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VOLUME 7 ISSUE 1, 2022

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Poor Sports, Good Spectacle? A Case Study of an Engaging Wimbledon YouTube Drama

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ABSTRACT

In the 2021 Wimbledon tennis tournament in the third round of the women's singles, there was a significant dispute between Jelena Ostapenko and Alja Tomljanovic. Several YouTube clips were posted within a day, all capturing in varying ways an intense dispute revolving around a claim of injury and the need for a medical time out at 4-0 in the deciding set. One clip in particular gained many more views than others, and this is used for a qualitative case study of an engaging sporting dispute. Through close attention to detail, insights are realized about the practical interpretive resources used to make judgements about 'good' and 'bad' sports practice. The fine detail of what is visibly and audibly available is key, suggesting that study of the interaction order is indispensable to sociological approaches to sport as engaging spectacle.

Keywords: YouTube, rules, sports, interaction, drama

INTRODUCTION

What gains our attention when choosing which online sports highlights to watch? How we begin searching for material is obviously important. For example, if a tennis fan wanted to follow progress in any of the Grand Slam tournaments and simply googled the name of the current tournament–Australian Open, French Open, Wimbledon, US Open–they would find the official tournament website high on the list of google results. Opening any of these and clicking on 'video' will almost universally result in a list of highlights of between two to four minutes duration. Given this relatively limited length, the highlights will be of key points in a match, usually including the final point as this shows who won the match (often overlaid with the final score). However, if a tennis fan scrolls further down in the results of a google search, alongside such official and traditional fare they will find much more varied material, including disputes with umpires and between players, arguments and interaction with spectators, racquet smashing and tantrums, amusing incidents, and so on. This paper is a case study of the first category, that is, a heated dispute between two players, which also included dispute with the umpire.

My familiarity with the case material began much as described above. In July 2021 after watching several of the match highlights on the official Wimbledon YouTube channel, I saw an enticing clip titled 'Full Ostapenko-Tomljanovic drama, from build-up to press conference'. Whereas this started with some of the match, it was soon obvious that its 'selling point' was not the tennis itself. The key moment in the 'drama' occurred when Tomljanovic was ahead 4-0 in the deciding set, at which point Ostapenko moved to the courtside, sat down, and asked for a medical time out. She claimed an acute abdominal injury, and whereas such halts to play, whether due to injury or 'toilet breaks' (Reuters, 2021) are not unusual, there are rules supposedly governing these events. It soon became

apparent that Tomljanovic felt these rules were not being correctly followed, and despite her questioning of the match officials, Ostapenko was allowed to leave court for treatment by a physiotherapist. After this delay, play resumed with Ostapenko taking the next two games. Thereafter, Tomljanovic regained her dominance triumphing 6-2 in the third set, with most of the crowd highly appreciative of this result. However, this was not the end to the drama, as upon shaking hands at the net a highly charged verbal spat developed. The characteristics of this led one match commentator to comment, 'I do hope the two of them don't come face-to-face in the locker-room any time soon'. We do not see the players in the locker-room, instead the clip ends with about four minutes of the post-match interviews. The players are interviewed separately, seeming more composed, nonetheless, both account for the action by strongly arguing it was their opponent who acted disgracefully. By the time the video ends no compromise is reached.

Following this event, I used it as discussion material in a course on everyday life, making a copy of the clip and following subsequent media reportage and online commentary. In the process l learnt two important things. First, after three weeks this clip amassed over 1.1 million views, making it at that moment the most-viewed YouTube of the tournament (Tennis Forum, 2021). Second, not long after this highpoint in viewership, the video was removed due to copyright issues–an increasingly common constraint facing online creators (Bondy Valdovinos Kaye and Gray, 2021). These days, just over one million views may not qualify a video clip as 'viral', nevertheless, it clearly was a highly engaging YouTube clip. It was successful at gaining high viewership of a sports match, without solely focusing on the tennis itself. In my view, the question of how this was achieved invites thinking about the dynamics of attention as a sociological phenomenon. Given that the clip is titled as a 'drama', what actually makes it dramatic, and how is its engaging effect accomplished in just over 11 minutes? I will show that this effect is partly due to the undergirding of an elite sporting activity with everyday assumptions about proper conduct in sport. Miller and McHoul (1998) frame this broader point well when they say,

> Sport is nether completely separate from everyday life; nor is it quite *ordinary* life as usual. Rather, the two leak into each other on particular and specific occasions; and where they do, we're called upon to exercise line calls, to make decisions and interpretations (89).

The notion of being 'called upon to exercise line calls' is apposite for the following case study, precisely because morality and the normative dimension are at the heart of the drama. Lynch (2020) identifies common elements of viral videos of police shootings and beatings, including amongst these the finding that 'what is happening seems transparently obvious "at a glance" and morally overwhelming' (2020: 188). Whereas there are significant differences between videos of police shootings/beatings and tennis disputes, this point has resonance for the current case study. By careful selection, the clip puts in front of us actions that 'naturally' call out for judgment and evaluation: who is the hero and villain amongst the two players, and what role do the supporting actors play?

The paper begins below with a summary of the data, before proceeding to the analysis proper. One final point before proceeding: difficult as it may be, I am going to bracket my own judgement about the drama. I do not side with Tomljanovic that Ostapenko had no injury, and that she called a medical time out to try to put her off her game, effectively employing gamesmanship (or 'cheating'). Nor do I side with Ostapenko's view that she really was injured, needing physiotherapy at that moment, with Tomljanovic's voiced doubt of that being disrespectful. I do not need to make such a judgement because my approach is primarily descriptive (Katz, 2002; Liberman, 2013), geared towards showing what the material itself puts before a viewer as engaging drama.

Description of the Data and Analytic Presentation

The Wimbledon match of interest was on July 4, 2021, between the Latvian Jelena Ostapenko and the Croatia-born, but now naturalized Australian, Ajla Tomljanovic. The winner of the third-round match stood to win US$162, 320, plus Women's Tennis Association ranking points, so understandably the tennis is played in a highly competitive manner. The YouTube clip 'Full Ostapenko-Tomljanovic drama, from build-up to press conference' (hereafter 'The Drama') appeared within 24 hours of the live match. The clip could be called 'naked', that is, it selects from and re-presents the initial broadcast footage–in this case from the BBC–without any overlaid or additional commentary. The editing work that went into this process is inaccessible; we can note though that this selection process[1] employs practical reasoning about what is readily presentable and understandable (Broth, 2014; Perry et al., 2019). Thus, there is a realm of practical action based upon skills and everyday reasoning that has occurred prior to any viewing of the clip (for analysis of such see Fele and Campagnolo, 2021; Perry et al., 2019).

As noted above, The Drama is no longer available on YouTube. Despite this, I have stuck with the decision to use it as data, using screensnaps from it and transcriptions of the dialogue, in the following analysis. It is

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[1] As detailed below, the amount of match coverage we see in The Drama, including the medical time out, is seven minutes 35 seconds, whereas it can be calculated from the live scoring of the match that the actual elapsed time this covered was 47 minutes (calculated from Wimbledon live score website, at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-iHFMVBW0GE).

unfortunate that the reader cannot access the full clip, nevertheless, there is a 'workaround' here: at the time of writing there are still available several (8) YouTube clips from the same broadcast footage, and the lengthiest of these[2] offers seven minutes 26 seconds of The Drama. This available clip differs in that it begins slightly later in the match, and edits out a few other portions, but does show exactly the same extract from the post-match interviews, hence readers can still see most of what is presented in The Drama.

Below, several graphic transcripts and standard transcriptions of dialogue are used to ground the analysis. A relatively simple transcription technique is used which eschews the complexity of Conversation Analysis style transcription (for discussion, see Laurier, 2019). It should also be noted that especially with regard to what is said to and by the umpire, and tournament supervisor, not all is clearly audible, nonetheless the key gist of the interaction does clearly emerge. Also note that The Drama preserves the original match commentary by one male and one female commentator, and sometimes their commentary is included in the transcripts (MC for male, FC for female commentator).

ANALYSIS

The Drama has four main segments, and the analysis will proceed through these in chronological order:
1. Initial play: Losing it, on the way to defeat (0 to 1.23).
2. Rules in action: Ostapenko's sit-down and call for a medical time out (1.23 to 4.28).
3. Resumption of play (4.28 to 6.22); final point, move to net, handshake, and dialogue (6.22 to 7.35).
4. Post-match interviews (7.35 to 11.11).

Losing It, On the Way to Defeat

We can begin by making a reasonable assertion about the usual way in which YouTube clips are watched. That is, upon opening YouTube a menu of clips appears that offers a list based on a combination of thumbnail image (preview) and title. Much as newspaper headlines guide the reader about the type of story about to follow (Lee, 1984), the clip's title, especially the key word 'drama', establishes initial guidance about the forthcoming content. Sensibly then, subsequent viewing is expecting details of what is typical in a drama. Such an interpretive process is well-known from Garfinkel's (1967) *Studies in Ethnomethodology* as the 'documentary method of interpretation'. As stated,

> The method consists of treating an actual appearance as "the document of," as "pointing to," as "standing on behalf of" a presupposed underlying pattern. Not only is the underlying pattern derived from its individual documentary evidences, but the individual documentary evidences, in their turn, are interpreted on the basis of "what is known" about the underlying pattern. Each is used to elaborate the other (1967: 78).

This melding of pattern and particular is one reason why social life mostly appears so unproblematic, so taken-for-granted and routinely understandable. Of course, this does not mean that everything is pre-determined, rather, as later ethnomethodological work around the term 'gestalt contexture' (Garfinkel, 2002; Watson, 2009) clarified, the emphasis is on the contingent, local accomplishment of order. The documentary method and its contingent application is a key part of this orderliness, even when dealing with uncertainties, for when there is uncertainty, we typically wait for sense to emerge from the ongoing course of events.

This latter point may be partly at stake when upon immediately opening The Drama we simply see the two players engaged in playing a point, without any prior narrative introduction to the match. We wait, and the pattern and evidence soon develop together. Consideration of the first graphic transcript is the best way to get this across.

Figure 1 summarizes the first ten seconds of The Drama. Panel 1 shows Tomljanovic returning serve with a winner, with the professional commentary added. Even in the choice of 'ruthlessly' to describe how the shot has picked off Ostapenko, the commentator encourages a view that Tomljanovic is now dominant. It is not just a good shot, but a shot that Ostapenko does not even get near to, hence the choice of 'ruthlessly'. Panel 2 shows the immediate upshot: Ostapenko's scream-like utterance (possibly in Latvian) of frustration. This is reiterated a moment later, as seen in panels 3 to 5, where there is a full-body movement with another exclamation (not captured on the video audio track). In short, the mounting tension of being nearly 2-0 down in the deciding set sees Ostapenko unable to fully control her emotions: she lets go, both orally (the yells), and corporeally (the bent body posture). By starting here, The Drama institutes the pattern that Ostapenko is on the way to defeat. The particulars of the tennis itself, and as shown on the scoreboard[3], establish this at-a-glance. Ostapenko seems to be reflexively

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[2] See 'Wimbledon DRAMA: Jelena Ostapenko & Alja Tomljanovic' at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Id9HR-SdG8
[3] Because the transcripts are cropped, the scoreboard is sometimes partly or fully invisible, however, in the actual clip it is very often fully visible, thus the viewer can quickly see where things are at in the match.
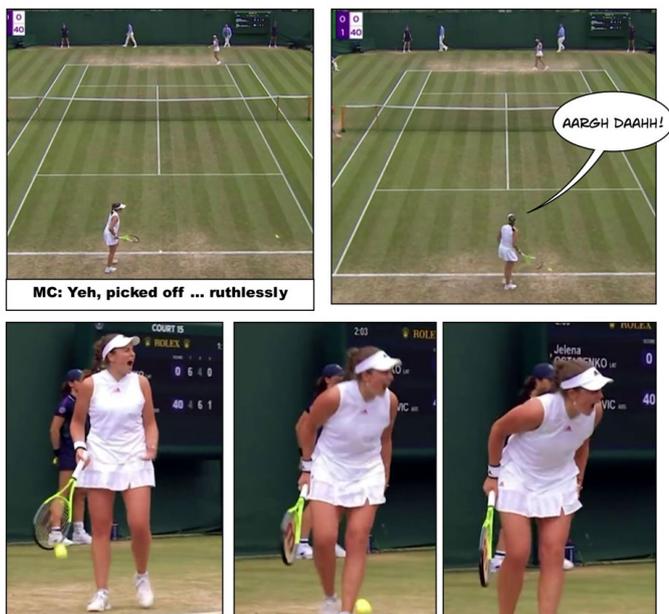
Figure 1. Tension mounts in the third set.

Figure 2. We all know what 'it' means.

aware of this: her display of 'bodily glosses' (Goffman, 1972: 31) are clearly interpretable as showing signs of worry and frustration about her position. These heightened emotional outbursts continue, as further seen in **Figure 2**.

Figure 2 is a selection from 15 seconds of the action in the next game. Panel 1 shows Tomljanovic serving an ace, which immediately educes another loud exclamation from Ostapenko. In contrast to this, we can see in panel 2 that as she prepares for her next serve, Tomljanovic has an upright, controlled, body posture. This is interpretable as the embodied stance of a confident player currently in a dominant position. The seamless availability of this
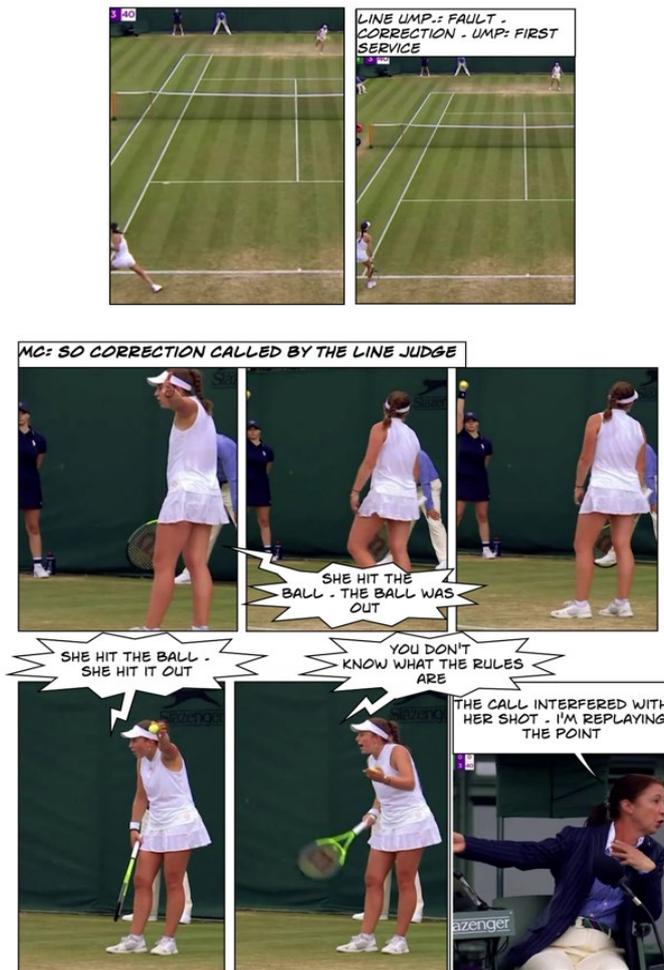
Figure 3. Dispute with the umpire.

interpretation is reinforced by the commentators, who both point out that Tomljanovic has won 13 points in a row, which is a naturally available explanation for Ostapenko's outbursts. Ostapenko seems well aware that she is rapidly sliding into a losing position, however, this does not mean that she has fully lost control. As shown in panels 4 to 7, she does not sufficiently 'lose it' to such an extent that she actually breaks her racquet. It is important that she does not, as breaking a racquet can incur a warning from the umpire, and the deduction of a point if repeated, thus exacerbating a decline into a loss. So, from the details, the pattern being established is that Tomljanovic is dominant, and Ostapenko is on the way to defeat. Whereas the latter is seen to alarm Ostapenko, it does not mean she has lost control and is not continuing the fight to win.

In due course, Tomljanovic wins the third game, and then as Ostapenko serves there is another interesting development of the self-annoyance and admonishment clearly seen in **Figure 2**. Consider **Figure 3**.

Here we see further bodily display of agitation, but a key thing to note is that in the dispute with the umpire Ostapenko simultaneously tries to make a rational argument to get the umpire to overturn her decision to replay the point. The argument being that the umpire's correction was wrong, as Tomljanovic's service return was out, hence the point should not be replayed. This point is strongly pressed, but in this case, she cannot sway the umpire. There are two significant things to realize here. First, even though Ostapenko has shown self-admonishment and a quick bodily expression of frustration, as noted above, she is still fighting to win, with everything she has. Unlike some players who may see the 'writing on the wall' and quickly slide to a more rapid defeat, Ostapenko still wants to win, and must be strategizing about how to do this. Second, it is worth noting that the umpire here is dealing with an agitated challenge to her refereeing of the game; in this case, Tomljanovic does not need to enter into the dispute as it is between the umpire and Ostapenko. Panel 8 is a brief glimpse of the umpire doing this in a controlled manner, concisely giving the grounds for her decision. It is done very quickly, and perhaps hints at procedures that umpires learn, that is, once a decision is made, not to go back on it, even in the face of strong player reaction. The actions of the umpire become key in the hinge point of the match, discussed in the next section.

Rules in Action: Ostapenko's Sit-Down and Call for a Medical Time Out

Panel 1 of **Figure 4** shows the final point of the fourth game of the final set, with the commentary clearly framing Tomljanovic as 'closing in for the kill'. But then as the female commentator so aptly puts it, 'in the blink
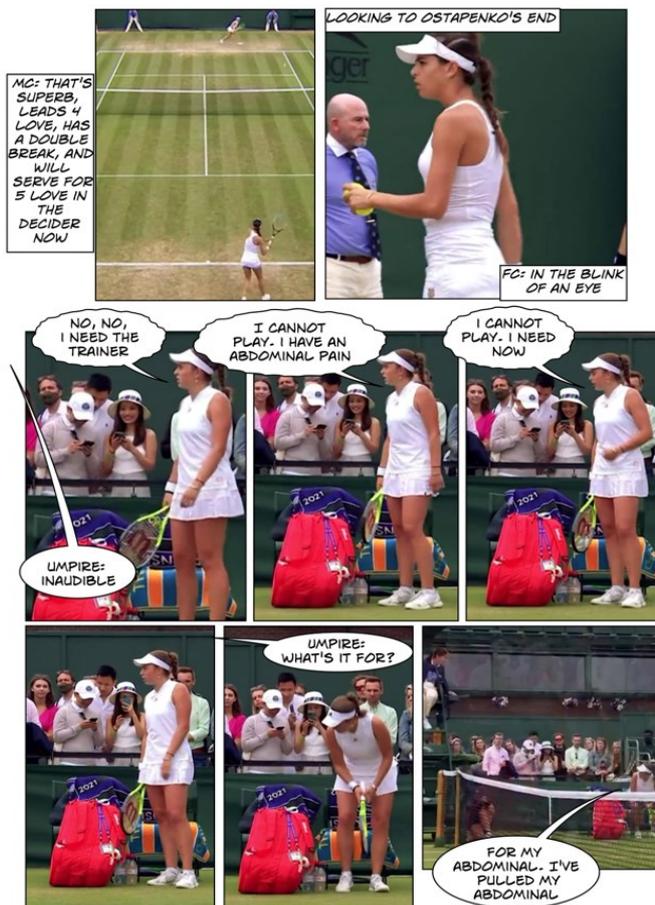
Figure 4. The moment of interruption.

of an eye' the match is dramatically interrupted. As she says this the camera shot is of Tomljanovic (panel 2), whose knitted eyebrows clearly show that she is perplexed about what is now happening in the match, as at 4-0 there is not supposed to be a change of ends (Ostapenko has gone to courtside). The utterance of the umpire at panel 3 is inaudible, but by Ostapenko's 'no, no' reply it is probably a statement to the effect that Ostapenko cannot call a break at 4-0 in the match. Shown across the remainder of the figure, we see Ostapenko's verbal assertion that she cannot continue playing, coupled with the bodily action of sitting down. Perhaps alerted by the umpire's initial clarification of the rule, in contrast to her previous dispute with the umpire ('you don't know what the rules are'), Ostapenko is relatively polite, simply insisting that her abdominal injury necessitates the trainer being called. Interestingly, it is when the umpire asks, 'what's it for?', that Ostapenko quickly sits and repeats her prior utterance that it is for her 'abdominal'. So, by panel 8 of the figure there is a clear halt to play, corporeally managed by Ostapenko sitting down, the umpire remaining in her officiating seat, and Tomljanovic (out of shot) standing close-by undoubtedly interested in the whole development.

Thus, from a position of sliding towards defeat, Ostapenko has managed to put at least a temporary halt to Tomljanovic's progress to victory. It all seems to have been done in a matter of fact and relatively controlled manner. Furthermore, in this there seems no visible hint of a strong experience of pain. In panel 5 we can see Ostapenko raise her left arm to hold her hand over her stomach, presumably showing where the abdominal injury is located, but there is neither any verbal nor facial expression of associated pain, consistent with the claim that she 'cannot continue'. This brings to mind Wittgenstein's (1958) well-known comments on pain, specifically that 'only I can know whether I am really in pain; another person can only surmise it. –In one way this is wrong, and in another nonsense … other people very often know when I am in pain' (89). Thus, while logically only the experiencing person in pain has the experience, the converse of Wittgenstein's (1958) point is that it is not uncommon for others to doubt an individual's claim of being in pain. This is exactly what Tomljanovic does shortly after the actions seen in **Figure 4**. Interestingly, there is clear evidence from the umpire's bodily expression that she now knows the situation, and the decision she makes about it, has considerable import and salience. To see this, another graphic transcript is useful–consider **Figure 5**.

Figure 5. Beginning of rule debate.

The first three panels are a close up of the umpire just after Ostapenko has sat down declaring she needs the trainer for her abdominal injury. In panel 1, the umpire is looking towards Tomljanovic, indicating that she is well aware that Ostapenko's opponent, who had just prior been expecting to serve to potentially go 5-0 up, has a significant interest in what now transpires. In short, the key decision for the umpire is whether the trainer will be called, a decision probably being made during the one second that elapses across the panels. As seen in panel 3, the umpire does indeed pick up the phone to call for the trainer, but the middle panel offers some quite remarkable detail on this decision. The image is slightly hazy due to close-cropping but seems to show a facial expression close to regret, or at least an acknowledgement of difficulty[4]. The mouth displays a semi-grimace. All the while, Ostapenko sits calmly at courtside re-hydrating, however, as shown in the final panel, as soon as the dialogue between the umpire and Tomljanovic begins, she is seen turning towards them being attentive to their talk. This is not surprising, as she has to wait to see what will transpire when the 'trainer' arrives to assess her bodily state. Also note here that across panels 4 and 5 there is a significant form of comment from the female commentator. Slowly, she enunciates prior utterances of Ostapenko: 'I've pulled my abdominal. I cannot play. I need the trainer now'. Whether these are exactly accurate is not the point; we know from everyday knowledge that when a quote is offered without explicatory comment, we are called upon to evaluate the status of what has been said. It is not offered as a repetition in case the viewer had not heard, rather it formulates the status of this utterance as the key matter at hand in the developing drama: in effect, do we believe what we are seeing and hearing?

The final panel of **Figure 5** shows the beginning of significant involvement by Tomljanovic in the developing drama. Clearly, she has seen and heard what has transpired and she has now moved directly beneath the umpire to engage with her about what is happening. Tomljanovic leans on the net openly facing the umpire, showing an argumentative posture, clearly consistent with her talk. She begins by referring to a recent precedent in one of her own prior matches, which the umpire attempts to close down with 'alright. The physio will decide'. The reaction from Tomljanovic is immediate: three repetitions of no, a pause and then a final *no*! Research by Stivers (2004) suggests that 'through the production of a multiple saying, the speaker proposes that the course of action be halted'

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[4] Contrast facial expression here with panel 8 of **Figure 3**, where umpire is explaining her ruling with clarity and confidence.

(269), and this seems exactly what Tomljanovic is attempting to do. She rejects the umpire's decision that 'the physio will decide', instead wishing to take the current course of action back to clarification of 'what's the rule?'. What the umpire says in response is not always clear, but the gist is that she sticks with her decision to call for the trainer. Not satisfied with this, Tomljanovic clearly states her own view of this situation: 'but you know she's lying, right, we all know'. This gains an immediate comment from the MC, 'goodness me! stern words from Tomljanovic. 'You know she's lying, right', is what she said'. In a similar manner to the proceeding 'quote' from Ostapenko, this also calls for evaluation, and so we are now in a situation where both players' actions, as narrated by the commentators, invite evaluation.

