interviews, I explore the day-to-day emotion management strategies and death attitudes of funeral directors and doctors practicing in various subfields. A qualitative analysis of this material allows me to identify the tacit rules that dictate how funeral directors and doctors

should respectively feel in regard to death. I discuss three broad themes that arose from my findings: i) emotional labour in professional death experiences; ii) the feeling rules that govern this emotional labour; and iii) the related consequences of this emotional labour. This study is grounded in two key areas of literature: emotional labour and contemporary North American death attitudes.

Emotional Labour in the Workplace

Emotions help anchor one's sense of self, and act as a signal function; that is, they provide 'feeling clues' that give individuals an idea of how to respond to a given situation (Hochschild 1983). For instance, the feeling of being frightened signals an appropriate response, such as screaming, leaving or hiding. An organismic model of emotion argues that this emotional response is biological and innate (Ekman 1982; Hochschild 1983). However, a purely instinctual view of emotion fails to explain how people come to assess, label, and manage emotions (Ekman 1982). Hochschild's (1983) definition of emotion urges us to acknowledge the reflexive quality of emotions, arguing that the act of managing emotion is also a part of what the emotion becomes. This is supported by Thoits (1989), who asserts that the key determinants of emotional experience are sociocultural rather than biologically innate. The social nature of emotional responses has been well-studied in anthropology, with evidence of cross-cultural variability in both emotions and emotional expression (Ekman 1982; Peterson 2004; Thoits 1989).

Emotion management is the act of inducing or suppressing feeling in order to sustain the socially accepted and expected emotional response. In an applied context, this can be recognized as "acts upon feeling"; for example, trying to fall in love, letting yourself feel sad, or keeping your anger in check (Hochschild 1983, 13). Emotional labour more specifically highlights the laborious nature of this management; it does not come naturally, it is emotion work. In the workplace, emotional labour speaks to the processes by which feelings must be managed in accordance with organizational rules and expectations

(Hochschild 1983; Wharton 2009). It underlines the fact that emotions are not only shaped by cultural norms, they are increasingly regulated and shaped by employers (Wharton 2009). Although this study refers to emotional labour in the workplace, emotional labour is also applicable to emotion work in other spheres; for instance, the gendered division of emotional labour in home life, such as the traditional expectation upon women to perform a greater proportion of "emotional" tasks and responsibilities, notably childcare (Hochschild 1983; Peterson 2004).

Emotional labour is informed and regulated by 'feeling rules' which address the proper extent, direction and duration of a feeling in a given situation (Hochschild 1979; Wharton 2009). For instance, feeling rules might indicate that one can feel too much or too little, feel happy when one should feel sad, or feel sad for too long. Feeling rules are recognized most easily when one is acting against them, or in other words, when what one feels does not match what 'should' be felt (Hochschild 1983).

In order to adhere to feeling rules, people rely upon various emotion management strategies. For Hochschild (1983), two are of primary concern: surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting is a display of emotion with no internal change; it is convincing to others but does not deceive the actor himself or herself (Hochschild 1983). Deep acting involves a transformation of the actor's own emotions to fit the situation and can involve directly exhorting feeling (e.g. psyching yourself up, 'you got this!') or retraining the imagination, akin to method acting (Hochschild 1983). Since these two strategies are abstract, it can prove difficult to articulate their use in an explicit manner. One way to determine how and why people employ these strategies is to identify clear examples of how they deal with emotional situations in their daily lives (Hochschild 1983).

Concrete applications of emotion management strategies for funeral directors and doctors include the use of humour (Hochschild 1983; Smith and Kleinman 1989; Mann 2004; Laudermilk 2012), or physical manipulation of emotionally laborious situations, such as members of either profession covering a corpse's hands, face and

genitalia whenever they work with it for a long time during autopsies or embalming, for example (Smith and Kleinman 1989; Auger 2007; Laudermilk 2012). Approaching death scientifically rather than emotionally is also prevalent in the medical profession (Hochschild 1983; Smith and Kleinman 1989). In their study of medical students, Smith and Kleinman (1989) found that by competing for the highest grades, medical students develop the ability to separate feelings from content/context, instead focusing on impersonal facts. This disconnect, identified as scientific objectivity by its practitioners, functions as an effective emotion management mechanism. This orientation may extend to funeral directors, as they are educated in mortuary science, and are thus also fluent in a biomedical dialect that endorses the disconnect of a supposedly objective orientation.

One risk of emotional labour is that it "draws on a sense of self that we hono[u]r as deep and integral to our individuality" (Hochschild 1983, 7). When it is exploited, as it can be in the work setting, one can potentially become alienated from this vital part of oneself. The negative consequences of emotional labour are often a result of emotional dissonance, which occurs when the emotion one is expected to display is in direct opposition to what one feels on a personal level (Hochschild 1983; Glomb and Tews 2004; Wharton 2009; Dijk and Brown 2006). It can lead to a sense of self-estrangement due to the deep connection between emotion and self-concept (Wharton 2009). Workers who regularly display emotions that conflict with their true feelings are more likely to experience emotional exhaustion or burnout (Brotheridge and Grandey 2002; Mann 2004; Wharton 2009; Dijk and Brown 2006).

There is debate over whether emotional dissonance is a consequence of emotional labour (Wharton 2009) or an inherent component of it (Dijk and Brown 2006; Mann 2004). Mann (2004) believes that genuinely felt emotions, such as those achieved through deep acting, do not qualify as emotional labour. This is supported by findings that link emotional dissonance with surface acting more than deep acting (Wharton 2009). Thus, deep acting should still be considered emotional labour, but it is possible that its negative effects are not

well-described by theories of emotional dissonance.

Many employees working in jobs requiring high amounts of emotional labour work under "emotion supervisors" who enforce expected feeling rules. For instance, flight attendants may be chastised by their supervisors if they are not sufficiently friendly with passengers (Hochschild 1983). Professionals who do not work with "emotion supervisors" immediately at hand have the autonomy to regulate their own emotional behaviour (Hochschild 1983; Smith and Kleinman 1989). They are therefore considered "privileged emotion managers," as having such emotional autonomy can offset the negative effects of emotional labour (Wharton 2009, 152; Hochschild 1983; Mann 2004).

Further, identifying strongly with one's social role can also serve as an anchor to offset the negative effects of emotional labour (Sloan 2007; Goffman 1959). Those with an established social role often feel more comfortable adhering to its associated feeling rules (Hochschild 1983). Thus, rather than feeling alienated from the societal whole, embracing their occupational roles as integral parts of their identity may allow these professionals to both accept and embrace death in a way most cannot without suffering from emotional burnout.

Death Denial in North America

There are few more emotive experiences in North American life than death. Contemporary death attitudes are often characterized by fear, guilt and death denial (Auger 2007). This discomfort can manifest as an avoidance of dying persons, avoidance of the bereaved, a fear of death and a feeling of uncertainty about an afterlife (Palgi and Abramovitch 1984; Aries 1974). As a result, the living are actively separated from the dead and death is met with ambivalence (Aries 1982; Auger 2007; Palgi and Abramovitch 1984; Strazzari 2005). This ambivalent attitude can be reflected in the experience of simultaneous love for the dead person and fear of the corpse (Palgi and Abramovitch 1984). Although this orientation towards death has been linked to the decline of religion and rise of secularism, secularism itself is not at fault; rather researchers blame this

shift on the lack of a sufficient replacement for religion (Mellor and Shilling 1993). Without a way to situate their mortality, for many, death in the modern context has become confusing and isolating (Mellor and Shilling 1993). Due to their routine professional relationship with death, funeral directors and doctors become exceptions to this rule and thus interesting cases to study in order to attain a greater understanding of the societal taboos and attitudes towards death in the 21st century (Freud 1955).

According to previous studies, death has replaced sex as the ultimate "unmentionable", giving rise to a phenomenon Gorer (1955) coined the "pornography of death." This term is particularly useful as it not only implies death's taboo status, it also captures the following nuance: prevalent media portrayals of death mean that the average American TV-viewing child will see 10,000 depictions of death by the time they reach age 13 (Auger 2000, 21); while this statistic is somewhat dated, widespread access to media on demand and violent video games suggest that the number is likely to have increased. Further, these deaths are viewed in a context typically devoid of feelings, suffering and grief (Auger 2000). This has interesting implications for the expected emotional response to death for both the mainstream lay population and "death professionals" like funeral directors and doctors.

Doctors have been shown to have a clinical and impersonal attitude towards death that is both justified and cultivated in their professional training (Hochschild 1983). Students are rewarded for analyzing and reporting information about death and dying in a succinct, unemotional manner (Smith and Kleinman 1989). Dissecting cadavers is particularly important in shaping this attitude (Smith and Kleinman 1989; Laudermilk 2012). This is well-illustrated by Smith and Kleinman (1989), who noted that students managed uncomfortable initial experiences with cadavers by transforming the body into a non-human object; for instance, "[The pelvic exam] is pretty much like checking a toaster. It isn't a problem. I'm good at that kind of thing" (61).

Death may end a physical life, but it does not sever the social relationships that characterize

human experience (Auger 2007). Funerals are symbolic rituals that artfully display the transformation from life to death and honour these social ties (Auger 2007). Funeral directors are the gatekeepers of this ritual and may be considered "ritual specialists" (Palgi and Abramovitch 1984). One socially significant quality of the funeral service, in terms of how it reflects modern death attitudes, is that it makes the intolerable - death - tolerable (Auger 2007). Anthropologists – for example, Turner (1969) – have long emphasized the socially restorative functions of funeral rites and other death-related practices. Cross-cultural analysis reveals a wide range of these behaviours and practices, all of which serve as cultural expressions of unique value systems (Palgi and Abramovitch 1984).

Drawing from the above literature, I will be exploring the emotional labour of these death professionals and the related feeling rules (Hochschild 1983) that dictate how doctors and funeral directors believe they should feel about death. I will also make use of the concepts of surface acting, deep acting, and emotional dissonance to elucidate the complexities of emotional labour's consequences. Contextualized by the unique relationships doctors and funeral directors have towards death compared to the death denial identified in the above literature, this project deepens our understanding of professional emotional expectations and the lived experience of emotional labour as a required aspect of one's job.

Methods

This research aimed to investigate three main themes: feeling rules, emotion management strategies and death attitudes. There is little research exploring the differences between sets of feeling rules. Due to divergent methods in the literature, it is difficult to make cross-study comparisons of this concept (Wharton 2009). This project responds to a call for more comparative studies (Wharton, 2009).

Qualitative semi-structured interviews were the most appropriate method to capture the nuances of how emotion management strategies form and are operationalized in both professions (Berg and Lune 2012). I recruited participants from Halifax, Nova Scotia and rural southern Ontario by email through purposive sampling methods. Recruiting participants from both provinces was justified by the national standardization of training in both professions. The minor differences in provincial licensing did not affect my research, as I focused on a universal aspect of the professions (the need to manage emotions due to encounters with death) rather than a policy-bound phenomenon.

My data consist of 11 semi-structured interviews with five doctors and six funeral directors. In this study, there were a greater number of female doctors than male (4F: 1M), and conversely, more male funeral director participants than female (4M: 2F). Due to challenges in recruitment, the doctors practiced in a variety of subfields, including palliative care, geriatrics, general practice, emergency, and rural medicine. Each interview lasted approximately 40-60 minutes and focused on the interviewee's experiences with death and emotions in the workplace. My inclusion criteria required participants to have practiced in Canada for a minimum of five years; the participants recruited had between six and 46 years of experience.

I designed my project to meet the ethics standards established by the Dalhousie Research Ethics Board. Participants were provided with all pertinent contact information should they have had any questions or concerns about the interview. With the participant's consent, all interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. All participants were assigned pseudonyms upon transcription.

I analyzed my data using the qualitative data analysis software Dedoose. I coded all interview transcripts for themes deemed relevant by the literature (feeling rules, emotion management strategies, and death attitudes), as well any new themes that arose from the interviews themselves.

Analysis and Findings

Contextualizing Professional Death Attitudes

As previously discussed, societal death attitudes can be characterized by death denial

(Auger 2007; Aries 1974). If participants of either profession were afraid of death, this did not come up in the interviews, which is an interesting contrast to the existing societal fear. Most participants addressed this fear in others, saying it was likely due to the fact that most people do not know what to expect with death and have a general fear of the unknown. Thus, funeral directors and doctors' familiarity with the technical aspects of death and dying were often cited as a reason for their comfort with their own mortality. Their shared comfort with death was illustrated by Funeral Director Clark's comment that he never found it difficult to deal with dead bodies as it is "just another day at the office."

All participants were quite comfortable discussing death and often spoke of their ability to guide people through the death and dying process as a great privilege and one that must be approached with respect. Both funeral directors and doctors viewed death as extremely significant. This sentiment was clear in Funeral Director Dawson's discussion of how much people are willing to spend on weddings: "You know it always floors me that people will spend fifty grand on a wedding, you know you could be divorced in a couple years and they won't spend eight grand on a funeral, and a funeral is not just a day in your life, it's your entire life in one day." As is evident in the following comment from Dr. Brown, doctors equally valued death:

> Walking through death with someone and walking through the birth of a child are the two greatest privileges that you can be part of as a physician or as a human. Right? So I think, in some ways, [I've learned to] recognize death as not something to be feared, but as a part of who we are, part of the human experience.

This reflects a consistent belief among participants that death is a life event equal in importance to birth, an event that should be respected rather than feared.

I discovered several nuances in the way that the doctors and funeral directors conceptualize death. Doctors were interested in defining death, and made reference to the official diagnostic procedures they follow when pronouncing a patient deceased. Doctors also spoke of dying as a process and had varying opinions on its tendency to be prolonged, hinting at a central debate in end-of-life ethics: quality vs. quantity of life.

When funeral directors discussed death, they focused more on the symbolic significance of a funeral and its pivotal role in a family's grieving process. This was illustrated by Funeral Director Edmond when we discussed why people need to have a funeral or similar symbol of closure; he said, "the funeral is really for the living, it's not for the dead." Funeral directors also expressed that their encounters with death have shaped a greater appreciation of life. Funeral Director Almon eloquently conveyed this notion as follows:

> It's just important to face [death]. I'm lucky in my profession I'm able to face death reasonably regularly. So, I find it has motivated me in certain aspects of my life to get things done and not procrastinate, and appreciate life a little more because no one's immune.

Several other funeral directors shared this sentiment. Those who did not still explicitly referred to it as an expectation of their profession, as in Funeral Director Clark's comment: "Well it should [make me feel more appreciative], but I don't wake up thinking that really, but yeah it really should. There's times when you really feel and see and think that [...] but that might only last for a little bit and then you kinda get back into your old bad habits or routines."

