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A study in stigma.

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A STUDY IN STIGMA

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ABSTRACT

This exploratory study focuses on the social phenomenon of stigma. Stigmatization is a process whereby an individual is reduced from a "normal" or "ordinary" person to an effectively degraded one.

The study took place in Border City -- an industrial center in southern Ontario. Three settings were used: Provincial Haven (a halfway house for ex-convicts), Care House (a hostel-flophouse type of establishment), and South Hall (a residence for graduate students at Border City University). While two settings were investigated to examine the life of the stigmatized, the other (South Hall) was to be a comparative group composed of non-stigmatized individuals.

The methodology used -- which was influenced by Garfinkel's ethnomethodology -- was participant-observation. Using a sociology of knowledge approach, an attempt was made to view "reality" from the standpoint of the subjects.

Conditions for successful stigmatization, responses to, or effects of stigma, "delabelling" strategies, and a typology of the victims of stigma were constructed. In addition, two propositions were investigated: (a) Individuals possessing an "evident stigma" will tend to be stigmatized longer than people with a "latent

stigma"; and (b) the stigmatized will themselves indulge in stigmatization as a result of their "condition". Although little evidence was found to support the first proposition, a large amount of evidence showed that proposition two was accurate.

The thesis attempted to portray the stigmatized person as a total human being with a personality, needs, desires, and problems frequently similar to those who point their finger at him. The paper sought to present the major analytical features of stigma, concluding that the victim of this phenomenon might be seen as the creation of his persecutors.

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

Most of us, at one time or another, have had one or more experiences dealing with the phenomenon described in this study: stigma. The paper concerns itself with an analysis of individuals that are not considered "normal" in their society. The main objective here was to secure a better understanding of the phenomenon under scrutiny and the life experiences of those persons not considered "normal".

Stigma has no meaning by itself; it needs to be examined in a cultural or subcultural setting. This paper is an attempt to do this. It should be remembered that all names in this study are fictitious; this is to protect the privacy and confidence of the subjects.

The study took place in Border City (Ontario), an industrial center located near the United States border. Three different settings were used.

Stigmatized individuals will occasionally be referred to as "blemished" or "tainted". The logic of certain themes, arguments, or ideas may sometimes make themselves necessarily repetitious. In Chapter III, verbal material recorded within quotations will signify exact recall while such material without quotations will signify reasonable recall but not verbatim.

Chapter I tries to familiarize the reader with the subject matter and reviews past literature on it. Chapter II deals with the settings, the concepts, and explains the methods that were used in this investigation. Chapter III contains the findings and how they might be interpreted. Chapter IV offers possible implications, recommendations, and a conclusion.

Finally, the reader should keep in mind the sociologist's greatest dilemma which arises from the fact that humans are studying humans. Therefore, it should be expected that values, personalities, and social pressures are contained in social research.

CHAPTER I

STIGMA AND REALITY

Culture in Relation to Stigma

It is from the perspective of culture that I propose to analyze the phenomenon of "stigma". In turn, it is from the angle of "socially constructed reality" [1] that I propose to examine culture. The word culture is usually used to represent behavior patterns that are socially acquired and socially transmitted by the use of symbols (language). Sociologists and anthropologists attempt to observe and study cultures. But the instrument of observation is culture itself.

Culture is made by man and in turn makes man. Since stigma is a part of culture, then it may be considered as man-made.

One can conceive of man as a creature that strives for meaning in what appears to be an essentially meaningless world. Our point of departure, then, will consist of the way men have constructed (and continue to construct) the "out there" (the nature and meaning of things) as opposed to a "true" or "raw" reality that is presumed to exist "out there". For instance, the "material" world means little more than that which is measurable -- by man-made abstractions such as graphs, figures, inches, grams, and so on.

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[1] Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1967). p.1.

Inasmuch as society (through its sub-groups) may be seen as a shelter, it provides a world-to-live-in. This 'world-to-live-in' perpetuates itself by means of the process of socialization. The latter is an ongoing process; that is to say, there is no individual end to socialization until the process of existence is terminated. In Hannah Arendt's[2] terms, socialization implies conditioning, and man is a conditioned being due to the fact that everything he comes into contact with immediately turns into a condition of his existence.

Language is the vehicle of culture, "the imposition of order upon experience."[3] Some theorists[4] contend that language is one of the principal elements in the formation of thought.

Society provides the framework for identities and sets of roles to play on differential occasions. These may gradually become endowed with 'objective reality'. Eventually, the person concerned <u>becomes</u> that which he is addressed as by others.[5] Labels, roles, and man-made identities become socially warranted realities.

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[2]Hannah Arendt, <u>The Human Condition</u> (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958). p. 6.

[3]Peter L. Berger, <u>Invitation to Sociology</u> (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1963), p. 2.

[4]For instance, see the works of Sapir and Whorf, paying particular attention to: Edward Sapir, <u>Selected Writings of Edward Sapir</u> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949) and Benjamin L. Whorf, <u>Language, Thought, and Reality</u> (New York: The Technology Press and John Wiley and Sons, 1956).

[5]Robert K. Merton, "The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy", <u>Antioch Review</u>, Vol. VIII, #2 (Summer, 1948), 193-210.

Nomos as Societal Context for Stigma

> The socially constructed world is, above all, an ordering of experience. A meaningful order or NOMOS, is imposed upon the discrete experiences and meanings of individuals. To say that society is a world-building enterprise is to say that it is ordering, or nomizing activity.[6]

This suggests that the ordering of experience is essentially related to any kind of organized social interaction. How language can be viewed as serving to structure or reinforce Nomos and thereby maintain appeals to, and beliefs in, reality. Indeed, language nomizes by imposing structure and differentiation on experiences, relating and categorizing them. To a large extent, then, beliefs, values, norms, and ideologies are founded on language, and this passes for "knowledge" in society. Hence understanding language appears to be one of the keys to the understanding of everyday experience and "knowledge". Being actively in a society largely involves the sharing of its "knowledge". We tend to label anomic the individual who is unfamiliar with, or refuses to take in, or is deprived of his society's nomos. When people with a radically different nomos are encountered, the person may become somewhat anomic, or experience "cognitive dissonance".[7] Accordingly, two of society's major functions may be to provide us with a nomos, and to simultaneously shelter us from chaos (in the form of the unknown).

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[6] Peter L. Berger, The Sacred Canopy (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1967), p. 19.

[7] Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957).

In order for man to rationalize his existence, he must make meaning where there may not be any. Thus he imposes a nomos (his own) on "reality". Objects have meaning for the person only as he imputes to them that meaning in the course of his interaction with them.[8] This implies that meaning is not in the object itself, but is correlative to the individual's acquiring a conception of the kind of action that can be taken with, toward, by, and for it. In brief, meanings arise in the course of social interaction through consensus from the participants about the object in question.

Some theorists[9] argue that our lives, by and large, are within the controls of economic and political élites. The individual seems to have little real personal choice vis-a-vis the management of his destiny. But the lives of people are not solely dominated by élites who presently hold power positions; they are also heavily influenced by past decision makers -- some dead for many decades if not centuries. Consequently, the numerous social situations we commonly encounter are not only defined by our contemporaries but often predefined by our predecessors.

> Since one cannot possibly talk back to one's ancestors, their ill-conceived constructions are commonly more difficult to get rid of than those built in our own lifetime.... This. . . shows us that even in the areas where society apparently allows us some choice, the powerful hand of the

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[8] Charles W. Morris, ed., Mind, Self, and Society by G. H. Mead (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934).

[9] C. G. Benello and Dimitrios Roussopoulos, eds., The Case For Participatory Democracy (Toronto: Grossman Publishers, 1971).

past narrows down this choice even further.[10]

This suggests that people are frequently unaware that their roles, choices, identities, world-view, and religious beliefs have largely been predefined for them by society.

Max Weber believed that behavior had the tendency to become routinized[11] to the point where the person's world would become a "world-taken-for-granted"[12] consisting of recipes that "everybody knows". Socialization is successful to the degree that this taken-for-granted quality is internalized. The well-socialized can thus look down on the individual who strays seriously from the socially defined norms of conduct as ignorant, traitor, madman, pervert, or criminal.

Legitimating Normality as the Basis of Stigma

Much of the everyday behavior that is taken-for-granted is endowed with a "normality", a "naturalness", to the point where to deny such is to deny being itself. As the nomos becomes taken-for-granted, a merger soon takes place (in people's minds) between it and the cosmos. Cultural, orderly meanings end up being projected onto a universal realm. Once on this scale, one may often forget that these are but precariously constructed human world-views, subject to erosion in time and space. What is "reality" in one

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[10] Berger, Invitation to Sociology, op. cit., p. 85.

[11] H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946). p.14.

[12] M. Nathanson, ed., Collected Papers by Alfred Schutz (3 vols.; The Hague: Martinus-Nijhoff Publishers, 1962-66).

society or historical epoch may not be so for another.[13] Concepts of time, space, and causality, once believed to be forms of thought innate in the human mind are now increasingly seen as culturally variable.

Religion plays a significant part in the social construction of world-building activity. It helps to legitimate the nomos (since it has usually internalized the nomos itself). The socially constructed world tends to legitimate itself, making things appear "self-evident" by its objective facticity (the mere fact that it is there). But it takes more than simple facticity to legitimate it when a "deviant" comes along to challenge things-as-they-are. Religion helps the process of legitimation by relating social experiences to the cosmos, and by locating "Normals" within the universal order. Precariously built world-views may then be given an appearance of ultimate security and durability; and chaos and anomie may be explained in terms of the given society's own nomos. Weber has called such religious legitimations "theodicies". The theodicy may sometimes tend to maintain the existing world order. Insofar as the individual does not question this particular order, all is well. Once he does, however, forces come into play to "straighten him out".

Nature of Stigma

Before going further, it is necessary for us to define our main concept. The word stigma was popularized in sociology by Erving

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[13] In addition, man-made world-views are also subject to erosion with subsequent contrary experiences.

Goffman. Stigmatization is concerned with the way an individual is reduced from a "normal" person to an effectively degraded one. We are able to identify this phenomenon only by abstracting from several communicative acts.[14] What is important here is not so much the discrete remarks made, or the harsh words used, or the actions taken, but the meaning (intent) the doer gives his acts or words. Dr. Goffman makes a distinction between a person's "actual social identity" and his "virtual social identity", the latter being the character we impute upon him when we first meet him.