About here, Tomljanovic asks the umpire to call the tournament supervisor, and elaborates the reason behind her claim that 'we all know' Ostapenko is lying: 'are you taking into consideration that she was fine for an hour and thirty, and now there is an acute injury?' Clearly a bit exasperated by the continued dialogue from Tomljanovic, the umpire says, 'can you just sit down and wait', which is immediately rejected by Tomljanovic's reply, 'I'm not sitting down'. Soon we see the trainer arrive and begin assessing Ostapenko who is now laying down courtside. Having had no luck with the umpire, here Tomljanovic presses her inquiry with the supervisor, asking 'how can it be, in the middle, when I'm serving, how can she do that?' The reply from the supervisor is remarkably honest, reflecting his absence from direct witness of the prior events: 'I don't know, I don't know what she did in the situation'. Not satisfied with this, Tomljanovic continues, but unfortunately from her perspective an 'it depends' response is reiterated: 'depends on the situation'. 'If she [the umpire] feels that there is something serious, she has to call'. Here Tomljanovic replies, 'Yeh, so it's her call in the end', to which the supervisor finishes, 'No, it's the physio's call in the end. It's the physio's call in the end'.

Note here that none of the participants to the developing drama are holding in front of them a hard copy of the rules of professional tennis. Presumably, they are familiar with the rules, but now of course they must be put into effect, opening up the difficult question of what constitutes acting in accordance with a rule (Sharrock and Dennis, 2008). In doing so, the result is not so much close to the idiomatic expressions that the 'law is an ass', or the authorities are 'passing the buck', but it certainly does show that a fundamental paradox has developed in this situation: it takes two minutes from the umpire's call for the trainer to arrive on court, meaning that initiating the due process of deciding whether a medical time out is justified, is *itself a break to play*. This means that even if the trainer's assessment of Ostapenko had been 'no injury, continue play', at such a point the play had been stopped for two minutes. Moreover, during these two minutes quite different embodied experiences have arisen: Ostapenko sits at courtside, rehydrating, resting, and no doubt thinking about how to reverse her slide to defeat. In contrast, Tomljanovic, who had been ready to play, presses for clarification of the rules from the umpire and supervisor, to which she gets no real clarification ('it's up to the trainer'). She is then told to sit down, instead of which she paces around in an understandably agitated state. Irrespective of views on how the rules should correctly be applied, the pragmatic result of this is that Tomljanovic has had her 'flow' broken. During this action, the commentators reflect on the situation, summing it up thus, 'FC: she has taken advantage of a legitimate rule that's in place, but has used it in a way that really should not be used'; MC: 'Yeh, rather used it and abused it'. All of the above, which clearly does not involve actual playing of tennis, is visible and mostly audible in The Drama. It is a key part of its highly engaging effect. Whether or not viewers see the paradox, as detailed above, there is little doubt that we are given intimate access to a highly charged tennis drama.

Resumption of Play; Move to Net, Handshake, and Dialogue

It is perhaps no surprise that when Ostapenko returns to court and play resumes, it is she who wins the next two games. For good dramatic reason, The Drama takes time here to show nearly two minutes of the play that ends the match. Moreover, adding to the engagingness at this point is inferential flexibility within the 'documentary method of interpretation'. Viewers are once again in a position of interpretive variation: on one hand, perhaps the physio's treatment of Ostapenko's acute injury really did help, so she was able to play better upon resumption; on the other hand, perhaps Tomljanovic was so agitated about Ostapenko calling for and being given a medical time out at 4-0 in the deciding set, that her play was adversely affected. Either way, with the resumption of play, both commentators clearly offer their own summation of the situation: MC says, 'the last point. was ah. 11 minutes and 50 seconds away'[5], to which FC immediately evaluates, 'that's an outrageous interruption'. This highly evaluative stance is tempered though in other parts of the match description. When Ostapenko plays a winner to take the match to 2-5, MC says, 'that's good tennis from Ostapenko. She may not be the most popular player in these parts right now, but she's hitting good ball'. Ultimately, given the tenor of the commentary, it is no surprise that upon the final winning point MC almost jubilantly exclaims, 'It's over! Tomljanovic gets the win. And you have to say, richly deserved'.

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[5] The choice of '11 minutes 50 seconds', rather than 'about ten minutes', is a good example of what Sacks (1992) called a 'precise rather than approximate number' (183). It suggests that the MC is showing his expertise, being careful about the means of description, and suggesting that the exact measure is important given the current situation.

Figure 6. Still engaging at the end of play.

The crowd too seem to share this view, with loud clapping and hoots of support breaking out upon the final point. To gain a feel for the atmosphere at the shaking of hands at the net, we can consider **Figure 6**.

Again, not all of the dialogue between the two players is clearly audible, however, there is no doubt that the players are in disagreement about the rightfulness of calling for the medical time out so late in the match. Moreover, we can see from the figure that the crowd are highly engaged in the debate playing out before them. As Tomljanovic moves to the net where Ostapenko is waiting to shake hands (panel 1), she says something that is inaudible. Certainly, from the staring look and sarcastic tone of 'I hope you feel better', there is no reason to believe that Tomljanovic has made a pleasantry on the way to shake hands at the net. Throughout this intense action, we can see that gathered behind the umpire's chair there are a good number of spectators watching the ritual ending of the match. Ostapenko's utterance in panel 2 suggests that on coming to the net Tomljanovic has made some reference to the dispute over the medical time out. The term 'faking it' connects to Tomljanovic's dialogue with the umpire, specifically the claim 'we all know she's lying', but the more interesting detail to note here is that as soon as Ostapenko has attempted to defend her actions, there is an immediate, and very audible, 'ohhh, huh huh huh' from a member of the crowd. The spectators' engagement with the spectacle unfolding before them is well captured in these last moments of The Drama. In this case, the interpretation is the opposite of what Ostapenko wants, that is, some spectators make audible their belief that Ostapenko was indeed faking it.

At this point, with some of the crowd audibly against her, and Tomljanovic obviously not well disposed to her position, Ostapenko's 'terrible, terrible' seems to be talk to herself. But then as she continues trying to defend herself, she looks up to the umpire (panel 3) exclaiming 'What? I have an injury. So bad, so bad'. This does not constitute a 'meltdown' or 'tantrum', which are known to occur during tennis matches, but it is all highly engaging to the spectators, exemplified in panels 4 to 6. The tall male, the male with a cap, and the woman with a smartphone are a trio, obviously engrossed in what is happening right in front of them. The smartphone is clearly being held in a recording position, and there is little doubt from her facial expressions that the woman holding it is delighted to have captured this footage. Just what she did with her recorded footage is unknown, but through close attention to the detail of The Drama we have a small insight into this other side of the engaging drama.

Post-Match Interview: The Reality Disjuncture

The post-match interview section comprises three minutes 36 seconds of the full clip (as noted above, the full amount of this section is still available to view). Both players, are interviewed singly, with Tomljanovic appearing in shot for one minute 24 seconds, and Ostapenko for two minutes 12 seconds. A simplified transcription is presented below, beginning with Tomljanovic:

> She can say she was injured. I don't think there was. There was nothing wrong with her the whole match … I've played her. I've played many people. I know when someone's injured, and when they're not. Then to top it all off for her to call me disrespectful, at the end of the match, is just, at that point it's laughable. And I think is disgraceful behavior from someone that is a Slam champion, because kids look at her and, and what, they see that. I'm sorry, if she was injured, she could have gone about it in a way better way. She could have waited one more game, and got the physio, and if she did that at 4-one, or 5-zero, I would probably have a smirk, wouldn't say much to the ref. I would just ask, 'what's the injury?', but the fact that she did it at 4-zero, when I was about to serve, that's to me, that's just disrespectful, it's not what you do. Especially at Wimbledon.

After this Ostapenko appears and speaks:

> First, she cannot say anything because she knows zero about my injury. She doesn't know anything. Second, in my opinion it was very, very, very disrespectful from her side, because every single player who is playing tennis, or any other sports, can get injured. I had a problem with my abdominal already in the second set. I pulled it and I couldn't really serve well because I had pain, when I was serving, when I was doing one motion. So, she cannot say anything unless she knows anything, and she's not me, so she cannot feel the pain. I'm the one who feels the pain. And I really felt I needed the physio, and I don't know, the tape or something, any help, right at that moment, because I was really dealing with the pain for a long time, but I should have called the physio earlier, I think. And I think my level today was not good, after the first set, because if I played at least 50 per cent I would have beaten her. If I have an acute injury, I need the physio right now, and I saw that many players did it, not like on the changeover, if you really need the physio, you can call it, so that's what I was telling her. I think it was very disrespectful what she did. I mean how can you say 'liar', or something, if you know zero about it. Maybe it's not new pain or something. How can you say this? You cannot say that in front of everybody, calling me a liar. I don't think it's respectful from her side.

Tomljanovic's account is shorter, with the only new element being contained in the inferential work around the category 'Slam champion'. Here she refers to the fact that Ostapenko is a previous winner of the French Open (2017), inferring that a winner of one of the top tournaments should be held to the highest standards of sportsmanship. Thus, in her view, Ostapenko's action during their match was 'disgraceful behavior', setting a poor example 'because kids look at her', reiterated in her final words, 'that's just disrespectful, it's not what you do. Especially at Wimbledon'. A key thing to note here is that Ostapenko also mobilizes 'disrespect' as a characterization of Tomljanovic's actions. Her main point is that, for her, being called a 'liar', 'in front of everybody', 'was very disrespectful'. This is perhaps of no surprise to sociologists familiar with Goffman's (1972) work, for as Strong (1988) has cogently summarized, 'A central argument in much of Goffman's (1972) work is that the ceremonial order of the encounter, the etiquette that can be found on any social occasion, is not some trivial matter … but has instead a profound importance for the viability of the micro-social order' (231).

Secondly, it seems that both Ostapenko and Tomljanovic have read their Wittgenstein (1958), but they take different emphases from within the famous passage on pain. To repeat: 'only I can know whether I am really in pain; another person can only surmise it. –In one way this is wrong, and in another nonsense … other people very often know when I am in pain' (89). Ostapenko's account sides with the first part of this quote: 'she cannot say anything because she knows zero about my injury … she's not me, so she cannot feel the pain. I'm the one who feels the pain'. In contrast, Tomljanovic emphasises the second part, having previously made this point in her statement to the umpire, 'but you know she's lying, right, we all know', repeated here as, 'there was nothing wrong with her the whole match … I've played her. I've played many people. I know when someone's injured, and when they're not'.

Overall, then, even though at this point the players have had a break to freshen up, during which they may have taken the chance to reflect upon their open and charged conflict, there is no conciliation on view in the post-match interviews. As such, The Drama here presents a wonderful example of what Pollner (1975) calls a 'reality disjuncture'. Though bearing upon complex ontological and epistemological issues, the gist of this is easily understood: 'Some persons see what other persons do not' (Pollner, 1975: 411). Because commonsense assumptions about the world have it 'the world is 'out there' and [is a] perceptually shared domain of objects'

(Pollner, 1975: 411), this makes reality disjuncture's puzzling, albeit relatively common, events. Actually, the post-match interview situation qualifies as what Pollner (1975) calls a 'full-fledged reality disjuncture'. As he puts it, 'in the full-fledged disjuncture, each participant treats his experience of the world as definitive and, hence, as the grounds for ironicizing his opponent's experience' (419). If there is no abandonment by one of the proponents of the use of 'experience' as incorrigible, there will be no resolution of the disjuncture. This seems exactly the situation with Ostapenko and Tomljanovic–neither are moving from their position. That there is no apology, no shaking hands and making up, or even a 'let's agree to disagree' ending, only serves to add to the compelling spectacle of The Drama, helping explain why it became a most-watched Wimbledon YouTube.

CONCLUSION

To reiterate a point made in the introduction, the aim here has not been to reach judgment on who is right or wrong in the dispute between Ostapenko and Tomljanovic. Nor, for that matter, is there any suggestion being made that the umpire and tournament supervisor were incompetent or confused in their handling of the rules around medical time outs. Accepting that professional sport as an embodied activity is highly skilled and elite, we have seen here that nonetheless it is undergirded by everyday, ordinary social dynamics. Shortly after Ostapenko institutes the halt to play, a key moment that crystallizes this concern is Tomljanovic asking the umpire 'what's the rule?'. Garfinkel's (1967) famous insights on rules and trust are most powerful here. Given that sports games, like professional tennis, are rules-based, any player trusts that both they and their opponent are mutually committed to the same game, based on the rules[6]. Any player accepts the possibility that they or their opponent can be injured during the course of play, and therefore accedes to the existence of rules that apply in such a situation; however, this depends upon a constitutive expectancy of honesty about 'real' injury. Given our inability to step inside another's body to directly experience their bodily sensation, we must trust what any other competitor claims about being injured. When there are grounds to doubt such honesty, *and* when there are difficulties in clarifying and applying rules, as in the Tomljanovic-Ostapenko dispute, we have the ingredients for a highly engaging spectacle. We all hope that disputes in this order are justly resolved, with 'poor sports not prospering', but of course poor sports are seldom black and white characters. The best way to see this is to view the lengthier YouTube of the dispute that is still available (see dipnote 3 above). Up to the post-match interview section, it is easy enough to see Ostapenko's actions in a bad light, and this is amplified by the commentator's descriptions ('outrageous interruption', 'used and abused the rule' etc.); at the same time, it is possible to see Tomljanovic's attempts to get clarification as too strident, and indeed her statement 'we all know she's lying' as tactless. In the post-match interview when we see and hear Ostapenko sticking to her argument, the previously 'convinced' viewer may find themselves wavering in their judgement: perhaps after all Ostapenko did have an injury and was not lying?

Via what was probably a quick editing job, the content creators of The Drama managed to include enough detail to show a dramatic spectacle. In the process they avoided a narrative judgment about who in the sporting dispute was the 'villain, fool or hero' (Lines, 2001). If this is accepted, a contribution the above analysis makes is to show how such common social media productions inescapably depend upon our everyday understandings of people interacting together. When both sides of a dispute mobilize a similar characterization of the other as being disrespectful, we have the equivalent of what Goodwin (1990) called 'he-said-she-said' arguments. Goodwin (1990) showed that with children such arguments can last a whole day but will then dissipate for the next day's play. An insight from Simmel (1949) may help to explain the salience of similar disputes for adults:

> For even when play turns about a money prize, it is not the prize, which indeed could be won in many other ways, which is the specific point of the play; but the attraction for the true sportsman[woman] lies in the dynamics and in the chances of that sociologically significant form of activity itself. … that it is played not only *in* a society as its outward bearer but that *with* the society actually "society" is played' (258, original emphasis).

The playing with 'society' has as its stake the 'implicit social contract', hence why the ordinary details of the dispute between Ostapenko and Tomljanovic are so visibly powerful and engaging. The presence of normative forces in any implicit social contract does not mean, however, that sports viewership is inevitably guided towards a 'nice guy' framing. As can be inferred from the diversity in online audience reactions, some viewers will opt to celebrate the 'bad boys and girls' of tennis, suggesting that such people add spice to the sporting scene. Academics do not need to pass judgment on this, rather as shown here the interesting analytic question is how such 'poor sports' is always possible despite the heavily rule-governed nature of professional sport. Hence, poor sports will

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[6] On this see the early ethnomethodological work of Kew (1986, 1992). Also see Kendall and Lenten (2017) for a good discussion of how even when sports rules are changed, there are always unexpected consequences, emphasising that rules lie in their practice, which is consistent with Kew's (1986, 1992) early work.

continue to make good spectacle, especially given the ability of online creators to quickly post material that fills out the picture offered by official sports websites with their relatively sanitized fare.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Tending the Garden: Possibilities and Limitations of Developing Inclusive Environments in the Arts and Culture Sector

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ABSTRACT

Diversity, equity, and inclusion are increasingly part of public conversations about social change. With heightened awareness of the pervasive realities of societal systemic racism, organisations are called to reflect on their working practices and representation and engagement with diverse communities, both internally and externally. Our research study, based in two years of fieldwork at a not-for-profit arts and culture festival, investigated organisational structure and how the festival is run, with a particular focus on internal working practices. Our research investigates: what are the possibilities and limitations of shifting towards more inclusive working practices within an organisation with few full-time paid staff, relying on unpaid or honorarium-paid volunteer labour, as is common in the not-for-profit arts and culture sector? We draw on the concepts of organisational inclusion practices (OIP) from management studies and institutional entrepreneurship from institutional theory to assess the possibilities and limitations of shifting towards more inclusive working practices within this field of the cultural industries. Our findings identify three overarching themes that illuminate a series of tensions in fostering inclusion: 1) decision-making authority; 2) internal-facing concerns (IFC) and external-facing concerns (EFC); and 3) task-based organisation (TBO) and engagement-based organisation (EBO). In our study, EFC practiced with TBO by team members with decision-making authority constrained opportunities to develop more inclusive practices for the volunteer team. Realizing the goals and values of diversity and inclusion remains challenging because of the constraints of resources, labour, and output.

Keywords: cultural industries, inclusion, critical diversity, not-for-profit sector, institutional entrepreneurship

INTRODUCTION

With heightened awareness of the pervasive realities of societal systemic racism, and the challenges of diversity, equity, and inclusion, organisations are increasingly reflecting on their working practices and representation and engagement with members of underrepresented communities. In the cultural industries context, the not-for-profit arts and culture sector may not face the same economically-driven pressures of larger-scale cultural organisations, but these challenges of meaningfully engaging with diversity and inclusion remain. These persistent challenges contradict a previous (false) notion that the cultural industries are more diverse, tolerant, or inclusive than other sectors of work; this notion has hindered the sober assessment of what kind of working practices are needed to foster inclusion (Hennekam and Bennett, 2017; McRobbie, 2011, 2016; Siebert and Wilson, 2013). Arts and culture organisations may focus on external offerings, such as programming or events as the focal point for increasing

diversity, but internally, the working conditions in these organisations also require ongoing reflection and change to foster inclusion (Leslie et al., 2013; Ng et al., 2017). Here, we suggest a vocabulary for differentiation between external and internal focuses for diversity and inclusion, offering inroads to disentangle diversity discourse in the arts and culture sector.

Conor et al. (2015) foreground the portrayal of cultural industries as open, diverse, Bohemian, cool, and egalitarian, and contrast this portrayal with the reality of persistent and worsening inequalities along the lines of gender, race, ethnicity, disability, and so on in these industries. Brook et al. (2020) note an increasing public awareness of lack of diversity in the cultural industries, but a persistent reliance on individual narratives and individual navigation and negotiation of systemic inequality in these industries. Research also identifies structural roots of inequality in the cultural industries in funding and leadership structures. Balzer (2020) suggests that structural racism is embedded into arts institutions due to the reliance on donors and sponsors. Mason's (2020) research study of diversity and inclusion practices in nonprofit associations highlights that "nonprofit associations tend to engage in D&I [Diversity and Inclusion] practices at modest levels" (p. 23). He similarly highlights that nonprofit organisations are dependent on donors, members, funders and/or other stakeholders to generate revenues (p. 26). As a result of these tensions, leadership in nonprofit associations may scale back diversity and inclusion efforts so as not to alienate existing membership. Research from the Helicon Collaborative (2017), focusing on the US context, found an increasing interest and focus on inequity in the arts, but declining equity in arts funding. In Canada, the context of our research study, arts grants are available from federal, provincial, and municipal levels of government, but a government granting system may not shift these dynamics of power, privilege, and racism within arts institutions. Ware (2020) highlights anti-Black racism in the internal working environment and structure of Canadian arts institutions, outlining that leadership positions and 'positions of decision-making power' in the arts remain overwhelmingly white, contrasting the continued experience of anti-Black racism and systemic discrimination in the art world with the rhetoric of celebratory diversity discourse. Similarly, Saha and van Lente (2022) note the increased interest in 'diversity' in the UK publishing industries, but continued inequality with marginalisation and devaluation of authors from racialized backgrounds. Here we suggest that this 'open' and 'cool' perception of cultural industries works to prevent the incorporation of more inclusive working practices. We situate our study in this context of the particularities of the cultural industries: a sector that often lacks the characteristics and protections of more standard forms of employment; that is often working in 'crunch' periods towards exhibitions, launches, programming, or events; and that faces persistent challenges of meaningful diversity and inclusion (Legault and Ouellet, 2012; McRobbie, 2011; Ross, 2008).

Through two years of participant observation coupled with semi-structured interviews with staff and volunteers in a not-for-profit arts and culture festival in Canada, our research investigates: what are the possibilities and limitations of shifting towards more inclusive working practices within an organisation with few full-time paid staff, relying on unpaid or honorarium-paid volunteer labour, as is common in the not-for-profit arts and culture sector? While this organisational structure can present opportunities for spearheading new initiatives, alternative ideas, or differing perspectives, it also presents large challenges for meaningfully engaging with and sustaining organisational shifts. Though diversity is increasingly celebrated as a positive value and a needed element of contemporary organisational cultures, here we reflect on persistent inequality and ongoing challenges to inclusion. Mobilising a critical diversity framework, which reflects on power and inequality, we separate external (events and programming) and internal (working practices) concerns in our analysis, suggesting that attempts to increase diverse representation in the programming or offerings of the organisation need to be accompanied by internal reflection on inclusive working practices. We forward the concepts of internal-facing concerns (IFC) and external-facing concerns (EFC) to differentiate organisational efforts that focus on working practices (internal) from those that focus on events and programming (external). Similarly, we forward task-based organisation (TBO) and engagement-based organisation (EBO) as concepts to discuss how volunteer labour is organised, either according to project needs (task) or volunteer skills and interests (engagement).

We highlight decision-making roles as a key site where dominant power structures are reproduced, and that can limit opportunities for inclusive initiatives and working practices. We bring the concepts of organisational inclusion practices (OIP) from management studies and institutional entrepreneurship from institutional theory to the field of cultural industries, to better understand and assess challenges of diversity and inclusion in this field. In the organisation in our case study, and in the cultural industries more broadly, there is often a tone of being 'open' to new creativity and talent, ostensibly welcoming initiatives and ideas. However, the work culture in our case study relies heavily on individual members to ideate, organise, and implement initiatives. As a result, initiatives shared with the broader team are often met with platitudes, and struggle to reach full fruition. For these reasons, we apply the concept of institutional entrepreneurship to examine internal challenges around inclusion practices and differentiate between overt gestures of welcome and deeper challenges to developing inclusive cultures. Therefore, based on our data, and the following literature review, we suggest an EBO approach to inclusion practices is beneficial because it is oriented to onboarding and supporting volunteer members.

LITERATURE REVIEW

From Diversity Discourse to Critical Diversity

Critical diversity research suggests disentangling the rhetoric of the outward celebration of diversity from continued challenges of racism, inequity, and lack of inclusion. For example, Ahmed's (2012) framework for analysis of diversity discourse notes a rise in outward rhetoric of 'diversity' that is not accompanied by meaningful organisational or institutional change. She notes that institutions and organisations increasingly incorporate diversity into their mission statements and that diversity is seen as an inherently positive value, but the language of diversity can mask ongoing internal inequalities in organisations. Through interviews with diversity practitioners in higher education (individuals hired to carry out 'diversity' work), Ahmed (2012) traces challenges in organisational cultures to incorporate meaningful change, despite an overt rhetoric of 'diversity.' We mobilise Ahmed's (2012) framework in a similar way here, to analyse how mechanisms of power can prevent the development of inclusive practices. Following Ahmed (2012), we focus our analysis on organisational cultures that individual practitioners are embedded in through qualitative analysis.

Similarly, Vertovec (2012) notes a 'diversity turn' in governance and management, profiling the increasing focus and conversation about diversity in organisations (p. 287). Herring and Henderson (2015) assert that 'diversity' has become a way to frame racial inclusion in language that is more politically palatable to white people and to broaden the politics and discourse of inclusion beyond concerns about race or inequality. Given the dilution of the operationalization of the term 'diversity,' Herring and Henderson (2015) argue that diversity must be transformed into a critical concept, suggesting the term 'critical diversity,' which asserts that diversity must be put into action *with* concepts such as inclusion, equity, parity, access, and opportunity. Acker (2006) suggests that the creation and reproduction of inequalities are reinforced in the workplace, outlining that a flat or non-hierarchical organisational structure may not minimise racial, gender, or class inequities. This observation is important to note for grassroots or informal arts and culture initiatives or collectives, which often have a self-image of being progressive. In this context, diversity programs or policies may not be effective if they do not challenge or alter the roots of organisational power (Acker, 2006, p. 457).

As such, a critical diversity framework suggests the importance of differentiating between and disentangling diversity and inclusion; in this article, we focus on inclusion through analysis of internal working practices. While diversity can refer to demographic diversity (including race, gender, social class, sexuality, disability, age, and so on), inclusion can characterise the nature of the working environment, including a feeling of belonging alongside difference being recognized and valued (Shore et al., 2011, 2018). This differentiation is particularly important for the cultural industries, in that diversity efforts can be focused externally–on what is being produced, exhibited, or commissioned. Here we add to the small but growing body of literature applying a critical diversity framework to the cultural industries, suggesting that a focus on 'representation' and 'visibility' is not enough–we must also focus on experience and treatment of workers (i.e. experience of inclusion). Shore et al.'s (2018) model of inclusive organisations highlights six themes: feeling safe; involvement in the work group; feeling respected and valued; influence on decision making; capacity for authenticity; and respecting, honouring, and advancing diversity. Discussing different paradigms of diversity, Thomas and Ely (1996) suggest that women and minorities bring different ideas and perspectives on how work can be performed, highlighting the importance of moving beyond mere representation with demographic diversity, to consider diversity of knowledge in terms of effective working practices, in order to develop inclusive working cultures.