One shared orientation that emerged was the active role funeral directors and doctors play in death and dying. Dr. Brown illustrated this well, asserting, "I think that's your responsibility [...] A good physician will walk their patient through it, not stand back and observe it." Rather than a distanced role, it is a role that demands care, compassion and immediacy. As a result, both professions have an emotionally demanding orientation towards death in the workplace.

Dead Weight: The Heavy Emotional Labour of Funeral Directors and Doctors

There are emotional expectations of funeral directors and doctors, a fact well illustrated by Funeral Director Edmond's assertion that "there's a certain care and compassion that goes with the job." As a result, a great deal of emotional labour is required in order to be a "good" funeral director or doctor. When speaking to the emotional nature of the job, Dr. Collins expressed the following:

> It's probably the hardest part of the job [...] I remember stressing about the medicine so much and that was dumb. And learning some good self-care strategies really early on, how to prioritize self-care strategies, [that's] probably the smartest thing you can do for yourself to manage this stuff.

This sentiment regarding the difficulty of emotional labour was echoed in many of my interviews, which underscores how pertinent it is to better understand this labour and the processes by which these professionals manage it.

The most common management strategies for both professions were consistent with those identified in the literature, and included but were not limited to engaging with their friends, exercising, using humour, creating clear boundaries between work and home, physically avoiding emotionally laborious situations outside of work, partaking in hobbies and spending time with family (Hochschild 1983; Smith and Kleinman 1989; Mann 2004; Laudermilk 2012). For funeral directors, taking pride in one's profession was the most common emotion management strategy, illustrated by Funeral Director Almon's comment, "[i]n my mind if I do these things well, that helps me deal with that death. Coming back to why I like this job and being fulfilled in it, if I can do a decent job, I feel good about it. In the end I feel like I've done all I can." The primary form of emotion management for doctors was maintaining a scientific orientation towards death. This is exemplified in the following excerpt from my interview with Dr. Collins:

> No matter how empathetic you want to be, there are periods where you have to turn into a non...you have to turn into kind of a robot. [...] In the sense that you can't be, you know, taking off the end of someone's finger, which is something you have to do sometimes, and also thinking about all the things they're not going to be able to do if they don't have this finger. You just have to do it. Technical, sometimes the technical trumps the empathetic. It has to, otherwise...empathy is useless without technical skill.

Thus, by focusing on the technical skills and remaining scientifically, albeit robotically, oriented, doctors are able to deal with the associated, potentially distracting, emotions.

The emotional pressure experienced by these professionals is exacerbated by how strongly these individuals identify with their respective careers. For instance, Funeral Director Edmond described funeral direction in the following way, "it's more of a lifestyle than a job because in our situation here it's 24/7 and you're always on call...you just learn to deal with that." Even those who expressed a desire to distance themselves from their professional identity said that they still identify strongly with their career, since it is how others primarily identify them – perhaps particularly in the rural communities in which most of the research participants lived. Funeral directors were often seen as "the death person of the community" (Funeral Director Fletcher) and doctors described being known as "the medical person in the family" (Dr. Atkins). Being viewed through these respective lenses shows that the identity of their job extends far beyond working hours; they are doctors or funeral directors at all times, if not to themselves, then to others. As a result, there is a greater pressure to adhere to the feeling rules of emotional labour, since this labour is so closely tied to the professional's sense of self.

Grave Expectations: Feeling Rules for Funeral Directors and Doctors

One of the most interesting findings from this research was that identical feeling rules govern the emotional labour of both professions in respect to death. There are two main rules at play: prioritizing the emotions of others and stifling strong emotional responses in oneself.

Prioritizing Emotions of Others

Putting others' emotions first was the most common of these two feeling rules, and was a notion that arose frequently in all interviews. This is in part due to the way that participants in both professions framed themselves as "service providers", as illustrated by Dr. Brown: "you're there to serve your patient, it's not about what you're feeling. It's about what they're feeling. Their needs come ahead of your needs." Although it is intuitive that the needs of the patient come before the needs of the doctor in a physical sense, this remark was especially interesting as it shows that this extends into the emotional state of the doctor as well. Thus, the patient is a priority in a deeper sense than one might initially assume.

The strength of this rule was evident in Funeral Director Dawson's description of what she used to tell herself at the start of her career about the emotional nature of her job: "Probably just the amount of guilt you'll feel if you're not there for a family [...] I would feel so guilty putting myself first." Her use of "would" was interesting, since it seemed to suggest that this was a hypothetical situation and that she would never actually put herself first in practice.

Stifling Strong Emotions

The second feeling rule that emerged was that these professionals should not show strong emotions. This generally referred to negative emotions such as stress, frustration or sadness, but it also applied to positive emotions such as relief at not having to engage with an "obnoxious" family anymore once a patient had died. This rule was rationalized in three key ways: emotions as unprofessional, emotions as a burden, and emotions as irrational.

Emotions are regularly framed as unprofessional in the daily work lives of funeral directors and doctors. Dr. Decker described this by saying, "I've occasionally teared up and I'm okay with that. I think it would be inappropriate of me to break down sobbing at the bedside but that's not going to happen because, again, that's that professional thing, that's not my job." This not only exemplifies the professional link with stifling emotions, it also eloquently highlights that this rule applies primarily to strong emotional displays. An "occasional tearing up" is fine, but a stronger display, such as sobbing, violates professional emotional responsibilities.

This tie between being a professional and muting strong emotional displays was evident among funeral directors as well. For instance, Funeral Director Clark provided the following rationale:

> I'm able to kind of detach myself from the emotional side of things, and I don't know why or how I can do that but when it's a really tough situation and everybody around you is grieving, this is my job [...] It's not adrenaline, but kinda like a switch that goes on in you and you have to get it done. You have to... they're paying you to provide a professional service and you have to do it.

Further, when I asked whether the stifling of emotions Dr. Brown described occurred often, he replied "yes, but that's when you have to be a professional. And it's not about you, it's about helping them through their problems." This not only shows that the stifling of emotions is related to professional expectations, it also encapsulates the first rule, the prioritization of others' feelings above one's own. Thus, this is a helpful reminder that the two rules are not mutually exclusive.

The stifling of emotions was also rationalized by framing emotion as a burden. Participants often expressed that the presence of their emotions would directly undermine the quality of care they were providing, due to the burden this would place on their patient or grieving family, respectively. For instance, Funeral Director Edmond said, "you have to maintain your composure [...] in order to be a help to the family. You can't have everybody breaking down [...] if you're up there struggling it's no good for anybody." Doctors expressed similar beliefs, such as Dr. Decker when she said, "you don't want to add to the patient's distress."

Emotions were also seen as irrational, with the potential to negatively impact one's ability to provide competent care due to their perceived interference with one's mental clarity. In scientific disciplines, such as medicine or mortuary science, emotions have long been seen as potentially disruptive, with a canonic belief that scientific fact should be kept separate from emotional influence (Peterson 2004). This notion was evident in the reasoning my participants offered for stifling their

emotional displays. For example, Funeral Director Dawson described this clarity of thought as a key component of being a reliable care provider: "You want to be strong for your families…you have to be their shoulder to lean on or the one that's thinking clearly." This reflects broader North American depictions of emotion, which are challenged in cross-cultural studies showing that emotions are framed as an outcome of social interaction, and are not clearly distinct from thinking in many other areas of the world (Peterson 2004). In other words, emotions are seen as a valued part of rationality rather than a hindrance. Returning to the North American aversion to emotions due to their so-called irrational nature, Dr. Collins provided one potential reason that this attitude is reproduced in medicine, saying "we consistently devalue these things […] we talk a lot about it but specialties that are heavy in empathy – like psychiatry or family medicine, that kind of thing – those are hugely undervalued from a sort of medical culture perspective." Thus, it is hard to make space for emotions in medicine if their value is not recognized.

Challenging the Rules: "It's Okay to Care"

It is possible to challenge the described feeling rules. Several participants explicitly wished to distance themselves from the stereotype of the unemotional professional. However, this distancing often provided a perfect illustration of the rules from which they deviate, as seen in the following excerpt from my interview with Dr. Collins:

> Earlier in my practice, when I had less experience with death […] I didn't feel I could cry with patients or I shouldn't, it was unprofessional of me to cry with patients. The burden of my crying is not helping them with their problem. I gotta deal with my own stuff. And that is mostly not…if I feel like I should cry, it's probably okay to cry [emphasis added].

Dr. Collins challenged the idea of being an unemotional professional throughout her interview, often providing similar comments deeming it "okay" to express a given emotion. The use of "okay" in the above excerpt implies that others may not think this is okay, in this case referring to the display of negative emotion. It is of note that this excerpt explicitly refers to the previously discussed feeling rule – stifling one's strong emotional responses – and highlights two of its three key rationales, the perceived unprofessional and burdensome nature of emotions.

Another key point of conflict between the feeling rules and the lived experience of the professionals was the risk of dehumanizing both those with whom they work and themselves in order to cope with the heavy emotional demands. For instance, Dr. Brown said, "even when it's a dead body, it's still a person. Treat them like a person. It's okay to be sad." This quote illustrates the tension between humanity and professionalism; doctors are still human and emotions are part of the human experience. The risk of dehumanization is related to the early days of their medical socialization and first experiences with cadavers. Working with cadavers is a transformative experience for many medical professionals, and how it is handled can heavily influence their emotional outlook further on in their careers (Laudermilk 2012; Smith and Kleinman 1989). For instance, Dr. Collins described working with cadavers in the following way:

> It was the first piece of socialization to be a doctor in that you have, it's weird right, you had to turn people into their little parts, identify their little tiny nerve or whatever, so you turn people, you dehumanize them completely […] I remember the afternoon of the first day some dude showed up with a saw, like an electric chain saw type of thing just to crack open the chest cavity, like how dehumanizing is that? For you and the cadaver. It was an incredibly dehumanizing experience.

Further illustrating this tension, when reflecting upon what she would tell herself at the start of her career about the emotional nature of her job, Dr. Atkins insisted, "Let yourself be human."

Conversely, funeral directors were trained in a setting that preserved the humanity of the dead body. This was evident when Funeral Director Clark relayed to me how he learned to

embalm in school, saying "[t]here's lots of funeral homes that provide [my school] with those bodies, so we never really dealt with cadavers at all. It was real people." This is interesting as it implies that cadavers are not real people, whereas bodies that will have an actual funeral service after the students have completed their work maintain the status of "real people." This speaks to a fundamental difference in the training foci of each profession: doctors dissect, slicing the body into pieces to learn how it works; funeral directors create, aiming – at least in their open-casket work – to make the dead look life-like.

It is of note that all explicit challenges posed to the feeling rules came from my interviews with doctors and mentions of similar challenges to the rules were absent in discussions with funeral directors. This could be due to the relative level of autonomy felt by each profession. Doctors were quite autonomous, and often recounted some solution they had been able to enact when they were in a tough situation. For example, Dr. Collins talked about the frustration of working with families who are trying to convince a dying family member to follow the wishes of the family rather than their own:

> I sometimes feel like they're being coerced by their family a little bit. Like they don't want to disappoint their kids or their family or their spouse or whoever. So for those patients, I think the key is to get the families out of the room and talk to [the patient] alone. And I frequently do that. I just say, 'I'm kicking you all out', as lovely as that...and actually the families respond to that.

Conversely, funeral directors were more likely to cite difficulties of this type as part of the job and placed greater weight than doctors on the first feeling rule, putting others' emotions first.

Consequences of Emotional Labour

As my discussion of the literature suggested, heavy emotional labour in the workplace can result in emotional alienation (Hochschild 1983). Further, workers who perform an abundance of emotion work may lose touch with what they consider to be their true emotions (Hochschild 1983; Sloan 2007). This

was evident in Dr. Decker's description of not being able to feel personal emotions following a recent family death: "I wanted to access the fact that this was my aunt, who obviously I've known all my life, and I still don't think I've really accessed that because I went in as the doctor." Since she approached the situation in her "doctor role", her subsequent focus on palliative care and maintaining a scientific orientation directly impeded her ability to engage her personal feelings in the matter. This had occurred a few weeks prior to the interview and she felt she still had not been able to truly experience her personal feelings, exemplifying a very real risk of emotional labour as a required part of one's job.

Another risk of heavy emotional labour is emotional burnout, which can occur when one exceeds one's emotional capacity. Reaching emotional capacity was discussed more frequently among the doctors than the funeral directors. In fact, when I asked members of each profession how they thought the other perceived death, Funeral Director Almon expressed that being a doctor is beyond his emotional capacity, saying, "I don't think I could do that. I know I couldn't do that." However, emotional dissonance was more common among the funeral directors than doctors (Dijk and Brown 2006). For instance, when speaking to the difficulties of experiencing emotional dissonance, Funeral Director Baker recounted the following example:

> I was working with somebody and you know, [they were] explaining to me that homosexuality is a disease and it's brought by Satan himself. And in so many workplaces you can say, you know, 'I don't agree with that, go away'. But in my workplace, you say 'Okay, so now let's work with that.' Those types of things.

In this excerpt, a key theme is illustrated: funeral directors felt the need to constantly accommodate, despite the personal challenges this emotion management entails.

Thus, doctors seemed to call upon their emotions more often, risking a maxing out of their capacity, whereas funeral directors were more likely to burn out as a result of frequently

displaying conflicting emotions. This is likely linked to their respective uses of deep acting and surface acting. Doctors have retrained their emotional response; in other words, they employ deep acting to call upon true emotions. For instance, when speaking to her most recent experience with a dead body in the workplace, Dr. Elm described her emotional response in the following way: "I think it never really changes, it's almost as if you're emotionally primed to have the same reaction every time […] you have to put on your professional hat, you know, to not tear up or become emotional." Conversely, funeral directors present the expected surface response without necessarily changing what they truly feel on a personal level, and thus are not burning out their personal emotional capacities.

Previous studies have shown that surface acting has detrimental effects on the worker, whereas deep acting is solely positive and often generates a sense of personal accomplishment (Brotheridge and Grandey 2002). However, this is in direct contrast with my findings. I argue that the use of deep acting or surface acting to manage emotions in the workplace is more complex than a simple dichotomy of one being beneficial and the other detrimental. Rather, the heavy reliance on one method over the other can lead the worker towards emotional burnout in two different ways: either by maxing out one's emotional capacity (deep acting) or through the frequent occurrence of emotional dissonance (surface acting). Thus, although both are formed in response to a professional relationship with death, and the emotional labour of these professionals is governed by the same feeling rules, their differing orientations towards death and relative level of autonomy pose different risks towards experiencing emotional burnout.