> While the stranger is present before us, evidence can arise of his possessing an attribute that makes him different from others . . . . a less desirable kind . . . . He is thus reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one. Such an attribute is a stigma, especially when its discrediting effect is very extensive; sometimes it is also called a failing, a shortcoming, a handicap. It constitutes a special discrepancy between virtual and actual social identity.[15]

In short, stigmatization is a process by which cultural signs of moral or social inferiority are attached to individuals for various reasons. Such signs might take the form of degrading ascriptions, marks, brands, or publicly disseminated information. For this particular process to be effective, it should be collective. Under the stare of "normals", the "blemished" are reminded of their failing.

Stigma is a social phenomenon because more than one person

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[14] Tamotsu Shibutani, Improvised News -- A Sociological Study of Rumour (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, Inc., 1966).

[15] Erving Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1963), pp. 2-3.

is involved and intertwined in a simple or complex web of social relationships. In a sense, this phenomenon can be seen as something that is constantly being constructed or reaffirmed. We may thus conclude that when this reaffirming activity ceases, stigma no longer exists. Degree of personal involvement in any event varies from person to person, resulting in differential participation in stigma construction.

Literature and Stigma

Stigma may be studied and viewed from several perspectives. For instance, the Psychological Approach tends to view this phenomenon as a sign of "personality maladjustment", and stigmatizers (or even the stigmatized) may be seen as being "pathological". The Sociological Approach tends to look upon stigma as the result of the socialization process, often leading to serious "deviance" and reflecting an ill or inadequacy in the social fabric. The Biological Determinist's approach attempts to explain this phenomenon and behavior in general in terms of "drives", "urges", and "instincts" that can be found in the people involved.[16] Such explanations tend to accept "things-as-they-are" and offer little or no systematic prescription for discovering causal relationships. They explain little and appear to be mere observations. When a particular stigma situation is observed, it is ascribed to the participants' instincts; when such situations

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[16] Reference here is made to the works of McDougall, Lorenz, and their followers (instincts), Maslow (needs), Sheldon (somatotypes), and Koestler (his theory of man's built-in deficiency which predisposes him to self-destruction).

are absent, the instincts are simply deemed to be lacking.

The Psychoanalytic Approach tends to explain stigma in terms of "projection" -- an individual attributes to someone else the faults or imperfections which he himself has, but which are in conflict with the dictates of his ego or superego. Finally, the Social Psychological Approach has stressed the importance of "frustration" as a definite factor linked with stigma, scapegoating, and other forms of prejudice. Accordingly, stigmatizing would take place because people become frustrated and need an outlet for their hostilities. Inasmuch as life rarely leads automatically to desired goals, anywhere along the way, John Dollard and his colleagues argued, people encounter "frustrating agents".[17] Oftentimes, these "frustrating agents" cannot be attacked directly because they might be stronger, smarter, older, bigger, or perhaps because society taboos this sort of activity, or, lastly, because no one may have any precise idea where they are or come from. Consequently, frustrations somehow accumulate and tend to produce aggression in the thwarted individual. This aggression appears to have little chance of being expressed outwardly. Hence, according to the adherents of the frustration-aggression hypothesis and the "safety-valve" theory, stigma and other related phenomena have as a function, the release or externalization of accumulated frustrations and anxieties, and thereby preventing more serious conflict situations.

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[17] J. Dollard, et al., Frustration and Aggression (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1939).

From this last thesis, aggression is said to be 'displaced' onto an "out-group".[18] The implication is that nonconformists become convenient targets for stigmatizers.

The victims of 'displaced aggression' are themselves being continually frustrated and it should follow — from the frustration-aggression hypothesis — that members of any group who perceive themselves as the targets of stigma should in turn manifest prejudiced attitudes towards other stigmatized groups (since they are usually in no position to indulge their aggression directly against their oppressors). The findings of Rosenblith[19] corroborated this argument.

In a classic study of prejudice, it was shown that intergroup attitudes are not something isolated.[20] Authoritarianism, ethnocentrism, general prejudice, scapegoating, and stigmatization seemed to be related to other beliefs, values, myths, and personality factors of the people concerned.

Many books have been written concerning the victims of stigma. With the exception of Goffman's, few, if any, have dealt with the phenomenon itself. Most works concentrate on the numerous hardships endured by the stigmatized. Furthermore, the majority of these works deal only with the problems of one specific group such

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[18] William Graham Sumner, Folkways (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906). pp. 67-69.

[19] J. F. Rosenblith, "A Replication of 'Some Roots of Prejudice,'" Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XLIV (1949), 470-89.

[20] T. W. Adorno, et al., The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1950).

as the blind, the illiterate, the facially disfigured, the hard of hearing, the hobo, the prostitute, the mentally ill, and so on.

When a whole group is characterized as undesirable in some way or other, this group suffers minority status. Louis Wirth's classic definition of a minority group holds that:

> A minority group is any group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination.[21]

We could easily substitute the term minority group here by the term stigmatized group and the definition would not have to undergo any major change.[22]

Individuals are expected to behave in certain ways in particular social situations. Deviations from socially expected behavior will generally bring social pressures on the violator. When the violation is considered serious enough, the violator may be the recipient of stigma. If social systems require their members to take certain roles and these are not adequately fulfilled, the systems will not produce the results for which they have been organized.

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[21] Helen M. Hacker, "Women as a Minority Group", Social Forces, XXX (October, 1951), 60-69.

[22] Kurt Lewin has observed that 'group self-hatred' is a common reaction of the member of a minority group to his group affiliation. This feeling is presumably exhibited in the individual's tendency to negatively conceptualize other members of the stigmatized group, to accept the dominant group's stereotyped conception of them, and to indulge in 'mea culpa' breast-beating. Because one's self-concept is generally based on the defining gestures of others, it seems unlikely that members of a stigmatized group can escape personality distortion entirely. Hacker (note 21, above) concludes that continual reiteration of one's inferiority might well lead to its acceptance as a fact.

It has been found that most people will act like deviants if they are made to feel different.[23] Roles being socially constructed,

> Role-deviance, therefore, has meaning only in the context of specific social customs and laws. The criminal is deviant because he breaks the law; the homosexual because most people are heterosexuals; the atheist because most people believe, or say they believe, in God.[24]

Stigma and The Thomas Theorem

People generally do not react to situations; they react to their own symbolic definitions of these situations. If the theorem put forth by W.I. Thomas is correct, when people perceive a situation to be real, then such a situation is real in its consequences. The "reality" to be studied is not whether a person has a particular stigma or not, but the social interaction of the individuals caught in these "Normal-meets-Tainted" relationships.

One way of curbing stigmatization and its effects, then, may be in redefining the situation at hand. The "blemished" individual would have to gradually de-condition himself out of the uncomfortable predicament the Other has put him in.

> To escape from medical control, the homosexual must repudiate the diagnosis ascribed to him by the physician. In other words, homosexuality is an illness in the same sense as we have seen Negritude described as an illness. Benjamin Rush claimed that Negroes had black skin because they were 'ill'; and he proposed to use their illness as a justification

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[23] This conclusion was reached by Anthony N. Doob in "Society's Side Show", Psychology Today (Del Mar, Calif.: Communications Research Machines, Inc., October 1971), 47-51, 113.

[24] Thomas S. Szasz, The Manufacture of Madness (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1971), p. xxvi (Preface).

> for their social control. [Today's psychiatrist] asserts that men whose sexual conduct he disapproves of are ill; and he uses their illness as a justification for their social control.[25]

Stigma, "Experts", and "Pathology"

Labels are frequently affixed to individuals for reasons dealing with order or profit. Categories tend to help legislatures, physicians, social scientists, and marketing experts. When people are put into categories (e.g., "immigrants", and "Golden Agers") and made to believe that they actually share the values, desires, and general perspective of their "group", it becomes easier to make decisions, laws, or judgments concerning them. Notions of homogeneous categories tend to be popular and are often accepted as fact. In time, the behavior of some of these groups may indeed come to correspond with the assumptions, expectations, and beliefs that the medical, political, marketing, or social "expert" holds about them. Especially in the past few decades, religious, social, and governmental intervention programs have arisen concerning humanly constructed categories of the stigmatized (e.g., halfway houses).

> The development of organized intervention programs for the stigmatized has been accompanied by the emergence of various professions which claim expertise with the problems that people with stigma have. . . . More and more, the character of stigma in industrialized societies is changed to fit professional experts' conceptions [which] . . . reflect aspects of the social, cultural, and economic environments of which the experts are a part.[26]

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[25] Szasz, The Manufacture of Madness, op. cit., p. 170.

[26] Robert A. Scott, "The Construction of Conceptions of Stigma by Professional Experts", Jack D. Douglas, ed., Deviance and Respectability (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970a), pp. 274-75, 257.

To explain the stigma or the norm-violating behavior of some stigmatized groups, "experts" will frequently use the concept of "pathology", a sometimes vague and tautological notion which finds its origins in the organic analogy. A stigmatized group might be seen as somewhat "pathological" due to its norm-violating behavior, and this kind of behavior may be attributed to the fact that these people are "pathological". Such circular definitions tend to amount to name-calling rather than scientific description since the norm-violating behavior is not defined or measured independently from the pathology concept.[27]

The validity of social pathology is highly questionable. There seems to be no agreement on objectively defined pathological states. Furthermore, society is not an organism; "...there is no necessary set of relationships as there is, say, between the central nervous system and the digestive system."[28]

It has been observed that in a mental institution,

> Ordinarily the 'pathology' which first draws attention to the patient's condition is conduct that is 'inappropriate in the situation'. But the decision as to whether a given act is appropriate or inappropriate. . . . except for extreme symptoms, can become ethnocentric, the observer judging from his own culture's point of view individuals' conduct that can really be judged only from the perspective of the group from which they derive.[29]

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[27] Several social scientists have written a book entitled Social Pathology. Among them are: S. Smith (1911), G. Mangold (1932), Gillin (1939), Queen & Gruener (1940), and Lemert (1951).

[28] E. Rubington and M. Weinberg, eds., The Study of Social Problems (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 35.

[29] Erving Goffman, Asylums (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1961), p. 363.

Hence the individual who is stigmatized by virtue of his participation in a deviant group or subculture is not simply 'pathological' or 'maladjusted'. He may be quite well adjusted to the expectations of his group; yet he might appear 'maladjusted' to the ethnocentric outsider.

Setting aside the social pathology controversy for a moment, and granting that some stigmatized deviants might be personally disturbed, one cannot conclude that the 'pathology' or disturbance caused the deviance. In fact, it may be argued that the opposite assertion -- that personal disturbance is the result of society's reactions vis-à-vis the tainted or deviant -- is just as correct a conclusion.