Rennstam and Sullivan (2018) define inclusion to encompass who is involved in decision making and who has access to information and resources within an organisational culture. They characterise inclusion as a collective and fragile process that is shifting and open, recognizing that inclusion is formally advocated in many contemporary organisational contexts, but both inclusionary and exclusionary pressures co-exist. Similarly, Doerfel and Gibbs (2020) note strides in valuing diversity, in terms of demographic representation within organisations, but "policies and practices designed to promote inclusion are contested, imperfect, and ignored" (p. 4). They note that patterns of exclusion can follow from dominant hegemonic norms, as well as access to resources, control of information flows, and how expertise and knowledge is socially constructed, concluding that "norms must be open to not just visible difference, but intellectual and decision-making differences, too" in ways that go beyond being 'nice' or 'agreeable (not upsetting the status quo),' which 'further impedes real inclusion' (p. 16). Similarly, Bernstein et al. (2019) highlight the role of organisational practices that develop social bonds, connection, and understanding 'to facilitate equity at the organisational level' (p. 3) and develop inclusive practices. Here we assess inclusion as a practice and a process that can result in feelings of value and belonging, and can also result in experiences of marginalisation and exclusion if not effectively incorporated.

Following Bernstein and Bilimoria (2013), here we highlight and assess OIP in fostering inclusion and meaningfully engaging with diversity. The authors suggest that "OIP refer to organisational efforts to support diversity. OIP describe organisation-wide policies and practices related to diversity and inclusion such as

perceptions of the extent to which the organisation is committed to diversity and inclusion, engages in recruitment efforts that reach diverse communities, and engages in organisational communications that reflect the needs of diverse communities" (p. 641). As we can see, OIP can be vast, including commitment, outreach, and communications. Here we mobilise OIP in a more limited context, and refocus OIP on the internal environment of an organisation. Rather than assess recruitment efforts or external liaising with diverse communities *per se*, we consider external liaising as reflection of internal culture. We position our focus on internal environment, strategies, and decision-making as an inroad to assess critical diversity within an organisation. We position our key contribution here–developing a vocabulary to parse through the rhetoric of diversity discourse in the cultural industries. An external emphasis on diversity in the cultural industries can override needed attention internally to workplace conditions, fair treatment, opportunities to contribute and advance, participate in decision making, and so on. Below, we discuss institutional entrepreneurship as a concept that allows inroads to assess attempts to develop more inclusive working practices.

Possibilities and Limitations of Institutional Entrepreneurship to Foster Inclusive Working Practices

Originating with DiMaggio's (1988) use of the term, institutional entrepreneurship refers to how actors can initiate and influence divergent change within organisations. Mason (2020) identifies the concept of institutional entrepreneurship to offer 'an alternative viewpoint to institutions as constraining behaviour.' While institutional norms can impose and limit possibilities for change, Mason (2020) notes that "in certain circumstances [there are] individuals … who strive to influence and change institutions" (p. 25). Rooted in institutional theory, studies of institutional entrepreneurship forwarded the paradox of embedded agency, highlighting the "institutions and social relations that constrain and enable, but do not determine, the choices of actors" (Battilana et al., 2009, p. 73). Viewing agency as embedded within institutional constraints offers inroads to assess degrees of agency and examine what factors enable or constrain agency.

We suggest this concept is particularly relevant and allows important inroads to analyse diversity and inclusion within the cultural industries, given the challenges of underrepresentation of individuals from minority groups in the cultural industries workforce, alongside the burden and need for change within these institutions with regards to inclusion. Saha (2018) decouples representation from structural change in the cultural industries, balancing a political economy approach that recognizes concentrations of power, alongside individual contributions and capacities. Research on institutional entrepreneurship has focused on defining and assessing how institutional entrepreneurship is mobilised, including characteristics of actors and the field, stages in the process of institutional entrepreneurship, and enabling characteristics and challenges in the organisational environment (Henrekson and Sanandaji, 2012). Here we suggest bringing this research literature and the framework of institutional theory into the field of cultural industries, as a means to disentangle diversity discourse, allows for a focus on how the internal workplace environment can enable or constrain changemaking, rather than solely focusing on increasing diverse representations in cultural production externally.

Many critical diversity scholars identify the role of leadership in fostering inclusive cultures (Buse et al., 2016; Hammonds and Bhandal, 2011; Roberson, 2006). As a concept, institutional entrepreneurship can recognize the role and work of individuals outside of leadership contexts in fostering inclusion. Indeed, Hardy and Maguire (2017) suggests that 'peripheral players' within organisations may be less constrained by dominant practices, may be more innovative, and may have more ideas about what change could look like for the organisation. Garud et al. (2007) recognize that "peripheral players may have the incentive to create and champion new practices, but often lack the power to change institutions" (p. 961). Battilana et al. (2009) suggest that attempts at institutional change do not have to be successful, yet failures are rarely reported and analysed in the research literature, resulting in a 'heroic' and actor-centric vision of the capacities of human agency within institutions. Hardy and Maguire (2017) note a move from actor-centric to more process-centric accounts of institutional entrepreneurship in the research literature, which mitigates the emphasis on 'heroes,' yet still call for attention to power dynamics in these accounts of institutional entrepreneurship, including how institutional entrepreneurs occupy or fail to occupy subject positions that allow them to exercise power in or on a particular field (p. 264). Here, we aim to engage with some of the 'messiness' (p. 270) of institutional entrepreneurship, including failed attempts, to suggest the challenges of moving towards more inclusive working practices within the arts and culture sector when diversity initiatives are focused on the external environment.

METHODOLOGY

Our research project took place over two years at an annual not-for-profit arts and culture festival in Canada. As discussed below, this festival has grown over its more than ten years of existence from small, grassroots origins to become an established and recognized presence in local and, increasingly, international arts communities. Like many annual festivals, the organisation operates year round, with an increasing intensity and 'crunch period' leading

up to mounting the main event. The organisation also seeks to offer programming and events throughout the year, outside of its marquee event. We have anonymized our findings and discussion of the organisation and its staff and volunteers in order to develop a broader conceptual framework for diversity and inclusion in the not-for-profit arts sector, while being mindful of the particular circumstances and context of the organisation in our research study. As our interview participants have been anonymized, our broader focus is on analysis of organisational dynamics rather than individual identities. While our findings stem from the particularities of the organisation in our study, including how volunteer labour is used, the dynamics and challenges in developing inclusive practices correlate with the arts and culture sector more broadly. Below, we offer a vocabulary for disentangling diversity discourse in the arts and culture sector, to identify where to address efforts to improve inclusion.

As a research assistant, Erika Chung conducted participant observation fieldwork with the organisation in the research study, volunteering and completing tasks ranging from social media coordination, fundraiser promotion, and communication support with exhibitors alongside attending team meetings, which increased in frequency as the organisation approached the annual event. Additionally, we completed six semi-structured interviews with staff and volunteers, investigating individuals' roles within the organisation, alongside their perceptions of the organisation's structure. Over the course of our fieldwork, our main research questions expanded from organisational structure and how this festival is run to assessing its internal working practices, which impact its capacity to mount the festival. Fieldnotes and interviews have been analyzed thematically. Through latent coding with thematic analysis we have identified themes and patterns of meaning in our data set, capturing some of the complexity of our observation (SAGE Research Methods Datasets, 2019). Our aim with our qualitative study is to highlight nuances and tensions in internal working practices through analysis of staff and volunteer experiences, alongside our own observations through participant observation in mounting the festival.

FACTORS ENABLING AND CONSTRAINING ORGANISATIONAL INCLUSIVE PRACTICES

Thematic analysis of fieldnotes and interviews identified three factors of organisational structure that illuminate a series of tensions with regards to developing OIP, including:
1. decision-making authority;
2. internal-facing concerns (IFC) and external-facing concerns (EFC); and
3. task-based organisation (TBO) and engagement-based organisation (EBO).

The tensions in these factors highlight the critical role of volunteers and volunteer labour in the arts organisation in the research study. Volunteer members are vital for the organisation's success with its projects and community initiatives because the organisation primarily relies on volunteer labour to staff its community projects, annual exhibitor events, and international outreach. While volunteer members may receive an honorarium (Interview, 2019-07-11) for their efforts, it is not guaranteed and/or consistent year to year. Mook et al.'s (2007) study highlights that many nonprofit organisations in Canada do not quantify volunteer or unpaid labour because it is unnecessary to do so, and because there is no market transaction with regards to labour. However, the authors also emphasise how this lack of quantification of volunteer or unpaid labour lessens the full understanding of organisational activities, as these organisations would not be able to provide the same level of service without this labour. Our three identified factors in organisational structure illuminate challenges in realising the goals and values of diversity and inclusion because of the constraints of resources and labour in these three areas.

Our findings illustrate that this arts organisation leans towards EFC based in TBO influenced by core members who have positions of power, namely decision-making authority. The combination of EFC and TBO by core members prioritised logistical and artistic operations to run a successful event over consistent support and development of the volunteer team. Organisational activities did not consistently address diversity and inclusion in the volunteer team itself. This inconsistency resulted in new and/or younger volunteer members, some of whom came from marginalised communities, having to learn on the job and develop roles for themselves. The amount of labour needed to organise and host the annual exhibitor festival was very extensive, and the inconsistent engagement and incorporation of volunteers stifled efforts by some volunteer members who strove to be inclusive and supportive of new and/or younger volunteers. In short, EFC and TBO by core members did not increase opportunities for diversity and inclusion for the volunteer team.

Decision-Making Authority

To contrast the perception that the cultural industries can be an 'open' and welcoming environment for new talent and ideas, an analysis of decision-making authority offers insight into how power and inclusion are managed within an organisation. Warren (2014) highlights how organisational hierarchical structure sets the foundation for volunteers' experiences. Within the arts organisation in this research study, there were three distinct levels of decision-makers with varying levels of authority that made up the executive team. Core members consisted of

three of the longest serving members who held much of the institutional knowledge and authority. They often made the final decisions regarding the organisation's direction, development, and creative curation of programming and events. They also oversaw much of the organisation's networks and connections with other community organisations and partnerships. Core members also juried the organisation's annual exhibitor event to select who would be invited to exhibit their work.

The second level of decision makers were coordinators. Coordinators oversaw curated streams of programming designed with specific audiences in mind. They often worked in coordination with core members, and referred to core members to provide resources and guidance. More specifically, coordinators had creative autonomy with regards to their specific streams of programming and projects, but lacked full authority and financial autonomy. Coordinators also worked closely with volunteers, not just in terms of teaching them tasks, but also integrating and retaining them as part of the team. As a result of their coordinator positions, they had institutional knowledge and could speak to the weight of decision making.

The last level of decision makers in the executive team were volunteers. These volunteer positions did not necessarily equate to having the lowest level of seniority. Some long-term members of the team purposefully decided to remain volunteers. However, volunteers also consisted of newer and/or younger members of the team who came from different racial, gender, and class communities. They were often part of general team meetings, and were consulted whenever core members needed wider input on a decision-making process. However, it should be noted that volunteers had the lowest decision-making authority, and would often need more senior members' support to bring ideas into fruition. New volunteer members in the executive team would often join in the fall/winter season leading up to the annual exhibitor event. The organisation recruits general volunteers in the early spring season to train and staff the actual weekend-long annual exhibitor event, and 'have about 200 volunteers who sign up' (Interview, 2019-01-29). Unlike volunteers in the executive team, general volunteers only participate for the weekend event.

The two senior levels of the executive volunteer team had the most decision-making authority, reflected by the scope of their responsibilities. Core members made up the organisation's year-round presence, and managed the day-to-day operations of the annual exhibit's programming, curation, production, marketing, communications, human resources, grant writing, and fundraising/sponsorships (Interview, 2019-01-29). Coordinators were able to exercise more creative autonomy and decision-making authority as it related to their specific programs and events, but still needed core members' involvement and support to finalise logistics and financial commitments. For example, as one coordinator noted in their interview, "I just usually ask [a core member] what's my budget, where are we at? … When I get to [town], I go and get those cheques from [a core member] for all that stuff. And [core member] books the venues, [core member] books the [location], books the coffee and stuff in the morning" (Interview, 2019-02-20). This reflects the coordination between the two senior levels of the team, as well as division in responsibilities, with the core member identified to retain power and control, in particular of the budget. But another coordinator also noted, "I know that baseline resources [are] accessible to me. But there is still sort of like a hierarchy, even though we, sort of, sit at that table in the round, and bat around ideas and assign stuff – and whatever–there [are] still folks, who are like, the main vote" (Interview, 2019-02-08). This highlights the tensions of decision-making hierarchy within the executive team, contrasting a collective experience discussing around a table with a final 'main vote.' However, coordinators and core members both needed volunteers to assist and operate their programs and events as related to the annual exhibitor event.

In an effort to reduce barriers to participation and minimise stress and anxiety, core members communicated and emphasised a welcoming attitude (Fieldnotes, 2019-11-07). They encouraged volunteers to join any activity or programming team they felt comfortable participating in, and reiterated that they welcomed volunteer ideas and suggestions (Fieldnotes, 2020-04-30). In practice, however, volunteer ideas and suggestions usually needed core members to support the ideas to reach fruition (Fieldnotes, 2020-04-09) because volunteers did not have decision-making authority. However, core members were aware of frequent volunteer turnover as a result of intense labour required. One core member acknowledged this challenge in an interview:

> But as a volunteer organisation, primarily, that's how it has to be unless the format of [the annual exhibitor event] radically changes. Unless we have more full-timers that we can payout ... Getting [volunteer] staff for more than a year, for two [event] cycles or three [event] cycles is getting a lot harder because you become aware of, just like, how much work it is, and how much, and it's so much work …. So, it's never going to be a one-to-one, like what you give into it is what you get back out, because we can't afford it financially, and because at the end of the day, it's volunteering (Interview, 2019-07-11).

This core member highlights that volunteer labour cannot be compensated as a result of financial constraints of the organisation, and they did not expect all volunteers to stay long-term because of the intense labour needed. More importantly, however, this recognition of structural limitations highlights how volunteer labour is mediated through unequal working and spatial relations (Warren, 2014). Volunteer labour is a delicate and challenging

organisational component to balance. The implementation of honorariums (Interview, 2019-07-11) reflects how core members recognized the intense labour asked of volunteers. However, given the regular volunteer turnover, honorariums, when they were provided, likely did not reflect how much labour the organisation truly asked. More funding could improve honorariums to better reflect the intense volunteer labour needed by the organisation.

Internal-Facing Concerns and External-Facing Concerns

IFC and EFC refer to types of initiatives pursued by individual volunteer members for the benefit of the organisation, either for the wellbeing and working practices of the team itself, or for the public events of the organisation, respectively. Similarly, other research differentiates between internal and external focuses in cultural industries activities. For example, introversion and extroversion orientations of cultural intermediaries describe how some cultural organisations focus on their established community, while others look outwards embracing more mainstream interests (Woo, 2018). The types of initiatives team members chose to pursue in our research study reflected how they interpreted and practised the organisation's goals and priorities. Our findings demonstrate tensions between IFC and EFC.

Most notably, IFC, such as volunteer training, retention, inclusion, and community, were often sidelined to prioritise EFC, like the annual exhibitor event and external partnerships. The research project identified differences among team members who believed in maintaining and nurturing the existing organisation and team, and those who focused on daily operations and development of the organisation. In an interview, one coordinator remarked,

> There's two different schools of thought in [the organisation] currently: the school of we must be bigger, and the school of we should just stay the size we are or even be smaller than we are. I'm in the school of - we should stay in the size that we are and tend to the garden that we already have (Interview, 2019-02-20).

These two schools of thought reflect the tension that exists within the team itself, and provides context to understanding how certain projects and tasks were organised, prioritised, and managed. More importantly, as a result of the decision-making structure of the organisation, diversity and inclusion initiatives were often directed to EFC rather than IFC, and diversity initiatives were often mobilised around expanding the organisation's activities, rather than 'tending the garden.' For example, in an interview, one coordinator remarked how, "we've continually failed to do any substantial Indigenous programming for that day. And so, we really, like, we really, we tried last year, it didn't come together. It's coming together this year. We're super happy about that" (Interview, 2019-02-11). This reflects a conscious effort and understanding of how the organisation can engage with diversity practices in terms of representation of Indigenous communities through programming, but these efforts were primarily directed towards expansion through EFC programming rather than towards the executive team itself. By positioning the executive team to focus on the external and public contributions of the organisation, team members had a central purpose or 'mandate' to uphold (Interview, 2019-07-11). Group conversations and team meetings often focused on the question of how the arts organisation would contribute to the local and international arts community (Fieldnotes, 2019-01-17).

Despite the organisation's overall position being focused on EFC, some members were conscious of how the team itself lacked racial diversity, and how efforts towards internal representation were also needed. As individuals, some members tried to address IFC. Of the six interviews we conducted, one team member was racialized. This member shared in their interview wanting the internal team to do better in regards to racial diversity:

> Oh, a challenge, I think I really want … to be better … more [on] race, racial-based sort of stuff at [the organisation]. I don't know how that's going to happen and in what form, I just really wish the staff were less white. And not because I don't love all of those guys, I really do, and I think they're all trying their best. But at the same time, it could be better (Interview, 2019-02-20).

This awareness and reflection on race in the organisation and composition of the team highlights how individual members were conscious of internal challenges. In an interview, one core member spoke about how the team tried to incorporate professionalisation, such as creating job titles, as a way to (formally) include members into the team. The core member remarked, "We're just sort of coming into having titles and roles in the past few years …. Because, people need to know what they're doing, need to know what they're working on" (Interview, 2019-02-05). In other words, having titles was a new professionalisation practice to assist with internal clarity around roles and responsibilities. It also served an organisational purpose of distributing tasks to volunteers; having an assigned title helped formally confirm volunteers' roles within the team and organisation.

Task-Based Organisation and Engagement-Based Organisation of Volunteers

Lastly, TBO describes how volunteer members were organised into smaller teams based on specific project needs, whereas EBO refers to volunteers organised according to their skills and/ or interests, which requires an

understanding of members' capacities and inclinations. This component of organisational structure influenced how volunteer labour was managed and coordinated, and influenced the frequency of volunteer turnover. TBO meant that the organisation prioritised staffing projects related to the annual exhibitor event so that associated partnerships, programming, and work were accomplished. EBO, however, meant prioritising the team's training, wellbeing, and morale as forms of support to sustain participation. Tensions between these two forms of volunteer coordination resulted in inconsistent inclusion of new and/or younger volunteer members.

Team members were primarily organised according to tasks or projects associated with the annual exhibitor event. Part of TBO meant formalising and professionalising roles and titles to ensure each part of the annual event was staffed with at least one team/ department lead (Interview, 2019-02-05). This became more apparent during the second year of fieldwork, when two team meetings were used to restructure the team into formal departments according to projects and tasks.

Conducted as a workshop, during the first restructuring meeting the team spent two hours brainstorming projects and tasks associated with the upcoming annual exhibitor event. 11 departments were brainstormed, and the team was very conscious of the multiple overlapping roles everyone would have to fulfil to staff these 11 departments (Fieldnotes, 2020-01-09). An additional checklist of tasks was made for the days of the scheduled event. Volunteers were encouraged and welcomed to join a department they felt they could contribute to, and core members provided general descriptions of each department. By using TBO of volunteers, core members ensured the annual exhibitor event was sufficiently staffed. During a second restructuring meeting, team members confirmed which departments and roles they would take on. The meeting was again two hours long with one team member moderating the meeting. As noted by Chung in her field notes for that meeting,

> With the new departments, the team is also trying to conduct the meetings more formally. This seems critical, especially for this year, because there are newer team members joining now. New team members are all familiar with [the organisation], and have friendships with other team members, so the emphasis is to welcome them into the working cycle (Fieldnotes, 2020-02-06).

In light of new volunteers joining the executive team, efforts were made to help orient them into the workflow of the organisation. This restructuring also required the least amount of sharing of institutional knowledge, but still enabled projects and tasks to be accomplished. Volunteers only needed to understand their specific role rather than understand the social and practical logistics of how their work was situated in the larger organisation and artist community. A TBO of volunteers relies on retaining enough volunteer members for institutional knowledge to be passed on passively. Volunteer staff in a specific department could experience different leadership styles and working practices depending on which coordinator they worked with.

Some coordinators practised EBO within their departments. EBO meant regardless of a volunteer's level of experience and/or seniority, they were directly included in decision making of that department and its associated programming. For example, the consensus model used by one coordinator in their program development reduced the emphasis on their authority, and instead sought volunteer input. The coordinator shared their perspective in their interview, "I'm a person who likes to move forward on decisions with consensus, not just like one person making a decision in a vacuum, not taking a vote–I want everyone to feel good about how we're going to move forward on any given question" (Interview, 2019-02-08). This perspective on decision making accounted for and encouraged group members to collaborate and discuss with one another, forming solutions in which everyone had input and confidence. As this coordinator further elaborated about their department, "But in terms of structure, we are intentionally non-hierarchical, and … [are] trying to share power in ways" (Interview, 2019-02-08).

Even though EBO was used in select departments within the organisation, this practice helped retain volunteers to return the following years. Sharing decision-making authority, even within smaller departments, helped foster community. As another coordinator who used EBO in their department shared, "I always have a good time with my volunteers because there's not too many of them and I get to know them pretty well. And they're usually the more motivated ones" (Interview, 2019-02-20). EBO not only helped integrate volunteers, but it also formed positive bonds between team members, which supported volunteer retention and engagement. EBO of volunteers sustained a more consistent transfer and sharing of institutional knowledge in the longer term. However, this required the contributions of senior members of the team. More importantly, EBO empowered volunteers to participate in other activities and projects beyond the annual exhibitor event, such as travelling abroad with the organisation on their international collaboration projects (Interview, 2019-02-20), fostering belonging within the overall team and organisation (Interview, 2019-02-08). This transfer and application of knowledge helped volunteers become invested in their contribution to the arts organisation and wider arts community.

DISCUSSION

Opportunities for Institutional Entrepreneurship to Foster Inclusion

Throughout our two years of fieldwork, the arts organisation made efforts to engage with diversity and inclusion initiatives. As a concept, institutional entrepreneurship recognizes the labour and effort of individuals who initiate and influence divergent changes within their institutions. Within the arts organisation studied, the executive team made gradual efforts to engage more deeply with diversity initiatives. This was most often expressed and mobilised through their EFC projects and collaborations. Individual members spearheaded new efforts that ranged from forming new collaborations to reevaluating how programming and curation of the annual exhibitor event could be improved. For example, one coordinator reflected on diverse representation at the event in their interview,

> I look at our list, and I'm like, we could definitely do something more to promote Indigenous [creators]…Are we promoting enough trans creators, or … So I think there's lots of opportunities. Certainly with accessibility and disability, not only in terms of promoting creators, but also in terms of the festival experience for the public (Interview, 2019-02-11).

By reflecting on past annual exhibitor events and identifying opportunities for improvement, this coordinator highlights how the organisation could engage more deeply with diversity initiatives, focusing on exhibiting artists and on members of the public who attend the event. The use of the personal pronoun, 'I', also indicates how members of the executive team reflect on how they as individuals could do more in this regard. Similarly, another coordinator discussed in their interview their reasoning behind establishing a partnership with another arts organisation from Colombia:

> I'm also very proud of developing the relationship with [arts festival] in Colombia. It was something that, I feel for sure wouldn't have happened without me. I took an interest in Colombian [art], reached out, went there, programmed this, applied for the grants … We can't keep being Eurocentric; we have stop this, you know (Interview, 2019-02-08).

This coordinator was critical of how many of the organisation's regular international partnerships were based in Europe, and spearheaded a new external partnership in order to address the problem of Eurocentrism. Establishing this new partnership involved applying for further grants and additional labour that contributed to the organisation's EFC projects. Both coordinators in these examples highlight how the regular process of reflection motivated individual members of the executive team to engage in institutional entrepreneurship.

Institutional entrepreneurship also enabled individual members to focus on fostering inclusion, for example creating informal mentorships between senior members and new or younger volunteers of the team. As previously discussed, one coordinator regularly worked with the same group of volunteers for their programming, and regular and positive working relationships developed over time. The coordinator further elaborated on this during their interview,

> I usually get given the volunteers that come back year after year after year and are very reliable … usually ones who have been around longer, some of those kids are like [names of three volunteers], who are taken on as staff a little later. So [volunteer], for example, I met her when she was in high school … So there's a kind of linear history there (Interview, 2019-02-20).

Becoming staff, in this case, is in reference to joining the executive team of the organisation, which signals deeper understanding and commitment of volunteers to their roles. As this coordinator notes, they have worked with these volunteers for a number of years since when they were students, and in that time and process, these volunteers became skilled and familiar with one another. As Berstien and Bilimoria (2013) note in their study, inclusion relies on the "value of diverse members of a team as contributing different perspectives and approaches that everyone can learn from … individuals feel most included when they perceive they are valued for their talents, contributions, and abilities to assist" (p. 639, 648). One of the volunteers who was mentored by this coordinator eventually became a program coordinator/ lead (Fieldnotes, 2020-03-19). While there was no formal internal infrastructure for mentorship programs in the arts organisation, individuals within the team took it upon themselves to provide this kind of support to volunteers, especially with volunteers who were contributing and participating regularly and frequently.