Implications

One potential application of this study is informing end-of-life training programs for both professions; perhaps it would encourage the integration of more emotion management classes and workshops. However, most interviewees were highly critical of the possibility of teaching emotion management skills in the classroom. Rather, learning how to

manage one's emotions was described to be an individual process, learned primarily through personal experience. For instance, Dr. Brown described her emotion management development in the following way, "[i]t's just an evolution that has to happen […] [It] can only be experienced." Dr. Collins also identified with the individualized nature developing emotion management methods when she said, "There was definitely this, like, 'you can't talk about this stuff', it was only years later […] that I could really you know, really kind of process what had happened and how it had been important." This supports previous studies that have demonstrated the privatization and downplay of emotions in medical school (Smith & Kleinman 1989). By privatizing their feelings in order to appear professional, students believe their peers are simply handling situations better than they are themselves, and refrain from discussing their feelings and related coping mechanisms.

This inclination to mask feelings in the service of professionalism was expressed by funeral directors as well, as illustrated by Funeral Director Fletcher, who said, "[a]t the beginning of the career, [there are] some things that I guess you just deal with on your own and it's something you can't probably talk about with other people that easily, and things that you see and hear are things that you don't forget." This phenomenon of privatization has interesting implications, then, for how management strategies are formed and operationalized; it supports the potential merit of opening up this discussion both among professionals and between professions.

Emotional learning did not always occur individually. Many participants expressed the intimate role that mentorship played in development of their emotion management strategies. For instance, Dr. Brown expressed the importance of mentors when learning to care in all ways: "Mentors are a huge role in learning how to care for people. Well, mentors are a huge role in learning how to love, outside of medicine right? Hopefully you can learn from others' experiences and not have to screw up yourself." An example of what most participants considered to be helpful mentoring was the act of debriefing after stressful events,

such as for doctors the first time a patient died while they were working. Funeral Director Dawson, who often mentioned her gratitude for the mentorship she had received, illustrated the role of mentoring for funeral directors in the following excerpt from our interview:

> Before [my old boss] would do anything, he would say 'this is what I'm going to do.' And it's hard to for us too, once you've been in this business long enough those things become normal to you, so it's hard to remember to tell people that are new, 'this is what's going to happen' so they're not like 'Oh my goodness!' right? And you don't shock them or scare them. [...] He was very relaxed and that kind of stuff probably played into me being pretty good about everything.

Thus, having had a mentor who was careful to always check in and debrief notably contributed to her level of comfort with her emotion management skills.

Further, all participants expressed that learning how to deal with the emotional labour of the job is important, even if they themselves did not identify as someone particularly skilled at this emotion management. One example of this was Funeral Director Clark's remark: "I'm not one to share much of my feelings, but it's healthy to do it." This speaks to the significance of taking care of oneself and one's emotions in jobs that call for high quantities of emotional labour, such as the professions highlighted in this study. As Dr. Decker said, "If you don't look after yourself, you can't look after anybody else." Therefore, it would be helpful to create more space in these professions for emotional debriefing, including discussions of how frequent encounters with death have made these professionals feel.

Conclusion

"You do not have to be a robot. It's totally okay to cry. It's okay to care." – Dr. Elm

Emotional labour serves an important societal function; it is desirable to have funeral directors and doctors who are calm and compassionate in the face of death. Thus, emotional labour is a necessary performance, and the processes that make it possible are worthy of study. By exploring the emotion management and death attitudes of these death professionals, I have identified two key rules that dictate how funeral directors and doctors believe they should feel in regard to death: prioritizing the emotions of others and stifling one's own strong emotions. However, these rules can be challenged and do not dictate how all professionals manage their emotions. With these findings, this study contributes to the improved understanding of the processes of emotional labour. Beyond funeral directors and doctors, findings from this study may also be of interest to other death professionals, such as hospice care workers.

In the past, studies of emotional labour in the workforce have focused on a single occupation, rendering it difficult to compare sets of feeling rules between professions (Wharton 2009). Comparative studies such as this one are required in order to further our understanding of both the formation and operationalization of emotion management strategies. I have shown that although similar sets of feeling rules emerge in both medicine and funeral direction, there is great nuance in the meaning they have for each profession. Differences became apparent in terms of how these rules are managed and what the related emotional consequences may be, due to their respective reliance on surface acting and deep acting emotion management strategies. In the future, it would also be helpful to complement existing research with participant observation studies in order to better illuminate the meaning that emotional labour has for individuals in practice (Bianchi et al. 2014).

By presenting the comfortable relationship doctors and funeral directors have with death, this study also hopes to challenge, or at the very least complicate, the often taboo nature of death in contemporary North American society. This is an ambitious and timely endeavour, as in Canada we are seeing recent changes to physician-assisted suicide legislation as well as a general push to demystify what one intensive care unit physician, Dr. Jessica Zitter, identifies to be "society's last taboo" (Tremonti 2017). In a recent CBC article, Dr. Zitter asks readers to consider, "[i]f sex ed exists in high school curriculums, why not death ed?" (Tremonti 2017). To quote my own research participant Funeral Director Almon, when it comes to

death, "no one's immune." Therefore, why not better prepare the public for the inevitable and open up an overdue discussion? There is no doubt that death is emotional, but studying the emotional labour of these death professionals serves as a fine reminder that these emotions are manageable.

Acknowledgements

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Online Fandom:
Social Identity and
Social Hierarchy of Hallyu Fans

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ABSTRACT

Hallyu fans are people who are dedicated to popular culture in South Korea, including music, drama and film. This study focuses on fans of Korean pop music, which is known as K-pop. Developments in digital communication technology have given rise to media such as forums, websites, video channels, and fan sites that are consumed by K-pop fans. Fans participate in multiple fandoms because these websites are easily accessed by public audiences. However, problems arise when fans start to compete, using their knowledge to help validate their existence and to help the perception of authentic identities within fan communities. This paper is based on virtual ethnographic fieldwork that identified fans' constructions of their own identities and the building of a social hierarchy through various online practices. The research findings are based on four months of fieldwork with two online *Hallyu* fandoms; *ELF* (Ever Lasting Friends) and *A.R.M.Y* (Adorable Representative M.C. for Youth). The findings reveal that conflicts exist in certain fandoms which aid in defining fan identities and, at the same time, fans undertake positive socialising actions which contribute to the fandom itself. Interactions between fandoms also need to be recognised, since online fandoms can be seen as borderless.

Keywords: Hallyu, online fandom, social identity, social hierarchy, virtual ethnography

Most people are fans of something. If not, they are bound to know someone who is. (Gray, Sandvoss, and Harrington 2007, 1)

The word 'fan' refers to serious enthusiasts of particular performers, actors, comic books, movies, television and arts. The word 'fan' comes from the adjective 'fanatic', which in turn comes from the Latin *fanaticus*, which originally meant 'a temple', but came to refer to a person with an excessive passion, or who was filled with the form of enthusiasm associated with religious devotion (Cashmore 2006; Milgram 1977; Shuker 2010). In contemporary days, its usage has been extended to describe followers or devotees of certain popular cultural forms, for example, *Beatles* fans or *Harry Potter* fans (Cashmore 2006; Milgram 1977).

Fans tacitly recognise the rules of their fan culture. They build up different types of fan skills, knowledge, dress codes, and distinctions and have their own vocabularies that are only understood by members of a fan community (Gooch 2008). They constantly struggle to find the energy and passion from the object of fandom and to construct a stable identity within the fan community (Grossberg 1992). Fans, as Fiske (1992) describes, have their "own systems of production and distribution that forms what [he calls] a 'shadow cultural economy' that lies outside that of the cultural industries yet shares features with them" (30).

The fandom, or fan club, provides a site and medium to engage and communicate with other fans who have shared interests. Fandom is an important mediating factor in the relationships between fans and the object fans their fanaticism, and between individual fans themselves. Through the fandom, normally, they are constituted into "isolated groups of individuals with a particularly strong attachment to an individual celebrity or media text" (Théberge 2010, 186). In the present context, with the emergence of both offline and online communities, fandoms operate in a more complex structure than some groups of fans who have been associated with the pre-digital fandom were accustomed to. (Théberge 2010). With the rise of digital technology, fans participate in a variety of online discussions related to their interests, form groups devoted to specific music genres and individual stars, and encourage daily interactions within the fandom, and between fans and the music industry. This series of consistent and sustained engagements with their practices over time reflect the notion of a 'community' on the Internet (Bury 2003).

Among *Hallyu* fans, fandom also becomes a platform to engage and communicate with each other. *Hallyu*, or Korean wave, is a global phenomenon which signifies the spread of Korean popular culture by distributing South Korean pop music, dramas and films through the power of social media (Leung 2012). In this study, I focus on Korean pop music fans, who are known as 'K-pop fans'. Otmazgin and Lyan (2013) state that K-pop fans tend to develop a special interest in other elements of Korean culture, too. Despite participating in online forums and fan gatherings, some also choose to study the Korean language, history and culture in schools or in their town. Similarly, Leung (2012) refers K-pop fans as the most enthusiastic fans in the world. She gives an example of concert tickets in Paris that sold out in less than fifteen minutes on April 26, 2011. French fans gathered in the square outside of the Louvre, cheering, singing and dancing to demand another concert date from SM Entertainment (a powerful independent Korean record label and talent agency). Leung (2012) further explains that "a couple of weeks later, SM Entertainment put on a sold-out SM Town Live concert at Madison Square Garden" featuring popular idol groups of *TVXQ, BoA, Super Junior, Girls' Generation, SHINee* and *f(x)* (7). Lie (2012) adds that K-pop is now being accepted across the world because of its universal music and presentation of images of "a world that suggests nothing of inner-city poverty and violence" which is something that can be accepted by either "Muslim Indonesians or Catholic Peruvians" (355).

Between Fan and Fandom

In the literature on fan culture, the use of the terms 'fan' and 'fandom' have not been consistent between studies, and the meanings of the two words have often overlapped. Jenkins (2006) argues that when a fan makes an intense emotional investment in the object of fandom, it does not make the individual become a part of a larger fandom. Fandom often refers to shared and collective fan activities and creative practices, but sometimes it can be the actions of a fan *per se* (Jenkins 2006). This could happen because of different understandings and interpretations of what constitutes a fan in defining their identities and their contributions to the fandom, thus sometimes it creates conflicts within the fandom. Hills (2002) also argues that most fan studies examine the practices and creations of a specific subculture, rather than individual fans. Jenkins (2006) suggests that the definition of fans and fandom should reflect the kinds of activities fans engage in. The discourse of fan activities in the fandom can be multidimensional, contradictory, diachronic and limited in the ways it has been "historically represented in media and popular culture" (Bennett 2016, 1). Jenkins (2006) suggests that there is a need to reflect on how fans portray their practices by differentiating between fans of a specific subject of interest, fans who define themselves as a fan *per se* and fans who are the members of a fandom. Therefore, in this study, I analysed the differences between how fans define their identities and practises within a fandom.

Authenticity, Identity and Hierarchy in Fandom

Within fan communities, social hierarchy can be perceived in the form of capital. Bourdieu (1984, 1986) has characterised economic capital, social capital and cultural or symbolic capital as social differences and accumulated prestige that are unequally distributed among social classes. One must accumulate and invest to acquire an advantageous placement and power in a chosen field. It means that "one must possess at least the minimum amount of knowledge, or skill or 'talent' to be accepted as a legitimate player" and "derive maximum benefit or 'profit' from participation" (Bourdieu 1993, 8). In fandom, fans struggle for dominance, and they rely on various forms of social and cultural capital to establish themselves within fan communities.

Bourdieu (1986) states that becoming a member of a group or fandom needs social capital which provides "a 'credential' which entitles them to credit" (51). The social capital possessed by an individual is dependent on the connections that the individual can establish, and thus, it creates "a web of social influence and association" in their interactions (Miles 2010, 20). In fan studies, Jenkins's (1992) work on 'textual poachers' shows that fans reproduce cultural works from official works – say, fanfiction and videos – without any profit as a way to get recognition within fan communities. Investing in cultural capital by obtaining the knowledge and skills to reproduce these cultural works can develop a fan's reputation within fan communities. They become the person who is "worthy of being known ('I know him well'), they do not need to 'make the acquaintance' of all their 'acquaintances', they are known to more people than they know, and their work of sociability, when it is exerted, is highly productive" (Bourdieu 1986, 52-53). This is a basic practice in the existence of the members of any fandom to represent their group, to speak and acts in its name, and to exercise power within the fandom.

In fan communities, McCudden (2011) emphasises that performing roles as a fan serves to "understand and categorise people in relation to their fandom" (30) through cultural capital and social capital. It means that fans define the social hierarchy within and between their fandoms by "drawing distinctions between fans and non-fans, as well as within fan communities based on authenticity" (McCudden, 2011, 22). In a number of fandoms, Mitchell (2003) asserts that "a fanatically-held belief system based on authenticity, skills and notions of value which distinguish 'keeping it real' from what is considered 'wack' (trite and inauthentic)'" (3). Therefore, investment in the object of fandoms, such as consuming official goods and adhering to the 'right' dress code, having knowledge of their fandom, establishing a relationship with

the important persons in the fandom, and exerting effort and enthusiasm are important factors to identify oneself as a fan (Jenkins 1992; Hills 2002).

Internet as a Platform of Fan Activities

Since the emergence of the Internet, online interaction now extends to the use of images, audio, video and linear texts that give more comprehensive and "personal use of screen space for the presentation of self, knowledge and work" (Haythornthwaite 2009, 1). The Internet has extended "both fandom and the prospects of engaging in fan activities into multiple pockets of everyday life" that would "bring fan objects out with their users to the subway, the street and even in the classroom" (Gray, Sandvoss, and Harrington 2007, 7). These ongoing flows of information on the Internet provide "trans-border flows of cultural, symbolic and material objects" so that many audiences around the world can experience and reconstruct the notion of self-identity in online spaces (Black 2009, 397). This phenomenon is also illustrated by Appadurai (1996) as the emergence of blurred lines between life in online spaces and in the real world, although they are comparatively different. Online spaces are likely to construct "imagined worlds that are chimerical, aesthetic, even fantastic objects, particularly if assessed by the criteria of some other perspective, some other imagined world" (Appadurai 1996, 35). The emergence of diverse popular culture in borderless online spaces has reconstructed online identities, and their online archives have been extended within communities that have shared interests.