The Normal and the Tainted

Sartre has suggested that to Normal Man, rather than having his experience produce his idea of Tainted Man, it is the idea he has of him that shapes his experience. Thus, he has a preconceived idea of what Tainted Man is like, how he behaves, how he thinks, what his flaws are, and so on. This is negative stereotyping. As is the case for most stigmas, Sartre holds that Anti-Semitism is purely a state of mind... a closed mind, not receptive to, and unwilling to change.[30]

Normal Man makes life rough for Tainted Man. Frequently, there are limitations imposed on the latter, certain aspects of behavior where he is retricted. He may have to "move to the back

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[30] Jean-Paul Sartre, Anti-Semite and Jew (New York: Schocken Books, 1965 ed.). p. 34.

of the bus" for most of his life. Should he become somewhat frustrated and attempt to retaliate or rebel against the Normals, this will often merely reinforce the stigma against him and "his kind".

Normal Man believes that Tainted Man falls short of what he really ought to be. While most persons are assumed to be "normal", Tainted Man must prove it to Normal Man and to himself over and over again. Proving one's "normalcy" may be a very difficult task. First of all, one must learn what is "normal" and what is not. The notion of "the normal human being" seems to originate in the medical or biological approach to humanity. In contemporary Western societies, the individual tends to prove his normalcy by speaking of his wife, children, and stable employment. From the notion of Normal Man, we also end up having a notion of a "normal" society and a "sick" society. If a society exists for its members, then, to the extent that the members are perfectly happy and/or satisfied, we may speak of a normal society (if we are to follow our medical or organic analogy).

> Probably no society has ever provided complete satisfaction for all of its members. Yet the requirement remains as an ideal, from which we measure deviations, referred to as social ills. When this concept of normality is compared with that of biology, a conspicuous difference is at once apparent. The animal organism is in health when as a whole it is functioning perfectly; the social organism is in health when all of its members are functioning perfectly. . . . Conceivably, a society might be healthy according to standards similar to those used in biology. . . but if the internal organization is based upon a system of exploitation in which some of the people make life miserable for the rest, the society is "sick" according to the usually accepted sociological viewpoint.[31]

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[31] Carl Rosenquist, "The Moral Premises of Social Pathology", in Rubington and Weinberg, eds., The Study of Social Problems, p.36.

Since "disease" tends to be defined as a departure or a deviation from a state of health, it would appear, then, that a definition of "health" or "normality" is also required. Normality cannot mean the average condition of the ordinary person since perfect health is seldom (if ever) encountered. Furthermore, the "ordinary" person might prove to be quite difficult to find. Therefore it seems that the concept of normality is more of an ideal than an actual condition. Similarly, for social pathologists, "a 'healthy' society is set up as a norm, from which deviations are observed."[32] Lastly, the biological model collapses completely when it can be shown that the 'health' of one sector often depends heavily on the ill-health of other sectors in the society. So it appears that a social model might be more useful in the analysis of societies, deviants, and the stigmatized rather than a biological model.

Tainted Man sees his acts as 'stained' with his blindness, "jewishness", deafness, "negroness", illiteracy, and the like. The more stigmatized he becomes, the more conscious he is of his deficiencies or 'differentness'. This will frequently lead to a self-fulfilling syndrome resulting into more blunders, and thus simply reaffirming the reasons of his stigmatization. When Normal Man refers to him, he does not do so in terms of what he actually does or did, but in terms of what he is supposed to have done.

The standards which have been internalized from the rest of his society render Tainted Man vulnerable to what Normal Man sees as his handicap, forcing him continually into an awareness

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[32] Rosenquist, in The Study of Social Problems, op. cit., p. 38.

that he really does fall short of some desired social standard. Feelings of shame are common to the tainted. Occasionally they are so great, that Tainted Man will go out of his way to "pass" for a Normal. He learns to "play the game".

> When jokes were made about 'queers' I had to laugh with the rest, and when talk was about women I had to invent conquests of my own. I hated myself at such moments, but there seemed to be nothing else that I could do. My whole life became a lie.[33]

Gradually, then, Tainted Man may develop a capability of exhibiting behavior to create an appearance different from the "reality". As to the individual above, shamming may become a "modus vivendi" for him.[34] But Tainted Man is likely to use sham behavior as a protective device rather than as a tool to increase his status or prestige.

Dehumanization and the Victims of Stigma

Stigmatization usually encompasses an element of dehumanization. Dehumanization tends to reduce a person to a kind of caricature in order to avoid knowing him in his full humanity and diversity. It is a way of robbing the individual of his worthiness and

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[33] P. Wildeblood, Against the Law (New York: Julian Messner, 1959), p. 32.

[34] As early as 1714, shamming was aptly described by Bernard de Mandeville in the following manner: ". . .fine Feathers make fine Birds, and People, where they are not known, are generally honour'd according to their Clothes and other Accoutrements they have about them; from the richness of them we judge of their Wealth.... It is this which encourages every Body, who is conscious of his little Merit, if he is any ways able, to wear clothes above his Rank, especially in large and populous Cities, where obscure Men may hourly meet with fifty Strangers to one Acquaintance, and consequently have the pleasure of being esteem'd by a vast Majority, not as what they are, but they appear to be. . . ."
The above is cited by Howard S. Becker and H.E. Barnes in Social Thought From Lore to Science, 2nd ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1952), p. 407.

dignity. Our newspapers often report Communists being killed, 'hippies' being beaten by policemen, students being shot at by National Guardsmen, 'radicals' being jailed, "dope fiends" being caught using their drugs, and the like. Correspondingly, we hear people speaking of "Pigs" when referring to policemen, "Broads" and "Dolls" when referring to females, and so on. We notice that the way these human beings are referred to is extremely impersonal. We tend to internalize labels rather quickly with the obvious result that the individual frequently gets screened behind the overarching ascription.

Stigmatization misrepresents what a person has done and often arouses feelings of injustice in us. Edwin Lemert found that Amerindians living on the coast of British Columbia were still punishing those among them who stuttered.[35] The victims of stigma frequently do not possess the characteristics that are alleged to belong to them. Nonetheless, once the situation has been defined, they are treated accordingly.[36]

Goffman holds that the victims of stigma can rely on two kinds of individuals for support or 'acceptance'. These categories of sympathetic others are: their "own kind" and "the wise". The first category involves those persons sharing their stigma; the second category is composed of "normals" whose situation has — in

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[35] Edwin M. Lemert, Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), Chapter 10.

[36] ". . .confirming evidence for particular beliefs about reality is sought and found because most situations are ambiguous enough to allow them to be interpreted in various ways." J. L. Simmons, Deviants (Berkeley, Calif.: The Glendessary Press, 1969), p. 97.

some way — made them familiar and sympathetic with the life of the stigmatized.

It has been suggested that victimization can be better understood by taking into consideration the possibility that the available preys exit or generate an "excitatory state" in the would-be oppressors; that is, they seem to possess some "stimulus properties" that presumably attract antagonistic behavior from others.[37] Such beliefs are not new. They were pioneered in the late 1940's by a German criminologist, Hans von Hentig, who maintained that insufficient attention had been paid to the important relationship existing between the criminal and his victim. Recently, Dr. Ezzat Abdel Fattah of the Université de Montréal pointed out that:

> Without a suitable victim, in the majority of cases there would be no crime. As there are habitual criminals, so there are habitual victims who attract crime and calamity as the lamb attracts the wolf. . . . Just as some people are accident-prone, or disease-prone. . . others are victim-prone. . . . "If a man finds a mistress, we must inquire why he is forced to murder his wife. Did she refuse to grant him a divorce? Sometimes she refuses categorically and, by adopting this attitude, she prepares for her own victimization. This is not to condone the murder, but we must ask if the victim is entirely blameless?"[38]

From Dr. Fattah's perspective, then, it seems that we should question the "innocence" of the victims whose contribution to the crime or act of prejudice might have been somewhat significant. Fattah emphasizes prevention instead of punishment. Just as criminologists

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[37] Leonard Berkowitz, Aggression: A Social Psychological Analysis (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1962).

[38] Article written by Don Bell in The Montreal Star's Weekend Magazine, July 15th, 1972 (Vol. 22, #29), pp. 18-19.

have constructed a typology of criminals, he has constructed a typology of victims: (i) provocative, (ii) nonparticipating, (iii) participating, (iv) latent, and (v) false. As we shall see, these five categories can easily be adapted to our topic (stigma).

Provocative victims incite Normals by constructing a situation that is likely to lead to stigma. For example, in a conservative society where most people tend to be overly concerned with manners and appearances, a group emerging that does not seem to care about such "trivia" is sure to attract the dominant group's wrath. These, then, might be called the "pick-on-me" victims.

Nonparticipating victims are more or less victims of circumstances. They have done little or nothing to "deserve" their stigmatic condition. For instance, a Black man living in the southern United States has done little to deserve his stigma; he was simply born into a stigmatized group.

Participating victims are those who assist the Normal; they tend to directly or indirectly stigmatize themselves. For example, a young girl who limps and whose friends laugh at her, calling her "limpy", may be contributing to her stigmatic condition (or she could be trying to reduce the potency of it) when she indulges in statements like: "Hey, wait for ol' rotten leg, here."

Latent victims may be seen as potential blemished. Their stigma characteristic is not readily apparent and they may be successful at hiding it from almost everyone. For instance, a man who is unemployed or who is homosexual; since his stigma is not "written on his face", so to speak, few individuals may be aware of this

man's stigmatic condition.

False victims, the last category, are composed of people who are basically deceivers. Here, stigma may be used as a status symbol; they claim they possess a stigma even though they do not. For example, a man may claim to have done "time" in prison if such a claim leads to an increase in his social status or prestige.

On Becoming Successfully Stigmatized

Stigma can be looked at from an analytic point of view, that is to say, as a composite whose elements and conditions we can examine. In examining the conditions needed in order that a given population might be successfully stigmatized, it should be understood that these conditions are those which will alter "actual social identities". They are not our hypotheses, though they can be viewed as such. A close examination of these conditions may help shed light on stigma itself. The following, then, are largely based on writings by Harold Garfinkel[39] and Troy Duster.[40]

> 1 - There must be a target, a vulnerable population available (e.g., Blacks, hippies, obese individuals, drug users, poor people, and so on).
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> 2 - Through some sort of consensus, the target(s) must be seen as being somewhat contrary to what the "normal" is perceived to be (i.e., must in

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[39] Harold Garfinkel, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies", American Journal of Sociology, LXI, (1956), 420-24.

[40] Troy Duster, "Conditions for Guilt-Free Massacre", in Hevitt Sanford and Craig Comstock, eds., Sanctions For Evil (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1971).

some respect be defined as negatively different).

3 - The stigmatizers' belief of the target's inferiority must be held with some conviction and must have some relevance to action, that is, to what the believers do or how they behave. (e.g., it is not sufficient simply to profess once or twice one's hatred of a particular group or subculture; the stigmatizers must be convinced of their belief, and should they ever meet a member of the tainted group, their action or inaction must be in accordance to their belief).

