

Index

affect, dirt and, 65-69 age demographics of cleaners, 41 exclusion, inclusion and identification based on, 91 air pollution, cleaners' exposure to, 72 - 74Alex (pseudonym), profile of, 46–50 Ali (pseudonym) post-COVID trajectory for, 158-159 profile of, 50-54 status given to, 121-122 The Anatomy of Disgust (Miller), 70 Anton (CleanUp foreman) (pseudonym), 22 apprenticeships in cleaning, workers' attitudes about, 48 architecture in Potsdamer Platz, 14-20 asymmetric relations, client encounters with cleaners and, 103-104 Auffangbecken (catch basin), CleanUp's diversity image as, 43-45 Augé, Marc, 12-14 autonomy of workers resistance to surveillance as, 142-145 shortcuts in work and, 74-76 avoidance rituals, client encounters with workers and, 113-115

Bartmann, Christoph, 153
basement room of Potsdamer Platz
smells of garbage in, 67
workers' use of, 28–33
Bearman, Peter, 122, 126n.63
Bergson, Henri, 70–71
Berlin, Germany, economic conditions
in, 17n.18
Berlin International Film Festival
(Berlinale), 18–19
boredom, cleaners' fight against, 75–76
break times for cleaners

conditions of break areas, 28–33 improvised break times, 142–145 work-related duties during, 142–145

Certeau, Michel de, 134, 143 class structure cleaners' resistance to, 150 corporate reinforcement of, 35-38 privatization of urban space and, researcher's encounter with cleaners and, 147 in underworld of cleaning, 84-87 cleaners. See also invisibility of cleaning work; profiles of individual (pseudonymous) cleaners anti-surveillance tactics of, 127-128 cleaners' attitudes about, 7-8, 60 - 62CleanUp's attitudes concerning, 43 - 45conflicts between, 82-84 confrontations with surveillance by, 134-142 COVID pandemic impact on, 157-160 dignity in work of, 8-10, 148-152 diversity of cleaners' backgrounds, 39 encounters with clients and, 102-105 endlessness of work and, 76-78 families involved in, 46-50 fieldwork methodology in ethnographic study of, 161-170 gendered division of labor in, 41 guest workers involved in, 50-54 hierarchy of workers in, 20-24 historical evolution of, 40 market growth for, 5-6

monitoring of other cleaners, 131

non-person status of, 110-113

189



190 Index

occupational training for, 41 outsourcing of, 5–6, 20–24, 40–41 personal encounters in the upperworld by, 110–122 physical strength required for, 72–74 post-COVID trajectory for, 157–160 post-research developments for, 157–160 pride of workers in, 7–8 profiles of individual cleaners, 45–46 researcher's encounter with, 147 resentment of wealth and exclusivity among, 109–110 reverse surveillance of management by, 138–142 shortcuts used by, 75–76 social interactions outside work, 80–82 stigmatization of work in, 40–43 surveillance of, 128–133 training and guidelines for, 3	clients appreciation of cleaners by, 119–122 cleaners' encounters with, 102–105 face-to-face confrontations with, 115–118 invisibility of cleaners to, 123–124 non-person status of cleaners for, 110–113 rudeness to cleaners from, 113–115 clothing of workers, class identity linked to, 85 Cobb, Jonathan, 8, 79 coercive surveillance, resistance as trigger for, 143n.34 Collinson, David, 140–141 communication, cleaners' blocking of, 135–138 conflict between cleaners incidents of, 82–84 racism and, 91–99 sexism and, 87–91 consumer markets, Potsdamer Platz
ubiquitous presence of, 2	and, 18–20
work-related social interactions and,	corporate underworld, cleaners as part
52–53	of, 7–8
cleaning tools, workers' reliance on,	COVID pandemic, impact on cleaners
67–68	of, 157–160
CleanUp (pseudonym)	criminal activities, cleaners'
autonomy of workers at, 74–76 client interaction training at, 103	involvement in, 46–50 cultural affiliations
diversity of cleaners' backgrounds at,	cleanliness linked to morality, 108
39	East and West German
employees at, 3	differentiation in, 51
lack of support for cleaners from, 117	racism and, 91–99
loss of Potsdamer Platz contract by,	cultural events, Potsdamer Platz as hub
157–160	for, 18–19
as outsourced cleaning service, 5-6	
post-research interview with	Daimler AG, 17
management of, 169–170	Daimler Financial Services, 17
"Prestige object" contracts sought by, 20–24	Das Messie Team (television show), 85 deference, client encounters with
profile of company, 43–45	workers and, 103–104, 113–115
promotion system of, 44–45, 52–53	Der Bundesinnungsverband des
smiley system at, 82–84	Gebäudereinger-Handwerks
social interaction of staff in, 80–82 status hierarchy within, 35–38	(federal cleaning trade association), 43
supply and equipment shortages at,	detergents
67–68	health effects of, 72–74
training programs in, 41, 44–45	workers' reliance on, 67-68
wages at, 6	Deutsche Bahn, 17