Problems arise when fans start to contend with one another, attempting to use their knowledge to legitimate their existence and present an authentic image. Fandoms on Internet can no longer be seen as utopian, or as having "no established hierarchy" (Bacon-Smith 1992, 41), but "a social hierarchy where fans share a common interest while also competing over fan knowledge, access to the object of fandom and status" (Hills 2002, 46). Similarly, Pullen (2000) posits that the Internet has not eradicated fan conflicts over differing interpretations of the objects of their fandom and thus, it has not created "a single, unified fan position or practice" (60) within fan communities.

In the circulation of the object of a fandom, Tulloch (1995) argues that most senior and powerful fans have control over the norms and practices of fellow fans to ensure the authenticity of a fandom remains stable. This way of enforcing a specific narrative on an online fandom looks similar to the youth subcultures studied by the Birmingham School, such as "teddy boys, mods and rockers, bikers, skinheads, soccer hooligans and rastas" (Mitchell 2003, 2), that often value the idea of authenticity in their groups. Therefore, fans choose to struggle for the acknowledgement of other fans, to have the credibility to control a fandom's object, and to have their efforts increase their cultural and social capital in the fandom.

Methodology

> "Live with yourselves in a context of others".
> (Goodall 2000, 22)

This study is primarily an analysis the fandoms of the K-pop boy groups *Super Junior* and *BTS*, which call themselves *ELF (Ever Lasting Friends)* and *A.R.M.Y (Adorable Representative M.C. for Youth),* respectively. Both fandoms are very active online but relatively limited in offline engagement, especially for the fans who do not reside in South Korea. This constraint encourages 'international fans' to publicly participate and immerse themselves in online forums, websites, video channels and fan sites as an alternative.

I chose four main websites as field sites for my virtual ethnographic work. These were two Korean entertainment news sites - Allkpop.com and Soompi.com – as well as a Facebook group owned by one of the *ELF* fans called *Leeteuk is the BEST Leader of the BEST Group~ Super Junior.* Lastly, I analysed Twitter posts with the hashtag 'ARMY'. Allkpop.com and Soompi.com publish their news in English for worldwide readers and also can be accessed on Facebook. These two news sites are familiar to K-pop fans as sources of recent news. I accessed these news sites every day to check the latest news,

but I only read the articles written about *Super Junior* and *BTS*. I also read the comment section of the articles, which is an important reflection of fans' views regarding the news; the same was true for Facebook and Twitter sites. These four websites served as my participant observation sites, where I collected data on fans regarding their current issues in the fandom. Basically, both Allkpop.com and Soompi.com distributed similar news, and then the Facebook and Twitter sites shared and reacted to the news. The contents of these news sites were alike, with various reactions from fans on Facebook and Twitter, and at the comment sections of the news articles, respectively.

The data was collected between January 25th and May 29th of 2016. A short period of virtual ethnographic work is considered, because I have also been a part of the *ELF* fandom for the last seven years, which means visiting these sites is part of my everyday routine. It was a taken-for-granted routine until I engaged this topic as a subject of research. As an insider, it was possible for me to develop and refine a better understanding of the meaning-making practices of online fan communities. Because of my familiarity with the practices of fans in the fandom, my position as both researcher and fan positions me to be both a comfortable and trustworthy individual for the participants to share their honest experiences with. Knowing that I am also within their community, the participants did not hesitate to become involved with my questioning and encouraged me to write about the fandom. Some participants tried to test me with jargon, but seeing that I understood and responded well, they accepted my dynamic role as a researcher and a fan who would be able to use academic writing to present a perspective that they could agree with.

After the content analysis, I conducted semi-structured interviews on Facebook's Messenger to gather fans' views on the construction of their own identities and the building of social hierarchy in the fandom. I interviewed eight *ELF* fans, three *ARMY* fans and two multi-fandom fans whom I made contact through Facebook. I selected participants based on two criteria: they needed to be active fans who could clearly identify the interests and preferences of

fandom they belong to. The questions asked during interviews included how they became a fan, what types of the activities they engaged with and their perceptions of other fans within their and other fandoms. Other than interviews, it was easy to track their activities online, as they posted several thoughts about their fandom and official merchandise they bought. In order to preserve the confidentiality of informants, pseudonyms are used and their account names are not stated.

The process of virtual ethnographic work maintains the traditions of ethnography; while reformulating some of these to better apply to research on the Internet, it is not a distinctive form of ethnography (Domínguez et. al 2007; Hine 2000, 2015). The standard ethnographic processes of identifying a field site, interviewing key informants, conducting observation, recording activities and archiving documents still apply within virtual ethnography. However, different modes and methodologies are needed as the ethnographer cannot directly "spend time with people, to interact with them and live amongst them and to develop a first-hand understanding of their way of life" (Hine 2015, 2). Ethnographers in online spaces should use the vast information on the Internet to build a holistic understanding of the study. Similar to a traditional ethnography, that looks through documents and observes events in the field to have a depth of focus and to generate 'thick description', virtual ethnographers depend on internet access to observe the complex pattern of interactions in online spaces. Relying on one medium - for instance, interviewing informants through Facebook's Messenger – could be problematic. Hine (2015) argues that it is challenging to "make sense of situations as a unified whole" because "its users weave together highly individualised and complex patterns of meaning out of these publicly observable threads of interaction" (3). In this situation, Hine (2015) explains that virtual ethnography "must get used to what has been missed and [attempt] to build interpretations of events based on sketchy evidence" (4) and accept the limitations of the online world to building a detailed understanding. This study challenged me to develop reliable insights into the K-pop fandom, because of the nature of change often takes place in online spaces. The

behaviour of fans tends to change with the passage of time, and the representation of fans in this study may be different in the future, as I only captured them within a given period of the fieldwork. The data of any ethnography would not be a perfect representation of the culture it studies in the future, as change is inherent to all culture, but it does not mean that a detailed snapshot provided by my study on K-pop fandom is not valuable for future references. In this sense, embracing the complexity of a website (Hine 2015) provides me with a robust understanding of the different interpretations of each fandom.

Results: Authentic ELFs and their Communities

ELF is a fandom, or fan club name, of the popular Korean boy group, *Super Junior*. It is a name that *Super Junior* members called their fans. *ELF* is an acronym of 'Ever Lasting Friends', which is also written as *E.L.F.* or *elf*. After explaining in more detail what *ELF* is and why it is so popular, I then discuss three key themes of *ELF* fandom; authenticity and social identity of *Hallyu* fans, investment as a fan in fan communities, as well as the degree of fandom between fan communities.

ELF means they are not *Super Junior's* fans, but everlasting friends. '*Super Junior's* fans eventually leave the fandom as time passes, or sometimes become antis (individuals whose opposition to an object of fandom mirrors the intense love of fans. Anti-fans sometimes carry out hostile actions against idol groups), but '*Super Junior's* ELFs are devoted to fandom. *ELFs* are *Super Junior's* friends, who are always together in every moment, through both in good and challenging situations. The official fandom colour is pearl sapphire blue, and the fandom was officially established on June 2nd, 2007, in South Korea. It is one of the biggest fandoms, with many fans around the world. *ELF* is also among the most recognized fandoms in the world; both *Super Junior* and their fans had grabbed the top spot in Teen Choice Award in 2015. One of the informants, Jasmine, told me that this fandom's name was given by *Super Junior's* leader, Park Jeong-su (also known by his stage name, Lee Teuk) and she quoted some of his words, which can also be found in a meme circulated by fans:

When we are just debuted, in a concert with all other groups, we saw, there were some sapphire blue colours between all other colours of all other fandoms. Day by day … those sapphire blue colours are getting big and so many. We realised that those sapphire blue colours are the source of our spirit and our happiness, and our strength. As we know from the legend, *ELF* is a beautiful creature like a fairy. They are beautiful, and always give happiness, like they spell it. I realised those creatures we see now, that always make a sapphire blue ocean is the most beautiful thing, are like *ELF* in the legend. They are so beautiful, always give happiness to us, and always protect us. So, I named them, *ELF*. Now those creatures are so many and make so big sapphire blue oceans which are so beautiful; the most beautiful thing. Even though we don't know all of them, but we know they are always there whenever we go, and I love them. Those creatures are *ELF*, our everlasting friends.

What is the difference between *ELF* and other fandoms that has caused them to grow to such prominence worldwide? One informant, Shera, emphasised that relationships between both *ELF* and *Super Junior*, and within fandom itself, are the essence of the popularity of both the fandom and the band itself:

I envy of the relationship *ELFs* have with Super Junior and other *ELFs*. I've never seen a fandom so close before until I made friends with some *ELFs* on Twitter. They talk to each other like they are best friends, even though they haven't met each other in real life before. And they are so close with *Super Junior*. They do everything together and they seem just like a family. On April Fools, they trolled each other, and the leader of *Super Junior*, Lee Teuk, posted out his real number on Twitter. Seeing them have so much fun together make me jealous. They seem so bonded, and I can really see they love each other so much. I want my fandom to be like that too, but sadly,

it isn't happening. My idol probably doesn't even care about us half as much as *Super Junior* does for *ELF*. I want to join the *ELF* fandom. I can't say this on my personal blog because my fandom hates *ELF* and *Super Junior.*

Authenticity and Social Identity of *Hallyu* Fans

Social identity and authenticity are relevant concepts through which to analyse the nature of fan behaviours that create a social hierarchy within fan communities. I identified three types of fans: true fans, multi-fans and successful fans.

Firstly, a true fan. Several fans used this term in discussing issues that are tied to authenticity and loyalty to the fandom. Taleha used markers of knowledge and passion when discussing the qualities of a true fan, as she said:

> Regardless of age, a true fan should have the right knowledge about their idols and makes an effort to search the information on websites. Since this is the internet era, there is no excuse to say that you don't know anything. Also, if news comes out, it is the right action for a true fan to check whether it is the right news before you circulate it in your SNS (social networking sites) to avoid misunderstanding among other fans. I even check to see if I have the right information.

Malimi referred to true fans as those who 'search and dig' for old videos of their idols, especially rare videos: "I know all the recent videos and variety shows of *Super Junior*, but I find it gives me a memorable feeling if I can share old or rare videos with other *ELFs*." Jasmine mentioned that a true fan follows an idol group from their first debut, and should be unified in building up the fandom's name to compete with other fandoms, rather than just loving the group once they become popular.

> I know many *ELFs* love *Super Junior* after the 'Sorry Sorry' era. I consider myself lucky, because I knew them since the 'Twins' era back in 2005, and they were not popular yet. People would look at me weird if I mentioned *Super Junior* since they are not American singers.

Taleha, Malimi and Jasmine are senior fans, and they followed *Super Junior* at least from before 'Sorry Sorry' golden era in 2009. However, there are some fans who became an *ELF* after the 'Sorry Sorry' era. According to Carolina, the moment one becomes a true fan is not important if she or he can fulfil the criteria of a good fan. Following all of *Super Junior*'s activities is fundamental to being a true fan. If not all, fans may opt to follow their favourite members of *Super Junior*. This type of fan is often referred as 'shipper', a short of 'relationshipper' (McCudden, 2011). Carolina said, "I really love *Super Junior* after I watched the 'Sorry Sorry' music video. After that, I follow each of their comebacks. My bias is Kyuhyun. I also 'ship' Eunhae couple [*ELFs* use the portmanteau 'Eunhae' or sometimes 'Eunhae couple', to refer to two members of *Super Junior*, Eunhyuk and Donghae, who are known for having the closest friendship]. I think they are so comfortable with each other."

Katy offered that a true fan should make an effort in terms of their time and money. She clarified that this is the most obvious ways to see how big a fan he or she is towards the idol group.

> I searched and downloaded all *Super Junior*'s videos, even though I had to buy extra prepaid phone credit. Lately, I love to watch an online stream on Vlive, especially the recent comeback of *Super Junior* and maknae's comeback [which in K-pop refers to when an artist releases new material, which is often announced by its performance on a music TV show]. I watched Ryeowook live streaming on Vlive and I felt so good to listen to my sweetheart's songs. It's so nice! Also, I don't understand certain fans who claim to be an *ELF* but kept asking me for the recent videos of *Super Junior*. I bought the reload, waited until the video was '100% downloaded'; my eyes were always swollen in the next morning because I was awake at night. It's the only time I can download, and they want the videos from me? If they trade something, I will give them. If not, I'm sorry.

True fans often have a 'common knowledge' within fan communities, and make an effort to seek hidden information, as described by Taleha and Malimi, who love to search for old videos. True fans are also thought of as those who invest their time and pocket money in one idol group all the time. McCudden (2011, 49) proposes a differentiation between the terms 'true' fan and 'big' fan, in which a 'true' fan can be described in binary terms; either one is a true fan, or one is not. However, 'big fan' can be placed on a dynamic scale in which "it is possible to be a big fan, a 'bigger' fan, and even a 'big huge psycho' fan, indicating that 'big' can be modified to represent placement on a continuum". Alternatively, McCudden (2011) believes that "if fans conceptualise a scale upon which a wider range of fandom levels can reside, it may be more palatable to express a judgement about those who would take that scale to its most extreme end" (49).

The second category of fans are called multi-fans. A fun phrase used to refer to multi-fans is jeolsae, which means 'migratory bird' (Harmoniar 2016), as this fan will join many fandoms at the same time. In addition, there are other words, such as da-faen or 'all fan' to refer to multi-fans. In explaining the identity of multi-fans and their practices, Aliya mentioned,

> I am an *ELF*, and at the same time a *Baby* (Korean boy group, *BAP's* fandom's name) and an *A.R.M.Y* (Korean boy group *BTS's* fan club name). But I never miss any *Super Junior*'s activities, official albums, or even their concerts. I also bought *BAP* and *BTS* albums, and I love their music. However, my priority is Super Junior since it is my first favourite.

This is the dilemma of many fans, especially when many new groups have debuted with different styles of music from *Super Junior*. I read a thread of conversation on Facebook; some fans criticised others who used the profile picture of one fandom, but also circulated the news of other fandoms. Thus, are they only *ELFs* (for example), or multi-fans? This question is quite debatable when it comes to websites, especially when fans present misleading profile pictures as their identity profile. The presentation of identity online is important to connect fans to certain fandoms. There are also some fans who have declared themselves outright as multi-fans instead of tying themselves to one fandom to avoid any misunderstanding. Shera is a multi-fan who wrote on her Facebook,

> I am a multi-fan, so I support different fandoms and idol groups. The reason is, I want to enjoy my Korean entertainment without any restrictions. I enjoy Running Man, Korean dramas, *Super Junior* and also many idol groups. The one I am into nowadays is *Day6* [a new idol group]. Just to let you know my status.

In Aliya's case, I believe she can afford official goods of many idol groups. Thus, her involvement in many fandoms was tolerated, while at the same time raising her status in the social hierarchy because of her investment in the fandoms. However, Shera is still a student and cannot afford much idol group merchandise. Therefore, she preferred to enjoy free access to Korean entertainment shows without the burden of involving herself too much in particular fandom.