Limitations of Institutional Entrepreneurship to Foster Inclusion

In our study, there were several limitations to institutional entrepreneurship to fostering inclusion with regards to volunteer labour, volunteer recruitment, and heavy workloads. These limitations signal the need for collective

institutional efforts regarding internal diversity and inclusion initiatives, as the accountability and burden of change cannot depend on individual members to be sustainable and effective. Despite core members' position and emphasis on welcoming volunteers and their participation, recognition of their labour and contributions to the organisation was limited, which can undermine internal inclusion efforts. For example, shortly after the 2020 annual exhibitor event was cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic, a new volunteer member joined while the executive team worked under a very tight timeline to redesign the event as an online exhibit (Fieldnotes, 2020-04-02). The new volunteer enthusiastically recommended possible online platforms the organisation could use for its exhibit, and used their personal time to attend an online event hosted on one of these platforms so that they could share at the following meeting (Fieldnotes, 2020-04-09). However, as noted in our fieldnotes, a core member did not share this volunteer's enthusiasm, "the new volunteer … appeared to be discouraged when the [core member] said [they] did not enjoy the online conference platform … [The volunteer] had done a lot of research into this platform and was in communication with the hosts/ operators of this platform" (Fieldnotes, 2020-04-09). While this new volunteer was not aware of the limited decision-making power their position held, they took the initiative and used their personal time to investigate a possible solution in light of unprecedented circumstances and pressure on the organisation to salvage their marquee event. As previously discussed, volunteers often need the support of a senior member in order to bring their ideas or contributions into fruition because of decision-making authority and access to resources. This organisational structure of roles and decision-making limits volunteers trying to instigate change within the organisation. This reduces the possibility of forms of institutional entrepreneurship to foster inclusion within the team, as volunteers feel less empowered, engaged, and able to make change.

Another factor that constrained efforts to foster inclusion within the organisation was volunteer recruitment. New volunteers were often recruited through personal networks of existing team members and they were often familiar with the organisation. This form of volunteer recruitment was not new or recent to the organisation. It stemmed as far back as when one of the core members began the organisation, as they shared in their interview,

> So, the first two [annual exhibits], I was doing … let's say, 75% of the work… I had a friend … who's awesome, who helped me with stuff like writing staff bios, and things like that. [They were] a writer, a journalist of [the arts]. And I was like, "Hey, do you want to write bios for these thirty people, so … when we put up our website, it has bios of all the [artists] who are exhibiting?" … And that was the first two, and then after that, there was a local [arts] aficionado, reader, art fan etc, … who wanted to volunteer and help out. And I'm like, "Why don't you be the [events] director, like I have to do a lot of stuff" (Interview, 2019-07-11).

Through personal networks and connections, the pool of volunteers in the executive team remained fairly consistent and stable for a number of years. This helped build the organisation and its annual exhibitor event in its early years. The problems of lack of representation stemming from informal networks in cultural industries workforce recruitment have been well researched, but here it also meant there was little need for formal orientation and training of new volunteers, as it was assumed that volunteers were already familiar with the organisation. However, as the organisation grew over years, the lack of internal infrastructure and programs for new volunteers, who may not come from existing personal networks, constrained inclusion and community. Moreover, volunteer recruitment within familiar networks may also reproduce the dominant perspectives of the organisation and how it curates and engages with external partners. The coordinator who spearheaded informal mentorships reflected on limitations of personal networks in their interview,

> Also, I'm going to pass this [role of coordinator] on, I'm hoping to someone else next year. And kind of ease them in and train them on it. But I feel like I've done my time. I've done five years of it already, and done what I could with it. And I just think fresh blood is a good thing for any organisation … It's like, it can freshen up, and then someone might have a different take on the same topics I've done before, for example. But there's always new people coming into these things. And they might know different people in different networks. So, I think it's just a good thing in general to put fresh blood into it (Interview, 2019-02-20).

This coordinator suggests that familiar topics could receive new insight from a different volunteer's perspective. They highlight the importance of passing on their position, one that holds greater decision-making authority and access to resources, and providing training and support to a volunteer transitioning into that role. They suggest that rather than assuming a volunteer is already familiar with the role or organisation, guidance and support can be offered in advance of a new person taking on new and/ or additional responsibilities. This proactive pedagogy is critical in sharing institutional knowledge and fostering inclusion.

Institutional entrepreneurship was ineffective in addressing the heavy workload borne by the entire executive team. As previously discussed, even when the team restructured itself into formal departments, 11 departments

were brainstormed with members' conscious of being responsible for multiple roles. Even for coordinators and core members who had more creative autonomy, responsibilities remained unchanged despite restructuring. How work was divided and distributed across the organisation was a challenge rooted in the organisation's structure and hierarchy of power, which is difficult for one person to take initiative to tackle or change. One volunteer developed a workflow to complement the restructuring of the team and offered a more centralised tracking of tasks (Fieldnotes, 2020-03-05). However, much of the team restructuring and workflow model had to be reorganised for a third time when the team transitioned to working from home during the pandemic. New subcommittees were formed to adapt projects and tasks for online mobile work, which created additional responsibilities, such as finding partners to produce digital content (Fieldnotes, 2020-04-09, 2020-04-23). Institutional entrepreneurship, in this case, indicates the limitations of how much one person can contribute to addressing systemic challenges. Relying on a small number of middle-tiered members to address inclusion of unpaid volunteer members from underrepresented communities, while conscious of the value volunteer labour has to execute external projects, results in limited effectiveness of institutional entrepreneurship. Institutional entrepreneurship is a start, but it also requires broader-based support, either from other members or from the organisation itself, in order to generate more substantial and enduring changes.

CONCLUSION

A critical diversity framework allows for an assessment of continued inequalities and power imbalances, even when values of diversity and inclusion are ostensibly championed. We suggest this framework is vital for the ongoing development and assessment of diversity and inclusion initiatives in the cultural and creative industries, given that these industries produce content, programming, and events that can become focal points for accounting for diversity, or lack thereof. A critical diversity framework provides inroads to disentangle diversity discourse in the arts and culture sector by examining continued power imbalances that limit inclusion, including with regards to decision-making authority in organisational cultures. This framework moves beyond a focus on representation and visibility to also assess experiences in organisational environments. Through participant observation and semi-structured interviews of a local not-for-profit arts organisation, we identified how the arts organisation was focused on EFC and used a TBO structure that was influenced by the decisions of core members. Though the particularities and history of the organisation in our case study produced a particular organisational structure, we propose that these concepts can allow for an assessment of possibilities and limitations for developing inclusive environments in an array of organisations. In our case study, diversity and inclusion were discussed and there were attempts to improve diversity and inclusion, but organisational inclusion practices were limited. This is common in the cultural industries where efforts to improve diversity and inclusion can remain externally-focused.

Our study also highlights the critical role volunteer labour plays in not-for-profit organisations (Mook et al., 2007; Warren, 2014; van Schie, 2014). The informality of not-for-profit arts and culture organisations results in struggles to form organisational infrastructure that can support and operationalize meaningful changes and practices regarding diversity and inclusion. In our case study, existing organisational infrastructure was often taken for granted, and the inconsistent transfer of institutional knowledge resulted in new volunteers feeling unsure of how to address issues that arise. While the not-for-profit arts and culture sector in Canada is often reliant on government arts funding, these challenges also suggest the need for broader funding and support, including for 'volunteer' positions, such that individuals serving in these roles can be better integrated into organisational cultures. Core members' large scope of responsibilities, ranging from day-to-day operations and the annual exhibitor event, likely undermined time available to devote to inclusion work. And while these core members were reluctant to have volunteers take on additional work, the work they did ask of volunteers was intense. The heavy workload and its distribution was not sustainable. As one core member recognized in their interview, the organisation likely required more full-time staff in order to alleviate team members to develop inclusive practices. Meaningful diversity and inclusion work might also necessitate scaling back externally-focused efforts and programming to focus on internal operations and organisational culture.

In this research study, institutional entrepreneurship developed through individual work that coordinators performed to address biases in how the organisation chose external exhibitors and expand collaborations, alongside developing informal mentorships. This concept recognizes efforts that individuals outside of formal leadership positions make to spearhead divergent changes, and can offer a lens for qualitative assessment of structure/agency within organisations. In our research study, institutional entrepreneurship demonstrated the role middle-tier members like coordinators had within the organisation, and how they mediated between leadership and general volunteer members. We conclude that institutional entrepreneurship has limitations in fostering an inclusive culture, because it relies on individuals to spearhead change. This is not a sustainable form of fostering inclusion within organisational culture because long-term meaningful change requires a collective commitment, including leadership support, which has been well documented to impact the successful development of inclusive

environments (Bilimoria et al., 2008; Wasserman et al., 2008). Beyond funding and material resources, a collective approach to inclusion for small not-for-profit arts organisations can also be developed through consistent communication and recognition of volunteer members by key decision makers. When volunteer members contribute to the organisation, communication, recognition, follow up and/or feedback can function to acknowledge this labour. Substantial change within organisational cultures, especially in addressing diversity and inclusion, requires organisational support, including leadership participation, reflexivity and learning, and showing appreciation for others' contributions (Campbell et al., 2022; Shore et al., 2011). We echo Shore et al.'s (2018) findings, which point to the importance of experiences and perceptions of involvement, respect, and influence on decision making. Focusing on developing an inclusive culture may require scaling back an external or growth-oriented mindset in the organisational culture, but shifting priorities to focus on validation and follow-through does not inherently require financial resources. While the cultural industries have in the past been celebrated for being open, meritocratic, and diverse, meaningful diversity work requires transparent and equitable internal operations, rather than assuming a level playing field or that diversity can be realised because it is professed to be a value of an organisation. As such, rather than assume that the cultural industries are improving with regards to diversity because of an increased focus on diverse programming, this sector might turn to examples of governance from more standard forms of employment to learn best practices in inclusion. Indeed, existing research literature on inclusive cultures is based in a variety of sectors, from healthcare to information technology to food manufacturing and so on (Edmondson, 2019; Mor Barak et al., 2001; Pelled et al., 1999). While a small body of research on inclusion or lack thereof in the cultural industries has primarily been conducted through semi-structured interviews focusing on experiences, we welcome broader studies on organisational cultures through participant observation and other longitudinal methods of data collection.

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Turn On, Tune In, Drop Out? A Typology of Psychedelic Microdosing as Technologies of the Self

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ABSTRACT

Psychedelic microdosing, or taking small doses of psychedelic substances that do not induce intoxication or altered states but rather subtle outcomes such as increased focus, has quickly become a mass media phenomenon. Many claim microdosing has become the new secret to enhancement in work contexts. Drawing from literature on psychedelic microdosing, technologies of the self, self-identity and the sociology of work and leisure, this study understands microdosing as a technology individuals introduce into their lives to modify themselves for various purposes. We explore the ways in which the 1960s iconic psychedelic drugs, that once offered turning on, tuning in and dropping out, are now finding new uses across different contexts. Taking a cultural-sociological perspective, we examine how individuals use microdoses of classic psychedelic drugs and how they make sense of microdosing in their daily lives. Based on our findings, we identify three different uses of psychedelic microdosing: (1) as technology of self-esteem and control at work, (2) as a self-help technology, and (3) as a technology of 'slow living'.

Keywords: microdosing, psychedelics, work culture, LSD, technologies of the self

INTRODUCTION

The phrase "turn on, tune in, and drop out" (Leary, 2009) echoed at the Golden Gate Park during a *Human Be-In*, the prelude to San Francisco's Summer of Love. "Turn on" was Timothy Leary's call to activate neural "equipment" and become mindful and "conscious". "Tune in" represented a harmonious interaction with the outside world. "Drop out" encouraged people to disengage from inadvertent or forced societal commitments. These countercultural ideas fueled peace protests and birthed hippie communes. Beyond that, LSD-induced states also played a part in motivating ideas and pushing technological progress in various professional fields. Well-known innovators such as Steve Jobs, Bill Gates, and Richard Feynman are among the many figures that took up the mind-altering drug for its ability to inspire creativity and fuel new ideas.

Since the 1960s, many psychedelic substances were prohibited and went off-radar in mainstream media. However, in the past decade, research on psychedelics has experienced a revival, sparking what came to be known as the third wave of psychedelic research (Pollan, 2018). This renewed interest attracted substantial media attention. Today, psychedelics have made their comeback, but only in very small doses.

Although research into psychedelic microdosing is burgeoning, empirical accounts exploring individuals' meaning-making around microdosing psychedelics are still scarce. So far, studies have explored how people dose and use psychedelics in this practice (Johnstad, 2018) and how they self-report the 'effects' of psychedelics (Webb

et al., 2019). Further, studies have touched upon microdosing as cognitive enhancement (Bornemann, 2018) and the potential of microdosing as a therapeutic tool (Lea et al., 2020). Yet, to this day, it remains unclear how people make sense of their use of microdoses of psychedelic drugs in relation to themselves and their work.

Drug effects are not solely properties of inherent qualities of the drug itself, but rather constructed by the contextual structures that are commonly seen as separate from the substance (Becker, 1963; Fraser et al., 2014). Drug effects must therefore be considered as a complex interaction of "bodies, technologies and forces" (Dennis, 2019: 21). They are embedded in the context of people's lives and therefore the societies in which they live. Coming from this assumption, this study will delve into the following questions: What uses do psychedelics have in people's lives? And what meaning does microdosing have for them?

We answer these questions through an analysis of seven in-depth interviews and 67 self-reports on the social media platform Reddit. We tap into what, how often and for what purposes people choose to microdose, and which meanings they attribute to this practice. Further, we delve into how people use microdosing as a technology of the self in (re)shaping the very notion of their identity, and what role microdosing plays in their relationship to their work and others. Finally, this research will explore how microdosing fits into wider societal trends in the domains of work, well-being and self-improvement. Does this rising phenomenon reveal something about the ways in which we think about work, free time and ourselves in a post-industrial society? And could it be changing the ways people relate to these spheres in their lives?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Microdosing

Microdosing is a practice in which people ingest small doses of psychedelic drugs, usually repeatedly over a period of time that do not provide intoxication or alter users' consciousness in significant ways (Fadiman, 2011). Instead, microdosers say they are seeking more subtle outcomes that contribute to a "better" life–more focus, ease, motivation, or reflection (Webb et al., 2019).

As a trend, microdosing spread quickly on the Internet and social media, where individuals shared their experiences and information, which further facilitated access to these practices on a mass scale (Johnstad, 2018). Its popularity can be observed across social media platforms. A good example is a Reddit forum dedicated to microdosing: in 2015 it had 1,600 subscribers and this number has grown to 99,700 by 2020 (Reddit, 2020). Google searches for the term 'microdosing' have increased by 400% between 2013 and 2020 (Google Trends, n. d.). News media coverage has quickly caught up, reflecting this growing interest and visibility of microdosing classic psychedelics. On the one hand, a line of media reports has focused on how microdosing LSD is helping professionals across fields increase their concentration, problem solving and productivity (Solon, 2016; Swisher, 2018). These reports frame microdosing as the new "productivity hack" in a world where "no one can afford to lose a step anymore" (Swisher, 2018).

In one of the first qualitative studies on psychedelic microdosing, Johnstad (2018) investigates why and how people microdose psychedelics, finding that generally microdosers indeed do not aim for intoxication, but for the enhancement of their everyday functioning. In this study, respondents experimented with microdosing in phases and most reported positive outcomes of the practice, such as improved mood, cognition, and creativity. While an important stepping stone for research on the subculture of psychedelic use, the research does not consider how individuals' own aims, ideas and the contexts in which they microdose shape their experiences with the substance.

Beaton et al. (2020) explored the justifications individuals gave for their use of these, often illegal, substances. They found six main justifications for microdosing psychedelics among their informants: denial of injury, self-sustaining (microdosing as a means of treating personal hardship), self-fulfillment, appeal to loyalties (the belief that their behavior is appropriate, since it not only benefits themselves, but the people around them), appeal to normality (entails the recognition of drug use being normal in other settings and cultures) and knowledgeability (curiosity and the need for knowledge). Based on their participants' justifications, Beaton et al. (2020: 12) suggest that none of the study participants "made excuses" for their use of psychedelics. The authors show that by emphasizing justifications and acknowledging their drug use, participants positioned microdoses of classic psychedelics as "being a tool for success", allowing them to claim their substance use was socially acceptable. The issue of felt stigma around drug use and the felt dichotomy between social expectations and substance use did surface in the study by Webb et al. (2019). The participants in their study showcased "middle-class values" by creating social distance between those who use drugs recreationally and those who, like themselves, aim for an improvement in their lives, in this way normalizing their drug use.

Similarly to the microdosers in Webb et al.'s (2019) study, the study of drug use in LGBTQ+ communities by Pienaar et al. (2020) shows how drugs, in recreational doses or otherwise, can be used to shape sexual behavior and enact queer identities. For example, Pienaar et al. (2020) look at the interrelation of drug use with various

aspects of participants' lives and suggest that drug use can transform gendered experiences and allow the expression of –and experimentation with–non-normative gender identities, thus enabling "the articulation of new or different subjectivities" (7). They therefore consider this type of drug use as an example of Foucault's (1988) "technologies of the self".

Microdosing as a Technology of the Self

The purposeful adjusting of one's own mind and body is not a new phenomenon. The changes people intentionally place upon themselves are situated within the larger social and cultural context. A rich sociological tradition starting with Foucault's work on the technologies of the self (1988) and care of the self (1976) sheds light on this phenomenon. In famous lecture at the University of Vermont, Michel Foucault (1988) introduced four technologies: technologies of production, technologies of sign systems, technologies of power and technologies of the self. Technologies of the self are of particular interest to this study. According to Foucault, these technologies

> "permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality" (1988: 18).

Ian Burkitt (2004: 223), building on Foucault's theory, defines technologies as "the practical rationality that accompanies and guides productive activities, and, thus, is enmeshed in those social relations in which people are educated and trained." Therefore, technologies of the self are not only conceptual figurations and conceptions of a socially constructed idea of a "good life", but also the practical applications of these ideas on people's minds and bodies. These operations can vary from introducing a diet or an exercise regimen, to undergoing surgery, or ingesting substances. In the analysis part of this paper, we focus on these operations or *practices* that people apply to their bodies.

For Foucault, technologies of the self, rather than being a mere reflexive spiritual project, fit into the system of governmentality. However, in his later studies, and particularly in 'History of Sexuality' (2012), Foucault casts doubt on the idea of one-sidedness of the power of the ruling structure. In this work, he turns to deal mostly with the 'technologies of the self'. These technologies are less concerned with forms of institutional knowledge. Instead, he emphasizes technologies of the self as 'practices of freedom' (Nilson, 1998), arguing that technologies of the self should be seen as existing alongside "techniques of domination" and that "the interaction between these types of technique" is what needs to be revealed (Foucault, 1994: 177). Similarly, in speaking of the 'care of the self', he offers that these operations are voluntary actions through which people set self-induced rules of conduct to "change themselves in their singular being, and to make their life into an oeuvre" (2012: 10). The care of the self is expressed through an array of spiritual practices such as self-examination, overcoming existential fears and self-cultivation through developing attention, confession, refusing temptation and so on (Foucault, 2012). These ideas were drawn from the analyses of the life of Ancient Romans, Greeks, and Early Christians, but are argued to apply to societies throughout time. Shifting the focus to the topic of this study, psychedelic microdosing is a self-technology that people employ to transform themselves in a world driven by productivity and reflexivity.

Technologies of the Self at Work

Nikolas Rose (1990) applies Foucault's ideas on technologies of the self in his book "Governing the Soul", in which he analyzes the "humanization of work"—or the turn to viewing the worker as a "self-actualizing ego whose personal strivings could be articulated into the organization of the enterprise" (104). Coming from a Foucauldian power-relations perspective, Rose (1990) posits that the individual has always been central to the regulatory apparatus of the state: molding, channeling, and amplifying subjectivity are inherent in government processes.

In this way, the body has become the object for these transformations. Already in the 1990s, Rose (1990) identified the methods of transformation such as therapy, bioenergetics, transcendental meditation or assertiveness training. Now, other technologies can be added to the list; biohacking, (dopamine) fasting or microdosing are widespread in today's Western world. Rose (1990) argues that these technologies are not so much designated to those unable to "make do", but a transcendence above reality to those that are already seemingly well-functioning individuals. They are "not merely addressed to those unable to conduct a life, but to living itself" (105). We observe this in the recent media accounts on microdosing too. With its roots in Silicon Valley and spread across knowledge and creative workers, microdosing is most popular with those in creative and knowledge careers who aim for an uplift; a slight transcendence of everyday life in the every day.

Authors writing about the trend of microdosing have observed that this trend has caught up mainly in creative work, or work primarily undertaken in the cultural industries that typically involves the production of symbols (either for informational, aesthetic or expressive purposes) for consumption by distant audiences (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2008). People involved in this kind of work vary from fine artists, musicians, or dancers to media

producers as well as writers and designers. Angela McRobbie (2002) argues that creative work is especially driven by neoliberal values such as "entrepreneurialism, individualization and reliance on commercial sponsorship" (517)—aspects that create insecurity and require a level of self-mastery at work that did not come with the more traditional 9-5 factory or office jobs. Various technologies can be employed to increase self-control and discipline, which, according to Bauman (1998), are coveted traits in societies where a capitalist work ethic dictates societal values. Similarly, Martin (1992) suggested that the drive for flexibility and productivity in western societies under late capitalism leads towards the need for a vigilant, responsive, and tireless body that can perform at high levels for unending stretches of time. In this line of thought, fasting, biohacking and cognitive enhancement through nootropics are only some of the technologies geared at optimizing the body that have made it to today's work floor.

Furthermore, education and rapid learning are important labor characteristics in knowledge work. Knowledge, rather than physically tangible assets, has now emerged as the most valuable resource that a person or a group may possess (Pyoria, 2005). Work nowadays requires workers to not just know and perform a set of abilities, but also to constantly refresh their knowledge.

METHODOLOGY

This study focuses on how people explain and make meaning of their microdosing *practices*. We rely on two data sources (in-depth interviews and Reddit posts) and qualitatively explore how people talk about their uses of psychedelic microdosing in everyday life. The first data source on which this study is based is gathered from seven in-depth semi-structured interviews with people who microdose classic psychedelics in the Netherlands. We purposefully sampled the initial interview participants through events of a *Facebook* group. This online group is an active and spiritual community that share information, host events and more. The first author has joined this group back in 2017. The type and frequency of posts on microdosing indicated that a portion of the members were interested or involved in the practice.

Drug use is a sensitive and sometimes stigmatized issue to address. To obtain more access to people who would microdose within the group, the first author went to one of the communities' events and was able to recruit three microdosers. The sampling guideline for the recruiting of participants was that the individuals had to have systematically been microdosing within the past year and lived in the Netherlands at the time of the interview. The next four participants were recruited using a snowball sampling technique. This being an exploratory study, age, gender or occupation were not sampling criteria.

Six out of seven interviews were conducted in person and took place both in public spaces, such as cafés, and the participants' homes. The seventh interview was conducted over Skype. Considering that speaking about drugs can be sensitive, the choice of the location was left up to the respondents. The length of the interviews varied between 48 and 62 minutes. The interviewees were informed about the research, and all gave consent to have the interviews recorded and transcribed. To protect participant identities, each individual was given a pseudonym.

The second data source this study uses are self-reports from a social media platform *Reddit. Reddit* is an online social platform 'that has attributes of a forum: it allows sharing blurbs of text and media as posts that involve votes and commentary' (De Choudhury and De, 2014: 71). The platform is commonly used as a social feed of information. De Choudhury and De (2014: 71) state that *Reddit* is an excellent channel to study social phenomena since it offers a dissociative 'anonymity cloak' which allows users to discuss feelings and sensitive information that may be considered socially unacceptable or stigmatic.

For a variety of reasons, the platform proved to be a great source of data in answering the questions posed by this research. Reddit has been chastised and lauded for its lack of a "filter" on the content that can be posted on sub-Reddits (various forums; Gilbert, 2013). As a result, the platform supports a wide range of perspectives and experiences. A random sample of *Reddit* posts in the category "report" were taken from *Reddit's* r/microdosing sub-reddit based on this. Reports were searched from January 2019 until January 2020. This time period was chosen to coincide with the year in which the interviews were conducted. In this way, ensuring uniformity in legislation regarding the legal status of psychedelics or in the availability of various media products (films, podcasts, and books) did not result in systematic differences between interviewees and *Reddit* users. A total of 334 reports were found. A random set of 20% of the reports were sampled. Starting with one, every fifth post was included into the sample to guarantee a non-biased selection.

The examination of the *Reddit* posts, in addition to the interviews, allowed us to investigate if the patterns we discovered in the interviews held up across a broader range of people's experiences. Therefore, collecting the Reddit posts is a way of attaining validation of the ideal-types found in the interviews. Further, seeing as the resulting sample of interviewees was rather homogenous, we wanted to see whether the types of individuals that take up microdosing and post their experiences on *Reddit* will be in line with our interviewee respondents.