Index 191

differentiation among cleaners, 82–84 equipment workers' embrace of, 99-101 cleaners' competition over, 28–33 dignity of cleaners. See also dramas of quality issues with, 76-78 dignity, for cleaners ethical issues in research cleaning as route to, 8-10, 48-49, participant as observer status and, 60 - 62161 - 170client-cleaner encounters and exclusivity, cleaners' annexation of, protection of, 115 106-107 face-to-face client-cleaner confrontations and, 115-118 face-to-face confrontations, clientmateriality of dirt and, 78-79 cleaner encounters as, 115-118 resistance to surveillance and, Fanon, Frantz, 111 142-145 foreign workers undermining of, 148-152 in cleaning industry, 41 upperworld as threat to, racism concerning, 91–99 124-126 foremen valorization of cleaning as path to, client encounters with, 102-105 99-101 inspection rounds by, 131-133 work ethic of cleaners and, 75-76 responsibilities of, 22, 75 dirt surveillance of workers by, 128-133, cleaners' experience of, 63-64 135 - 138detection skills of cleaners for, Foucault, Michel, 129n.3 64-65 Freshfields, 17 materiality of, 78-79 persistence of, 76–78 garbage collection point, workplace wealth and exclusivity linked to, conditions in, 25–28 109-110 Geertz, Clifford, 94 dirty work, characterization of cleaning gendered division of labor as, 9-10, 42-43 in cleaning, 41, 47-48 disgust stereotypes about, 87-91 cleaners' feelings of, 65-69 German cleaners, racism among, 91-99 humor and, 69-72 diversity of cleaning workforce, 7-8 German reunification, persistence of CleanUp's emphasis on, 43-45 East and West differentiation and, Doormen (Bearman), 122 Douglas, Mary, 40, 64 gifts from clients, 119–122 dramas of dignity, for cleaners, 8-10, gloves, cleaners' reliance on, 67-68 80-82, 99-101, 148-152. See also Goffman, Erving, 103-104, 111-115, dignity of cleaners dropouts, as cleaners, 59-60 Graham, Stephen, 19-20 guest workers (Gastarbeiter), cleaners economic conditions, persistence of as, 50-54 East and West differentiation concerning, 51 Hall, Stuart, 83-84 education levels, class identity and, health concerns of cleaners, 47, 49, 53 aches and injuries from work, 72-74 86-87 detergents and, 67-68 elevators, client-cleaner encounters in, exposure to dirt and filth and, 65-69 111, 113–115, 121–122 Hidden Injuries of Class (Sennett & environmental issues, detergents and, 67-68 Cobb), 8



> 192 Index

Kollhoff, Hans, 1-2 hierarchical status of workers cleaners place in, 20-24 client encounters with cleaners and, 103 - 104debunking of upperworld and, language barriers 107 - 108dignity of cleaners and, 148-152 importance to cleaners of, 99-101 Potsdamer Platz design as reinforcement of, 35-38 racism linked to, 91-99 re-emergence of servant society and, 152 - 153stigmatization of cleaners and, 42-43 surveillance as sign of, 128-133 Lyon, David, 131 as threat to dignity, 124-126 Hochschild, Arlie, 103-104 homosocial reproduction, in workplace, 88n.11 Hughes, Everett, 8-9, 40n.3, 79, 99-100 103-104 humiliation, in client-cleaner encounters, 113-115 humor, disgust and, 69-72 IG BAU trade union, 43 immigrants. See foreign workers; migrant workers 41 - 42masculinity impression management, cleaners' engagement in, 140 income inequality, cleaning work and, 6 87 - 91industrial workers declining employment for, 53-54 134-135 migration to cleaning by, 50-54 injuries, cleaners' risk of, 72-74 inspection rounds, cleaners' reaction to, 131-133 interaction knowledge, client linked to, 85 encounters with cleaners, 103 invisibility of cleaners 153 cleaners' non-person status and, migrant workers 110-113 clients' perceptions of, 123-124 dignity and, 8-10 evidence of, 4-6, 35-38 rise of servant society and, 152-153 surveillance avoidance and, 135-142 cleaning positions and, 55 verticalized urban planning and minimum wage laws in Germany, cleaners and, 6, 41-42 emphasis on, 20 visibility of surveillance and, minus area. See also underworld