Lastly, a successful fan is a popular term used to refer to a fan with the highest position in the social hierarchy. However, there are several opinions regarding this group of fans. It may refer to those who have the highest cultural and social capital within fandom (Bourdieu 1986; Jenkins 1992; Miles 2010), and a fan who gains financial and interpersonal success through fangirling or fanboying (Harmonicar 2016). Harmonicar explains that successful fans are able to build a personal relationship with their idols through work or romance. This could come through entering the Korean entertainment business and working with their idols on TV shows. In other words, these fans may have adored their idols in school and wished to become one in the future. Many rookie idols who profess to be inspired by senior idols successfully fulfill their ambition, and may even work together with their favourite idols in their career. For instance, *BTOB's* Sungjae could not hide his excitement when he was working with one of the *Super Junior's* members as a host of the variety show, *A Song for You*. Successful fans can also be

those who work at the same events as their idols, and who have a chance to meet and interact with them personally (Harmonicar 2016). This type of fan has high social capital because they have a close relationship or connection to their idol. These fans may get a free concert ticket or a free pass to meet an idol personally backstage. Other fans are required to queue up in the early morning to buy the tickets, or compete with other fans to buy online tickets. Thus, it has become a trend among fans to work closely with their idols, especially as a make-up artist, coordinator artist, producer (PD nim), a writer for events, or as staff for the idols. Fans often joke that they would even work as a cleaner in their idol's company building if they had a chance to meet the idol face-to-face. Moreover, it may go beyond a simply professional relationship to become a working-romantic relationship (Harmonicar 2016). The best example of this is Hani, a member of the girl group *EXID*, who dated *JYJ*'s Junsu after being his fan since high school (but they broke up their relationship). This is certainly a successful fan, and many fans wish to be like her.

Investment as a Fan in Fan Communities

Fans define the common degree of social identity and social hierarchy within the fandom through investment in cultural capital, socialising and sharing, and social capital. One of the main methods of being recognised in a fandom is to invest in cultural capital. Fans consume official fandom goods for their own needs and want to be recognised by other fans for this while they were interacting. The albums, official goods, concerts, fan meets and internet bills are the most common of fans' investment. Aina explained,

> I spent half of my salary to buy *Super Junior* albums. The album cost an estimated a RM60-RM80 [around 20 US dollars]. However, for *Super Junior*'s comeback, the company did not only release an [official] album, but also a repackaged album [usually, this means the addition of another two or three songs] and also an individual cover album [this refers to a special-edition album where the cover art highlights one of the ten *Super Junior* members –

see the "Mr Simple" album of *Super Junior*] which you may choose your favourite member for that album. Imagine if you had two or three favourite members. This would not include if they had world tour concerts, which cost around RM130 [33 US dollars] for the cheapest seat and around RM700 [175 US dollars)] for the rock zone. They could also release a Japanese album, which would be double the price of a Korean album. I want to cry.

Surprisingly, most fans are willing to spend their money on albums; even though they are expensive, most fans manage to buy them. Figures 1 & 2 show a few of *Super Junior*'s albums. Nowadays, fans prefer to buy songs digitally through online music sites such as iTunes, MelOn, Synnara and Soribada, which are normally cheaper than buying a physical album. They spend on each album released because they want their idols to be at the top of music shows and weekly charts such as M! Countdown (MNET), The Show (SBS), Show Champion (MBC) and Simply Kpop (ARIRANG TV). The music shows tally the sales of albums and digital music, website votes, mass searches on Google and NAVER, and the number of views on Youtube and Tudou videos, and crown the highest-grossing idol group as the champion of the week. Sometimes, the idol groups are able to enter an international chart, such as the Billboard Chart. Through these activities, fans can prove their power, and cooperate in their fandom. Fans also post and circulate tutorials on social media that explain how to increase the vote. They share their vote accounts within fan communities and they watch music videos on Youtube several times to increase its views, and watch streams on Genie and NAVER (popular sites in Korea) to create awareness of their idol's comeback. The success of the idol with the general public is an indicator of the popularity of both artist and fandom.

Other than their comeback season, an idol's company also offers fans their official merchandise. In March 2016, *Super Junior*'s company, SM Entertainment (SME), opened a new convenience store in their company building at ground level, selling food and snacks such as instant noodle (ramen), popcorn, cereal,

ice cream, candy, chocolate, jelly, jam, etc. (Figure 3). They are all released under a brand name, PL, which is jointly owned by E-Mart and SME (Kang 2016). The price, of course, is almost double that of normal convenience store items, but Allkpop.com (2016) reported that *Super Junior* Habanero Ramen (5 packs) was one of the top two most sold SM SUM Market products in terms of sale price. Nevertheless, Shereen argued that for fans who consume expensive merchandise, 'loyalty means investing':

> People need to understand that merchandise is expensive. And SM [SME] isn't very fair with prices when it comes to these special products. International fans are always like "omg new merchandise I'm broke!" Now imagine being a fan in Korea with actual access to all of it. It's hard to keep up. Not everybody can afford it, and of course, SM or any company will do whatever it takes to squeeze as much as possible from fans. That's the whole point of selling merchandise. And saying things like "then don't buy it"? Listen, if you had that store near you, you would do anything to buy at least one thing in there. Kfans [Korean fans] are greedy and believe in loyalty, loyalty means investing in your idols whatever you can. But then again, this is SM, of course, this would be their main goal, to drain us of money.

For fans, the degree of one's fandom is directly related to the cost of investment and the ability to ensure they can compete with other fandoms for their idols' fame. Supporting their idols is necessary, and some Korean fans help to buy the goods and retail food for international fans.

Figures 1 and 2: Official album (Author's albums collection)

Furthermore, when investing in cultural capital, the capability of acquiring knowledge and skills through socialisation is essential for indicating how well-informed fans are toward their objects of fandom. The most common expression of this kind of investment is referred to as 'poaching' (Jenkins 1992), in which fans create works such as fanfiction, fan art, memes, mashups, and remixes, which they upload and circulate on websites. *ELFs* love to create fanfiction in which *Super Junior*'s members are cast as their favourite fictional characters. Fans who have talent in writing put their skills in various fantasy and romance stories. Nonetheless, *ELFs* prefer the narratives to involve their idol group members only, and often keeps away using female artists as their supporting characters. That said, it is an option in their narrative, and the content of a story depends on the preferences and imagination of an author to fulfil their desired stories. This kind of romantic fanfiction is also known as a 'shipper' story. The most popular kind of 'shipper' in a fanfiction is between Lee Donghae and Lee Hyukjae, who are collectively given the nickname, 'Eunhae'. They have been very close to each other since the group's inception, and they even debuted as a group unit called *Super Junior D&E*. The term 'romance story' does not necessarily carry the connotation of its subjects being partners, or having a gay relationship. In *ELF's* context, a 'romance story' focuses on both members have a close relationship and have similar interests in terms of music and lifestyle. In addition, fans with skilled hands love to make their idols the subject of their artwork. Some of this art is done by hand, and other instances, by computer programme or in smartphone apps. The most popular fanart is done in cartoon form. Memes have also become popular on Twitter, Facebook and Instagram.

The second investment a fan can make is in socialising and sharing. Socialising creates bonds between fans when they converse and interact together, either about their object of fandom or not (McCudden 2011). *ELFs* share information related to *Super Junior* activities, such as commercial films (CF), dramas, musicals, world tour concerts in different countries which are usually not covered by the mainstream news, interviews during comeback season, and variety shows, most of which are

products of the Korean, Chinese and Japanese media. Fans not only share this information, but also translate or sub videos for those who do not understand the Korean language. Even though Hangul [the Korean alphabet] is mainly understood by Koreans, certain fans take an initiative to learn it (Leung, 2012), and they help other fans by translating videos, which they upload onto Youtube or other fan sites. The different languages uploaded on these websites reflect *Super Junior*'s popularity around the world. The efforts fans make to translate the raw video into different languages are greatly appreciated by many others, who desperately need subtitles to understand a video properly. Fans who do these translations normally do not make any profits from their hard work, instead doing it for the credentials they gain in the fandom.

ELFs also demonstrates a sense of primary group belonging through developing a sense of 'us' and 'them'. Even though *ELF* is a K-pop fandom, *ELFs* define themselves differently from other K-pop fandoms, especially through the colour of the fandom. Most K-pop fandoms have 'ownership' of a certain colour, the choice of which is officially made by the company representing the idol groups. The colour should be unique, and the company staff meticulously choose the right colour to avoid any argument between the fandoms. However, some fandoms do not have their own colour. As mentioned earlier, *ELF* owns the sapphire blue colour; the colour is very significant to *ELF* and *Super Junior* because it unites them. In a Super Junior concert or fandom gathering, it is prohibited to hold other colours of light stick, or balloons that belong to another fandom, or to wear a shirt on which another fandom's name is written. The risk is that an individual could be seen as a stranger in the *ELF* fandom, and if their picture were snapped by somebody, it could destroy their reputation. Everyone must follow the rules, especially in their choice of colour, to keep a sense of belonging within the fandom. Creating a sense of 'us' and 'them' is very important for *ELF* to keep together as a fandom, either in an online or offline context.

The last investment a fan can make is in social capital. Fans with social capital receive recognition from other fans because of their

Figure 3: Super Junior's gourmet popcorn (Author's picture collection)

influence on websites. During my observation of the *ELF* fandom, I began to recognise some of the popular *ELFs*. When they posted about *Super Junior* or updated their vacations, other *ELFs* would make comments like, "*Unnie* [a term used by a younger girl to refer to an older girl], I saw you at the airport. I want to greet you but you did not look at me", or, "I saw you at the shopping mall, but I was unsure if it is you". I use the term "*ELF* celebrity" or "fan-celebrity" to refer to these fans; they are known within the fandom in both online and offline contexts as *ELFs* who are worthy of respect. For the degree of connections, some international *ELFs* believe that the Korean *ELFs* have the highest social capital because they can meet the idol members on tour without having to take the long journey to South Korea. The Korean *ELFs* are able to go to shows being recorded for television broadcasts during comeback seasons; they can go to concerts and fan meetings, which happen most often in Korea, and sometimes they can visit an idol group's place of residence. These are rare opportunities for international *ELFs* unless they are going to Korea.

The Degree of Fandom Between Fan Communities

With the emergence of online fandom, it is common for fans to engage and communicate with many fandoms because of the flow of information on the Internet. Sometimes, fans may be drawn to younger groups, who are closer to them in age and offer different styles of music and performance. These are the common reasons given by fans who engage with multiple fandoms at one time. Nonetheless, some *ELFs* love to engage with other fandoms. Therefore, to explore this trend, I had to become involved with another fandom to get the gist of the experience between fan communities. I chose the *A.R.M.Y* (Adorable Representative M.C for Youth) fandom. *A.R.M.Y* is a new fandom of a new boy group called *BTS*, or in English, Bangtan Boys. *BTS* debuted on June 12, 2013, and the *A.R.M.Y* fandom was established on July 9, 2013.

When experiencing interactions between fan communities, I paid particular attention to the individual behaviours within the *A.R.M.Y* fandom. *BTS* had gained popularity internationally in 2015 by rising to the top of the Billboard Album Chart, and their concert DVDs were sold out. Their popularity made the fandom grow bigger, and more new fans joined. However, the conditions in the fandom became unpleasant because some immature fans began to behave poorly by criticising and comparing other idol groups to *BTS* in unsophisticated ways. An *A.R.M.Y* made an effort to write an apologetic letter to various fandoms on behalf of the whole fandom. (Allkpop.com, 2016). One of the *A.R.M.Y* fans, Maya, complained that the popularity of *BTS* has attracted many immature fans and they circulated pointless information about the fandom and *BTS*,

> I remember when we in *A.R.M.Y* were the best fan base, around two years ago. I'm still the biggest fan of *BTS*, and have been loyal to them for years now, but the fandom is getting a little out of hand now. This happens to every fandom once they hit stardom, and, due to the members' young ages, they attract younger fans. Please don't go around saying shit about *A.R.M.Y*, because they are some people's family.

Kira also whined about the immature fans; she said,

> Yeah, back then our fandom was one of the best thought of fandom, but ever since *BTS* gained popularity, young, vulgar kids have been corrupting our *A.R.M.Y* base. My love for our boys will never die, though. I just hope that the immaturity of the newer, younger fans will die soon.

On the other hand, Lorena wished that the *A.R.M.Y* fandom would get better soon and become as good a fandom as it was before,

> If you really love them and care for them, why would you embarrass them to the point where they have to apologise on behalf of you? To be a fan is to care for their well-being, for them to be happy and not to make others hate them because of your immaturity. To all the respectful *BTS* fans I salute you and glad to call you *BTS* family. We got to show the young immature fans the way we are supposed to act so we can be a proud united group!

The most interesting thing I found about interactions between fandoms was a good relationship between both *ELF* and *A.R.M.Y.* It was in a *BTS* concert, "Hwa Yang Yeon Hwa On Stage: Epilogue", held on May 7 and 8, 2016, at the Olympic Gymnastic Arena in Seoul. Before the concert, anti-fans threatened *A.R.M.Y* on Twitter, saying that they would attack BTS members after the concert. *BTS* became the top 10 worldwide trending subject on Twitter; it was the first time an idol group had dominated Twitter's top 10 trending category. One of the fandoms that tried to back up and protect *A.R.M.Y* was *ELF*, through the use of the hashtag of #ELF_WITH_ARMY. *ELF* has encountered a lot of challenges in their fandom, and they understood *A.R.M.Y's* situation when facing many anti-fans. In another situation, on May 24, 2016, one of *Super Junior* members, Kangin, was the subject of significant news. He crashed into a streetlight pole as he was driving his car in Gangnam, Seoul, and then drove away. His blood alcohol level would later test high enough for license suspension (Aspera, 2016; ipetitions.com 2016). The next morning, he

turned himself in to the police. However, on May 25, 2016, '*Super Junior* fans' posted a petition for Kangin to leave the group through a post on *DC Inside* (a Korean internet forum site), as they saw this series of acts (Kangin also previously punished for a hit and run drunk driving incident in 2009) as having been detrimental Super Junior's image and career (Do, 2016). In response, *ELFs* from all over the world decided to write a counter-petition (ipetitions.com 2016). As I mentioned earlier, '*Super Junior*'s fans' are those who eventually leave the fandom as times goes or sometimes become 'antis', but '*Super Junior*'s *ELFs* continue to support the fandom under any circumstances. *ELF* faced a hard week due to this infighting, but the *A.R.M.Y* fandom kept on supporting them with the hashtag #ARMY_WITH_ELF on Twitter. It was a goal of each fandom to keep giving back and to be supportive toward each other.