Data Analysis

We performed an exploratory qualitative content analysis of the interviews and *Reddit* data. We went through several stages of coding, including open, axial and closed coding to arrive at the final categories. The open-coding stage of the analysis ended up in 72 codes, including, for example, slowness, stress-relief, microdosing as therapy, microdosing background, microdosing creativity, microdosing focus, or microdosing disconnecting. We related and grouped codes during the second phase of coding (axial), resulting in three key categories: self-control and self-esteem, self-help, and "slow living." Individual cases were studied and contrasted, resulting in a descriptive typology of varied uses of microdosing.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this research design that we see fit to address. First, occupation, age, social class and other demographic aspects were not part of the sampling criteria for this study. This, in addition to the place method (Facebook group's events) and location (Amsterdam) of sampling, contributes to a homogenous group of young middle-class respondents, not representative of the larger population. The fact that our sample consists largely of younger, highly educated individuals, however, is in line with other studies on the subject (Polito and Stevenson, 2019; Rosenbaum et al., 2020). Second, consequently, the findings we relate here to developments in wider society (like, for example, economic and ideological frameworks in which we work) may be influenced by the type of group of people that is being studied here. Despite these limitations, however, we see this study as a fruitful glimpse into the meanings that the given group of individuals ascribe to microdosing.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The analysis of the interviews and Reddit self-reports identified a variety of ways in which people think about and use psychedelic microdosing, as well as how they place microdosing in relation to the self and their work. Both data strands revealed three important categories. In the ensuing analysis, we will elaborate on these three applications of microdosing classic psychedelics:
1. ***Turn on:*** microdosing as a technology of self-esteem and control at work,
2. ***Tune in:*** microdosing as a self-help technology, and
3. ***Drop out:*** microdosing as a technology of "slow living".

Before describing these modes, it is important to distinguish here that the analysis that follows is concerned with different types of *uses* of microdosing, rather than different *individuals*. Further, the described types also showcase some underlying communality. Most significantly, focus, sincerity, self-reflection and improvement were notions emphasized in all three types but applied in diverse ways in various scenarios.

Turn On: Microdosing as a Technology of Self-Esteem and Control at Work

In both the interviews and Reddit postings, work appears as one of the key motives for microdosing psychedelics and the main 'life sector' in which this occurs. All interview respondents, as well as the self-reports (that identified their occupation) on *Reddit*, were highly skilled individuals in high-end occupations. The projected promise of microdosing was to incorporate improved productivity, attention, focus, and creativity into the lives of the software engineers, dancers, artists, scholars, and designers in this study—people whose work may be called 'creative' or knowledge labor. These motivations were similar to those found by Johnstad (2018): the way people narrated their use of psychedelics at work appeared to derive from the mainstream view of microdosing as a "cognitive kick". The shaping of the self and negotiating temporalities and speed of life are therefore linked to microdosing, where work appears to be one of the key axes around which identity is constructed. For these individuals, it is utilized in the search for "authentic" work in (creative) occupations and derives from the increasingly hybrid character of the modern workplace and related anxieties.

In our data, work was emphasized as an important component of one's waking hours. For instance, Mia, a twenty-six year old PhD candidate, proposed an example from her field: "I think many academics, myself included, see work as part of themselves […] I feel it's part of my identity" (Mia, 26, PhD candidate). Other participants express a similar sentiment. Mateo (29), a software engineer in a large Dutch company, focused on work "as one of the main reasons to microdose", arguing that doing his job well comprised a large part of his identity and therefore "working on work" is at once "working on himself". Similarly, painter Santiago (37) describes his relation to work, for which he microdoses, as "something that comes from within you" and as an "inner process".

These testimonies demonstrate that employment is a source of self-expression, recognition, and significance for these individuals. However, in order to be all that, work must be authentic and "come from inside," rather than "foisted" from above. The gratifications these individuals derive from work contribute to the loss of boundaries between work and leisure lifestyle sectors. Further, the interviewees highlighted the issue of the blurring boundaries

about my project, or even answer some emails" (Mia, 26, PhD Candidate). In the past decades, scholars have noted the blurring boundaries between work and non-work, some even suggesting that work can be considered the "new leisure" (Lewis, 2003). This was especially prevalent in cases of home-based and freelance work, where "the blurred spatial and temporal bondaries between work and non-work are often associated with work intruding non-work time" (Lewis, 2003: 347). In this boundaryless lifestyle, work can never be 'completed', which draws people away from other activities.

Workplaces today have become hybrid: individuals work in increasingly complex environments where they interact with smart digital technologies, or are in some way affected by them (Pustovrh et al., 2018). These technologies facilitate greater responsiveness and productivity, as well as generally higher performance. However, beyond technology's convenience, it raises the bar of expectations and norms regarding workers. Mateo (29, Software Engineer) refers both to technological advancements and the human relation to them by saying:

> "I think the pressure is coming from everywhere. It's not like in the old days when you had a computer as big as the wall and you have the whole day to make a calculation… no, now everything goes quickly and you should too… That's sad and it leaves a lot of people out…but it's either you adapt or you don't" (Mateo, 29, software engineer).

A year before the interview, Mateo began using microdosing as a technique in his job. He began taking dosages anytime he was upset or dissatisfied with the duties and demands placed on his shoulders, but he maintained microdosing due to the unanticipated result of increased calm, creativity, and joy at work. Other participants also mentioned these outcomes as motivations to microdose (Lotte, Mia, Matteo, Reddit users 1, 16, 21, 27, 32, and 60). Indeed, creativity and intellectual capacities have become the cornerstone of so-called 'knowledge work'. The capitalist logic of production has transformed from indicating obedience and working tirelessly for a great number of hours at the conveyor belt, to being primarily occupied with monetizing the creative skills and advanced intellectual capacities of individuals. While this unquestionably adds a layer of meaning to work, it also makes these individuals more susceptible to exploitation, as in the case of artists not being rewarded for exhibitions (because they like making art), or academics working long hours and weekends voluntarily 'sacrificing' for the sake of their loved jobs. This is reflected in Mateo's views above and Lotte's (23, photographer) response when she was faced with tasks such as learning theory prior to an internship project. She explained that theory and philosophical ideas are increasingly a part of contemporary art, and that she could only "adjust" to these requirements through the use of microdosing:

> "I had to read quite some theory, but I have dyslexia, which gives me a hard time. Microdosing really helps to give me more concentration and actually focus on the words and on the sentences […] it's part of my job" (Lotte, 23, photographer).

Microdosing thus is used to treat something that is perceived as "deficient", such as a learning disorder, and adjust the body using techniques such as microdosing to achieve what is seen as 'normal' to fulfill work requirements. The preparation for her internship, in Lotte's case, which took place after work, was seen as something she obviously had to 'improve' on her own. Adjusting the body and mind to become more vigilant and responsive to achieve high levels of performance in a neoliberal society becomes one of the technologies at the participants' disposal. However, this adjustment does not only take place in cases of 'deficiency'. Mia (26, PhD candidate) had not struggled with disorders prior to her microdosing. Instead, she explains how pressure to produce is changing the ways in which she perceives how much she should be producing, which leads to anxiety over the amount of work:

> "Sometimes it can get much, but it's not really… it's not that it's objectively much, it's much in my head, because […] I think I just did not maybe know how to manage with it very well… and then it becomes difficult." (Mia, 26, PhD candidate).

Here, she expresses doubt about her capacity to deal with the difficulties that "come with the job." Indeed, self-esteem and work fulfillment are inextricably linked (Rouse, 2004). However, as technology has become more prevalent and the speed of work has increased, so have people's expectations, as have their feelings of inadequacy to meet these expectations. Participants in this study employ microdosing as a technology to become what they perceive is required of them. While the interviewees were highly skilled professionals, the feeling of lack of competence in the workplace was one of the determining factors that drew them to microdosing psychedelics. Lotte explains this in the context of her photography practice:

> "I used microdosing when I was photographing and that just gave me a certain focus and a boost in my self-esteem. I don't know what comes first, but for me that was interesting. I get more focus on the day itself… completing my task and it was more fun as well" (Lotte, 23, photographer).

Given the non-standardized and highly specialized nature of creative and knowledge-intensive labor, there is a great deal of uncertainty. This uncertainty is especially troublesome when knowledge workers lack the established prestige and qualifications that conventional professions provide (Mallett and Wapshott, 2012). This is especially true for several of the interviewees whose work is marked by ambiguity: freelance designers, photographers, and painters.

Microdosing is used as a technique to remove ambiguity from work situations. By being able to focus on the present moment, which Lotte (23) identifies as a central "drug effect" in microdosing, she is able to control the situation and thus remove felt loss of control. Mia conveys a similar sentiment by saying "It [microdosing] just makes me at ease and feel in control of the flow, it brings me a little bit further." A *Reddit* user reports: "it feels as if it comes from your head saying you can do this instead of the physical capacity to do so" (*Reddit* user 1).

Taking control of one's work, relationships and behaviour was one of the most common themes in the interviews (four out of seven) and the *Reddit* reports (21 out of 67). Further, the feeling of control and rise in self-esteem that the participants noted as one of the major "drug effects", was caused by inducing slowness at work, thus re-creating their relationship to work. Mia, who microdoses for work once or twice a week, mentions that "the to-do list disappears into the background, and so you can focus on what is right in front of you". This dissolution of anxiety and "not worrying what's next" allowed her to be more precise in her endeavors at work.

A *Reddit* user who is a dancer by training and microdoses at work, also pointed at a similar focus on the now and how that had helped her transform her experience at work. She describes, in detail, how she could "even feel where the muscles originate from, join to and end. This helps movement execution become easier as you can feel your muscles and 'access' them easier" (*Reddit* user 1).

Slowness at work was further regarded as the main ingredient to "authentic" work. The notion of authenticity surfaced both in relation to work and "the self". The blurring line between work and leisure, both closely linked to identity, therefore seems to play out in overlapping reasons of use. Speaking of microdosing to access an "authentic place" (Santiago, 37, painter) within oneself as well as to reach one's full potential at work, Santiago suggests that microdosing allows him to create "something rather than copying. […] That's the question of being honest, being authentic with your work […] then you create something worthy". In a similar fashion, he shows the same pursuit of authenticity in his personal life: "it helps you be completely and truly yourself, raw and authentic".

The theme of authenticity also dominated the work discourse on *Reddit*, with numerous self-reports reading "I feel like my work has become more authentic […] I can put more of myself in it" (*Reddit* user 36) and in relation to one's social environment at work: "I am more original and honest with myself. I can be authentic with my colleagues […] I think that influences my work too" (*Reddit* user 12).

Fleming (2009: 6) suggests that an "immense ideological apparatus is being deployed that aims to develop a 'dialogue' between capital and labour, work and life; and to harness competitive, productive, and innovative energies required in the global economy." Appealing to the notion of the authentic self at work, according to Fleming (2009), is one of the ways such ends are met. In this light, individuals take up microdosing as a technology of the self with the aim of self-actualizing and accessing the authentic self that distinguishes them from the "grey masses" and enables negotiating who one "really is".

Tune In: Microdosing as a Self-Help Technology

"The unexamined life is not worth living," Socrates famously said during his trial for corrupting the youngsters of Ancient Greece. This is also a motto that echoed in the accounts of a number of this study's participants. Some participants stated that microdosing may be used as a tool for self-examination and subsequent improvement, with the goal of living a healthier, happy, and satisfied life. These views, shared by our research participants, paved the way for the development of the second type of use: microdosing as a self-help technology. Three out of seven interviews and eleven Reddit reports had echoes of self-help in microdosing practices.

For Liepa, a twenty-three year old media studies student based in Amsterdam, microdosing during her days off is a tool of self-examination that "has much to do with" her philosophical stance. For Liepa, microdosing is a tool for "continuous thinking and going deeper within yourself" (Liepa, 23, student). Liepa's use of microdosing in her daily life resembles what is known as "self-help". She asked: "if you do not know yourself, how can you be sure of anything else?" Drawing from her assumption that self-examination leads to positive change in oneself, she argued that "change only comes from willingness to change", giving way to her opinion that "no one can really help you, you need to do the work yourself". She took full responsibility for modifying herself so as to be able to deal with various issues in her life. Liepa explains that her motivation to microdose arose from a realization of personal trauma, and the wish to liberate herself from behaviors that resulted from it. Rimke (2000: 62) defines self-help as an activity "presumed to be voluntary and individualistic. Based upon notions such as choice, autonomy and

freedom". Self-help relies upon the doctrine of individuality and calls for self-modification in search of improvement. In self-help logic, identifying their own "issues" through examination, individuals are set out to adjust themselves and their behaviour in the quest for a better self.

What distinguishes microdosing as a self-help technology from phenomena such as self-help books is that it does not rely on professionals who are given the authority to provide counsel and assist individuals through the process of self-modification. Instead, the power of self-knowledge and self-modification is sealed within each individual, and these answers may be "extracted" with the use of microdosing. This discourse showed in numerous *Reddit* self-reports. One user, for instance, suggests that "for the first time, the *how*" of life is clear within her grasp. As if the answers always were, because truly, it always has been." (*Reddit* user 22). The access to these answers is gained through "looking inward instead of outward" (*Reddit* user 21). Some participants went as far as seeing social norms as obstacles to self-autonomy. Santiago (37, painter) explains that:

> "the answers are within you. The social model doesn't allow you to express yourself […] When you do it (*microdosing*) with purpose then you can […] see who you are finally, as you really are. As not the product of your background or cultural issues…" (Santiago, 37, Painter).

Liepa (23, Student) describes microdosing as a method of self-help and self-therapy by providing an analogy of "performing a micro-chirurgical surgery". She offers that "it's different from going to see someone and figure out where your problem is … instead I take kitchen knives and perform it on myself, which is interesting and can be fun… but you need to have guts for that". For Liepa, microdosing is a tool for self-transformation. She states that self-examination and self-modification were more legitimate tools to work on "imperfections" than relying on expert help: "No one can know you better than you [..] not even a very good therapist or a bestselling author".

This discourse, with the self at its axis, contributes to building a shared worldview in which the individual is seen as a sole source of self-mastery and self-control and is exalted over the social. In other words, the social can get in the way of true self-realization. It can work against discovering your "true self". Rimke (2000) suggests that the focus on the self and suspicion towards the social is consistent with the ideological and political rationalities advertised in liberal democracies. In this line of thought, technologies of the self help in further producing, organizing and disseminating "liberal modes of truth about the social world" (62). The production of selves through technologies of self-help produces what Rimke (2000) calls the "self-helping citizens".

The hightened preoccupation with self-liberation and improvement is a product of hyper-individuality. Advocates of the principle of individuality suggest that the social world is an aggregation of autonomous, self-governing individuals rather than a historical product of interconnected social processes, rendering individuals the sole responsible entities for their failures, successes, happiness and sadness. Employing technologies such as microdoses of psychedelics, thus, becomes a means of transforming and governing the self in a highly individualist society. This aim is one of the communalities between the first and second types, as in both these uses individuals focus on improving themselves in various ways. Yet, they differ in terms of the lifestyle sector in which the practice takes place and in which the aims of microdosing "effects" are concentrated.

Drop Out: Microdosing as a Technology of 'Slow Living'

The third type of microdosing practice that arose from the data analysis was slowing down. The interviewees voiced their opposition to the perceived ever-increasing social and technological speed. Both the interviews and the Reddit data revealed that one of the reasons people microdose traditional psychedelics (mainly LSD) was to add 'slowness' to their routines, relationships, and lives.

The need for slowness surfaces from a reflection on social and cultural processes in 21st century society. The features of the changing pattern of our society make individuals seek "authentic" ways of living. One of these surfaced features was the mobility the interviewees conveyed: the study participants all lived in major cities across the Netherlands and described the quick-paced city life. They consciously introduced 'slowness' through microdosing practices as a counter-reaction. For instance, Lotte (23, photographer) offered that "living in the city, there is so much to do… there is a lot of trouble going on. You can read it in the news, can see it in cinema or you can just step in the streets and you see all this trouble. And they really indirectly tell you 'hey… take care'. And I think that asks for more time to be with yourself."

Many interviewers and Redditors described today's world as chaotic and noisy. According to Lotte (23, photographer), this leads to overload and either shutting oneself off or using technologies, such as microdosing, to regulate oneself in order to traverse this new order. She explains that introducing microdosing into her weekly schedule in her free time has allowed her to take time for "slowness". She describes what she means by this new-found slowness, which includes activities such as "baking bread in my own oven, pouring myself a nice coffee…seeing maybe six people, but really look them in the eye and maybe have a small talk or conversation."

She states that microdosing played a role in determining and building her current lifestyle to invite "slow-living" by inducing reflexivity, focus and take-away "lessons" from altered states and utilizing them in her everyday life.

Ingesting psychedelics helps break the "cycle" of habits and replace them with a reflexive "awareness". However, while breaking unwanted habits and thought patterns was also a focus of individuals' microdosing as "self-help", these two practices differ in a way that the self-help people saw a particular issue or issues within themselves that motivated them to explore and transform themselves, while those focused on slow living saw the issue to be outside themselves, (e.g. accelerating pace of life) that they found ways to deal with through increased focus and relaxation.

Aurel, a twenty-six-year-old software developer from Utrecht, discusses how taking up microdosing on the weekend to "slow down," along with not planning anything during his microdosing days, helps him to disconnect from his hectic daily life. Furthermore, this apparent slowness is caused by a combination of contextual variables (set and setting), such as selecting a time of day or week that is reserved for LSD-induced slowness. To him, a combination of these factors turns the "weekend into some kind of... something less of two days between work and more like a very relaxing experience. Something to be detached from the day-to-day" (Aurel, software engineer, 26). The individuals in this sample described becoming aware of their own behavioural patterns in the larger cultural context and choosing to have moments of mindful activities with the aid of microdosing. This type of use of psychedelic microdosing resembles a practice of "slow living": the "conscious negotiation of the different temporalities which make up our everyday lives, deriving from a commitment to occupy time more attentively" (Parkins, 2004: 364).

Another interesting pattern within this type was the way individuals choose to consume and abstain from consuming various types of media. Two interview participants, as well as 11 *Reddit* self-reports, mentioned that after starting to microdose, they quit using various strands of media, most often news media, and social media.

Lars, a twenty-nine-year-old designer from Rotterdam, explains how microdosing has helped him stop consuming news media. He describes that in his everyday life, intimate use of technology exposes him to news from around the globe that takes up his attention. By microdosing, he came to the realization that "all that energy that would go into thinking about that now" (Lars, 29, designer) he could spend on improving himself with practices such as meditation. On a similar note, a *Reddit* user adds that forms of social media are "a waste of time and ironically disconnect you from the world and the moment" (*Reddit* user 15). Along these lines, refusing exposure to all sorts of media becomes a technology protecting the boundary of the personal space.

In the past decades, distant happenings have entered the private sphere and reflected upon the intimacies of the self. Various types of media have played a role in bringing news and information of various types and qualities into our lives. Thus, mediated experiences have long been impacting self-identity and social relationships. This rising use of media is one of the factors contributing to the felt uncertainty in the current era (Couldry, 2015; Katsirea, 2018). The introduction of social media and smartphones has provided immediate access to events around the world (as well as your neighbour's posts about her last vacation). The individuals in this study, through reflexivity in these blocked-out days of slow living and microdosing, have noted becoming increasingly aware of the 'necessary' boundaries. One *Reddit* user explained that slowness is "a choice. And while we choose based on a plethora of variables, the important factor here is that we own those choices" (*Reddit* user 22).

In talking about their practices to achieve slowness, interview participants refer to (cognitive) science and research on psychedelics. They highlight physiological aspects of psychedelics and refer to "firing neurons" (Eduardo, 26, software engineer) and the "brain functioning differently" (Aurel, 26, software engineer) to induce reflexivity and focus on improving behaviors. The interviewees referred to the features of the substances that allow them to control their bodies in ways that give them control over their behaviors and experiences. Similar to Beaton et al.'s (2020) study, in this way individuals appealed to knowledgeability not only to justify their microdosing, but to argue for microdosing as an already knowledgeable self-helping individual.

CONCLUSION

Media accounts on the increasing interest in psychedelic usage frame microdosing as a technique of self-enhancement, with the goal of optimizing oneself for job efficiency. However, beyond sensational media representations, small doses of psychedelics have entered people's lives for various purposes and aims. With this study, we show how individuals across various fields use and make sense of psychedelic microdosing in their everyday lives. By inductively studying qualitative data gathered through seven interviews with people who microdose psychedelics in the Netherlands and 67 self-reports published on social media platform *Reddit,* we find three major modes of microdosing:

(1) microdosing as a technology of self-esteem and control at work,
(2) microdosing as a self-help technology, and
(3) microdosing as a technology of 'slow living'.

These uses of psychedelic microdosing today also share underlying communalities such as finding focus, authenticity, becoming more self-reflexive and, by doing so, improving oneself in various ways throughout

contexts. These findings confirm Johnstad's (2018) conclusion that people who microdose aim for improvements in general well-being, rather than a radical shift in consciousness brought about by higher doses of these substances.

Further, microdosing as a technology of raising self-esteem and gaining the feeling of control in work contexts is systematically taken up during the week and used particularly with the aim of doing your job "authentically" and being in control. This finding shows that microdosing is not used solely to get an extra "edge" at work, but to find meaning and induce self-esteem at work. Similarly, microdosing surfaced as a technology of self-help, where individuals microdosed on a less systematic schedule and did so both in leisure and work sectors. In both these modes of uses, the responsibility for both successes and failures either in one's personal or professional life is transferred completely to the individual, leaving one in constant negotiation of the self and its modification and improvement. Finally, many used psychedelics to slow down the time that they felt was moving quicker with the increasing pace of life in the current era. This microdosing takes place in the comfort of people's own homes that provide a space of resistance to a fast-paced environment, and can be considered as a tool to access the mindful state of slow living.

We suggest that the renewed turn towards various technologies such as microdosing is neither new nor unexpected. According to our respondents, it is, rather, an answer to trends such as increasingly pervasive technologies that both bring convenience and increase the pace - and consequently the expectations - of production in today's working environment. Furthermore, we argue that today's applications of microdosing psychedelics mimic those of the 1960s counterculture movement, while also becoming integrated into today's social systems and institutions. In other words, a substantial percentage of society continues to "turn on, tune in, and drop out," albeit in increasingly subtle ways. The difference is, they do so at the office, or at home in the weekend, and with doses that make the change in perception barely noticeable. Individualism has relocated the weight of public issues into the sphere of personal troubles (Mills, 2000), leaving individuals responsible for their own happiness and failures in a society that prides the meritocratic frame of the 'American dream'. In this light, and in the words of this study's participant Mateo (29, software engineer): "either you adapt, or you don't".

All three modes of microdosing conceptualized in this study are a response to an increasingly rushed, demanding, individualist society where people, driven by the responsibility they feel for their successes and failures, make use of various technologies to manage their minds and bodies to be more productive, healthy, reflexive and authentic. Individuals in this study stressed that microdosing played a role in "thinking out of the box", distinguishing the authentic self from the inauthentic society, and reflexively re-evaluating and re-defining self-identity. In this way, our respondents are turning themselves into self-helping and self-governing citizens.

Since Foucault (1988) and Rose (1990) established their now-classical sociological ideas on technologies of the self and "humanization of labor," the social environment and its actors have become increasingly subject to self-modification and self-mastery. From phenomena such as plastic surgery, to nootropics or psychedelics, to new "hype" diets, we are more than ever actively encouraged to "improve", be it with regard to work, relationships or appearance. In this continuous need for growth, human actors come into close contact with psychoactive substances, self-help experts or even surgical knives in order to gain an edge over others. In this study, which looks at how individuals understand self-adjustment through the use of psychedelic substances, we applied and further developed theories introduced over three decades ago, and showed how they are relevant today. Further, we demonstrated how self-modification through the use of substances takes different shapes and how classic psychedelics find new uses and gain new meanings through their appropriation in various contexts (control at work, self-help, slow living).

Microdosing has acquired a new degree of commercial credibility in the early 2020s. Microdosing 'kits,' or boxes of psychedelic mushrooms or truffles dosed and stuffed into little capsule receptacles, have been made accessible in a number of European nations, as have bottles of the therapeutic LSD product Microdelics (Brand, 2020) in Canada. The microdosing trend, which started in the fringes of the internet, is now entering the mainstream. This study captures the attitudes, uses and meaning-making regarding this phenomenon in its time of transition from the periphery to the mainstream. It shows how the psychedelics that inspired the culture preaching "turn on, tune in and drop out", gained a new meaning in today's society, urging people to "turn up, clock in and check out".

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African American Students' Experiences of the School-to-Prison Pipeline: A Phenomenological Study

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ABSTRACT

Objective: The school-to-prison pipeline (SPP) is a phenomenon that describes pushing students out of public schools into the juvenile justice system. Research notes that Black students with disabilities are disproportionately affected by the school-to-prison pipeline. This article details a phenomenological qualitative research study that explored the lived experiences of Black students with disabilities, who, by virtue of experiencing school discipline and juvenile detainment, have become involved in the school-to-prison pipeline.
Method: Using a Critical Disability Theoretical framework, the researchers sought to use the voices of students most affected to develop an understanding of the SPP. A sample of 10 African American Students was selected from alternative schools to describe their experiences with school discipline and the juvenile justice system.
Results: Findings in the research study noted three critical aspects of the students' journeys: the relationships they developed with caring educators, distrust in the criminal justice system, and a developed sense of false consciousness.
Conclusion: This article seeks to use students' experiences to provide insights into how school professionals can address the complex nature of this phenomenon.