Kollhoff Tower, 14-20, 15n.9, 22 Kunda, Gideon, 168 for migrant cleaners, 54–56, 92n.19 racism linked to, 95-96 Laporte, Dominique, 109-110 Laughter (Bergson), 70-71 Lefebvre, Henri, 14, 36-38 Leidner, Robin, 105 Lloyd, Harold, 153-156 Luisa (pseudonym), profile of, 54-56 post-COVID trajectory for, 158–160 The Making of the English Working Class (Thompson), 9n.29 The Managed Heart (Hochschild), Marcel (pseudonym) on disgust and humor, 71-72 profile of, 57-60 promotion to foreman, 157–160 work-related injuries of, 72-74 marginal work, cleaning as, cleaners' identity linked to, 33-38, resistance to surveillance and, Mauss, Marcel, 120 McDonald's (Potsdamer Platz), as cleaners' gathering place, 33–35 media consumption, class identity middle classes, reliance on servants by, in cleaning industry, 41, 50-56 racism concerning, 91-99 militarism among cleaners, 57-60 Miller, William Ian, 70 minijob employment classification,

cleaners' occupation of, 1-4

145-146



Index 193

essentially contested space and, 37–38 labyrinthine passages in, 25–28 mobile phones cleaners' disabling of, 135–138 surveillance of cleaners with, 128–133, 135–138 morality, cleanliness linked to, 108–110

non-persons, cleaners' status as, 110–113 Norbert (CleanUp foreman) (pseudonym), responsibilities of, 22

observation, surveillance *vs.*, 145n.39 occupational training cleaners' attitudes about, 48 in cleaning industries, 41 otherness, cleaners' engagement with, 148–152 outside work, reduction of surveillance in, 141–142 outsourcing of cleaning work, 5–6, 20–24, 40–41

participant as observer status
ethnographic research using,
161–170
part-time workers, in cleaning, 41–42,
55
physical appearance, class identity
linked to, 84–85
physical disability, threat to cleaners of,
72–74
physical strength, cleaners' need for,
72–74

Piano, Renzo, 1–2 post-panopticon, disciplinary power of surveillance and, 129n.3 Potsdamer Platz

building design reinforcement of status hierarchy in, 35–38 as micro-city reinvention, 1–2 minus area for cleaners in, 1–4 office workers in, 153 private ownership of, 12–13 selective history displayed in, 14–20 spatial segregation of, 12–14 surveillance system of, 128–133 underworld labyrinth of, 25–28

Potsdamerstraße, 12–14 The Practice of Everyday Life (de Certeau), 134 presence from below, cleaners' status as, 35-38 prestige object cleaners' lack of access to, 124-126 service work at Potsdamer Platz as, PricewaterhouseCoopers, 17 private household service work, outsourcing of, 5-6 privatization of urban space, lowincome displacement and, 19-20 professionalism, CleanUp's emphasis on, 43-45, 60-62 Protestant work ethic, capitalism and, 61 Purity and Danger (Douglas), 64

Potsdamer Platz magazine, 5-6

diversity management and, 91–99
Rancière, Jacques, 117
refusal of surveillance, cleaners'
resistance as, 134–135
research methodology in cleaning
ethnography, 161–170
residential districts, class identity linked
to, 85–86
right-wing politics
racism among cleaners and, 91–99
workers' involvement in, 57–60
rituals, social structures and, 94n.22
Rogers, Richard, 1–2, 21–22
Rollins, Judith, 103–104, 108, 111

racism among cleaners, 57-60

Safety Last! (film), 153–156
Sayer, Andrew, 42
Schröder, Gerhard, 61
security guards, surveillance of workers by, 128–133
self-worth of cleaners, valorization of work and, 61–62, 100
Sennett, Richard, 8, 79
servant society, re-emergence of, 152–153
service workers cleaners in hierarchy of, 20–24 client encounters with, 103–104