Conclusion

Changes in communication technology have shaped various elements of popular culture in online spaces. The construction of online identities provides fans with the opportunity to share common interests with each other. However, the possibility of possessing certain knowledge and skills to get recognition from others has led fans to struggle for dominance in online spaces. This can be illustrated by Bordieu's (1984, 1986) concepts of social and cultural capital, in which fans must possess a minimum of knowledge, effort and skill to verify the construction of their identities within fan communities. By identifying the identity, fans accrue various forms of capital to acquire an advantageous placement and dominance within a fandom.

In studying K-pop fans, their identities and statuses in the social hierarchy of a fandom are important to help them validate their existence within fan communities. Various practices carried out by fans determine their place and assert a certain status within fan communities. The meanings of being a fan are presented to identify themselves and other fans either as true fans, multi-fans or successful fans. I have presented a multidimensional analysis of fans in K-pop fandoms based on their practices to reflect how the complexity of their activities

may be best represented as an act of a fan *per se*, and cannot be completely or accurately represented as a fandom's practices (Jenkins 2006). Therefore, I presented several definitions of what constitutes being a fan and offered examples of various fans' practices to indicate their multiple efforts and contributions in the fandom itself.

In the Internet era, it is impossible to study an online fandom without engaging with other fandoms. I managed to engage with two fandoms, *ELF* (*Super Junior*'s fans) and *A.R.M.Y* (*BTS's* fans), as a way to experience the gist of fan relationships between fandoms. The interactions between other fandoms are possible because these websites are easily accessed by public audiences. Despite the fans' practices within the fandom, engagement with another fandom provides a variety of opportunities to expand fans' connections within a larger fandom itself; in this case, in a K-pop fandom.

Acknowledgements

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Ideology and Postvernacularity in 21st Century Yiddish Pedagogy

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, based on five weeks of ethnographic field work in a Yiddish classroom in Poland, I describe how Yiddish language ideologies were realized and enacted within the classroom by language learners and teachers alike. This paper connects these language ideologies and classroom practices to larger historical negotiations of the Jewish past occurring within contemporary Poland, negotiations that center around memory and space. I argue that Yiddish can be understood as an object in cultural flux, discursively framed by multiple intersecting and, at times, contradictory narratives. Focusing on Yiddish language classrooms in contemporary Poland in particular, I demonstrate how Yiddish is embedded in non-Jewish Polish narratives and historical negotiations, as well those of diaspora Jewry.

The Symbolic Weight of Yiddish

Within the international Ashkenazi Jewish diaspora, the image of the *shtetl* (traditional Jewish village) life of pre-Holocaust Europe is invoked with an almost religious reverence with such a frequency as to make it a trope. This reverence tends to center around the Yiddish language, the crown jewel of quotidian, traditional European Jewish life, emblematic of all which is viewed as lost or inaccessible to contemporary secular diaspora Jewry. Yiddish, the traditional vernacular language of European Jewry, was typically not intergenerationally transmitted within secular diaspora families after the Holocaust; as such, the majority of second and third generation diaspora Jews lack fluency and basic competence in the language (Fishman 1991). Despite this lack of fluency, Yiddish remains a symbolically-loaded cultural object that is often cited as an essential aspect of one's Jewishness, and marks one's engagement with real and imagined Jewish communities (Harshav 1999; Anderson 1983). Yiddish has not entirely disappeared from the daily lives of secular diaspora Jewry, but it instead now occupies a highly affective and indexical role rather than serving as a means of communication. This quality of the Yiddish language's contemporary symbolic mode has been termed *postvernacularity*; it is characterized by the precedence of symbolic and performative Yiddish language usage over everyday vernacular usage (Shandler 2004). Furthermore, the secular Yiddish speech community is a *metalinguistic community*, a group that experiences deep affective ties to a language regardless of the fact that many of the members lack proficiency (Kroskrity and Avineri 2014).

As the intergenerational transmission of Yiddish in the secular context becomes increasingly rare, the secular diaspora has access to fewer and fewer Yiddish communities of practice. Because of this, sites of secular Yiddish usage over the past several decades have tended to be deliberate and temporary (existing in language classrooms) or fractured and transnational (existing on the Internet). As Shandler notes, "At the beginning of the 20th century, Yiddish was rooted in an actual place - Eastern Europe, home to millions of Jews...at the end of the century...Yiddish had become the language of several imaginary worlds" (Shandler 2004, 49). These "imaginary worlds" are defined by a sort of geographical 'otherness': Peckerar has referred to Yiddish as a "non-territorial language" on the basis that "no clear Yiddophone space exists in the world that can be designated by a given cartographical colour and thus easily identified by students when they open their textbooks" (Peckerar 2011, 238). A Yiddish classroom could exist in Buenos Aires or Paris with equal possibility; a Yiddish Facebook group with 500 members located all around the globe very well might be the only accessible community of practice for some diaspora Jews. As one of a very few spaces where secular Jewry can interact with Yiddish in physical space, Yiddish language classrooms are a site where nostalgia and diaspora identity narratives are embodied, enacted and reproduced (Avineri 2014; Gonshor and Shaffir 2004). Within the past few decades, as the global Jewish diaspora's interest in Yiddish has increased, language classrooms in the form of summer seminars and university courses have appeared around the world in major diaspora cities such as New York, Tel Aviv and London, as well as in historically important Jewish cities such as Warsaw, Krakow, and Lviv, where the active contemporary Jewish community numbers little more than a few hundred (DellePergola 2015; Peckerar 2011). Shandler (2004) has introduced the term "Yiddishland" to describe the particular geographical 'otherness' of the Yiddish language classroom, characterizing it as a realm untethered from place or time that is both created by and facilitates Yiddish language use. This term is purposefully open-ended, accommodating the fractured symbolic economy of Yiddish in the 21st century.

In this paper, based on five weeks of ethnographic fieldwork in a Yiddish classroom

in Poland, I describe how Yiddish language ideologies were realized and enacted by students and teachers alike. This paper connects these language ideologies and classroom practices to larger historical and memorial negotiations of the Jewish past occurring within contemporary Poland, negotiations that center around memory and space. To discuss the reenactment and restaging of the marginal Jewish-Polish past that occurred in the Fundacja Shalom language classroom, I draw upon Lehrer & Waligórska's (2013) notion of "memory work" and claim that the Yiddish classroom, as a dialogic, ephemeral, and low-stakes historical reimagining of a past that is still actively being negotiated, constitutes a form of "memory work". Throughout this paper, I view Yiddish as an object in cultural flux, discursively framed by multiple intersecting and, at times, contradictory narratives. This paper focuses on Yiddish language classrooms in contemporary Poland in particular, and considers how Yiddish is embedded in non-Jewish Polish narratives and historical negotiations as well those of diaspora Jewry. As one Yiddish teacher mentioned to me, "In Poland now, it's simply easier to learn Yiddish...most of the people who learn Yiddish are Poles". Thus, consideration of local Polish narratives about Yiddish is crucial to understanding the sociocultural reality of the Yiddish classroom in Poland.

Ideology in Yiddishland

Secular Yiddish presents a unique case for most measurements of language use and endangerment (Krauss 2007). Yiddish is a heritage language that has a strong presence in pop culture and discussions of Jewish identity, but by the end of the 21st century was rarely spoken as a vernacular outside of certain Orthodox Hasidic communities (Isaacs 1998). On this basis, the secular Yiddish speech community can be thought of as a *metalinguistic community*, a speech community defined by discourse about a language rather than use of the language. Avineri (2014, 2) identifies five defining features of a *metalinguistic community*: "1. socialization into language ideologies as a priority over socialization into language competence and use, 2. conflation of language and culture, 3.

age and corresponding knowledge as highly salient features, 4. use and discussion of the code as primarily pedagogical, and 5. use of code in specific interactional and textual contexts". These features provide a salient descriptive schema of action and ideology within the Yiddish classroom's speech community. Within heritage and endangered language speech communities in general, "ideologies and norms of usage are diverse, since community members have a range of proficiency levels in the language and practices around the language" (Kroskrity and Avineri 2014, 2). It is thus necessary to provide a notion of speech community that accommodates the heterogeneous linguistic proficiencies and usages of heritage and endangered language communities of practice.

Gumperz (1971, 114) defines a speech community as "any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage". Refining this concept, Duranti (1997) emphasizes that the speech community is the product of the communicative actions of its members, and can be viewed as the result of the interactions and linguistic usages of its constituent speakers. The speech community is thus built and maintained via shared linguistic usage and communicative action. This 'bottom-up' approach better accommodates the varying proficiencies of heritage speakers, which occur on a continuum and tend to evade standardized measurement (Polinsky and Kagan 2007).

Friedman (2009, 347) observes that "what unites a linguistic community is not a set of language practices, but a set of language ideologies that define what counts as legitimate language". Communicative action within a speech community is thus ideologically loaded. The speech community of the language classroom is driven and defined by language ideologies, which are coordinated between students and teachers (Friedman 2009). The practices of the language classroom are oriented towards providing students membership to an imagined community of speakers. As Pavenko & Norton (2007, 671) argue, "the process of imagining and

reimagining one's multiple memberships may influence agency, motivation, investment, and resistance". Through imagining and reimagining membership, the practices of the language classroom socialize individuals into particular sets of ideologies and objectives.

Certain pedagogical practices within the language classroom, such as error correction, are "embedded within larger social, political, and cultural systems of belief about norms of language use and expectations regarding the responsibility of novices in upholding these norms" (Friedman 2009, 348). This suggests that language classrooms are sites that facilitate an embodied experience of history and sociocultural reality, and in certain contexts, are sites where students and teachers alike "attempt to create new...memories of the past, address present-day social ills, and imagine different futures" (Lehrer and Waligórska 2013, 512). Friedman's (2009) work with Ukrainian-language classrooms in Ukraine provides a vivid example of how language can be used towards the construction of new social realities, wherein the pedagogical practices of the classroom orient students towards the achievement of a larger teleological goal, in this case, a vision of a 'pure' Ukrainian language without Russian influence. This is further evidence of the extent to which the language classroom is a site wherein students are socialized into language ideologies (Avineri 2014; Duranti 1997; Friedman 2009).

The State of Yiddish today

Yiddish is the traditional vernacular language of Ashkenazi Jewry. It has a Germanic syntactic base, with a lexicon sourced largely from Hebrew, Aramaic, and various Slavic languages. Harshav (1999, 61) notes that "Yiddish [is] a uniquely open language", and as such, it incorporates language forms from a range of local linguistic strata. Despite this large amount of borrowed European linguistic material, Yiddish is culturally and historically distinct from other European languages. The use of the Hebrew alphabet for Yiddish orthography "establishes a final boundary around any Yiddish text and separates it clearly from German and any other non-Jewish language" (Harshav 1999, 51). It is estimated that there are today 200,000 to 500,000

speakers who use Yiddish as a daily language, and one million with language ability worldwide (Benor and Cohen 2011; Shandler 2004). While the number of secular Yiddish speakers worldwide is decreasing, the number of Yiddish speakers in Orthodox Hasidic communities has been steadily increasing (DellaPergola 2015). This being said, the worldwide mother tongue of Jews today, by numbers alone, is easily English (Shandler 2004, 53).

At its peak in the early 20th century, Yiddish was an essential component of European Jewish life and indexed political ideologies that advocated for European Jewish nationalism and socialism (Benor and Cohen 2011). Yiddishism, a type of secular Jewish nationalism that emerged in 19th and 20th centuries, held as a core idea that "a vernacular could be a symbol for an emerging nation and be cultivated to turn into a fully-fledged standardized language, equipped for all modern functions" (Avineri and Verschik 2017, 456). Yiddishists (and the ideologically related Bundists) asserted the Eastern European indigenousness of Jewry, which centered around the principle of *doikeyt* ("hereness"), explicitly opposing Zionist ideology that sought to create a Jewish homeland in Israel (Harshav 1999).

The decline of the Yiddish language from its pre-World War II peak can be traced to a number of causes. There is the obvious factor of the Holocaust, which killed nearly half of Europe's Yiddish speakers, essentially dealing a fatal blow to the continuation of *shtetl* life in Eastern Europe; the explicit and violent prohibition of the Yiddish language in Israel after 1948 is another. In the decades following World War II, the Israeli government viewed speakers of Jewish diaspora languages such as Yiddish and Ladino as a political threat to the "structured, cohesive, and all-embracing Israeli culture" that Zionists sought to create in Israel (Rojanski 2004, 46). Yiddish, as a language that to this day indexes otherness of nationality, international movement, and 'rootless cosmopolitanism', was harshly discriminated against, and Israeli government campaigns advocated the public shaming of Yiddish speakers (Fishman 1991). As Shandler bluntly states, "Zionist Ashkenazim murdered their own culture with their own hands" by preventing the intergenerational transmission of Yiddish in

Israel (Shandler 2004, 11). A similar targeting of the Yiddish-speaking Jewish intelligentsia and systematic eradication of the Yiddish language occurred in the USSR during the same time period, further decimating the number of Yiddish speakers (Moskovich 1987).

Within the American diaspora context, Yiddish was not intergenerationally transmitted to the children of Jewish immigrants because it was often seen as a potential detriment to their social and economic mobility in the United States (Grenoble and Whaley 1998; Shandler 2004). Yiddish, as a language then heavily associated with immigrant poverty, was something that most Jewish immigrants and their first-generation children strove to distance themselves from (Rodriguez 2006). Furthermore, Yiddish, as the *mame loshn* (mother tongue) and as the intra-group vernacular of European Ashkenazi life, was culturally viewed as a language that one naturally and automatically acquired from being raised in a Jewish household, without requiring any explicit instruction (Harshav 1999). Considering the fact that "in the United States almost all immigrant Jewish children attended public schools and were taught exclusively in English" (Shandler 2004, 74), it is no surprise that the intergenerational transmission of Yiddish to second and third generation Jews was interrupted. In this sense, Yiddish has followed the general trajectory of immigrant languages in America, where "the first generation tends to learn only enough English to get by; the second is bilingual; and the third tends to be English-dominant if not monolingual...and by the third generation [bilingualism] is extraordinarily difficult to maintain" (Rodriguez 2006, 591). In the contemporary second and third generation context, "the acquisition of Yiddish is not undertaken as inevitably as it once was...increasingly, learning Yiddish is a deliberate practice" (Shandler 2004, 194).