Keywords: students with disabilities, African American, Black, school-to-prison pipeline, juvenile justice, phenomenology

INTRODUCTION

Students labeled with behavior and emotional disturbance disabilities are often labeled and disproportionately targeted for severe school disciplines such as suspension, expulsion, and school-based arrest (Fenning and Rose, 2007; Marchbanks and Blake, 2018). Researchers have conceptualized school discipline practices streamlining students into the juvenile justice system as the School-to-Prison Pipeline (SPP) phenomenon. Students that are mostly affected by this phenomenon are Black students with disabilities.

Students who experience the SPP and are involved in the juvenile justice system become 39 percent less likely to graduate and 41 percent more likely to enter into adult prison by the time they reach the age of 25, with Black youth more likely to recidivate than Caucasian youth (Aizer and Doyle, 2013; Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), 2017). Additionally, students with disabilities who have experienced juvenile justice involvement have higher rates of mental health concerns, including suicidal ideation (Scott et al., 2015). While there is significant research to describe the effects and risk of juvenile justice involvement for students with

disabilities (Aizer and Doyle, 2013; Hockenberry et al., 2015; Losen, 2018; Sickmund and Sladky, 2015), there is limited research that highlights students' perceptions of their experiences. Therefore, the purpose of this phenomenological research study is to examine the experiences of Black students with disabilities who have been involved in the juvenile justice system in the United States.

This article provides a review of the theoretical, empirical, and scholarly literature related to Black students with disabilities, their educational experiences, and juvenile justice involvement. The literature review also describes the use of *Critical Disability Theory* as the theoretical foundation of the research study. Following the literature review, the article explains the research study's methods, data analysis process, and findings. Additionally, the article concludes with a discussion of the findings and implications for school social work practices

LITERATURE REVIEW

History of the School-to-Prison Pipeline

During the late 1980s, there was an increase in school-related shootings and juvenile arrests for violent crimes, resulting in the perception that adolescents were becoming viciously dangerous (Puzzanchera and Hockenberry, 2013). Juveniles "wilding," being violent and unmanageable in the streets and on school campuses, was a perceived threat to the safety of society. Federal and state governments began to address this issue by implementing strict policies like the Gun-Free Schools Act (GFSA) (GFSA, 1990) and zero-tolerance policies to promote behavior changes (Vlaev and Dolan, 2015).

Implementation of GFSA encouraged several school districts to adopt zero-tolerance policies as a model to address students who brought guns to school; however, it evolved to target a broad spectrum of behaviors. It created a framework for schools to implement severe punishments and disciplinary actions without any cognizance of behaviors or the settings in which the behaviors occur. Discipline policies like GFSA and zero-tolerance policies began to establish academic environments that mimicked prisons, with an increase in police presence and the use of metal detectors in underprivileged low-income schools.

With the increase of school-based police officers (SROs), discipline concerns traditionally handled by school staff are assigned to SROs that use more punitive or physical methods to de-escalate behaviors (Hirschfield, 2008). The officers' presence increases the criminalization of school-based behaviors for minority students and students with disabilities, increasing the rates of suspension, expulsion, and school-based arrest (Mallett, 2016)

Racial and Disability Disproportionalities in School Discipline

Researchers have found that suspensions and expulsions are typically ineffective in behavior modification, and they are often detrimental to academic achievement and well-being (Denby and Curtis, 2013; Gibson et al., 2014; Raffaele-Mendez and Knoff, 2003). Despite the research, suspension and expulsion continue to be the immediate option to reprimand unwanted behaviors, and students of color with disabilities are disproportionally targeted. In US public schools, students with disabilities represent 13.2% of student enrollment but 24.5% of students that receive one or more out of school suspensions and 38.1% of students expelled (US Department of Education Office of Civil Rights, 2021).

Literature notes that suspension and expulsion rates are disproportionate due to the pathologizing of behaviors in public schools (Denby and Curtis, 2013), implicit bias among school staff (Aleguire et al., 2016), lack of cultural awareness, inexperienced teachers (Losen et al., 2014), or a combination of all four factors (DeMatthews, 2016). Research indicates that Black youth are often penalized for school-related offenses that are subjective rather than objective. In a study conducted by Annamma et al. (2019), researchers found that Black girls, in particular, were more likely referred to the office for perceptions of negative behavior like defiant attitudes, disobedience, and assault; rather than objective offenses like possession of alcohol and drugs.

Disproportionality in suspensions and expulsions is significantly elevated for students who identify as Black and a person with a disability. In 2018 for every 100 students with special needs, White students missed 43 days of instruction due to suspension and expulsion compared to Black students who lost 121 days (Losen, 2018). Notably, students classified with emotional disturbance disorders are the most at-risk group for suspension and expulsion (Losen et al., 2014; Miller and Meyers, 2015). Black students are the most at-risk group to be classified as students living with emotional disturbance (Losen et al., 2014; Miller and Meyers, 2015). Additionally, the US Department of Education Office of Civil Rights Data Collection (2021) confirms that rates of school-based arrest and law-enforcement referrals are disproportionate for students of color with disabilities compared to their non-disabled and white peers. Expressly, Black students with disabilities represent 2.3% of student enrollment, but 8.4% of students referred to law enforcement and 9.1% of students arrested (US Department of Education Office of Civil Rights, 2021).

Racial and Disability Disproportionalities in the Juvenile Justice System

Disproportionalities in discipline extends beyond the classroom. While Black youth are more likely to be arrested and detained in general, the intersectionality of race and disability increases the risk for Black youth with disabilities. Among the 40,000 youth incarcerated, 44 percent are Black, despite Black students only representing 16 percent of youth nationwide (Rovner, 2016). Eighty-five percent of all juveniles incarcerated have a learning or emotional disturbance disorder, and over half of the youth identify as Black (NCD, 2015).

The racial disproportionality in arrest rates is not indicative of a difference in crime and offenses. Black and White youth typically commit the same disciplinary infractions. White and Black youth are likely to get into fights, skip school, and sell and use substances at similar rates (Rovner, 2016). However, Black youth are often viewed as more violent, promiscuous, disrespectful, older, and less innocent than their White peers resulting in the disproportionalities that exist in school discipline. Black youth are overrepresented for corporal punishment, referral to law enforcement, school-related arrest, and expulsion (Hines-Datiri and Carter Andrews, 2020; Rovner, 2016; The Sentencing Project, 2017; US Department of Education Office of Civil Rights, 2021). Black youth with disabilities are more likely to have their behaviors contributed to delinquency rather than their disabilities, resulting in stricter and harsh consequences (Ramey, 2015). The effects of harsher punishments such as suspensions, expulsion, and arrest, can range from academic deficits to mental health concerns.

Effects of juvenile justice involvement

When students with disabilities are arrested and detained, they lose access to educational and therapeutic service hours, such as tutoring, therapy, and counseling. The Individual Disabilities Educational Act (IDEA) mandates that students receive academic instruction while detained; however, research suggests that educators employed in juvenile facilities are not adequately equipped to offer specialized education (Macomber et al., 2010; Sheldon-Sherman, 2013). Juvenile justice involvement reduces the chance of school completion, and students become 49 percent less likely to graduate and 41 percent more likely to enter adult prison by the time they reach 25 (Azier and Doyle, 2013).

Black youth with disabilities are more likely to recidivate in 2.75 years compared to their peers without disabilities, who are more likely to recidivate in 7 years following their release (Loughran et al., 2009; OJJDP, 2017; Zhang et al., 2011). The ongoing cycle of incarceration stemming from juvenile arrest is the catalyst to students solidifying their place in the school-to-prison pipeline.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical foundation of this study is drawn from Critical Disability Theory (CDT), a modified version of critical theory. Critical theory promotes the evolution of power and equality in human society and gives all people the freedom to confront and ultimately transcend societal oppression. It stresses the importance of understanding oppression to advocate for true social justice. CDT uses the major principles of critical theory with a specific focus on challenging policies and structures that discriminate against individuals with physical and mental disabilities (McGowan, 2014). Applying CDT to this research study involves a consideration of false consciousness, the social and medical models of disabilities, honoring the voices of individuals living with disabilities, and multidimensionality among individuals with disabilities.

False consciousness refers to the process of marginalized groups internalizing oppression. In CDT, false consciousness is represented by internalized ableism, where individuals living with disabilities blame themselves for the incompetence of social institutions (Campbell 2008, as cited in Hall, 2019). This is partially due to the social model of disability, as the dominant paradigm for understanding disabilities is a medical model. The medical model perceives disabilities as disadvantages that should be fixed and cured to increase assimilation into the ableist society (Hogan, 2019; Hoskings, 2008). CDT encourages social institutions to view a disability as a social construct categorized by the interrelationship between response to impairments and the social environment (Hosking, 2008). It identifies the social environment's failure to meet the needs of people as the antecedent of the disadvantages experienced by individuals with disabilities. Hosking (2008) notes that "it is only by listening to and valuing the perspectives of those who are living disabled lives that the able-bodied can begin to understand [the needs of those living with disabilities]" (p.13). Individuals with disabilities have the power of autonomy and self-determination (Hoskings, 2008; Procknow et al., 2017). CDT indicates that to effectively address the needs of individuals living with disabilities, institutions must be safe spaces for them to openly voice their concerns and advocate for themselves.

Lastly, CDT acknowledges the multidimensionality that exists among individuals living with disabilities. Multidimensionality combines intersectionality (experience of two or more separate oppressions) and hybrid-intersectionality, the intersection of privilege and subordination (Hosking, 2008). Inasmuch, this element of CDT

suggests that institutions should be conscious of the range of experiences among individuals with disabilities. Multidimensionality is the essence of the disproportionalities within school discipline and juvenile justice involvement. Some similarities exist among Black students with disabilities and their White peers and Black male students living with disabilities and their female peers; however, their experiences have distinct differences (Annamma et al., 2019; Losen et al., 2014). Multidimensionality develops a platform to understand how individual characteristics paired with unique experiences should be the basis of intervention plans and policies when addressing disparities within disability studies.

The researcher used these core concepts as a framework in developing the full research agenda for this study. Consistent with the "voices" element of CDT, the research study uses a qualitative method to establish an opportunity for participants to use their voices to shed light on their experiences. The premise is to enhance the research on this phenomenon and develop an in-depth understanding of how students with disabilities experience the SPP. Core elements of CDT were also used as a framework when developing the data collection tool and analyzing the students' responses.

METHODOLOGY

Limited knowledge exists about the SPP's complex nature and the extent to which an individual experiences this phenomenon. This research study sought to explore two aspects of this complex phenomenon (school discipline & juvenile justice involvement) through the voices of those most affected. This qualitative phenomenological study aimed to use the participants' voices to gain insight into their experiences and inform the development of policies and practices that effectively address the needs of a vulnerable population

Research Design

This research study used a social constructivist phenomenological approach to examine the lived experiences of Black students with disabilities. Phenomenology was the best fit for this study as it views subjective experiences and interpretations as central to a critical understanding of the world (Moustakas, 2018). Social constructivism suggests that multiple realities exist, and the knowledge of those realities is only understood through daily interactions and communications (Andrews, 2012). Accessing the participants' experiences and perceptions provided a profound basis for understanding the SPP and how it influences the lives of its victims. Applying a social constructivist paradigm was aligned with CDT and granted the space for participants to use their voices and perspectives to create a foundation for future advocacy in the field of social work, education, and criminal justice.

The study aimed to answer the following research question: *What are the lived experiences of school discipline among African American students with disabilities who have been involved in the JJS?*

Research Site and Participant Selection

Three alternative high schools were purposely selected to complete this study based on geographical location and student enrollment demographics. In Washington, DC and Maryland, alternative schools are primary and secondary schools that offer non-traditional educational experiences for students who struggle to succeed in traditional educational settings. In both high schools in Washington DC, Black students represented over 95% of the student population (DCPS, n.d.). The schools provided several educational programs for students who have been suspended or expelled from comprehensive school settings. The alternative school in Maryland offered smaller classroom sizes for students between the ages of 11-21 with emotional and behavioral disabilities.

The researcher gained access to study participants through purposive sampling. The study used a homogenous sampling method to identify students who met the following criteria: African American, between the ages of 18-25, with a diagnosed learning and or behavior disability, and past or present juvenile justice involvement. Participants were recruited with flyers, distributed by designated employees that instructed them to contact the researcher if they met inclusion criteria and were willing to participate. Thirteen students contacted the researcher; however, only 10 of the students met the study's full criteria. Students ranged between the ages of 18-20; there were eight males and two females. All the students were required to have an individualized education plan (IEP). IEPs are written plans that outline the specialized educational and related services that schools are required to implement to increase academic success among students living with disabilities. To obtain an IEP, a student must qualify under one of the thirteen disability statuses outlined in the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act of 2005. While the students were not asked to disclose a description of their disability, five of them mentioned a diagnosis of ADD/ADHD. Two of the students indicated that they struggled with staying focused in class. Eight of the 10 students reported being arrested between 1-5 times, and two of the students reported being arrested more than 15 times (see Table 1). As students in the study were over the age of 18, parental consent was not required. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of the participants. Participants are identified as Brenton, Winston, Samantha, Taylor, Matthew, Marcus, Derrick, Jason, Jose, and Darron.

Table 1. Demographics of participants

Descriptor	N (%)
Gender	
Male	8(80)
Female	2(20)
Age	
18	3(30)
19	4(40)
20	3(30)
Grade	
10th	1(10)
11th	1(10)
12th	8(80)
Times Arrested	
1-5	8(80)
15-20	1(10)
Unsure	1(10)

Note: N=10

Data Collection and Analysis

Consistent with the seven elements of CDT, a phenomenological approach, and social constructivism, the researcher conducted in-depth individual interviews composed of 16 open-ended questions. One interview was conducted per student, and they each lasted approximately 60 minutes. The researcher developed an open-ended semi-structured interview guide using relevant literature and CDT, informed by the researcher's professional and personal experiences. Participants were asked questions like:

> Tell me about your experience becoming aware of your disability, who told you, how did it make you feel? What is your understanding of your IEP, what does it mean? Tell me about the supports you receive that assist you with your struggles? How would you describe your experiences building relationships with your teachers and other staff? Have you ever felt that teachers or staff did not like you or viewed you negatively? If yes, tell me an experience you had with a teacher that made you feel this way? Was there ever a time you felt the discipline you received was unfair? If so, describe that experience? I'd like you to think of a time that you were disciplined for your behavior at school. Describe your experience and how it made you feel. Do you feel like the discipline or consequences you received were equal to your behaviors? How did your experience of the juvenile justice interaction affect your overall well-being? If you could suggest anything you want to staff, teachers, and others in regard to students with disabilities, what would you suggest?

Data analysis

Data collected from the interviews were transcribed and analyzed using a modified Van Kamm approach, developed by Clark Moustakas (Creswell, 2014). This approach consisted of the following five steps: epoche, horizontalization, textural description, structural description, and the combination of textural and structural description.

Epoche referred to the process of bracketing where the researcher recognized and set aside prior knowledge, experience, and assumptions about the phenomenon to analyze data with an open mind (Creswell, 2014; Yuksel and Yildirim, 2015). Horizontalization consisted of reviewing the data and identifying significant words and statements from the students' interviews, and grouping them into themes. There were a total of 6 themes that evolved from the data, which described the students' general perceptions of their experiences. The next step, structural description, required the researcher to create a narrative textural description using verbatim examples derived from the interviews to highlight the settings in which the students experienced the phenomenon (Creswell, 2014; Yuksel and Yildirim, 2015). In phenomenology, the goal is to uncover the essence of the overall experience rather than comparing and contrasting. To accomplish this, the final stage included combining the textural and structural description to describe the essence of the students' overall lived experiences of the SPP

Trust Worthiness and Rigor

Lincoln and Guba identified four values in the research process: truth value, applicability, consistency, and neutrality (Pandey and Patnaik, 2014). Truth value in qualitative studies can be subjective; therefore, reflexivity and peer-debriefing were the most effective way to enhance truth value. To maintain applicability, rich, thick descriptions of the participants and settings were included in the study to help research consumers determine if the study can be transferred through shared characteristics (Creswell, 2014). An audit and log of the detailed

Table 2. Essential themes and evidence in student's statements

Essential themes	Evidence in student's satements
"I didn't know what my IEP was."	"They didn't really describe nothing."
	"I don't know what my disability is."
	"I'm aware that I have an IEP, but I don't know what it's for."
	"Like I'm retarded or something."
"I appreciated teachers who cared."	"If a teacher is supporting you, it makes you want to come to school."
	"She knew I had problems, but she never used it against me."
	"My IEP will be like, 'No, I can sit down and help you. I can go over your work with you."
	"You don't have to call, you ain't got to deal with no type of student, but he chose to deal with me."
"Every discipline I got I deserved."	"All of the discipline I got I deserved because I did it to myself."
	"The people at the school kept giving me chances…I wanted to be wild."
	"Till this day I'm happy I got locked up."
	"It was necessary because I was wrong."
"I don't respect the police."	"That just made me not like the police."
	"I was the kid that never got in trouble until, you know, the police officers blamed me."
	"I'm not going to say I'm scared of the police, but when they start to ask me questions, I instantly get nervous."
	"It made me look at the police like I can't even trust these people."
"I could have been graduated."	"I could have been graduated, but I got in trouble with the law."
	"I'm 20 and about to graduate. I should have graduated in 2018."
	"I stayed back three times, and I'm still in school trying to get out."
	"As you see I'm still in the 12th grade at 20, when my class, my class was 2016, It's 2019."
"I wish someone would have seen me."	"I'm not stupid. I'm intelligent as hell."
	"I wish somebody would have seen I was just a lost kid that needed help."
	"Be mindful…you don't know what is causing these issues at home."
	"Listen to both sides of the stories before choosing one person side."

process and peer examination were used to address consistency. Lastly, a review of the history, progression and decision-making steps helped maintain neutrality.

Ethical Considerations

Several methods were used to prevent risk to the study participants. Threats of emotional distress, emotional harm, and a threat to justice are the ethical concerns specific to this form of qualitative research (Hewitt, 2007; Townsend et al., 2010). As a social worker engaging in qualitative research, it was essential to use reflexivity throughout the study to prevent the researcher from intervening in possible incidents of emotional distress. To prevent this from occurring, at the beginning of the interviews, the researcher provided the participants with a distress protocol that included the contact information for the Washington, DC access helpline for counseling services.

In compliance with social work research ethics, the researcher submitted a research proposal to the District of Columbia Public Schools, which was reviewed and approved by DCPS (n. d.) research department attorneys. Additionally, in compliance with the guiding principles of ethical research, the researcher obtained IRB approval for the study from the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects at The Catholic University of America.

Lastly, before the findings of this study are discussed, it is important to acknowledge the author's standpoint as an African American woman and educator. While the author has not experienced the school-to-prison pipeline as a student, the author has observed the disproportionalities in school discipline and the juvenile justice system as it pertains to Black students living with disabilities. The author acknowledges that their positionality could have influenced this research project to some degree: access to participants and interpretations of the data. In attempts to avoid misinterpretation, the author made efforts to bracket existing biases and assumptions.

FINDINGS

Six essential themes evolved from the students' responses, and collectively, the six themes informed the essence of the students' overall experience. The six themes were identified as "I didn't know what my IEP was," "I appreciated teachers who cared," "every discipline I got I deserved," "I don't respect the police," "I could have been graduated," and "I wish someone would have seen me." **Table 2** displays a list of the themes and the evidence of those themes in students' statements.

"I Didn't Know What My IEP Was"

> "I was getting in trouble in school, I was getting into fights or altercations, or just doing anything in school not going to class. That is when they was like 'Oh, he got an IEP'…[I thought it meant] that I was retarded." (Jason)

The above quote is a representation of the theme, "I didn't know what my IEP was." Many of the students expressed that their initial understanding of their IEPs was minimal, leaving them confused and subjected to negative self-doubt. Two of the students were currently unsure of their disability classification or what it meant to have an IEP. The other eight students who had a general understanding of their disability status described gaining clarity on their own as they matured and gained experience in the educational settings. In Jason's description of his introduction to the IEP process, he immediately viewed it as negative, labeling himself "retarded". One student, Matthew, described his introduction to his IEP and the IEP processes as "unfavorable". Matthew shared similar thoughts to Jason about his initial perception of his IEP. In Matthew's words,

> "I [thought] like, I was retarded or something. It made me feel not right like I did not want to be around people".

Jason's and Matthew's initial perception of their IEPs resulted in isolation from their peers, and it eliminated their abilities to apprehend the nature of their disabilities and how it affects their behaviors.

Without a proper understanding, they accepted negative stereotypes constructed by society as a foundation for understanding their disabilities. As their knowledge increased, they overcame the stigmas and viewed their IEPs like a process set in place to increase their chances of academic success.

"I Appreciated Teachers Who Cared"

> "I'm homeless when I leave from this school. Every day he asks me, You good? You hungry? You need something to eat? Where you staying at? Call me. Like he gives me a time - 6 o'clock, 7 o'clock, when he off. That's just extra right there. When you off the clock, you don't have to call, you ain't got to deal with no type of student. But he chose to deal with me." (Derrick)

Derrick's statement exemplifies how the students valued educators who genuinely cared about their well-being despite their challenges. During the interviews, the students noted that in their earlier years of receiving IEP services, teachers in comprehensive schools often labeled them as "bad", "bullies", "crazy", and "disrespectful". Marcus indicated that his teachers in the comprehensive schools eventually gave up on him. Once the students transitioned into the alternative school setting, they encountered teachers who cared. In this setting, teachers used positive and encouraging language, increasing the students' opportunity to "stand on the good," as noted by Brenton. The relationships with helping educators were transformative in creating a sense of resiliency and determination.

For some of the students, the teachers' positive support filled the gaps of positive relationships they lacked at home. For students like Derrick and Winston, educators mirrored their father and grandmother because they showed interest in their academic and overall well-being. Winston described a relationship with a caring educator who reminded him of his grandmother. Winston expressed,

> "yeah she just tells me I can do it…she will have little talks with me… I look at her like a grandmother, cause my grandmother died. [I] respect her with the upmost respect."

"Every Discipline I Got I Deserved"

> "All of the disciplines I got, I deserved because I did it myself, so I can't sit here and blame nobody else for something I did. Every discipline that I've got, I've been locked up every time". (Taylor)

Nine of the ten students expressed that they deserved the discipline or consequence they received. They viewed this as taking responsibility for their actions. Taylor, who described being arrested every time she got in trouble at school, labeled her actions as wild, contagious, and problematic. Taylor was arrested so often for fighting; eventually, she was charged as an adult. Jason and Derrick both described being physically managed, and they believed that the educators who physically restrained them "were doing their jobs". Samantha was not a victim of physical management; however, she believed that the disciplines she received were "dumb" but mimicked "real world" natural consequences.

The students internalized the harsh disciplines, self-blamed, and perceived their experiences as evidence that they needed to adjust their behaviors. While the students self-blamed and attempted to make sense of the discipline

they received, they developed a lack of respect for law enforcement officers that often intervened in their educational settings. The next theme, "I don't respect the police," reflects their experience.

"I Don't Respect the Police"

> "It made me [feel like] you can't trust nobody with no badge. Cause they got that badge for a reason. Obviously, that badge is compensating for something, and people who got to have something to compensate for something, they scared. And scared people make the worst decisions." (Brenton)

Brenton's statement reflects how his experiences with police officers were consistently negative. Like Brenton, many participants described fear and dissatisfaction in their interactions with law enforcement officers. Their perspectives were developed based on the treatments they received in school, in their communities, and while incarcerated. Winston and Matthew were two other students who were adamant about their distrust of the police. Winston had a long-standing history with police officers noting, *"people have been calling the police on me all my life.. and every time I seen the police, it was disrespect."* Matthew became so frustrated with the adverse interactions that his tolerance for police officers decreased, leading him to approach an SRO "man to man" in a physical fight.

The dissatisfaction and distrust for law enforcement officers were evident in the students' voices, and they made it clear that law enforcement officers made them feel unsafe and unheard. The next theme describes the students' experience being derailed from their academic journeys due to their involvement with law enforcement officers and the juvenile justice system.

"I Could Have Been Graduated"

> "I was doing all my work, and they didn't grade me properly…juvenile detention system didn't send my grades…they lost half the work I did." (Taylor)

> "Everything was getting lost, like everything, a lot of my paper works, and stuff was getting lost. So it was like damn." (Jason)

As a result of being incarcerated, students could not access adequate education, and assignments completed during their incarceration got lost in transition. Taylor's and Jason's statements are a testament to the way students experienced education while incarcerated. None of the students were in their appropriate grades, missing their deadlines to graduate from high school. Nine of the ten students described their involvement in the JJS as the reason for their educational setbacks.