4 - The individual stigmatizer must have at least a minimal amount of social support. It seems unlikely that the impact or success of the stigma will exist if this stigma originates from one isolated stigmatizer. (All the target has to do is to ignore, eschew, or perhaps even stigmatize the stigmatizer and thus escape the stigma).

5 - The stigmatizers must make the dignity of the values and beliefs of their 'normal' group prominent and accessible to view, and the stigmatization should be delivered in their name. To receive support and to perpetuate the stigma against someone, it is necessary to have some 'logical' reasoning upholding it. (e.g., the Colonial Puritans stigmatized and even lapidated "fornicators" on the grounds that the accused had gone against the dignity of their values, challenging the legitimacy of the dominant nomos and hence threatening the foundations of their life style).

6 - The stigmatizers should keep their distance

from the person or group they are stigmatizing; they should also attempt to convince the Other to do the same. (i.e., the stigmatizer(s) defeats himself if he professes to detest Jews, for example, and yet everytime he is encountered, he is always with Jews and some of his significant others are known to be of Jewish origin).

7 - The stigmatizers must be certain that they themselves do not possess the characteristics, shortcoming, or defect which they attribute to the stigmatized, thereby showing that they have the 'right' to speak out against the blemished. (e.g., an Anglophone claiming to hate French Canadians would look silly if it were pointed out to him that he himself was partly French Canadian in origin).

8 - Finally, the stigmatized must be placed on the borderline or outside (depending on the seriousness of the taint) the general, societal nomos. (e.g., one way of doing this is by dehumanizing the stigmatized group. In 1642, for instance, under the leadership of Adriaensen, the massacre of Amerindians at Corlear's Hook took place.[41] The atrocities were legitimated by the rationalization that Indians were not really human beings, that they were not fully capable of human emotions and thinking).

From a macroscopic viewpoint, the System itself will frequently decide if the stigma will be effective or not. For instance, the factor of time has a profound effect on some kinds of stigma. The

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[41] See the account given in Thomas Rose, ed., Violence in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), pp. 84-85.

"stain" against homosexuals was much more pronounced a mere decade ago and may wither away in another decade or so.

Sartre believes that stigmatization is functional for élites in that it has the propensity to channel

> . . . revolutionary drives toward the destruction of certain men, not institutions. An Anti-Semitic mob will consider it has done enough when it has massacred some Jews and burned a few synagogues. It represents, therefore, a safety-valve for the owning classes. . .[42]

Although they are also used by normals, institutions have arisen and gadgets have been built to cater to the special needs of many persons who have been successfully stigmatized. There are: "health studios", "beauty parlors", employment bureaus, flophouses, alcohol and drug "rehabilitation centers", and the like. We also find products like wigs, hearing aids, contact lenses, plastic surgery, and a variety of special creams and soaps that promise to get rid of acne. The stigmatized are especially prone to victimization and we are given an indication of the extremes they are often willing to go to get some relief from their "handicap".

Finally, we have said that to successfully stigmatize an individual or group, a certain amount of consensus is needed on the part of the stigmatizers. Consensus, like stigma, is not static; it is situational and constantly developing or being altered. It is a necessary condition for the flourishing of stigma and can be defined as follows:

> . . .The definition of the situation shared by the partic-

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[42]Sartre, Anti-Semite and Jew, op. cit., p. 44.

> ipants in a transaction at a particular place and time. The environment is constantly changing, and it must be successively redefined. What is strange is interpreted in terms of what is already accepted . . . . We are able to experience a sense of certitude about our conception of the world because of the continual reassurances that we receive from one another.[43]

Society and Stigma

Stigma may be very damaging when the person doing the stigmatizing is in a position of special authority (e.g., a priest or an influential politician). Stigmas whose source are looked upon with respect and whose validity seem to go largely unquestioned in a society are often "institutionalized". For instance, the schools are an institution, and teachers are hired not so much to act on their own as to satisfy the requirements of a largely predetermined classroom role. The stigma originating from the teacher may therefore not necessarily be personal but institutional: perpetrated while acting as a faithful agent of the society's educational system. It is quite difficult to overcome, redefine, or eliminate institutional stigma since the latter usually has an appearance of "respectability", "common sense", and a taken-for-granted quality.

As we explore the social phenomenon of stigma further, we find two broad categories emerging. The first one may be called evident stigma (what Goffman calls "the discredited"); this classification would not only comprise those persons who exhibit physical or bodily "stigma signs" (stigmata), such as Blacks,[44] the

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[43] Shibutani, Improvised News, op. cit., pp. 140 and 170.

[44] For instance, see John Howard Griffin, Black Like Me (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961).

facially disfigured, bald men, and so on, but also the stutterer, the hard of hearing, and the like (that is those people whose stigma is easily perceived in everyday social interaction). The second category may be referred to as latent stigma (what Goffman calls "the discreditable"); persons in this category would be the impotent, the religious fanatic, the political radical, the coward, the traitor, the sexual "pervert", and so on, that is those individuals whose 'stigma signs' are not easily apparent to the Other. In order for society to discover those with hidden stigmata, it may sometimes require the services of 'experts' or 'specialists' whose major function may have similarities with the witch-hunters of yore.[45] The latent stigma, then, facilitates "passing" while the evident stigma is a serious handicap which can severely impede or disqualify an entire group of people from full social acceptance, making life difficult to bear.

It appears that the individual's

> . . . behavior toward [out-]groups is dependent upon what he learns to perceive through symbolic interaction with others, even prior to actual seeing. . . . The perceptive pattern is frequently selective, the perceiver organizing in it only some parts of his total environment.[46]

Not only are there strong stigmas and mild ones, there are also moderate stigmas and moderate stigmatizers. The moderate stigmatizer does not necessarily see himself as a racist or a

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[45] For an elaboration on this point, see Szasz, The Manufacture of Madness, and H. Rider Haggard, King Solomon's Mines (Barre, Maryland: The Imprint Society, 1970). (first ed., 1885)

[46] Riddleberger and Motz, "Prejudice and Perception", in American Journal of Sociology, LXII, (1957), p. 498.

bigot. He might be heard uttering statements like:

> Personally, I do not detest the Jews. I simply find it preferable, for various reasons, that they should play a lesser part in the activity of the nation.[47]

Societies not only have status and prestige symbols, but it may be argued that frequently, there are also "stigma symbols" (i.e., signs that tend to be greatly effective in attracting one's attention to a degrading difference in a person). Stigma symbols greatly enhance the successful stigmatization of those concerned. The same thing might be said regarding certain degradation rituals. Stigma symbols may be exemplified by the handcuffed wrists of a convict, the shaved head of a female collaborator during the Second World War, and the needle marks of the drug addict. Degradation rituals may be exemplified by the procedures resulting in finding the accused "guilty as charged", drumming the coward or deserter out of the regiment, and stripping him of his insignia.

Summary and Conclusion

We have seen that men may frequently become that which they are addressed as by others; labels, roles, and identities tend to become social "realities" even though they have been socially constructed. In this chapter, we have sought to present and illustrate the phenomenon of stigma, the stigmatizers, and their victims.

We approached our topics from the cultural perspective, with the aid of the sociology of knowledge. Max Scheler, the German social

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[47] Sartre, Anti-Semite and Jew, op. cit., p. 10.

philosopher who developed the idea of a sociology of knowledge, pointed out that all societies provide the conditions sufficient for inducing shame (in their organizational features). From this, we might conclude that societies must also provide the necessary conditions for stigmatization. Here, an attempt was made to list and examine these conditions.

In addition, we reviewed the concepts of 'pathology' and 'normality', we constructed a typology of the victims of stigma, and divided stigma into two principal categories: evident and latent.

In J. Kosinski's novel, The Painted Bird, we find a perfect example of the symbol of the persecuted Other, Tainted Man, the Scapegoat. We are shown that when the Other is different from the rest of the herd, he is thrown out and frequently destroyed. If he happens to be identical to the others, someone intervenes and makes him look different. As the main character in the novel paints his birds, society paints or rather 'taints' some of its members,[48] often devising 'official' means to do so. But not all blemished individuals wish to passively submit to stigmatization. Accordingly, a central feature of the tainted is whether they are willing to accept or reject the 'straight jacket' that they have been placed in, and whether they can get out of it or not.

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[48] Jerzy Kosinski, The Painted Bird (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965).

CHAPTER II

SETTINGS AND METHODOLOGY

The Phenomenon of Stigma

George Herbert Mead may have anticipated our concept of stigma when he referred to the "modern elaborate development of the taboo."[1] Stigma may be said to be timeless and universal, if we are to believe the records of historians. While the stigmatizers or their victims may be unique in each historical context, the nature of the action or word pattern is recurrent. The phenomenon itself can be functional or dysfunctional in almost any situation. Any individual, regardless of his level of 'sophistication', may take part in it. The degree and forms of stigma may vary considerably, ranging from gentle ribbing to violent acts. The phenomenon may even take the appearance of snobbishness[2] or sarcastic wit. However, it can be differentiated from more sarcastic or cynical comments in the following manner: (1) the comments must recur; (2) they should be somewhat discrediting vis-à-vis a specific target; and (3) they should have some sort of effect on the person or group concerned. Stigma, then, can be expected to be found even in the most 'distinguished' assemblies. It can produce narcissistic

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[1] George Herbert Mead, "The Psychology of Punitive Justice", American Journal of Sociology, XXIII, (1928), p. 589.

[2] Ernest Van Den Haag, "Snobbery", British Journal of Sociology, VII, (September, 1956), 212-16. (see his concluding remarks)

pleasure to the stigmatizer and may even result in an increase of prestige for he, she, or they who have become adept at manipulating it.

One reason why one group may be stigmatized rather than another group may be that stigma is a response on the part of a group towards nomos-disturbers. Another reason may be that stigma arises from a relation of unequal status between two or more groups.[3] Yet another reason might be that some individuals or groups are selected as targets because they are perceived as "inferior", "troublemakers", or simply distatefully "different" from the in-group; this may be due to the criteria used in making such judgements: "the middle-class measuring rod".

> . . . a subculture owes its existence to the fact that it provides a solution to certain problems of adjustment shared among a community of individuals. . . . .certain [individuals] are denied status in the respectable society because they cannot meet the criteria of the respectable status system. [Some subcultures] deal with these problems by providing criteria of status which these [people] <u>can</u> meet. . . . To the degree to which he values middle-class status, either because he has to some degree internalized middle-class standards himself, [the stigmatized] faces a problem of adjustment and is in the market for a 'solution'.[4]

Thus the stigmatized will occasionally find his "solution" in a subculture (that may or may not be a deviant one) where he will find others of his 'kind' and hence, a feeling of belonging. We might say that some subcultures act as "stigma shelters".