This lack of intergenerational transmission of Yiddish in the secular context is closely tied to the general cultural assimilation of secular diaspora Jews in the decades since the Holocaust. Shandler (2004) and Schacter (2006) have both written on how the erosion of Jewish sociocultural distinctiveness in the United States has led to an anxiety about individual and group identity over the past several decades, manifesting as a fear about the illegibility of the Jewish past. These anxieties and nostalgias coalesce to form what Avineri (2015) terms the *nostalgia socialization* of diaspora Jews to Yiddish, a socialization into a set of affective ideologies that project reverence onto the Jewish Eastern Europe of one's grandparents, connecting them to a Yiddish-speaking quotidian Jewish reality that no longer exists. An individual's lack of Yiddish fluency or historical knowledge does not hinder the development of such nostalgia. Because of this, the imagined nostalgic *shtetl* of the diaspora tends to be partially confabulated (Shandler 2004; Avineri 2014). This nostalgia also manifests in the secular Jewish belief in the endangerment of the Yiddish language (Avineri 2014; Friedman 2016).

The Presence and Absence of Jewish Culture in Poland

Within Poland today, Jewish culture is simultaneously globally present, the subject of broad narratives that proclaim a 'Jewish revival,' and locally absent, or at best, marginal. Jewish culture in contemporary Poland recalls Fishman's remark about the contradictions inherent in the Yiddish language: that it is "a tool of the irreligious *and* of the ultraorthodox, of fostering ghettoization *and* rootless cosmopolitanism, of reflecting quintessential and inescapable Jewishness *and* of representing little more than a hedonistic differentiation from the ways of the gentiles, of being dead and dying, and of being a ubiquitous threat to higher values" (Harshav 1999, 86). For Jewish culture in 21st century Poland, the primary contradiction seems to be the Yiddish language's simultaneous presence and absence. Weiss (2003) observes that "in Krakow you can find a good kosher meal, a number of klezmer bands, Jewish cabaret, art exhibits and folk dancing. [But] the only thing you probably won't find, unless you look very hard, are Jews". Even as Poland in recent years has a become an internationally important source of academic work on Yiddish and Jewish studies, the actual living Jewish community within Poland today remains extremely small (Wodzinski 2011; DellaPergola 2015). Furthermore, while the diaspora is intensely

focused on the historic Jewish geography of Eastern Europe, within Eastern Europe Jewish history remains marginal and contested, and local Jewish geography tends to be unmarked and difficult to find (Kugelmass 1995; Meng 2015). These contradictions are readily apparent in the popular narrative of the "Jewish revival" in Poland, a narrative that has particular currency with the international Jewish diaspora, with several large news outlets reporting on it in the past several years (Smith 2007; Tzur 2013; The Times of Israel 2012). This "Jewish revival" narrative is often presented by media outlets one-dimensionally, ignoring its roots in Polish anxiety regarding post-Holocaust national identity and the secular diaspora's desire for cultural continuity, among other things (Saxonberg and Waligórska 2006).

Within Poland today, it is clear that Polish-Jewish history is still being negotiated, both institutionally and in the popular consciousness (Kugelmass, 1995; Saxonberg & Waligórska, 2006). Kugelmass (1995) describes how raising questions about Polish anti-semitism and complicity in Jewish tragedy became more mainstream after the fall of the communist regime in Poland in 1989, making in-depth and critical discussions of pre-World War II Jewish life in Poland possible where they were not before. Additionally, the gradual opening of Poland to visits from many American and Israeli Jews interested in their family's history made nostalgia for the pre-World War II Jewish Poland a popular phenomenon for Jews and non-Jewish Poles alike (Kugelmass 1995; Wodzinski 2011). Despite the mainstreaming of Jewish narratives in Poland, the huge presence of the Holocaust as a specifically Jewish tragedy remains in the international consciousness. This, along with the shift in view of Auschwitz as a site of Polish martyrdom to one of Jewish martyrdom, results in "a peculiar mix of nostalgic reminiscence about prewar Poland and a sense of deep wounds being unfairly inflicted onto Poland's national pride" that continues today (Kugelmass 1995, 281). The rise of the modern Polish-Jewish tourism industry (perhaps most notorious for its tours of death camps like Auschwitz and Dachau) is a function of this sour Polish nostalgia as much as it is the invention of American and Israeli Jews themselves. Poland often serves as "a theater

prop in a Jewish pageant about national catastrophe and redemption," and is the site of various Holocaust tours for Jewish teenagers sponsored by the Israeli government for nationalistic purposes (Kugelmass 1995, 281). Polish artist Agata Siwek, among others, has engaged critically with the phenomenon of Holocaust tourism in Poland, asking "Is Auschwitz becoming no more than a must-see tourist destination?" (Jałowik 2015, 58). These questions about the role of Holocaust tourism in the diaspora and local Polish memory of Jewish Poland can be better understood in the context of the shifting qualities of engagement with Jewish history within Poland today.

Wodzinski (2011) has written about the trajectory of research on Jewish history and culture in Poland over the past hundred years in detail, charting a general trend of proliferation and institutionalization of Jewish studies research. Throughout the past several decades, the bulk of this scholarly material published has been oriented towards filling historical gaps in Jewish-Polish history. Contemporary historical work, both academic and popular, is of a markedly different character. Lehrer and Waligórska observe Polish engagement with Jewish history in the 21st century as being defined by a new degree of confrontation and an awareness that "the forces shaping national memory in public have become simultaneously more transnational and more local" (2013, 513). They observe a new genre of Polish interaction with its Jewish past, one that is 'interventional' rather than documentary, in the sense that this engagement actively strives to shift the entrenched memorial relations between Poland, Israel, and the diaspora. Terming this new genre "memory work", they add that "a key characteristic of these interventions is their attention to embodied experience, and the way they stage and invite participation in 'repertoires' of historical and cultural memory" (2013, 512). This embodied and interventional approach to history is a marked shift away from the passive memorial experience of concentration camp tourism, for example, and towards embodied sociocultural experiences such as Yiddish language courses. Thus, the popularity of Yiddish courses in Poland today can be understood in the context

of the shifting quality of engagement with Jewish-Polish history in the public and academic spheres. The Yiddish language classroom in Poland is a site where negotiations of Jewish-Polish history can occur on a transnational, yet local level. The geographical portability of Yiddishland allows a multiplicity of narratives to be embodied, and allows diaspora and local Polish histories to be restaged and opened up for dialogue (Finkin 2015).

Methodology

This study is based on five weeks of ethnographic fieldwork in Warsaw, Kraków, Wrocław, and Katowice, followed by two weeks of research in New York in the summer of 2016. During this time I fully participated as a student in a Yiddish language and culture course in Warsaw for three weeks, and conducted a dozen interviews with Yiddish language students, Yiddish language instructors, Jewish studies professors, and Jewish community members in order to understand the symbolic role that Yiddish holds within the international secular Jewish diaspora and the local Polish population today. I collected assorted pedagogical materials such as the course textbook, maps, and worksheets from Fundacja Shalom. I also collected various Yiddish print materials associated with the course, such as newspapers and advertisements. Finally, I gathered photos and text data from Facebook pages and the Fundacja Shalom website. Throughout this paper I consider pedagogical materials and particularly textbooks as "a product and factor of social processes" (Schallenberger 1978), and align myself with Wieki's view that "it is not possible to analyse [a textbook] isolated from such facts as the particular political, economical, social or cultural situation with which it interacts and is meant to interact." (Wieki 2009, 49). Furthermore, as an international and often ephemeral speech community with vague and shifting boundaries, discourse within and about the Yiddish language on the internet and in mass media are important contributors to the constitution of the imagined community of speakers (Spitulnik 1996; Anderson 1983).

Fundacja Shalom's Yiddish Classroom

This paper reports on findings from a study of Fundacja Shalom's international Yiddish summer seminar held in Warsaw during the summer of 2016. This course was typical of secular Yiddish language courses in that it was open to the general public and was held for a fixed amount of time, in this case for three weeks. The Fundacja Shalom classroom is located on ulica Andersa in Warsaw, in the historic Muranow neighborhood (the location of the former Jewish Warsaw Ghetto). The classroom is a short walk away from many important Jewish historical sites, and these myriad sites (e.g. the Warsaw Jewish Cemetery) are used by program organizers and tour guides in the area to give tours about the Warsaw Ghetto and pre-Holocaust *shtetl* life to students and tourists. The Fundacja Shalom Yiddish summer seminar is divided into three courses: a beginner, intermediate and advanced course, which had 11, 5, and 3 students, respectively. I attended the beginner course, having had minimal formal exposure to the Yiddish language beforehand. The beginner classroom was roughly evenly split between international diaspora Jews (from Israel, the US, Canada, and Australia), non-Jewish Polish students, and academics from a variety of disciplines, whose relation to Yiddish was on the basis of analyzing Yiddish primary sources for research purposes. The language classroom was thus a heterogeneous speech community, made up of individuals from a variety of linguistic backgrounds who held a variety of objectives for their competence in the Yiddish language.

Classes lasted for five hours every weekday, and switched between two instructors: a younger instructor from Poland with a strong academic background in Yiddish pedagogy and Jewish studies, and an older French instructor from Paris who heavily preferred to teach the course exclusively in Yiddish. Both of these instructors were Jewish, but learned Yiddish by studying as adults, and were not native speakers. The course assumed no prior knowledge of any Jewish language, and began by teaching the Yiddish alphabet, which also adorned the walls of the classroom (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Yiddish alphabet mural in the Fundacja Shalom classroom, June 2016. Photo by author.

The pedagogical style of the course was similar to that of an immersion-style classroom for a normative national language, such as French: non-Yiddish languages were used minimally, maybe for a fourth of the total class time (Peckerar 2011). The non-Yiddish languages used in the classroom (for informal discussion, clarification, etc.) shifted between French, Polish and English, depending on the shared linguistic backgrounds of the people in the classroom at a given time and the particular linguistic competences of the instructor. As a third-generation secular Jew with Polish Holocaust-survivor grandparents, my ethnographic research in Fundacja Shalom's Yiddish course was doubtlessly guided by my own *nostalgia socialization* and Yiddish language ideologies. In taking part in this course and even having my motivations for learning Yiddish included in a video advertising the course, I undoubtedly play a role in the continuation of the Yiddish language ideologies that I am documenting.

Ideology in Pedagogical Materials

Instructors of secular Yiddish courses face a unique dilemma: as the facilitators of what is in many cases the only spoken Yiddish community of practice for language learners, they must "fight against the threat of a growing unnaturalness attendant to the Yiddish language, all the while sensing the tragic irony of such a predicament for a language that had so long been specifically vernacular" (Peckerar 2011, 238). The pedagogical style of Fundacja Shalom's classroom was similar to that of other language immersion classrooms; in fact, I was

explicitly told by several Yiddish teachers at Fundacja Shalom that "[they] teach Yiddish like you would any other language", and also that the course's instruction places a particular emphasis on spoken Yiddish. The course's language instruction was centered around a 171-page textbook, which included grammatical exercises, short readings, verb conjugation charts, and classroom speaking exercises which were assembled a variety of sources. Because the textbook was an assemblage from a number of sources, the assumed linguistic capabilities of the individual reading the textbook shifted every twenty pages or so, between German, French, and English. This assemblage-style textbook is consistent with Peckerar's findings regarding the lack of sufficient contemporary Yiddish pedagogical materials in general (Peckerar 2011).

Wieki (2009, 49) notes that "it is not possible to analyse [a textbook] isolated from such facts as the particular political, economic, social or cultural situation with which it interacts and is meant to interact". The textbook for Fundacja Shalom's language course is thus oriented towards the classroom's teleological goals and laden with particular Yiddish language ideologies. Figure 2, for example, is a speaking exercise in the textbook that calls for students to talk about what they like and do not like in Yiddish, ("וואָס האָסטו ליב צו טאָן" and "וואָס האָסטו נישט ליב צו טאָן" respectively) using the constructions "איך האָב ליב" and "איך האָב נישט ליב" ("I like to" and "I do not like to", respectively). The activity, which is a typical speech elicitation exercise, is clearly oriented towards the *production* of novel Yiddish speech that engages with the contemporary reality of the speaker. The photo of the woman wearing headphones in the top left corner in particular indexes the production of Yiddish speech that engages with the daily 21st century reality of the speaker, allowing for the language to be briefly untethered from archives and academia. In this context, the Yiddish language becomes dialogic and embodied, and students actively engage with Yiddish linguistic material (Lehrer and Waligorska 2013).

Beyond fulfilling Fundacja Shalom's own ideological orientation towards a Yiddish that is taught "like you would any other language", this

activity appeals directly to diaspora nostalgia narratives, allowing the Yiddish language to briefly be used in the same way that diaspora Jews imagine it was used in the *shtetl*. For a variety of reasons, including the fundamentally ephemeral nature of Yiddishlands such as Fundacja Shalom, this vernacular Yiddish language usage cannot be maintained in the long term. Fundacja Shalom's course is thus a site where Yiddish can be temporarily vernacular, conveying everyday semantic detail rather than simply indexing a particular set of ideologies as secular Yiddish language use does outside of the classroom.

Figure 2: Language exercise in Fundacja Shalom textbook - "What do you like to do?" June 2016. Photo by author.

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The contents of the course textbook index ideologies beyond language use as well. Figure 3, another page from the textbook, is a page titled "דאָס מיזרחד-אייראָפּעישע יידישלאַנד" ("The Eastern European Yiddishland"). This image

depicts a map of contemporary Europe with the traditional Yiddish names labelling the countries and cities. On this map, Poland is labelled "פּױלן" (pﬦln]), the traditional Yiddish name for Poland which is phonetically distinct from the Polish "Polska" or the German "Polen", directly indexing the geography of the former European Yiddishland and superimposing Jewish geography onto contemporary Polish space. This direct reference to pre-Holocaust Jewish territoriality asserts a claim to the "Eastern European indigenousness" of Ashkenazim, and recalls Yiddishist notions of Jewish nationality, particularly the principle of *doikeyt* ("hereness") (Shandler 2004; Kuznitz 2015). In this way, the pedagogical practices of the classroom orient students towards larger ideologies about Jewish space in Eastern Europe. The Fundacja Shalom classroom facilitates a restaging of historical notions of Jewish space in the local Muranow neighborhood in Warsaw and on an international scale as well.

Figure 3: Map of Jewish Eastern Europe with Yiddish place names in Fundacja Shalom textbook, June 2016. Photo by author.