Darron stated that he received worksheets while incarcerated; however, they were below grade level. In his words, *"it wasn't my grade-level work, so like, when I got to school…I didn't know the work because I was doing [lower grade] work."* Similarly, Derrick described, *"I was in the 12th grade, and they gave me 9th grade, 8th grade work, and expect me to want to graduate from there, no."* Matthew and Winston attributed their setback to being isolated or in the hole 24/7 while incarcerated and not receiving any education during those times.

Nine of the students had negative experiences. Jose was the only student who referred to the educational services as "up to par". Students were aware of the traditional process of completing assignments and turning them in for a grade; however, the others all reported that the process was insufficient. This process left students extremely disappointed, internalizing the absence of their academic accomplishments as a result of their behaviors rather than a flaw in the system.

"I Wish Someone Would Have Just Seen Me"

> "I mean, I'm not no little guy, I'm 6'3. At the time I was like 6 foot in the 7th grade, so I was towering over everybody. Like I was the only person who was my size. So I feel like when they looked at me, they saw, for real, for real was a grown man. They was looking at me like I was trying to hurt somebody." (Brenton)

The final essential theme represents the students' desire to be viewed as positive individuals who should be treated fairly at all times. Within this theme, the participants expressed how they were viewed unfavorably due to their physical characteristics (race and physique) or behavior struggles in the academic setting. Derrick and Samantha both had strained relationships with their parents, and they both believed that the labels of being bad students prevented educators from engaging with them. Derrick notes that he was "lost" in school partly because he grew up in the "system" and didn't have a family to support him. He described his behaviors at the time as "attention-seeking," and he wished in the early days of his education that "somebody would have seen" that he "needed help." Similarly, Samantha believed her association with a self-contained classroom was overemphasized in her reputation. She was aware of the negative stigma associated with self-contained classrooms; however, she wanted her educators to see her as a student who wanted to learn despite the label she received.

Brenton, Taylor, and Winston also struggled to be seen; however, their experiences were solely related to their physical attributes. Taylor and Winston revealed that their race might have contributed to school staff viewing them as aggressors. They believed that they were unfairly treated and unheard because they were Black. For Brenton, it was his height and size. He reflected on his experience of wanting to be seen as a child and not as a violent adult.

All the students' complex backgrounds and their early experiences of being diagnosed with learning and or behavior disorders increased their sense of vulnerability. In the traditional school settings, they were punished harshly, consistently flagged for discipline, and experienced discrimination in various ways. Adverse life experiences paired with their interactions at school left them feeling unseen, unfulfilled, and unequal.

DISCUSSION

Essence of the Overall Experience

Each student offered a unique perspective of their experiences of the phenomenon. However, in all their experiences, the participants described a journey that shifted their perspectives. Their initial discernment of the SPP was negative. However, as they became accustomed to their environments and gained access to teachers who showed interest and care in their well-being, they reported a shift to a more positive perspective of their experiences. Students had no regrets of their experiences, and many of them used phrases like "god's plan," "everything happens for a reason," "I am happy that it happened," "I see growth in myself," and "it helped me learn how to conduct myself."

The participants believed that they were responsible for their behaviors, and this was evidence of false consciousness. As they experienced discipline, school mobility, and detainment, they began to view the process as expected and required. The students' interpretation of their experiences is vastly problematic. Despite a general understanding of their disabilities, the students were still unaware of how their disability status was defined as the inability to control and manage their behaviors. Therefore, they were not to blame for their trajectory in the SPP.

Connections to Existing Literature

This study's findings are consistent with the research on the school-to-prison pipeline, the disproportionalities that exist for Black students with disabilities, and the detrimental effects of the SPP (Macomber et al., 2010; NCLD, 2015; Snyder and Sickmund, 2006). The findings are also consistent with the concepts outlined in CDT. Students described feeling unseen, voiceless, and disregarded as a result of their race and disability status. Without an understanding of their IEPs and disabilities status, they were unable to advocate for themselves in crucial times. The students experienced false consciousness as the educational institutions traditionally upheld the medical model of disabilities, aiming to "fix", rather than accommodate students. According to Charlton (as cited in Rocco, 2005), a sense of false consciousness is often experienced by individuals with disabilities when unaware of the social conditions, institutions, and oppressive forces working against them. While the participants were exposed to the adverse effects of the SPP, their understanding of their roles in the phenomenon was problematic. The participants believed they could have been "fixed" to prevent themselves from living traumatic experiences. Their perceptions forced them to adapt to problematic expectations of themselves and others. Students self-blaming and taking responsibility in this study reflects society's views that a disability is a medical condition that can be "fixed". In the alternative schools where teachers used empathy, compassion, and care to engage students, the students felt a sense of resilience despite their negative experiences in comprehensive school settings and juvenile detention centers.

While the study reveals that the SPP's adverse effects (low educational attainment, recidivism, and mental health concerns) were present amongst the students, the findings also reveal an alternative reality. This acknowledgment of an alternative reality is consistent with phenomenology and social constructivism (Andrews, 2012). The study participants were amid a "second chance" at graduating high school; therefore, the meanings they assigned to their experiences were rooted in a new positive perspective. The participants in this study found a sense of hope undeterred by their journeys in the SPP. The students developed meanings in relation to the SPP phenomenon based on their ability to connect with teachers who showed interest in their overall well-being.

LIMITATIONS

The study has several limitations. First, the study sample was limited by the study design and research question, targeting students who fit within a specific category and possibly excluding students who wanted to participate. The study consisted of 80 percent males and 20 percent females. While qualitative research is not generalizable, the disproportionate rates in gender are not representative of the entire population. It is worth noting that Black girls are the fastest-growing demographic among students experiencing the SPP (Morris, 2016; Hill, 2018). Black

girls have a higher percentage of punishments than other female students, at rates that exceed the majority of male students (Hines-Datiri and Andrews, 2020). Lastly, the study occurred in alternative schools. The location prevented the researcher from accessing participants who were still facing harsh realities in traditional school settings, students who remained incarcerated, and students who may have dropped out. The perceptions from this small and specific sample size can give a misconception that the SPP is not severe and traumatic. Future social work research may examine differences between the students in this study and other students who have not found a new sense of hope undeterred by their journeys.

CONCLUSIONS

This study gave a voice to a population that is traditionally silenced through institutional and systemic oppression. Using the students' voices to develop an in-depth understanding of their experiences, social workers, educators, and justice officials can change the lives of students most vulnerable in the educational system. Findings in this study suggest that positive outcomes can exist despite JJS involvement. However, for students with disabilities resiliency should not come as a consequence of trauma. Participants' responses showed the importance of minimizing harsh discipline, law enforcement involvement, and educational setbacks. Academic success for the students in this study was credited to the teachers and school staff who increased social support, adequate educational resources, and student buy-in. Educators who were connected to the students in this study were reactive. The reactive measures reflect the social model of disabilities, where institutions focus on increasing social support and adequate resources to address the needs of individuals living with disabilities. Educational institutions can use the findings from this study as a guideline to develop proactive methods to provide students with the educational settings necessary to bypass journeys through the SPP. A future research study would seek to explore the effectiveness of using a social model of disabilities framework as a proactive method in decreasing students with disabilities' involvement in the SPP. Traumatic SPP experiences are internalized and damaging to the overall well-being of all children, with a disproportionate impact on Black children with disabilities. The Individuals with Disabilities Educational Act of 2005 requires educators to ensure that students with disabilities have equal access to an adequate education in the least restrictive settings (Individuals with Disabilities Educational Act, 2005). Therefore, educators are responsible for using empirical literature, such as this study, to develop academic and behavior models to promote equal access for our most vulnerable students.

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Searching for the Elusive "Covidiot": Moral Governance, Policing and the Social Production of Ignorance in a (Post-) Pandemic World

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ABSTRACT

This comment piece examines the social figure of the "covidiot", which emerged at the beginning of the coronavirus pandemic and has been used for social and political purposes since then. We argue that the covidiot is a somewhat elusive figure whose formation actualizes wider symbolic struggles over moral and epistemological issues that speak to contemporary social anxieties. Firstly, the paper suggests that the covidiot is typically imagined as a figure of blame through which certain individuals and groups are moralized for their failure to follow social distance regulations. The covidiot is thereby constructed as a threat to the moral social order and subjected to forms of policing and governance. In these processes, attributions of covidiocy and their contestations can be read as struggles for moral hegemony which serve to construct moral boundaries between deserving and undeserving citizens. Secondly, the paper offers a preliminary critique of the social production of ignorance, pointing out how the political uses of the covidiot obscure the societal processes that produce systemic ignorance, allocate blame in individuals while undervaluing the responsibility of corporations, media outlets or the nation-state. This figure is therefore implicated in struggles over epistemic authority characteristic of our present post-truth era.

Keywords: social control, COVID-19, social figures, moral governance, ignorance

On August 2020, Stephanie Whitfield was portrayed in a news story in which she argued that her TUI flight from the Greek island Zante to Cardiff was "full of selfish 'covidiots' and an inept crew who couldn't care less" (BBC, 2020), describing how fellow passengers refused to wear masks, wandered around the aisle or switched seats. Reports stated that 16 passengers so far tested positive for COVID-19. Whitfield alleged that she and her husband experienced minor symptoms and were self-isolating, a decision they already made in the plane. Around the same time, news media reported that a group of around 30 young adults, recently returned to Plymouth from Zante, may have contracted the virus. 11 members of the group, who became known as the "Zante 30", were already diagnosed. But a number of them showed few or no symptoms and therefore did not self-quarantine after returning. Two establishments in Plymouth temporarily closed as a result and the city was said to be "divided" over the teenagers' responsibility for the spread of the virus (Dennett, 2020; Morris, 2020).

Although for many commentators on social networks such as Facebook and Twitter, anyone travelling during the pandemic was undoubtedly a covidiot, for some travelers the category clearly did not include them. Certain details, such as the motive of the journey, whether the trip was domestic or international and the self-perception

of being a "good citizen" seemed to allow these travelers to separate themselves from covidiots. In the UK at the time, Greece was on the list of "safe" countries exempt from quarantine rules. By calling out and shaming fellow passengers as irresponsible, self-serving and lacking concern for others, Whitfield and other travelers could portray themselves as the very opposite, namely as responsible, concerned and policy-abiding individuals.

The neologism covidiot has been a near constant presence throughout the pandemic. It came into public focus in the month of March 2020 when it was adopted by various online commentators whose use of the term was picked up by news media. Already by March 16th a definition of the term was posted on the user-generated website *Urban Dictionary*: "Relating to the 2020 COVID-19 virus: Someone who ignores the warnings regarding public health or safety. A person who hoards goods, denying them from their neighbors" (Urban Dictionary, 2020). As the neologism spread, it was most commonly used to lambast those who put others at risk of being infected by breaking social distancing regulations. This is reflected in definitions of the term by more "legitimate" dictionaries like *The Cambridge Dictionary*, where it refers to "someone who behaves in a stupid way that risks spreading the infectious disease COVID-19" (Cambridge Dictionary, n. d.). Oxford University Press acknowledged its influence on the English language by including it in their list of the words of the year 2020 (Oxford Languages, 2020). The term also had considerable cross-linguistic spread, including rudimentary adaptations in French, German, Italian, and Spanish (Roig-Marín, 2020).

As the episode about the TUI flight illustrates, the term has been deployed in public discourse not only to condemn or ridicule a set of individuals for their "selfish" or "stupid" behavior, but also to describe a certain type of person who, as we will argue, symbolizes particular elements of the social and affective experience characteristic of our pandemic times. In short, we suggest that the covidiot has become a social figure (cf. le Grand, 2019; Moser and Schlechtriemen, 2018). The covidiot is undoubtedly a figure for whom the "anti-social" label is particularly apt (the "serial killer" and the "yob" are other examples, albeit for different reasons). In the pantheon of figures emerging during the pandemic (Ironstone, 2020; Schlechtriemen and Moser, 2021), the covidiot has, together with the "anti-vaxxer", very much become the villainous or foolish other against which heroic or respectable figures such as "the essential worker" (Ironstone, 2020) or "good citizen" (Lim, 2020) have been imagined. Yet, a more thorough investigation shows that the covidiot figures in more multi-faceted, contested and ambiguous ways. Like other figures, the covidiot can in some contexts carry social information that connotes "prestige" rather than "stigma" (Goffman, 1963: 43-48). One example is recent research about how gay men engaging in "casual sexual activity" during the pandemic challenge the stigma of covidiot, which "reminds us that there are many ways to live with COVID-19 beyond social distancing" (Lim, 2020: 80).

In this comment piece, we examine the shifting and somewhat elusive ways in which the covidiot has been imagined in public discourse. Although some scholars are unsure whether the term covidiot will "stand the test of time" (Stanwell-Smith, 2020) (and its use has indeed decreased over time), our interest lies in how this figure may be a point of entry to explore wider social processes in the wake of the pandemic. Inspired by Raymond Williams' methodology, Penelope Ironstone (2020) has explored the meaning and significance of different "key words" emerging during the pandemic. In a similar vein, we suggest that the covidiot is a "key figure" (cf. Barker et al., 2013) that symbolizes our collective social experience of this global tragedy, particularly our anxieties and fears. To this end, we attempt to show that the covidiot actualizes wider symbolic struggles over moral and epistemological issues in the contemporary moment. Our argument is that the emergence of the covidiot is bound up with struggles for moral hegemony that involve forms of governance and social control, as well as struggles for epistemic authority rooted in the social production of ignorance characteristic of our current post-truth era.

During the height of the pandemic, the covidiot was everywhere: In our endless debates in social media, in countless news stories and in a wide range of other cultural goods including songs, short films, videoblogs, books, clothing and political cartoons (see, e.g., Cagle, 2020; de Juan, 2020; FIRSTACTION, 2020; Teehop, n. d.; ThunderKant, 2020). Some of these cultural products were low-budget productions, but their creative use of the figure of the covidiot demonstrates that the term escaped any narrow political and epidemiological definition and became part of our (digital) social life and our entertainment. This particularly goes for tabloids and sensationalistic websites whose main function is to produce "clickbaits". One reason is that the covidiot figure allows for the expression of *Schadenfreude* resulting from watching someone getting the punishment that they deserve (even if only in the form of social censorship). A frequent stream of news stories on covidiots reported, in often alarmist fashion, on various individuals' alleged immoral and irrational transgressions of social distancing regulations. Like the episodes about the Zante flights, the covidiots in these stories were frequently young people, lambasted for being irresponsible, stupid, selfish and spoilt. Take, for example, this tabloid headline: "FLIPPING IDIOTS. Group of 11 covidiots who drove 150 miles from London for hike in Peak District are caught by cops after crashing car" (Duggan, 2021). One can also mention the indignation directed against what was seen as a sense of entitlement and hypocrisy expressed by celebrities, such as pop stars and footballers, who told their social media followers to stay home, then thoughtlessly broke those rules themselves (sometimes getting infected in the process) (cf. Cottle, 2021).

Stories such as these often convey a sense of righteous moral indignation and public shaming of the transgressing individuals. This combination of indignation and entertainment recalls Max Scheler's argument that the complex experience of resentment he calls *resentment* involves a certain pleasure (Scheler, 1961: 8). Considering the context of isolation and segregation required during the pandemic, which technically removed public spaces as the place of social clash or encounter, it could be argued that the inflammatory discourse about the covidiot in the online public sphere served to extend or supplant the social control frequently experienced in the streets. Moreover, a major component of the different cultural products that address the covidiot is the "morality tale", the endless clash between forces of "good" and "evil", which in complex societies relates to narratives of policing and punishment of transgressive acts. In a short film entitled "COVIDiot Positive" (FIRSTACTION, 2020), a jealous ex-husband hires a hitman to murder his former wife, who is already in a new relationship. Once the hitman enters the former wife's apartment, he is inevitably doomed, as his target has been self-isolating after having tested positive. The comic ending of this story suggests that the covidiot could be used to arouse a wide diversity of emotions, beyond those of anger, contempt and indignation.

But whilst often represented in individualized ways, covidiots have also been imagined in collective terms, sometimes referencing the figure of the virulent. The latter is known in Italy through the term *untore*, which can be traced back to the plague in the 16th and 17th Century, and refers to those who were said to voluntarily infect others by contaminating public spaces. It has been suggested that *untore* were scapegoats blamed for spreading a deadly disease which has parallels with the covidiot (Agamben, 2020). In this way, the *untore* can be conceived as a prefiguration or forerunner figure (Moser and Schlechtriemen, 2018) to the covidiot. In some sense, "covidiot" related to (foreign) "tourists" references the animosity that visitors experienced in many travel destinations such as Venice or Amsterdam, where "tourists" have been stigmatized as a plague, an invasion or a natural disaster (for example, an avalanche).

As denoting collectives, "covidiot" also seems to be a contested figure used to discredit political opponents. In Spain, for example, the feminist rally locally known as 8-M in 2020 was the target of several discreditation campaigns, frequently coming from the "nationalist, far right". Later that year, it was the anti-lockdown protests by these "nationalist, far right" groups that became emblematic of the alleged idiocy. A publication entitled *The Handbook of the Covidiot* (*El Manual del Covidiota*) (de Juan, 2020) highlights this process of allocating blame in the Spanish context, in which political adversaries used the covidiot figure as a way to censor the behaviors of Others. Targets were as diverse as the aforementioned feminist march 8-M, a political rally in Vistalegre by the national-conservative party Vox, Chinese people and the spectators at the UEFA Champions League football tournament. Relatedly, in Germany, research by the WZB (Grande et al., 2021) called into question common assumptions apropos anti-lockdown protesters: Are these people indeed from the "far right"? How much support do they have from the general population? In their findings, the demonstrators were identified as a heterogeneous collective, from the unrepresented political "center", seduced by conspiracy theories and with a potential for radicalization. This narrative about "protesters" as "idiots" is far from new, and academic literature on the protest paradigm (McLeod, 2007) has illustrated the strategies used by media outlets to discredit, delegitimize and demonize both dissenters and their political causes.

We can note that common to many figurations of "covidiocy" is their emphasis on the failings and flaws of certain individuals or groups. This serves to construct moral boundaries between deserving and undeserving citizens. Given the arguably widespread social anxiety over the pandemic, the covidiots' violations of common guidelines are viewed as threats to the moral social order. Governing and policing their transgressive behavior can thus be seen as part of a struggle to impose the dominant values in the social order and thereby reassert moral hegemony (cf. Hunt, 2011). These practices are bound up with processes of self-formation and self-governance (cf. Dean, 1994), as those who attribute blame onto the purported covidiots, can view themselves as righteous and rightfully included in the social body. In this way, we would argue that attributions of covidiocy and their contestations involve symbolic struggles for moral hegemony.

As we have seen, the covidiot figures in differing contexts where it "sticks" onto a wide range of individuals. Yet, common to many representations of this figure is that they involve an element of "ignorance". This means that the covidiot in question, at least to some extent, is said to be unaware of or ignore the harm their behavior may cause. But what are the origins of this "ignorance"? When casting individuals as covidiots the explanations of their behavior tends to be reduced to their individual "stupidity". Thus, the public debate often fails to address the social production of ignorance, that is, the wider social processes influencing the strategies and practices of individuals and groups. In their work on agnotology (the study of social ignorance), Proctor, Schiebinger, and other scholars have explored "how ignorance is produced or maintained in diverse settings, through mechanisms such as deliberate or inadvertent neglect, secrecy and suppression, document destruction, unquestioned tradition, and myriad forms of inherent (or avoidable) culturopolitical selectivity" (Proctor and Schiebinger, 2008: vii). Is the covidiot a result of our own covidiotic politicians and public policies, which were caught off guard apropos the pandemic? Is it the result of budget cuts that for decades impacted the education system, the health system? What

is its link to populism and ethno-nationalism, for leaders such as Bolsonaro, Modi and Trump? Are political leaders in the Global North covidiots for refusing to share vaccine patents with the South?

While it is beyond the scope of this comment piece to unpack all these questions connected to the social production of ignorance, we would argue that they involve epistemological struggles related to the "post-truth" condition characterizing our present historical moment and which represents an epistemic crisis (cf. Harsin, 2018). In such a context, the authority of political and scientific institutions to advocate certain regulations or recommendations can be significantly undermined. Together with a general mistrust towards traditional public authorities, there is widespread "cognitive inertia" i.e. "indifference to what is truth and what is a lie" (Salecl, 2020: 5).

In Brazil, President Bolsonaro engaged in "strategic ignorance" by aggressively rejecting established scientific expertise on COVID-19 and mobilizing a policy agenda based on false claims. In a health care system already weakened by neoliberal reforms failing to provide for disadvantaged groups, he advocated hydroxychloroquine as a form of treatment, pushed for a herd immunity strategy, refrained from any form of social distancing (eventually contracting the virus himself) and criticized regional and local governments for introducing such policies (Duarte, 2020; Ortega and Orsini, 2020). Bolsonaro's claims were supported in a disinformation campaign on WhatsApp. This social media application is widely adopted among Brazilians who regularly use it for information on political issues (Soares et al., 2021). An institutional factor behind the influence of "fake news" in online settings, such as WhatsApp, is that due to the proliferation of big data it is harder to trace and determine the validity of truth claims (Salecl, 2020). In the Brazilian context, another structural condition for the production of ignorance is that a majority of the country's adults lack a high school diploma (Neto and Pimenta, 2020). Such structural dimensions are likely to influence the impact of the epistemological production of ignorance enacted by Bolsonaro and other actors.

In India policymakers similarly engaged in "protective stupidity" (Salecl, 2020) by either ignoring or responding late to scientific guidelines, even allowing for mass gatherings during political rallies (Singh, 2021). Notably, Health Minister Harsh Vardhan recommended including dark chocolate (a commodity that is out of reach to thousands of impoverished Indian citizens) in their diet as a way to beat COVID-19 stress (The Tribune, 2021). *The Economist* mocked this statement using the paraphrase: "Let them eat dark chocolate" (The Economist, 2021). These examples complicate the notion that the covidiot is genuinely ignorant and that individuals who are influenced by populist discourse are simply "stupid" (cf. Moran and Little, 2020: 861). Instead, the cases discussed in this section suggest that this figure is implicated in epistemological struggles where structural factors influence the production and diffusion of knowledge and powerful actors deliberately and wilfully deny certain knowledge claims to serve their own ends. Thus, an examination of the origins of the "covidiocy"–and any "idiocy" in general–requires a dissection of the structure and the dynamics of (political and economic) power. Who profits from collective ignorance?

In this comment piece, we have proposed to understand the covidiot as a somewhat porous figure that emerges in shifting ways: it is directed against different social and political fractions; it is mostly used in a stigmatizing fashion but it can also have more positive connotations; it serves to moralize and police certain people but in so doing makes others feel respectable and morally righteous; it involves social forms of ignorance linked to both deliberate practices of denial and states of non-knowledge. To this end, we have suggested that an investigation of the covidiot addresses symbolic struggles that speak to contemporary social anxieties and involve forms of moral hegemony, governance and social control as well as the social production of pseudo-knowledge and political polarization linked to our present post-truth condition. While the covidiot might eventually become a figure of the past, the concerns and anxieties surrounding it may endure to give form to new (or familiar) social figures to take its place.

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Book Review

A Post-Critical Theory of Cultural Production? A Review of the Frankfurt Book Fair and Bestseller Business

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Driscoll, B. and Squires, C. (2020). *The Frankfurt Book Fair and Bestseller Business*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108933377

> To get in the right frame of mind, I begin drafting this review in a hotel bar. I order a Negroni and press shuffle on 'The Frankfurt Kabuff Party 1 (extremely legendary)' Spotify playlist[1]. The opening glissando of Dancing Queen shimmers in my ears and I shake my head at the audaciousness of the authors' conceit. A familiar space and texture is conjured in my mind's eye. A bar. A blurry after-work crowd, untucked shirts, loosened collars, bobbing in unison. I realise I'm smiling. For a moment, I'm with them.

2020 was to be the modern Frankfurt Book Fair's 72nd year of uninterrupted operation, until plans even for a scaled-down version of the event were struck down by the global pandemic. Coincidentally published the same year, *The Frankfurt Book Fair and Bestseller Business*, provides an unintended commentary on this turn of events, eerily issued from a time when the idea of contagion–which, as Beth Driscoll and Claire Squires show, is designed into the Fair's spatial layout and social codes–produced enthusiasm and hope, not fear and unease. The authors name this industrial production of positive affect 'buzz'. Accordingly, the production of bestselling books is part-business, part-'buzzness', the spreading of a sense of palpable excitement. Commenting on its interruption, the Fair's director, Juergen Boos, defiantly issued the rallying cry that 'books are alive' and promised to 'send a signal of hope' with a new online platform for social and commercial exchange (Nawotka, 2020). While this digital alter-ego remains with us, again the book explains why Frankfurt reconvened at the earliest opportunity, albeit in reduced and sanitised form. The buzz of the Fair manifests a temporary microcosm of the whole industry: its economic life, occasioned by the cross-pollination of rights deals and social interaction; its orchestration of mood; its distillation of the loftier, enlightened ideals associated with the international Republic of Letters. Over the course of a slim volume the authors train their auto-ethnographic eye on its peculiar social space-time, reporting back with a playful, literary flair born of professional and scholarly encounters with the industry. The result is an appropriately page-turning introduction to the world of publishing that gives flesh and life to the writers, agents and executives that make up its central protagonists.