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[3]Paul F. Secord and Carl W. Backman, <u>Social Psychology</u> (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1964). p. 253.

[4]Albert Cohen, <u>Delinquent Boys</u> (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 148, 121, 119.

Little has been done in the area of stigma. This exploratory study will not restrict itself to the conceptual paradigm of Erving Goffman. It will not emphasize the "normal-meets-tainted" situations as much. The general purpose here is to gain insight into the behavior of the stigmatized, the stigmatizers, how the blemished see themselves among their "own kind", how they see the so-called normals, and how they attempt to live with, or escape their stigmatic condition. This is what we will be examining shortly.

Social Setting

Provincial Haven is a residence that is usually referred to as a halfway house. Halfway houses attempt to bridge the gap between prison and society. The one in Border City (Southern Ontario) is strictly for males released from the penitentiary or reform institution. These individuals must apply to the house while they are serving their sentence. Since the applications are numerous and the halfway houses are scarce, there is a careful selection process that is carried out by the administrators of the halfway houses. They tend to select those individuals which they believe will profit most by such an experience.

Provincial Haven is comprised of two old buildings situated side-by-side on a main avenue near the center of Border City. It tries to create a "home atmosphere" where the men can feel comfortable. In the rear of the two buildings is an old converted garage that houses the office of the Executive Director, Roger Darlington. Under Mr. Darlington's leadership comes a staff of nine to ten people

who work there part-time or full-time. The Haven never closes; there is always at least one staff member on duty.

In the two old homes, one finds eighteen beds, a kitchen, a dining room, a small living room with a television, a library room, an attic, a small office for the staff member on duty, a "Chapel" room with another television set in it, a room to do the laundry, a cellar, a recreation parlor (with an old gramophone, a pool table, and a rather abused piano), and the various bedrooms having one, two, or three beds. The houses are redecorated and maintained chiefly by the "guests" who must pay a two dollar daily rate from their first day in the Haven. Some 700 men are presumed to have lived in the houses.

Care House is located in the eastern section of Border City. It serves as a part-time shelter for the local and itenerant vagabonds or vagrants, hoboes, winoes, tramps, and transients.[5] It seems likely that these people find out about Care House by word-of-mouth. A large number of these part-time or temporary "visitors" are Canadians on welfare; almost all are males. Many are regular

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[5] A main difference between the vagabond and the vagrant lies in the fact that the former will frequently resort to begging while the latter seldom does (vagrants are not always impecunious). Vagabonds and vagrants are characterized by their aimless wandering, by their having no visible means of support, and doing no work, though able to do so. In general, they are unattached. The vagrant, however, is often seen as a problem to the security of the community; he is generally presumed a delinquent. The tramp is an itenerant, indigent, harmless person who does not work. The hobo (now practically non-existent) is an itenerant worker who will occasionally resort to mendicancy. Winoes are chronic alcoholics who are unable to keep any job, friends, or family due to their drinking habit. Finally, transients are simply travellers "just passing through".

"guests" who supposedly spend a large amount of their welfare money on alcoholic beverages, and then visit the House for free food, clothing, and, occasionally, shelter.

Father C. Garneau is the individual who runs and operates the establishment. His rather large, modern office is at the right of the main entry. Guests are usually not allowed into the priest's quarters. He has a part-time staff of approximately six men.

Around 4:00p.m. everyday, the House opens its doors to anyone who is in need of a meal and/or a place to sleep for the night. Known troublemakers and inebriates are not admitted. Upstairs, one finds the main apartment where some thirty-five beds are located. The old toilets on the floor have no doors. Downstairs, on the basement level, one finds the cafeteria and more toilets — this time with doors. The cafeteria is equipped to handle eighty to eighty-five persons per meal. On the main floor, to the left of the entry, one finds an office used by Mr. Pierre Tremblay — the individual in charge of things when the priest is absent — and occasionally, other staff members on duty. The room adjacent to this office is a minute parlor where one can leisurely listen to a radio or read magazines and newspapers available. Adjacent to this small apartment, one finds a room where clothing and shoewear are stocked for people who may need them. Next, one finds a long lounge area where several individuals can sit comfortably on sofas and read, smoke, or watch television. The last apartment, which is situated at the end of the lounge, is a laundry room that has a back door exit.

All residents must be out of bed early in the morning; they are supposed to go out looking for a job. At night, the doors are locked at 11:00p.m. Only very special cases are admitted after that time. The men must go to bed early since they must awake early the next day. One can take a shower upstairs before going to bed; linen is supplied free of charge.

South Hall is part of an educational complex located in southern Ontario: Border City University. This residence building -- which dates back to the First World War -- houses some 45 to 48 graduate students that come from all over the nation and other countries as well. The doors to this all-male residence lock around 7:30p.m. Students carry a key for these doors and one for their own room. There are approximately seventeen students per floor. Each floor has its own washrooms and showers; each floor has a water cooler in the middle of the corridor. The television is located on the first floor in what is commonly referred to as the "T.V room". A soft-drink machine can be found on the second floor; it is in a passageway leading to another building. At the end of each floor, one finds stairs to a fire escape. Tunnels underneath South Hall link the residence with other campus buildings. The laundry is done in another nearby residence. There are no prefects in this particular building. Finally, at the time of this study, it seems that Law students were disproportionately represented.

Border City University's housing facilities accomodate one quarter of the total student population. At the time of this study, the campus population was estimated at about 5,940 (3,952 males and 1,988 females).

Methodology

The choice of the method the social scientist uses is largely influenced by the particular situation(s) that he or she is faced with and the results that are desired. It is difficult to select the proper method to tackle any problem. Keeping in mind the fact that the methodology one uses and the questions one asks somewhat limit and determine the answers and results, this investigator set out to study the phenomemon of stigma in Border City. The selection of stigmatized populations was not without its difficulties. Although many people may be stigmatized at some time or other during their existence, this study intended to concern itself mainly with individuals whose life-condition is one of stigmatization. Originally, it had been decided that the population of Provincial Haven would suffice to supply us with the necessary data. Unexpected events,[6] however, soon showed that this would not be the case. It was also decided that another population was needed in order that the subjects whose life-condition was one of stigmatization could be compared with "normal" people. The South Hall students, then, were chosen for this reason. Finally, by the end of January 1972, Care House was chosen as a replacement for the Haven.

Riley and Nelson[7] have classified all empirical methods on two dimensions: use of time and treatment of group. When the re-

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[6]For more details on this, see the Appendix.

[7]Matilda Riley and Edward Nelson, "Research On Stability and Change in Social Systems", in B. Barber and A. Inkeles eds., Stability and Social Change (Boston: Little & Brown, 1971), pp. 407-449.

search observation reflects the chronological order of events or the time sequence, it is called diachronic. When the research is limited to a single point of time, or designed without reference to time, it is called synchronic. In an analysis of articles found in two leading sociological journals in 1965-66, in contrast to articles that had appeared some twenty-five years earlier, Brown and Gilmartin showed that contemporary research was overwhelmingly quantitative and overwhelmingly synchronic:

> Lack of interest in macroscopic problems and in concrete cases has led to decreased use of the techniques particularly appropriate to their study, specifically, historical and library research, the life history, the unstructured interview, and participant observation. . . The widespread acceptance of the interview as the major method of sociology means that research has become increasingly limited to what is reseachable by that means, namely, verbal behavior. Nonverbal behavior is likely to pass unexamined, along with the crucial issue of the correspondence between what is said and what is done.[8]

The method used in this study was participant-observation. The study, then, may be said to be diachronic. While the synchronic study tends to be predominantly static in character, the diachronic research design tends to be dynamic. Participant-observation focuses on the group rather than the individual (but without ignoring the latter). The subjects are studied in their natural setting and in their everyday life activities.

Thus, participant-observation was selected because it was found more appropriate for the kind of work that was to be done (diachronic) and the nature of the data that was to be gathered

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[8]Julia Brown and B. C. Gilmartin, "Sociology Today: Lacunae, Emphases, and Surfeits", The American Sociologist, IV, (1969), p.290.

(which seemed also to include nonverbal behavior). Several social scientists have advised the use of this technique when the researcher wants to study a phenomenon about which there is little knowledge or about which there seems to be numerous misconceptions. We are informed that:

> It cannot rely on specific hypotheses or a relatively small list of variables that are likely to be significant. The investigator must immerse himself in the data, learn all he can from as many perspectives as possible, and obtain very general information rather than data limited to a narrow focus . . . [Participant-observation] actually refers to a rather wide range of activities varying from actually becoming a bona fide member of the group being studied to observing and interviewing its members rather informally as an outsider. The basic prerequisite of all participant observation . . . is that the social scientist must gain the confidence of the persons being studied, so that his presence does not disrupt or in any way interfere with the natural course of events and so that they will provide him with honest answers to his questions and not hide important activities from his view.[9]

In this study, the researcher was able to gain the confidence of several subjects -- particularly at South Hall and Provincial Haven. By and large, it does not seem likely that his presence disrupted or interfered significantly with the natural course of events in the settings (the exception to this statement is found in the Appendix). However, it is quite difficult to evaluate the honesty of the answers received. Occasionally, when this investigator was in doubt, he asked other individuals to corroborate a suspicious account or story given by a certain person.

The accessibility of social life to direct observation is frequently severely restricted by the institutions of secrecy and

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[9]Hubert M. Blalock, An Introduction to Social Research (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p.41.

privacy. Generally, the more secret or private the behavior is, the less amenable it is to direct observation and recording. Some behavior, which may be classified as private behavior, might be accessible to systematic observation if it occurs in public settings.[10] Finally, if there is no secrecy involved, the more formally organized an activity or event is, the more amenable it will be to direct observation.

The participant-observer often is a stranger, an outsider who does not belong to the in-group. Simmel defined the stranger as the wanderer who comes and stays for a certain period of time.[11] The stranger usually tries to be accepted by the group or culture he enters. He is confronted with the fact that he does not have any status as a member of the in-group. He may never be able to completely shake off his role of outsider and as such, some valuable information can be passed on to him simply because he is an outsider.[12] His objectivity is one of his basic traits. Being no longer permitted to consider himself as the center of his social milieu, he must "translate" the in-group's terms into terms of his own culture or subculture (provided that inside the latter, interpretative equivalents can be found -- e.g., "booze" and alcoholic beverage). Schütz

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[10] Laud Humphreys, Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970).

[11] The Sociology of Georg Simmel, trans. by Kurt H. Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950). p. 405.