Yiddish has a complex relationship to geographical particularity and notions of homeland, a relationship that "challenges conventional notions of turf defined in relation to a language (and by implication, the language's speakers) that [have] long been fundamental to concepts of nationhood" (Finkin 2015, 15; see also Anderson 1983). Finkin observes that "Yiddishland presents a dynamic view of reality" (Finkin 2015, 15), in this case a reality that allows the transnational Jewish diaspora and local Poles to collaboratively

reenact marginal historical notions of Jewish territoriality. Just as Israeli artist Yael Bartana's 'fictional' political organization *The Jewish Renaissance Movement in Poland* (which calls for three million Jews to return to Poland) is an act of radical political imagination, Fundacja Shalom's Yiddish classroom allows disparate individuals to reimagine and reenact the historical territoriality of local Polish space. This is particularly the case for such a historically loaded space as Warsaw's Muranow neighborhood, which Meng has described as being made of up "layers of time", containing strata of Jewish and Polish history (Meng 2015, 79). In this way, the practices of the Yiddish classroom can be understood as active and embodied memorial practice, or an example of "memory work" (Lehrer and Waligorska 2013).

Discussions of local Jewish space in Muranow occurred throughout the course. Within the first week of the program, a Fundacja Shalom program coordinator took the course participants on a tour of the former Warsaw Ghetto in Muranow, pointing out sites that were once areas central to Jewish life, many of which are now in disrepair or have become something else entirely, making it impossible to understand the significance of the site without the guidance of someone with particular geographical knowledge. A notable example of this memorial denotation was the tour guide's comment that the huge modernist-style building on the corner of ulica Tłomackie in Muranow (called the Błękitny Wieżowiec, or 'Blue Skyscraper', Figure 4), one of the tallest and most conspicuous buildings in Warsaw, stands where the Great Synagogue stood prior to its destruction in 1943 (Jewish Historical Institute 2017). In pointing out this particular "layer of time" in Warsaw, the tour guide superimposed marginal Jewish history onto contemporary non-Jewish Polish space (Meng 2015, 79). Fundacja Shalom's Yiddishland is thus simultaneously an autonomous realm that facilitates a secular Yiddish speech community and a site that temporarily shifts the linguistic and spatial reality of the Muranow neighborhood, allowing students to access older notions of Jewish territoriality in Polish space (Meng 2015; Shandler 2004).

Figure 4: Błękitny Wieżowiec, site of the former Great Synagogue. May, 2006. Photo by Wikimedia Commons.

"You Can't Do It in Full, But You Can Try"

Instructors of secular Yiddish courses, as teachers of a language with no clear community of practice or designated geographical homeland, are tasked with providing sociocultural experiences beyond the scope of language instruction. The Fundacja Shalom course, while a Yiddish language course first and foremost, included mandatory additional programming such as Jewish cooking classes or musical performances almost every day. When I asked one Yiddish teacher in the program why such an emphasis was placed on cultural programming in tandem with language courses, she explained to me that:

> The difference about learning Yiddish and learning some other language is when you're learning some other language you can usually go somewhere that the language is spoken and you can experience it...with Yiddish it's much, much harder, it's a lot of responsibility for the teacher, we have to sort of construct this... You can't do it in full, but you can try. That's why we have this cooking workshop.

Furthermore, this instructor emphasized that in their eyes, part of the responsibility of the Yiddish instructor is to make students familiar with the "smells [and] tastes" of Jewish culture and to enable an embodied experience of the Yiddish sociocultural environment, despite the fact that such an environment is increasingly difficult to find outside of Yiddish classrooms and seminars. These embodied experiences push against the "threat of a growing unnaturalness" (Peckerar 2011, 238) inherent to the instruction of a historically vernacular language in a formal classroom setting. The Jewish cooking workshop is one such example of programming aimed at providing an embodied sociocultural experience for students. Additionally, the course textbook includes several traditional Yiddish songs, including ") " בולבעס "Bulbes"), a children's song about potatoes, which were sung in classes.

Yiddish instructors are tasked not only with grammatical instruction and error correction in their classrooms, but also at facilitating and maintaining a Yiddishland, providing an embodied sociocultural realm wherein Yiddish temporarily ceases to be non-territorial. As a part of this ideological project, Fundacja Shalom's Yiddish course explicitly engaged with sites of historic local Jewish geography, such as the former Warsaw Ghetto. Access to historic sites was advertised explicitly in the description of the language program, acknowledging the value of learning the Yiddish language *in-situ*. Fundacja Shalom's website explicitly advertises physical access to "the Jewish cemetery with tombstones of Y.L. Peretz, Chone Shmeruk and others; the Jewish quarter of Praga on the right bank of the Vistula river, [and] the Warsaw ghetto" (Center for Yiddish Culture Website) as drawing points of the program, implying that they will make the student's experience more authentic and embodied. Avineri points out a "conflation of language and culture" as one of the identifying characteristics of a *metalinguistic community*: this conflation of language and culture was explicitly espoused by Fundacja Shalom Yiddish instructors, and shaped the course's pedagogical practices.

The ideology that Yiddish language pedagogy needs to be augmented by sociocultural experiences to "properly" teach students the Yiddish language is indicative of the course's aims beyond just linguistic pedagogy. The "About Us" section of the Fundacja Shalom website states "Our intention is to discuss and teach both in an attractive and modern way to offer this immense and precious heritage [of Ashkenazi culture] a better opportunity to be incorporated into the contemporary [Polish] culture" (Centrum Kultury Jidysz). The instruction of the Yiddish language and of Ashkenazi culture are both viewed here as components of the same endeavour, and furthermore, are viewed as components of the larger process of Polish-Jewish historical negotiation. In this way, the Fundacja Shalom Yiddish course is almost self-consciously an act of "memory work", as the description frames the course as a type of 'interventional' memorial practice. The instructors and the institution of Fundacja Shalom actively frame their course a site that facilitates "the creation of new opportunities—or demands—for participation, engagement, intercultural encounter, and exchange", providing a site wherein a heterogeneous speech community can collaboratively reframe marginal Jewish history (Lehrer and Waligorska 2013, 512).

Postvernacularity in the Classroom

Even while being taught the most banal grammatical details of the language, the class was reminded constantly of the deep symbolism and cultural importance of the Yiddish language. The Fundacja Shalom classroom was a site that allowed for Yiddish to be used as a vernacular, but the *postvernacular* qualities of Yiddish speech and text nevertheless remained. In line with what Shandler (2004) and Avineri (2013) have observed, the Yiddish language was being symbolically 'performed' and presented constantly throughout the course. The second day of the course featured a musical performance in Yiddish by a Canadian-Jewish singer, who not only sang entirely in Yiddish, but bantered in between the songs in Yiddish as well, knowing explicitly that a nearly a third of the audience did not hold the Yiddish competence to understand what she was saying. A similar situation occurred on the class's trip to the Jewish Historical Institute on

ulica Tłomackie, where the beginner Yiddish course was shown a room of extensive archives of historical documents and primary documents in Yiddish (Figure 5). The Yiddish students, myself included, were unable to understand the any of the text, but were nonetheless in awe of the volume of Yiddish text and the loaded cultural symbol of the handwritten Yiddish language. Friedman (2016) has observed a similar situation in his ethnography of the Yiddish Book Center in Amherst, Massachusetts, describing how visitors came to observe the sheer volume of Yiddish texts even though they rarely had any relevant Yiddish competence. This relates back to Shandler's notion of postvernacularity in that the symbolic value of Yiddish precedes one's ability to understand it, and that one's lack of fluency does not hinder their proclaimed devotion to the language (Shandler 2004). It also affirms the metalinguistic qualities of Yiddish speech communities, in that secular Yiddish speech communities are constantly assessing the role and vitality of Yiddish in the present moment (Avineri 2014).

"Alternative Polish History"

Non-Jewish Polish students made up about a third of the students in the classroom. Wodzinski suggests that many Polish students, with or without a Jewish background, who study Jewish history and culture are looking "for an alternative version of Polishness" in Jewish culture, one that is rooted in Polish history yet distinct from the "xenophobic version [of Polishness] promoted by nationalistic circles that are present, often very aggressively, in Polish public space" (Wodzinski 2011, 109). About one third of the students in the beginner Yiddish classroom were Polish university students who were all involved in Yiddish or Jewish studies via academia. I sat next to one of them- a young university student from Warsaw - in class every day, and having never visited Warsaw before, I asked him where I could find good food or live music in the city. He responded by telling me that "there is no culture in Poland", and continued to explain that in his eyes, there was no worthwhile Polish art or culture in Warsaw today. I told him that I
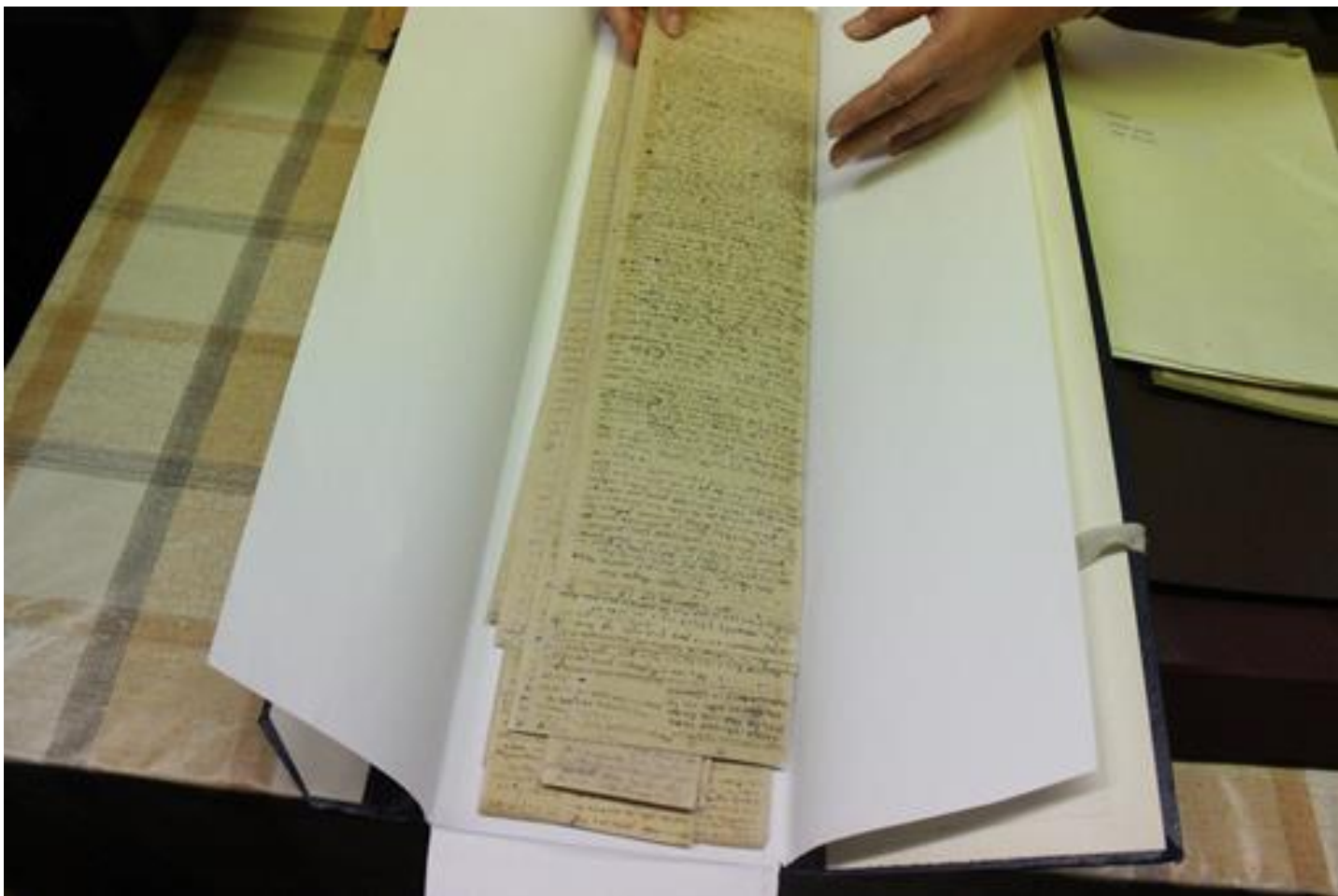

Figure 5: Yiddish documents shown to beginner students at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, July 2016. Photo by author.

was from New York, and he gladly discussed YIVO (the Institute for Jewish Research in Manhattan) and New York Jewish culture with me for ten minutes or so afterwards.

While this Polish student believes that mainstream Poland is devoid of culture, he willingly enrolled in Fundacja Shalom's Yiddish language course, a marginal and very specific endeavor. This student's actions and attitude index a belief in the virtues of Jewish culture and Yiddish relative to Polish culture, as well as a reverence for Poland's Jewish past, which is a source of 'real' culture in his eyes. The Yiddish language is enmeshed in a narrative of subverting or augmenting mainstream Polish culture, celebrated because it is marginal and symbolic of alternative Polish historical narratives. Wodzinski also suggests that the popularity of Jewish culture in Poland is due to its historical and geographical proximity, perhaps offering certain Polish students a new lens with which to view local space and a heightened awareness of the "layers of time" in Warsaw and Poland in general (Meng 2015).

Conclusions

The Yiddish language is framed by many narratives at once, and is often employed as a shorthand for the totality of the European Jewish *shtetl* life that all but ceased to exist after the Holocaust. In its contemporary *postvernacular* mode, this symbolism precedes vernacular Yiddish usage, rendering most secular Yiddish language use performative and deliberate, incapable of just describing everyday reality without also forwarding particular ideologies and nostalgias. Furthermore, the Yiddish language has a unique relationship to space and notions of national homeland, making any site of secular Yiddish language use an ephemeral Yiddophone realm, or a "Yiddishland" (Shandler 2004). In the 21st century, one of the most common secular Yiddish speech communities is that of Yiddish language classrooms, a pedagogical Yiddishland wherein the nostalgias and languages ideologies of diaspora Jewry and non-Jews alike can be realized and refigured. This paper has argued that the Fundacja Shalom Yiddish classroom, in its geographical 'otherness' and heterogeneous language classroom, contributes to ongoing historical

negotiations of Jewish history in Poland, blending seamlessly into newer paradigms of Polish engagement with its Jewish past that are defined by participation and poly-vocal discussion rather than historical documentation and passive Holocaust tourism (Kugelmass 1995; Lehrer and Waligorska 2013; Wodzinski 2011). This "memory work" seeks not only to document Jewish history but to historically 'intervene', purposefully asking difficult questions about Polish anti-semitism, diaspora tourism, and Jewish memory in Poland today. Fundacja Shalom's language classroom asserts a claim to the Polish territoriality of the Yiddish language, one that intersects with the multiple narratives regarding ancestral nostalgia and Jewish-Polish memory in which Yiddish is framed in the 21st century.

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