194 Index

service workers (cont.) Statue of Liberty, 153-156 community in Potsdamer Platz of, status shield, client encounters with 33 - 35workers and, 103-104 stigmatization of cleaning invisibility of, 152-153 class identity and, 86-87 third-party service-work providers of, cleaners' resistance to, 78-79 verticalized urbanization and dignity and, 8-10 invisibility of, 20 public perceptions linked to, 42-43 sexism work ethic as antidote to, 142-145 in cleaners' culture, 35-38 support networks for migrant workers, recruiting and promotion policies at 54-56 CleanUp and, 87-91 surveillance sexual flirtations, cleaners' engagement cleaners' tactics against, 127-128, in, 33-35, 87-91 151-152 shame, dirt as source of, 78-79 confrontations with, 134-142 disciplinary power of, 129n.3 Sherman, Rachel, 125n.57, 126n.63 invisibility of cleaning as resistance cleaners' attitudes about, 65-72 to, 135-142 observation vs., 145n.39 wealth and exclusivity linked to, 109-110 Potsdamer Platz system for, 128-133 skin contact with dirt, cleaners' refusal of cleaners to care about, anxieties concerning, 65-69 134-135 reverse surveillance, 138-142 smells, cleaners' awareness of, 65-69 smoking areas, workers' use of, 25-28, turning off by cleaners of, 135-138 33-35 visibility of, 145–146 social drama of work, 8-9 work ethic despite resistance to, client encounters with cleaners, 142-145 102-105 Surveillance Society (Lyon), 131 confrontations with surveillance, Systemrelevante Berufe (system-134 - 142relevant occupations), 157–160 differentiation in workers interactions and, 99-101 theft of cleaners' belongings, face-to-face client-cleaner 28 - 33confrontations and, 115-118 The Theory of the Leisure Class non-person status of cleaners and, (Veblen), 112-113 Thompson, E. P., 9n.29, 150 110 - 113outside social interactions, 80-82 toilets, cleaners' anxieties over exposure personal encounters between workers to, 65–69 Tom (CleanUp account manager) and clients and, 110-122 work-related interactions, 52-53, (pseudonym) 82 - 84cleaners' relationship to, 59-60 The Social Drama of Work (Hughes), client interactions with, 117 99-100 diversity management and, 91-99 Sony Corporation, 17 offices of, 20-24 spatial segregation recruiting and promotion policies, essentially contested space and, 35-38 87 - 91in Potsdamer Platz, 12-14 teamwork advocated by, 82-84 surveillance avoidance and, 138-142 tourism, Potsdamer Platz and, 18-20 of upper and underworlds of traceless cleaning, cleaners' techniques cleaners, 35-38 for, 76–78



Turkish workers, cultural differences

Index 195

among, 51 turning away tactics, cleaners' surveillance avoidance using, 138-142 turning off tactics, cleaners' surveillance avoidance using, 135-138 uncanniness of dirt, cleaners' encounters with, 65-69 underclass, cleaners as part of, 84-87 underworld. See also minus area American Dream icons in, 153-156 basement room in, 28-33 class structure of cleaners in, 84-87 cleaners' references to, 1-6 drama of dignity in, 148-152 essentially contested space and, 37-38 invisibility of, 35-38 labyrinth of rooms and passages, 25 - 28reduction of surveillance in, 138-142 unemployment, cleaners' condemnation of, 61–62 upperworld cleaners' annexation of exclusivity in, 106-107 cleaners' debunking of, 107-108, 150-151 cleaners' lack of access to, 124-126 cleaners' presence in, 33-35, 102, 105-110 client encounters with cleaners in, 102-105 essentially contested space and, 37-38 non-person status of cleaners in, 110-113 personal encounters of cleaners with, 110 - 122recognition and appreciation of cleaners from, 119-122

valorization of work, by cleaners, 61–62, 100 Van Maanen, John, 168 Veblen, Thorstein, 112–113

resentment of, 108-110

verticalized architecture and urban planning
Potsdamer Platz as example of, 19–20
underworld cleaning and, 5–6
visibility of surveillance, invisibility of cleaners and, 145–146
vomit, cleaning of, 67

wages in cleaning industry, 6, 41-42 income inequality and, 123-124 Weber, Max, 61, 100 WeWork, 17 women cleaners barriers for, 56 marginalization of, 41-42 roles assigned to, 87-91 surveillance of, 128-133 work ethic of cleaners dignity linked to, 75-76, 148-152 resistance to surveillance and persistence of, 142-145 working hours, for cleaners, 41-42 working poor, cleaners as, 6 working with the eye, cleaning shortcuts and, 74-76 workplace conditions for cleaners, 4-6, 41-42

orkplace conditions for cleaners, 4–6, 41–42 cleaners' attitudes about, 7–8 cleaners' lockers and break areas, 28–33 injuries and discomfort from cleaning work, 72–74 social drama of work and, 8–9

social interactions among workers and, 82–84 surveillance systems and, 128–133 underworld labyrinth of Potsdamer Platz, 25–28

xenophobia, racism among cleaners and, 91–99

Žižek, Slavoj, 96 Zukin, Sharon, 19–20