[12] See Ibid., p. 406: ". . .he often receives the most surprising confidences which sometimes have the character of a confessional and which would be carefully withheld from a more closely related person."

has pointed out that the stranger is not really bound to worship the "idols of the tribe", and hence, he has the ability to better perceive the incoherences and inconsistencies of the approached group than the members themselves.[13]

When the social investigator conducts his study, he may experience anxiety; this is frequently due to the fact that he is never quite sure how the strangers he is approaching will receive him. A constant "courtship" of the subjects often needs to be maintained if the study is to be fruitful; and such a courtship can be very exhausting (as one researcher experienced in his study).[14]

The overall methodology used in this study is influenced by Garfinkel's[15] and Cicourel's[16] "ethnomethodology". The terms phenomenology, ethnomethodology, and symbolic interactionism represent different attempts to face reality from the perspective of those who are being studied. Ethnomethodology emphasizes the routine activities of everyday life and the precariousness of things. It holds that what a person does everyday is not always "rational" nor is it necessarily meant to be. Behavior is seen as being quite complex and not always easily classifiable into "normal", "abnormal", and

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[13] Alfred Schütz, "The Stranger — An Essay in Social Psychology", American Journal of Sociology, XLIX, (1944), 499-507.

[14] William Foote Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd. ed., 1955).

[15] Harold Garfinkel, Studies in Ethnomethodology (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967).

[16] Aaron V. Cicourel, The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968).

other kinds of categories. Social scientists frequently insist on finding a rationality to the behavior that is observed. The individual who is living his everyday life thinks differently from the social investigator who is studying him. In order that the scientist be capable of understanding him, he must attempt to make use of the same interpretative procedures that his subject uses. Hence, he should have some grasp of the common-sense constructs of everyday life by which the subject interprets his milieu.[17] According to Schütz, for the conduct of his everyday affairs, the person assumes, assumes that the Other assumes as well, and assumes that as he assumes it of the Other, the Other assumes the same for him.

> In studying, for example, the way that jurors recognize the 'correctness' of a verdict, [the ethnomethodologist] would focus on how the jurors make their activities 'normal', on how the moral order of their world is created. They are seen as creating, through their activities, familiar scenes and procedures which are recognizable to them as the world they know in common and take for granted, by which and within which 'correctness' of a verdict is determined. Only by examining their procedures and discovering what they consist of, can one fully understand what they mean by correctness, as correctness is decided by those who construct it.[18]

Thus, the ethnomethodologist seeks to discover the "methods" that people use in constructing their social reality, and wants to

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[17] Alfred Schütz, "Common Sense and Scientific Interpretation of Human Action", Philosophy and Phenomenological Research, XIV, (1953), 1-38.

[18] George Psathas, "Ethnomethods and Phenomenology", Social Research, XXXV, (1968), p. 509. For an elaboration of the procedures used by ethnomethodologists, see (the eleven steps in): Harold Garfinkel, "Studies of the Routine Grounds of Everyday Activities", Social Problems, XI, (1964), 225-250.

know more about the nature of these realities. He conceives of the social world not as an objective realm of facts which can be grasped simply by looking at them, but instead as consisting of products of members' actions. These products are not really "seen" but are first interpreted and then seen. Finally, the ethnomethodologist believes that sociology has spent too much time and energy in studying "crisis events" and not enough in studying the countless taken-for-granted acts that Everyman performs everyday.

In any setting, the social researcher finds himself

> ...committed to some picture of what he considers reality -- and to what he thinks society considers reality -- and he observes and judges the [subject's] behavior in the light of these considerations.[19]

Since we are at the center of our own little worlds, each one of us tends to "see" the world as it revolves about us. In attempting to be scientific , then, the investigator must

> ...determine no longer to place himself and his own condition of interest as the center of this world, but to substitute another 'null point' for the orientation of the phenomena of the life-world.[20]

This study, then, is an attempt to view "reality" from the standpoint of the subjects. At this point, it would seem appropriate that the reader be informed of this researcher's background in order that the former be in a better position to understand the "reality" of

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[19]Thomas S. Szasz, "The Myth of Mental Illness", in Lefton, Skipper, Jr., and McCaghy, eds., Approaches to Deviance (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968), p. 85.

[20]Gathanson, Collected Papers, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 137.

the latter.

About the Researcher

The researcher was born in Lachine, Québec, in 1948. His father, a Greek Orthodox who served in the cavalry in Greece during the war against the Turks, immigrated to Canada before the Great Depression. He worked in several restaurants in Montreal until the time came where he was able to open his own. He married a young Catholic, French Canadian girl who was quite younger than he. Both of them had received little formal education — the father having been unable to complete elementary school due to the death of his parents, and the mother having gone as far as grade 10. Both of them had known the meaning of poverty.

The researcher has three sisters; all of them are presently married and one of them is older than he is.

Since his father worked on the night shift (the restaurant being opened until 3:00a.m.), the researcher was brought up in a matriarchal milieu which lacked the male parental model. Living in a predominantly lower class, French Canadian neighborhood, he spent the first eight years of his schooling in all-male French-speaking schools which tended to emphasize religion to a large extent. In the Summer of 1961, the family moved to a middle-class neighborhood (in the same city) and the researcher was sent to an all-male, English-speaking, Catholic high school where he was educated by laymen and Christian Brothers.

It is not by pure coincidence that the participant-observer chose the topic of stigma for his study. Ever since his earliest

school years, he experienced this phenomemon in a rather poignant way. In the 1950's, French Canadian children did not look very favorably upon other children whose family name was not French. And in the particular Anglophone high school that the researcher attended, Anglo-Canadian boys did not look very favorably upon students who had a difficult time speaking their language properly. Consequently, his school years were very unpleasant. He came to hate everything associated with school life. He felt (or was made to feel) marginal: unable to fit into either the French or Anglo-Canadian cultures. Gradually, he developed an inferiority complex that led him to lose confidence in himself. He became somewhat misanthropic.

In 1966, he entered Loyola College in nearby Montreal. Actually, he had been pressured into continuing his studies by his parents (especially his father) and the few friends he had. Thus, he followed the latter and even decided to specialize in the same field they were specializing in. These facts were reflected in his early academic work. But contrary to what he had anticipated, college life was not at all like the way of life he had experienced in the schools he had attended. Gradually, in a more tolerable and relaxed atmosphere, his life became more pleasant and his way of looking at the world began undergoing drastic changes. Soon, he was rebelling against his religion and certain "folk concepts" that had been a part of his social conditioning. His interest in sociology increased. He began to form goals for himself — something he had never really done before. Eventually, he received the Bachelor of

Arts degree (May 1970) and, in the Fall of that year, enrolled at Border City University. There, he began working on this study in October of 1971, determined to find out more about the social phenomenon of stigma.

About the Study

The bulk of the data herein was gathered during the months of January to June of 1972. In the early stages of the study, it was decided that the Director of Provincial Haven -- Mr. Darlington -- would be approached. A major difficulty often encountered in descriptive studies of this nature involves the establishment of good relations with those people who will become part of the study. It was thought that the most suitable way to do the study would be for the investigator to introduce himself to the director of the Haven, and explain to him the motives behind the request to visit his establishment. This approach was met with success. The researcher was given permission to work at the Haven as a part-time staff member (as are most of the others) on any day that was convenient for him and at almost any time he preferred. In addition, he could leave anytime he wished. Mr. Darlington introduced him to "the boys" in the manner that had been asked of him; he informed those present that the new staff member was from the local university, that he was gradually to assume the tasks of a regular staff member, and that this would tie in with some of the work he was involved in at the university.

By December 1971, a new stigma population had to be found. Events had not worked out as favorably as they might have had at

Provincial Haven. Meanwhile, data was still being gathered daily at South Hall; this latter setting had originally been selected as a convenient comparative group (of individuals whose life-condition is not one of stigmatization) -- convenient in that this was the participant-observer's own residence in Border City.

At the end of January 1972, it was decided that the director of Care House -- Father Garneau -- would be approached. In an interview granted to the researcher, the priest made it clear to him that he was welcome to his establishment. Here, the factor of age difference was far greater than the one encountered at the Haven. Most of the regular visitors at Care House were well over forty years old. Establishing a good rapport with them proved to be a rather difficult task. This might account for a lack of a clear understanding concerning certain facets of their behavior.[21]

Father Garneau was informed of the study in detail while some forty individuals (those present when the priest informed the cafeteria staff of the reasons for my being there) overheard (in that the priest spoke loudly) that I was simply doing some work on establishments of that nature and wanted to gain some first-hand experience. My relationship with the staff proved to be a very cordial one, particularly with the priest's assistant, Mr. Tremblay.

Most of the information in this study is based on casual conversations with staff members and subjects alike and, more impor-

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[21] For instance, why did so many of them lose their tempers as the weather became warmer?

tantly, on observations on the scene. These were then collected in the form of a diary. The bulk of the researcher's time was spent watching and listening. Occasionally, he made a practice of recording some occurences which he considered very significant as soon as he could reach a private place (e.g., washroom). On one occasion (at Care House), an interview of a somewhat structured nature was held. Eventually, the following propositions were planned for investigation: (1) Individuals possessing an "evident stigma" will tend to be stigmatized longer than people with a "latent" stigma; and (2) the tainted will themselves indulge in stigmatization.

Satisfied with his belief that Everyman takes the world for granted, the participant-observer frequently proceeds to fragment this world-taken-for-granted without seeming to realize that he has simply ripped data out of context. Here, an effort was made to remain consciously aware of the fact that the blemished do not live in a social vacuum. Their behavior and mental processes can be, and often is, influenced by their "condition".

This study is interested in the week-by-week dynamics of the growth and disintegration of social relationships.

Conceptualization

When formulating operational definitions, one indirectly makes hypotheses about the nature of social reality, that is, in one's judgements one presupposes some social reality, makes some hypotheses about it, and needs a common terminology to try to communicate or describe that particular reality. Merton has remarked

that: "Despite the etymology of the term, data are not 'given' but are 'contrived' with the inevitable help of concepts."[22]

In order that one understands the use of a given concept, one must see it within a context. Alan Blum maintains that one should ask how a concept is used in a specific context on a particular occasion; when the social investigator intends to define a concept exclusively in terms of conduct, he frequently acts as if the definition refers merely to behavior and nothing beyond it -- that is, he tends to ignore the fact that he draws upon a body of knowledge extrinsic to the behavior to apply the definition.[23]

In order to avoid confusion and misunderstandings, then, the major analytic concepts which appear in this study will be defined within a sociological context. By now, the reader should be rather well acquainted with the first and most important of our man-made concepts: stigma. This phenomenon involves a dehumanization or a reduction of a whole individual to a tainted one (in a societal context). Its most prominent characteristic is the ascription of a permanent or temporary handicap -- or "stain" -- which leads to a disqualification of a person or group from full social acceptance. Stigma is negative stereotyping; it is a form of persecution towards the different Other. It often comes under the topics of prejudice and deviance. An excellent definition of our main concept is that of

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[22] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), p. 370.