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[1] Curated by the authors and available at: https://open.spotify.com/playlist/0eXv8z8jZGyJBEWYAZFcNi?si=svSjpbpaTnWmiba1JZ6LzQ&nd=1

This is a short book that demands reflection at length. More than a study of an annual convention, it is a compact manifesto for methodological experimentation–one of a constellation of related pieces (e.g. Driscoll and Squires, 2020b, 2021; Squiscoll, 2019)–challenging scholars of contemporary cultural production, broadly conceived, to rethink how they conduct and present empirical research in a form adequate to their domain. I want to convey here some of the multi-dimensional energy of this challenge and to evaluate it as such. As part of Cambridge University Press' elements series on "publishing and book culture", the authors naturally place themselves in relation to a narrower body of literature on that topic, much of which, they note, is historically descriptive or trade-oriented. By contrast, their central questions are pragmatist: what do book fairs do? What must we, as researchers, do to account for that? While not the authors' framing, I read their manner of answering such questions in terms of what some literary scholars call "postcritique" (e.g. Anker and Felski, 2017)–not, that is, "uncritical" but steadfastly refusing critical distance, instead taking critique into account as simply another genre of knowledge production. As such, their study is in tacit conversation with a recent seam of research exploring the epistemic symmetry between cultural scholars and cultural workers. Rather than resting on *a priori* definitions, the former locate "culture" wherever the latter find meaning in the objects and practices that make up their world. In particular, Driscoll and Squires' account dwells within what Caldwell (2008) calls 'industrial reflexivity' in Hollywood screen cultures–forms of knowledge produced, circulated and consumed within the trade itself– alongside associated deliberations over researcher access, rapport and insider status (Ortner, 2010). Drawing on Bourdieu, Appadurai, and Moeran they frame Book Fairs as competitions over cultural and economic worth. But their empiricism is 'post-Bourdieuian': a cultural-institutional analysis sensitised to the aesthetic concerns of its practitioners (cf. Born, 2010), as both methodological imperative (McRobbie, 2016; Seaver, 2017) and a means of "doing justice" to creative subjects and objects (Banks, 2017).

The Frankfurt Book Fair is surely the most inventive of such postcritical inquiries into the making of culture, a book-about-books that should generate rich insights and cross-disciplinary techniques for reflexive research in the industrial-academic borderlands. It illuminates the potential of deploying trade events as entry points, across cultural industries (art fairs, film festivals, fashion week) (cf. Moeran and Strandgard Pedersen, 2011)–while reminding us that each will bring its own peculiar aesthetic atmospheres and valuation conventions, to which any future study must be equally attentive. I assess it on these terms, in two parts. With their specific focus on publishing as culture industry, Driscoll and Squires recall that there are two "Frankfurts"; fittingly, therefore, they occupy a position between the production of industrial reflexivity (from 'within') and the production of critical thought (from 'without'). Taking these in turn, I ultimately want to pose some problematics for future research to take up.

Frankfurt 1: From within

> Next up: Kanye West's bouncy 2005 hit Gold Digger. An imagined atmosphere of awkward carnivalesque becomes more tangible, populated with half-acquainted colleagues and potential business contacts, inciting a tentative collective release. The crowd coalesces into discernible faces of women and men, several greying on top, dipping and mouthing along to Kanye's flow–the explicit version. Suddenly I realise. I can't see it but I feel it: the extraordinary, unrelenting whiteness of the low-lit room.

A post-critical account of the first Frankfurt begins by meditating on its chosen object. At the *Buchmesse*, 'bestsellers' appear as speculative promises, creating 'situations that both confirm and disrupt patterns of global book commerce and the scholarship that attends to it', enacted within a 'compressed, intense layering of social, technological, cultural and commercial transactions' (p. 7). The spatio-temporal construction of manufacturing anticipatory *momentum* through compressed *layers* is key. Rather than getting inside the industry to find the central gatekeeper, or truth hidden at its core, at Frankfurt multiple "insides" are in constant assembly and disassembly: in meetings, deals, parties, social norms, rumours, restricted areas, mailing lists, social media hashtags, and of course the building itself. The authors describe a mood-based 'concentric circle model of buzz': the number, or frequency, of 'insides' visitors appear to occupy produces either a sense of self-confident centrality or the anxious peripherality of constant FOMO ('fear of missing out') (p. 22). Crucially, for insiders, buzz begins long before the Fair's physical manifestation, in press releases and emailed preparations, and outlasts it, as organic goodwill towards a book bequeaths an impression of hot property that can be sold to outsiders. Book buzz shuttles back and forth between 'soft' and 'hard' packages: between the massaging of gossip, mood and feel (depicted here on a scale from 'ennui' to 'high-key excitement') and calculative acts entwined with formal marketing logics and media reporting. The authors' multi-modal approach allows them to trace how emotional investments in the future become attached not just to particular works but to authors, publishers, agents, genres, formats–and, moreover, to the industry as a whole. In this light they diagnose how the production of 'optimism and forward-looking energy' works to counteract diagnoses of business-model crisis and the supposed decline of reading (p. 2) and how the inclusion-exclusion dialectic takes on gendered and racialised dimensions.

In such ways, the trade fair is a generative site for accessing and producing hard-to-reach insights about cultural industries from a dual insider-outsider position. The methodological orientation developed here, dubbed 'ullapoolism' (after the coastal village in the Scottish Highlands that hosts an annual three-day book festival), responds to what the authors call 'predicaments': the need to make knowledge open and adequate to the sites and objects of research; blurred lines between formal and informal data gathering produced by immersion; the backgrounded relations of compromise and circumscription involved in arranging such projects. Honed for the particular aesthetic qualities, dispositions, concerns and modes of communication that texture and motivate book production cultures, these predicaments nonetheless resonate with situated scholarship of all kinds. Ullapoolism's particularly bookish interventions are inspired by Situationist *dérives* and *détournements*, arts-informed research, and the 'low theory' of Stuart Hall and Jack Halberstam (cf. Driscoll and Squires, 2020a). While at times this approach can burden the prose with an apologetic air (regarding, for example, 'our compromised position as researchers benefiting from and enjoying conducting research on this global book culture event', p. 87), it also produces its most effective, and affective, moments. Alongside participant observation and autoethnography, they pioneer a range of ingenious, often hilarious, techniques: rapid vibe-gauging interviews using 'fortune-telling mood fish'; interactive paper and card constructions that ask participants to remake the Fair; a handheld 'Sleaze-O-Meter' clicker for counting 'each mansplain or leer' (p. 68); a self-published Frankfurt-themed fiction novella, written under a portmanteau soubriquet (Squiscoll, 2019); the aforementioned Spotify playlist. The authors positively fizz with ideas for co-producing moments of delight, mischief and intrigue, to elicit conversation and connection. Their "situations" defamiliarize the routine aspects of the Fair, for them, for attendees and, thanks to the impish panache of the writing, for readers too. In their hands, the ethnographer's craft is less that of the archaeologist–digging in to the field to unearth its secrets–and more a kind of fly-fishing: wading in part-way to the stream to throw out multiple hooks and lines of attachment.

Frankfurt 2: From without

> The Clash's Should I Stay or Should I Go fades to a close–then the vibe shifts. Moving uncomfortably in my seat, I recognise the opening bars of I Believe I Can Fly, and press pause on the playlist. Is it possible to disconnect the art from the artist? It's probably not very Debordian... More to the point, a feature of the new digital rights regime means it's certainly no longer possible to indulge this song as private nostalgia without simultaneously putting coins (or fractions thereof) into the pocket of R. Kelly, a repeat sex offender. As a consumer, I might reflect on the moral economy of complicity and distance– but actually the ethics are already decided, coded into the platform. This isn't about tempering enjoyment, however melancholic, with the requisite quanta of personal disgust and public denunciation. It's: should I stay or go? I decide to skip. The playlist continues but the buzz has been killed. I've left the party.

If the post-critical stance generates attachments within the Fair, this book is also instructive on the limits of postcritique for contemporary cultural industries. The authors' ambition is a hybrid form of 'working within and yet critically commenting upon the industry', whence they seek 'ways to make contemporary book cultures more progressive, fairer and potentially emancipatory', while resisting criticism *qua* 'destruction' (p. 87). When the authors turn to the second Frankfurt, therefore, they wear their feelings on their sleeves. Or rather, over their shoulders: initialising the 'Frankfurt School' label, they sport a home-made 'FFS' tote bag around the *Buchmesse* halls, provoking conversations over critical theory from participants–conversations, however, that ultimately remain unresolved. In a book that demonstrates and problematises the painstaking construction of publishing's inclusions and exclusions, oddly, the authors relegate critique to an unproblematic "outside"–but it is surely only possible to do so by caricaturing it as necessarily "destructive". Indeed, part of the book's ethnographic success surely comes down to the assumed (middle-class, university-educated) publishing worker's familiarity with this caricature, likely via recycled versions of critical theory and the legacies of Situationist counter-culture. But rather than interrogate this disposition (as 'low theory' in action, perhaps), the authors tend to reproduce it. 'Theory' (capital T) appears as site of representation and symbolic play: another iconoclastic *détournement* occurs via Bourdieu's (in)famous diagram of the field of literary production, across which hand-drawn bees flit from 'Bohemia' to 'industrial art' by way of Zola's 'naturalist novel' (p. 27). Precise delineations and labels so obscured, the image is transformed from analytic tool to metaphor. Likewise, Adorno and Horkheimer appear, as they often do, primarily as a foil: 'curmudgeonly male theorists' with a (gendered) 'negative vision of mass culture', whose view of the modern Fair 'probably wouldn't be positive' (p. 78-79). The point is reasonable–after all, dismissals of popular literature as feminine-coded, alongside outdated critiques of a naively-conceived monolithic culture industry, remain all too common. Nonetheless, it is strange to couch this attack in opposition to theorists who approached their own place within scholarly and publishing circuits with a sense of seriousness and responsibility

and who worked (albeit in a curmudgeonly way) to bridge critical theory and administratively useful forms of inquiry.

Accordingly, while publishing's "culture" appears in fresh light, its "industry" remains "inside", seemingly inaccessible. We learn little about work, for instance, outside its social character. While much is made of the logistics of staging the fair, and the behind-the-scenes work that must go on, service workers (a female security guard, a Turkish taxi driver, a sweeping janitor) enjoy only occasional walk-on roles. There is a brief, tantalising reflection on an 'increasingly fragmented, atomised work culture' – staff 'laid off as companies contract and outsource' in response to the health of the broader industry, later to reappear 'hustling as contractors' (p. 87)–although what this looks (and indeed feels) like, to whom, or how it interacts with optimistic industry buzz, is obscure. Likewise, the exchange and assignment of intellectual property rights is a constant backdrop–but what do such exchanges involve? How do they create new alignments (between companies, agencies, industries)? Are some possibilities closed off and others locked in? Who makes decisions? What even is a rights-holder? Where are rights 'held' and how are they operationalised? In short, how is financial and organisational power enacted and encoded (hierarchically, concentrically, in lines of flight, or however)? Clearly a short book cannot do everything–but the ullapoolist method subsumes such organisational logics within its promotional frame. It is as if the global commercial trade in rights is simply a pretext for 'buzz-production' meetings.

This need not be the case. We're in familiar territory for bees, after all: from Marx comparing the architect's imaginative capacities with the construction of a honeycomb; to Moulier-Boutang's (2004) autonomist emphasis on 'pollination' under cognitive capitalism. In particular, a mutually-enriching dialogue might be sought with economic geographers' conception of 'local buzz': the informal transmission of ideas and social glue, connecting urban and temporary innovation clusters to 'global pipelines' of information flows, in a wider creative and knowledge economy (e.g. Bathelt et al., 2004; Storper and Venables, 2004). In any case, the book demonstrates a need for closer engagement with global chains of production in economies of various kinds, beyond loose appeals to 'neoliberalism'–a useful term which appears here only as vague epithet. What makes publishing's 'market values' (p. 7), 'conglomerate power' (p. 48), or 'self-satisfaction' (p. 76) all 'neoliberal' (as opposed to merely capitalist) is not explained. A section of chapter three, contrasting the Fair's modern history as part of a (European) project of post-war institutional reconstruction with contemporary (global) asymmetries of access, is introduced indicatively late in the discussion (and, somewhat apologetically, as 'an odd conjoining of topics', p. 66). But it hints at a more integrative analysis, implicitly bridging international cultural and economic policy frames.

In that context, the authors grapple with former German Chancellor Willy Brandt's accusation, in the wake of 1968, that the intellectual life of the Fair risked 'pseudo-liberal self-satisfaction' (p. 73), wondering hypothetically if the phrase might apply to their own half-in/half-out research position, as agents of recuperation perhaps. They sidestep the question–but one possible riposte appears in the 'amateurism' of their methodological models and interventions: depicted as an act of self-sabotage, they foreclose prospective valuations by either the publishing industry or the impact agenda of the 'neoliberally inclined university' (Driscoll and Squires, 2020b: 148). As a strategy to resist the logic of the Fair, it chimes not only with Halberstam's queer ethics of failure–prompting the question: what of publishing's flops as well as its bestsellers?–but also Adorno's speculation about a cultural production that would dwell in the outmoded modernities of obsolete media (actualised in the mimeographed early copies of *Dialectic of Enlightenment* cf. Burges, 2013). Driscoll and Squires are right, of course, to resist theoretical reverence. But they might have allowed their Hall-esque 'detour through theory' (p. 36) to become slightly more of an open-ended *dérive*, rather than travelling down well-worn pathways, littered with critiques-of-critique, coordinates mapped well in advance. By contrast, their strategic fluency in the language of a publishing culture 'marked by at least superficial "niceness" and conviviality, a searching for commonality and similarities, for like-mindedness and affiliation' (p. 48), reaps dividends: an ingenious analysis, finely tuned to publishing's idiosyncrasies and, vitally, huge fun to read. How far it challenges the industry's own self-perception, however, remains unclear. A little curmudgeonliness might not always be a bad thing.

> It's now late at the "extremely legendary" Kabuff party (sponsored by Spotify). Or early morning, rather. The Bertelsmann execs left some time ago. One guy has taken up refuge in a karaoke booth, tucked off to one side – senior business development something-something at a publishing services vendor. In his fifties maybe, alone, clutching a Weizenbier to his chest with one hand, a clunky plastic mic in the other. He sways and murmurs, falteringly, to himself.
>
> "Routine bites hard… ambitions low. Resentment high, emotions won't grow. We're changing our ways … different roads. Love… Love will tear us apart, again…"

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Childcare Struggles, Maternal Workers and Social Reproduction

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Perrier, M. (2018). *Childcare Struggles, Maternal Workers and Social Reproduction*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Through an examination of specific exploitations and mobilizations in the field of childcare, and supported by testimonies from workers and community organizers, *Childcare struggles, maternal workers and social reproduction* presents a compelling argument for a system of universal childcare that balances the needs of mothers with fair well-paid labor for the working-class and migrant workers who most often work in this sector. By examining various struggles and movements in the childcare sector, in the UK, United States and Australia, Perrier argues that connections between parents, childcare workers and unions are necessary in constructing mutually supported and well-funded systems of childcare. The text draws on and builds upon existing literature (e.g. Fraser, 2016; The Care Collective, 2020) that advocates for collective models of caring. It is timely in its release, given that more than a decade of government underfunding and pay freezes have been met with increased activism across employment sectors, and with care now being foregrounded in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has highlighted the importance of 'care work' in a capitalist society. In this social context the book is a particularly empowering and instructive read concerning the ways in which communities can organize to address their needs, taking into account the need for cross-class collaboration, in the face of what has been routine exclusion of working class and migrant workers 'from the table' of decision-making.

The book opens with a theoretical discussion of contemporary childcare which, viewed through the lens of social reproduction, exposes the ways in which 'lower class and racialized majority mothers have been devalued' (Perrier, 2022: 28) through capitalist processes, particularly focusing on informal community organizing such as 'othermothering' (Perrier, 2022: 30). Connecting this to the women's movement Perrier discusses how lack of government support for their childcare schemes meant that 'the groups' political principles and economic realities often collided', for example, in 'the impossibility of paying a playgroup supervisor above minimum wage' (Perrier, 2022: 33). The chapter concludes with Perrier arguing a key theme of the book: the necessity of connecting waged and unwaged mothering, which she considers fundamental for a thorough evaluation of childcare struggles, foregrounding the long-neglected issue of maternal politics that 'continues to be sidelined from discussion of labor-based childcare' (Perrier, 2022: 39).

Chapter two continues the theme of connections in childcare activism by discussing how the childcare strikes organized by the Australian Union, United Voice, were 'disconnected from earlier feminist attempts–especially black and socialist feminist mobilizing - to revalue and redistribute childcare' (Perrier, 2022: 42). Giving a very balanced evaluation of the strike, whilst she argues that parents were supportive of the strike action, she also directs the reader to testimonies stating some parents' unwillingness to collect their children early. She discusses how connections between parents and childcare workers and childcare workers and unions was integral to successful

strike action. Specifically, with regards the childcare strikes, testimony from childcare workers revealed a desire to commit to full day strike action which was curtailed by the union. Perrier points out that this continues a long tradition of the exclusion of the working classes from decision making in labor disputes.

Building cross-class connections is the focus of the third chapter which considers contemporary notions such as self-care and work/life balance from a classed perspective of exactly who provides services to exhausted middle-class mothers, or as Perrier endearingly terms it, 'mothering the mothers' (Perrier, 2022: 62). Here Perrier introduces 'depletion theory' in order to explain the classed and racialized nature of activism. Not only are working-class and migrant workers often depleted by performing services to alleviate the depletion of middle class mothers, but that depletion itself also excludes people from participating in activism, thus situating them as 'consumers, patients or recipients of services rather than as political subjects'(Perrier, 2022: 65). Here, focusing on Bristol, through her own empirical research of Bristolian 'community mothers' (Perrier, 2022: 67) from different class positions, she discusses depletion on a systemic level by examining how 'cuts left participants in community organizations and medium sized charities vulnerable to the physical and emotional depletion following failed funding applications, organizational restructurings and job threats' (Perrier, 2022: 70). Whilst her interviews with 'mumpreneurs' providing wellness services to affluent mothers demonstrated that this group was less vulnerable to austerity, these mothers similarly suffered low wages and exhaustion, which for Perrier highlights the possibility of cross-class connection in respect of shared vulnerability. 'A broader maternal workers movement that can shape policies from below', requires, Perrier concludes 'the abandonment of a philanthropic model of maternal support' (Perrier, 2022: 78).

Chapter four looks at how the COVID-19 pandemic both increased the demand for 'live-in' childcare providers, as well as making these roles more exploitative as employers routinely flouted lockdown rules, whilst restricting the movements of their nannies for their own safety. Interviews with organizers reveal the lack of power felt by migrant workers in challenging their employers' demands, and that relationships with 'parent-employers' (Perrier, 2022: 92) worsened during the pandemic. Organizations in Massachusetts and London, set up to build worker solidarity in the childcare sector, were misconstrued as charities providing financial support, an assumption both adapted to in the face of government inaction amidst worker poverty and homelessness during the pandemic. The emphasis in this chapter is on engagement between workers and grassroots organizations looking at the invisibility and fear experienced by migrant workers, a position that makes them reluctant to engage with organizations that they view as being 'part of the system' (Perrier, 2022: 95).

In the concluding chapter, 'Maternal Worker Power', Perrier shows how sociology can help to argue against the persistent devaluation of care work. By bringing together 'the sociologies of mothering and waged childcare work' (Perrier, 2022: 100) through the lens of social reproduction, she argues that an approach can be built which 'centers work-based, home and community-based movements' (Perrier, 2022: 100) Ultimately, she asserts that, without a turn towards social reproduction, 'sociologists will continue to produce work that reproduces, rather than challenges these harmful separations and hierarchies'; and that this perspective may serve to protect 'future studies of the childcare workforce to avoid silo-ing migration policies, employment laws and grassroots community and work-based movements' (Perrier, 2022: 101).

This book provides an important and meticulous evaluation of classed and racialized stratification of childcare in neoliberal economies, using social reproduction as a tool for discerning the differences between waged and unwaged childcare labor. It is a must read for anyone interested in the politics of working motherhood, childcare crises and social reproduction. Tales of both fight backs and depletion in the childcare sector, told through empirical research of members of organizations, and the workers themselves, help to construct a gripping narrative and inspirational argument concerning maternal worker power: one that views working-class and migrant childcare workers as self-determined political agents, rather than passive recipients of charity.

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Book Review

Cultural Industries and the Environmental Crisis

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Oakley, K. and Banks, M. eds. (2018). *Cultural Industries and the Environmental Crisis*. Berlin: Springer.

This book, including contributions from international academics associated with the Centre for Understanding Sustainable Prosperity (CUSP) and beyond, seeks to address what is arguably the most pressing issue for humanity—the environmental crisis facing our planet and society—and the role of culture and cultural industries in both perpetuating and responding to the challenge.

The title is somewhat misleading as to the emphasis of the book; chapters address a range of important sustainability issues—economic, social, and environmental—within cultural, creative and media industries (the inclusion of Amazon—Caraway—as a cultural industry was a bit of a stretch). There is also a significant emphasis on creative work (Pitts, Killick and Oakley, and Munro) and issues of social inequality across many chapters. While acknowledging the interconnection of these issues with environmental (or ecological) crisis, there is variability in the extent to which chapters clearly articulated the connection (Pitts does this well). The majority of chapters address Global North contexts, but there are two valuable contributions from Latin America presenting alternative narratives from the Global South, while not claiming to be representative.

The book would serve, usefully, as an introduction to wide ranging ecological and social impacts of creative economy development (industry and policy) internationally, and as a source of critical reflection for students, scholars, policymakers and industry practitioners; chapters clearly situate creative production and consumption within extractive capitalist economic relations and provide useful case studies of industries, cities and community interventions.

The book reflects a growing critical consciousness among cultural and creative industries scholars regarding the impact and implications on society and the environment. In the introduction, the editors state they are 'holding on to a vision of a better future' (Oakley and Banks, 2018: 2) while aiming to challenge dominant discourses and inequalities in the cultural industries. This challenge is certainly made; after reading, there can be no doubt of cultural industries' complicity in crises of inequality and in the environment. There is however a healthy dose of skepticism (and at times pessimism) about whether the radical changes—in policy and in industry—needed to respond to the deepening climate crisis will be delivered in time or at all.

While it could risk sending the reader (further) into an existential crisis, it is not a book of doom and gloom! There are hopeful considerations of culture's communicating capacity and the role of cultural infrastructure (Gross), real world examples of alternative business models, community initiatives and organizational forms (Lavanga and Drosner, Pitts) and reflections on culture in crisis (or exhaustion—Munro) as a context and facilitator of opposition and resistance. Culture here becomes a space in which we *can* drive change when so much feels beyond our control and when imagining alternative futures (Munro) feels almost impossible.

Beyond challenging dominant discourses, the book promises to offer alternatives and new approaches for policy. Contributions made here include calls for reflection on consumer behavior and industry inaction (in music—Brennan), suggestions of green accounting for creative economies (Maxwell), encouraging 'staying small' over growth in CCIs funding (Munro), and developing 'post-extractivist' models for urban creative economies (Serafini); Gross proposes a Green New Deal approach for cultural policy, in which cultural infrastructure can play a role in developing the trust and hope needed for dramatic change; Lavanga and Drosener offer insights into new collective forms of organization, eco-innovation and urban sustainable community development, although not without its issues—putting creatives in polluted environments, short lived intervention and privileged access/social exclusion. The two Latin American-based chapters appear to offer the most considered presentation of alternative approaches. Both Serafini and Dinardi highlight the value of developing Global South perspectives where formal[1] creative economies and associated policy may be less established and not (yet) wedded to neoliberal ideology, therefore presenting significant opportunities for doing things differently. Dinardi also highlights the importance of context in policy critique—while many Global North-oriented chapters and authors in the book denounce a growth model for CCIs and critique cultural policy for its instrumental social change agenda (UK especially), it is important to note that the potential for job creation is more pertinent in developing economy contexts to address social inequalities. It is therefore important for future research and policy on the creative economy and the environmental crisis to take geographic, socio-economic and political specificity into account.

However, overall, the book feels dominated by repeated lobbying for "rethinking" (capitalism, systems and specific industries) and "radical change". While valid, these calls are made without nuancing how such radical rethinking and change might be achieved, or what viable alternative systems could feasibly be put in place in the time required to mitigate against ecological destruction. The contribution to new directions for policy therefore remains somewhat rhetorical and in places reductive. The book also would have benefitted from a concluding chapter. Without this, it lacks a clear articulation of the collective contributions made to both scholarly and policy debates.

From the contributions in the book, key questions and research areas that remain to be explored or developed further include: how can the radical changes and rethinking of our political and creative economies that is so desperately needed be brought into reality?; How do we prevent wicked problems occurring where sustainability interventions or creative economy development compounds or creates social inequalities in communities?; What can creative economies in the Global South teach us about context-sensitive responses to intertwined ecological and social crises and sustainable development models? These are challenges that will need to be addressed collectively by academics, policy makers and industry.

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[1] Here it is important to acknowledge the long histories and extensive nature of informal creative and cultural economies.