[23] Alan F. Blum, "The Sociology of Mental Illness", in Douglas, ed., Deviance and Respectability; in particular, see pp. 33 & 37.

Goffman's:

> The term stigma. . . will be used to refer to an attribute that is deeply discrediting, but it should be seen that a language of relationships, not attributes, is really needed. An attribute that stigmatizes one type of possessor can confirm the usualness of another, and therefore is neither creditable nor discreditable as a thing in itself. For example, some jobs . . . cause holders without the expected college education to conceal this fact; other jobs . . . can lead the few of their holders who have a higher education to keep this a secret, lest they be marked as failures and outsiders.[24]

In short, what constitutes a stigma in one particular group may not be so in another.

Stereotyping, sometimes confused with stigmatizing, is characterized by an image that one may possess about an entire category of people and then simply apply this image to any representative or member of that category. Stereotypes are oversimplifications of "reality"; this is not to deny that they may well contain a core of "truth". The stereotype assigned to a person shows how one thinks this person is like and how he is likely to behave. In other words, stereotype notions tend to be petrified preconceptions attributed to a person with the belief that these preconceptions or traits characterize his group and must therefore be passed onto him. Societies may facilitate stereotyping by their tendency to group, classify, and categorize individuals.

Stigma, we have said, underlies deviance.[25] Like the deviant, the stigmatized is, or is presumed to be, different. And like the

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[24]Goffman, Stigma, op. cit., p. 3.

[25]Edwin Lemert has classified "stigma" under his category of "secondary deviance".

deviant, he is (in some way) punished for his differentness. The deviant tends to be a stereotyped person placed in a category and then assumed to possess the characteristics of this category. Deviance is a rule-breaking phenomena that can be displeasing and/or disruptive. Becker has suggested that:

> . . .Social groups create deviance by making rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. . . . The deviant is one to whom that label has been successfully applied. . . . Deviance is not a quality that lies in behavior itself, but in the interaction between the person who commits an act and those who respond to it.[26]

In the past, social scientists emphasized the "abnormality" of deviancy. Particularly in complex industrial societies, deviance was said to abound in the cities. But if it was so plentiful, it seems difficult to understand how it could possibly be called "abnormal" (at least from a statistical viewpoint). Today, deviant behavior is seen to be functional as well as dysfunctional. For instance, such behavior permits the majority of citizens to define the boundaries they occupy. They come to know the outer edges of their group life when persons on the fringe test their boundaries. This can help them develop an orderly sense of group identity.

Generally, people are called deviant when they are unable to erase the negative interpretation(s) of their actions. When they are

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[26] Howard S. Becker, Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 9. Finally, "Deviance is to fail in the absence of conditions of failure. The very same failure would not be deviant if conditions of failure were present." (Peter McHugh, "A Common-Sense Perception of Deviance", in Hans Peter Dreitzel, ed., Recent Sociology #2 [London: Collier-Macmillan, Ltd., 1970]), p. 164.

successfull at offering an acceptable account of their acts, they are no longer deviant. Accounts frequently involve the quality of taken-for-grantedness. In brief, they are composed of:

> . . .Statements made by social actors to relieve themselves of culpability for untoward or unanticipated acts. There are two types of accounts: excuses and justifications. An excuse is an admission that the act in question was bad, wrong, or inept, coupled with a denial of full responsibility. A justification is an admission of full responsibility for the act in question, coupled with a denial that it was wrongful.[27]

In this study, accounts can be found in relation to all settings.

Shame is an important concept linked with stigma. The Other, according to Sartrean theory, is the one who stares at the stigmatized, and shame is the latter's recognition of what he is before the Other whose gaze pierces, invades, probes, and exploits his inwardness, passing judgement on his behavior. Should the stigmatized play his role according to social expectations, he may be able to escape an unfavorable verdict. Shame is frequently associated with failure to achieve or to live up to someone else's expectations, and with a lack of confidence. It arises when the tainted begins to agree that indeed, he is not what he should be. In short, shame is an inability at self-fulfillment -- a rather painful sense of guilt.

Not all stigmatized individuals, however, feel shame.

> It seems possible for an individual to fail to live up to what we effectively demand of him, and yet be relatively untouched by this failure; insulated by his alienation, protected by identity beliefs of his own, he feels that he is a full-fledged normal human being, and that we are the ones who are

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[27]Marvin B. Scott and Stanford M. Lyman, "Accounts, Deviance, and Social Order", in Jack D. Douglas, ed., Deviance and Respectability, p. 91.

> not quite human. He bears a stigma but does not seem to be impressed or repentant about doing so.[28]

In such a case, one will usually observe the phenomena of counterstigma. This occurs when not only are there no feelings of guilt or shame on the part of the stigmatized, but these are bold enough to stigmatize their original stigmatizers. Stigmatizing the stigmatizers may often be the only way for a group to survive (psychologically or culturally) within an hostile milieu where the majority at large looks down upon them.

Stigma and stigmatizing usually entail the presence of an in-group and an out-group,[29] a We-They relationship. The in-group is the group to which we belong to or identify with. The out-group is any group aside from our own, that is, non-members. Karl Mannheim has stated that:

> We belong to a group not only because we are born into it, not merely because we profess to belong to it, nor finally because we give it our loyalty and allegiance, but primarily because we see the world and certain things in the world the way it does.[30]

Animosities between the We and the They might be looked upon as projections of the prejudiced individual's own unacceptable "inner impulses" on a minority or tainted group. In any case, it seems that "the invention of Them creates Us, and We may need to invent Them to

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[28] Goffman, Stigma, p. 6.

[29] William Graham Sumner, Folkways, (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1906), Section 13.

[30] Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, trans. by L. Wirth and E. Shils (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1936), pp.21-22.

reinvent Ourselves."[31]

Conning is another phenomena that needs to be defined here. According to Polsky,

> Conning, by definition, involves extraordinary manipulation of other people's impressions of reality and especially of one's self, creating 'false impressions'. [It] is only a matter of degree, in that all of us are concerned in many ways to manipulate others' impressions of us. . . .[32]

A last expression requiring definition is the mediatory institution (this applies particularly to Provincial Haven) whose major function is allegedly to:

> . . .reverse the processes of stigmatization [by trying to 'normalize' or 'rehabilitate' the deviant] and to develop rites-de-passage for the offender back into a nondelinquent status. In contrast to the total institution, the mediatory institution would. . . be concerned with examining and resolving problems which are precipitated by the offender's interaction with the community rather than with the artificial environment of a total institution.[33]

The concepts that we have defined will be found or implied throughout this study.

Summary and Concluding Remarks

The purpose of this second chapter was to acquaint the reader with the settings, methodology, and the various concepts used in this exploratory work. The research was begun in October 1971 and the

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[31] R. D. Laing, The Politics of Experience, (New York: Ballantine Books, Inc., 1967), p. 91.

[32] Ned Polsky, "The Hustler", Social Problems, XII, (Summer 1964), p. 14.

[33] S. G. Lubeck and Lamar T. Empey, "Mediatory vs. Total Institution", Social Problems, XVI, #2, (Fall 1968), p. 243.

field work ended in June 1972 -- a period of eight months. The settings are located in Border City, Ontario. The methodology used to study the subject matter can best be briefly described by the following terms: diachronic, ethnomethodological, and participant observation. The participant-observer collects his data by participating in the everyday life activities of the individuals he is investigating. He tries to understand his subjects' interpretations of the situations and events that are encountered without imputing (as much as possible) his own meanings to them. Lastly, a serious effort was made to remain aware of the fact that the stigmatized, like other people, do not live "in vacuo".[34]

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[34]We have pointed out that man's actual behavior seems to be determined by what he learns. In turn, this appears to be determined by his cultural heritage and his everyday life experiences. However, learning seems to be more than the habitual gestures that follow a series of trials. Gestaltists believe that learning involves a general "attitude" vis-à-vis the kind of context man (or the animal) operates. They claim that one cannot take something out of its context to study it, for it is a part of a whole and must be studied as such. For instance, the word "bridge" uttered in a sentence may refer to a game of cards or a structure linking two river banks. Its meaning depends on the context in which it appears. It might be argued that mathematics (which has always enjoyed a significant influence on the social sciences) may be responsible for the assumption that the whole is merely the total sum of its parts. The contribution of the Gestaltists, then, seems to be of great value; they argue that the whole <u>determines</u> the parts.

CHAPTER III

OBSERVATIONS AND INTERPRETATION

Sociology and Stigma

People are the substance of sociology. Sociologists study and try to understand their behavior in everyday life. Although the concept of stigma is an invention of the social scientist, the phenomenon itself is a fact of social life. Individuals in society tend to define certain kinds of appearances and certain kinds of conduct as violations of codes, rules, etiquettes, laws, and the like. Perhaps some of these definitions have been instigated by the local power élite. In any case, stigma arises in the course of daily social interaction. It affects the lives of many people in many ways.

> Stigmatized persons have enough of their situations in life in common to warrant classifying all these persons together for purposes of analysis.[1]

Hence, sociologists should not overlook this significant feature of social life. An improved comprehension of the phenomenon might point out ways of stigmatizing more effectively or lead to a minimization of its somewhat painful effects. In other words, we would have more control over it. These are some of the reasons why stigma was selected as the focus of this study. Furthermore, stigma is a central concept because it underlies deviance (deviance being mainly a matter

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[1] Goffman, Stigma, op. cit., pp. 146-147.

of social stigmatization). Since a whole division of sociology has been created to deal with deviance,[2] the study of stigma or the dynamics of negative differentness may help shed light on this area. In the remaining part of this chapter, we present an empirical portrait of some stigma, some stigmatizers, and the stigmatized.

After-Care: Provincial Haven

"Halfway houses" reflect contemporary society's attitudes concerning corrections. Their primal purpose is to provide an "atmosphere" whereby ex-convicts can be reintegrated back into the world of "normals". Briefly, there are two kinds of halfway houses:

> The halfway-in house generally serves the younger offenders -- those under a court order of probation, or others who may have failed on probation and are considered worthy of another opportunity to remain in the community. . . . By far the better known, the halfway-out facility is designed to assist persons who are ready to leave an institution and who are deemed to be in need of further help in reajusting to society.[3]

Border City's Provincial Haven was incorporated and opened in May, 1962. It is a halfway-out type of establishment where the "guests" are required to pay a $3.00 daily rate from their first day in the Haven. They pay when they have secured an employment or

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[2] "It is remarable that those who live around the social sciences have so quickly become comfortable in using the term 'deviant', as if those to whom the term is applied have enough in common so that significant things can be said about them as a whole. Just as there are iatrogenic disorders caused by the work that physicians do (which then gives them more work to do), so there are categories of persons who are created by students of society, and then studied by them." Goffman, Stigma, op. cit., p. 140.

[3] O. J. Keller, Jr., and B. S. Alper, Halfway Houses (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1970), p. 15.

give part of the low sum of money they receive from the provincial government. They may have to earn their stay by washing the windows of the halfway house, mowing the lawn, painting the rooms, or shovelling the snow. They do their own laundry and take turns at washing the dishes. They are also responsible for keeping their own rooms clean. There are no fixed curfews at the Haven. However, intoxicants and weapons are not allowed at any time.[4] Insofar as female companionships are concerned, only those girls who have been "approved" (by one of the directors) are allowed into the establishment. Even then, they are not permitted in any of the rooms but the pool room. By midnight, they must vacate the premises.

Most of the men at Provincial Haven have no stable job, no wife and children, or any significant family ties. This in itself is enough to mark them "abnormal" in the eyes of many people. They also tend to lack formal education. Efforts are made to provide them with a feeling of "belonging" (being needed). It is felt that such a "home atmosphere" will enable the "rehabilitation" or readjustment process. Seen from this standpoint, the Haven acts as a stepping stone bridging the gap that is believed to exist between the dominant culture and the criminal subculture. The men can stay in the halfway house from three to six weeks (depending on the individual and the time he needs to "readjust").

The investigator arrived at the Haven on a Thursday after-

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[4]This kind of information and more may be found in a pamphlet at Provincial Haven entitled: 'Haven Standards' —dated June 16, 1971.

noon, the arrival scheduled to coincide with the weekly staff meeting. Mr. Darlington and his assistant — the directors of the establishment — introduced him to the staff members and the residents. He was introduced as another addition to the staff, a student from the local university whose work was tied in with the acquisition of some experience in a setting like the Haven. Both directors were about thirty years old. They had appeared concerned about the image that was being projected by Provincial Haven on outsiders. Mr. Darlington was working on his Master of Social Work degree.[5] The position he held at the Haven was not an envious one; halfway houses in general seem to be:

> . . .more difficult to administer than security institutions, for incidents must be dealt with as they occur, without any help from security measures and in situations frequently marked by verbal abuse and physical, even violent aggression. . . . Although the small size of the halfway house has many advantages, it also presents difficulties for the man who leads it. The atmosphere is informal, residents and staff have easy access to him; he is a prime target for attempts at manipulation from both. If he encourages his staff to function without formal rules and to make their own decisions, he may later find himself forced to countermand their judgment. If he encourages them to speak freely, he lays himself open to challenge and even to opposition.[6]

These are some of the hazards, then, of such an occupation. One would often find Mr. Darlington immersed in the large amount of paperwork involved in administrating such an institution.

Of the staff members encountered, John and Paul were the two young men who attended Border City University. Mike was atten-

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[5]Mike (the ex-con staff member) once remarked:"Don't worry, he'll get the degree... He's got connections in the right places."

[6]Keller and Alper, Halfway Houses, op. cit., p. 128.

ding a local community college; he was the only member of the staff who was an ex-convict. He enjoyed the largest amount of popularity with the guests while Bernie enjoyed the least. The latter appeared to be the most conservative of the men. The reason for his being disliked by most of the residents was the fact that he worked on the night shift (10:00p.m. to 8:00a.m.) and hence on him fell the responsibility to enforce the regulations concerning intoxicants, girlfriends, and other night visitors. This was often a most unpleasant task.

Other staff members included two women secretaries (frequently gossiping when not busy) and Mary, the cook. Mary had been working at the halfway house for nearly five years. At 62 years old, she lived alone in Border City. It was observed that she had the tendency to treat the household guests as children, scolding them when they were sloppy or neglectful. But she did not seem to have interfered significantly with their lives in any other ways.

On the whole, the researcher seems to have been well received by both staff and inmates, and accepted by most (the others seemed indifferent). His role was that of the newcomer who was sometimes treated as an equal staff member and sometimes treated as an outsider who did not really belong to the in-group. The residents treated him as another staff member since he was supposed to gradually assume this role. However, it seems that the other staff members spent much of their social lives together (with one noticeable exception), while this investigator did not join or was not invited to join them. Consequently, he was unable to attain the level

of familiarity that existed between any two of them. The disadvantage of this situation is that he might have been excluded from certain important events that occurred when he was not present or some other significant information. The advantage of this situation is that the participant-observer can remain more neutral concerning the people, the events, and the Haven in general. In the beginning, the newcomer must learn to cope with certain difficulties that are a part of his situation.

> Underlying all social interaction there seems to be a fundamental dialectic. When one individual enters the presence of others, he will want to discover the facts of the situation. Were he to possess this information, he could know, and make allowances for, what will come to happen and he could give the others present as much of their due as is consistent with his enlightened self-interest. . . . Full information of this order is rarely available; in its absence, the individual tends to employ substitutes -- cues, tests, hints, expressive gestures, status symbols, etc. -- as predictive devices. In short, since the reality that the individual is concerned with is unperceivable at the moment, appearances must be relied upon in its stead.[7]

Of the eighteen to twenty men that were encountered during the investigator's visits at Provincial Haven, only about half of these subjects played a significant part in this study. The others just went to the Haven for room and board -- several of them tried to avoid the halfway house altogether. The first inmate encountered was Luke. Over forty-five years of age, he had a serious nervous condition that exempted him from doing the dishes. He rarely spoke to anyone. Several members of the staff maintained that he had psy-

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[7] Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1959), p. 249.

chiatric problems (this might be seen as a form of stigmatization) and should not have been in a mediatory institution but in a "total institution".[8]

Old Joe was the oldest guest in the halfway house. Consequently, it was not surprising to see him behaving as if the establishment belonged to him. The researcher was informed that he had spent some twenty-five years in prison for murder. He had been living in the Haven since his release. His health was said to be in a sad condition. He was forbidden to smoke -- especially since he had been found asleep in his bed one night with his mattress burning. But he smoked nonetheless. Most of the time he did not spend at the halfway house he would spend at a nearby tavern.

Steve was probably the youngest guest encountered, and surely one of the most talkative. He drank rather heavily for an individual of his age. Like several other young men there, he usually dressed in such a way that he would look "tough". His parents were separated. One evening, he tried reaching his mother by long distance telephone (she lived in Vancouver). He was told that she was busy working and would phone him back. She never did.

By November 1971, several residents left the Haven while others came to take their place. One young man, however, always seemed to fall sick or get an accident when his time of departure came around. Meanwhile, another inmate had presumably contracted a veneral disease. This did not result in stigmatization, however;

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[8] See E. Goffman's Asylums for an analysis on this.

much to the contrary, his "disease" appeared to have enhanced his status. He had "proof" that he was having sexual relations with a female. Later, it was discovered that he did not have any illness at all; however, he did not seem to have lost much of his status as a result of this discovery.

One of the newcomers was Ralph -- a man over forty years old. Once, after a staff meeting, he approached Mr. Darlington with a request. He claimed he needed two dollars. At the time, he seemed inebriated; perhaps this was why he was flatly turned down. It was presumed that he would spend it on alcohol. Ralph threatened to steal the money. The staff ignored him so he left and carried out his threat. He stole one of the men's wallet and quickly disappeared. The police were called. The next day, the wallet was found... empty.[9]

At the time these events occured, one of the residents had just lost his job. It was the Haven that had found him the position. He claimed that his boss did not want to pay him what he owed him. No one ever bothered to check out this story since such events are rather common at the halfway house. But nevertheless, it is a well-known fact that many ex-convicts who had once tried to "go straight" eventually returned to their "criminal" activities due to their unfortunate post-prison experiences.[10] Their latent stigma often be-

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[9]Perhaps another reason why the police were called was because Ralph was one of the two men at the Haven that were "suicidal". And he was alleged to have warned: "When I go, I'm taking two others with me."

[10]For further discussion on this, see Donald R. Cressy, ed., The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1961), see chaps. 1 - 3.

comes evident when they apply for a job. Furthermore, there are other "forces" that come into play, here, working against them.

> The discrepancy between what is overtly valued and what is covertly sought is particularly striking. . . . On the overt level there is a strong and frequently expressed resentment of the idea of external controls, restrictions on behavior, and unjust or coercive authority. 'No one's gonna push me around', or 'I'm gonna tell him he can take the job and shove it'. . . are commonly expressed sentiments. . . The desire for personal independence is often expressed in such terms as 'I don't need nobody to take care of me'. . . . Actual patterns of behavior, however, reveal a marked discrepancy between expressed sentiment and what is covertly valued.[11]

Luke, for instance, was a good example of this. He strongly resented being "pushed around" by staff members, and simply would not react to their commands.

Staff "reality"

On the investigator's first visit at the Haven, Paul (the staff member) gave him the following bits and pieces of advice concerning the guests in general:

> "They'll try to f... you up any way they can. Don't lend them any money... You'll never see it again. . . Don't leave anything lying around. . . Don't trust any of them and don't believe anything they tell you. . ."

The participant-observer was also told that the inmates "stole all kinds of things", lied all the time, talked in fantasies, and continually voiced their dissatisfaction towards everything. Since he was told that they lied all the time, the researcher asked what would happen if they made up a story about him and reported it to any one

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[11] Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture As a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency", Journal of Social Issues, XIV, (1958), p. 12.

of the staff. He was informed that no matter what occurred, the Haven always sided with the staff member. The ex-convict's version was never taken very seriously (did not receive any credibility) if it differed from the staff member's version. Mr. Darlington also warned him that whenever he could not find something in the two houses, all he had to do was ask the guests since they were always "snooping around" and thus knew where everything was located.

The staff frequently made these kinds of generalizations regarding the men. On some occasions, they would see and treat the residents as individuals while on other occasions, the men were simply "ex-cons" (a stigma term which they used a great deal). The staff believed that many of the guests were "getting into trouble" because they did not seem to know how to use their leisure time. Occasionally, one would find some of the inmates watching television, playing cards, or visiting local taverns and night clubs where they would seek female companionship.

For most of the staff members, the work they were doing was perceived as "just another job". Yet when they were challenged on the meaning and purpose of the halfway house and the need for staff members, they were quick to retort that there was a great need for them and others like them for such benevolent work. Their objectivity might have suffered, here, due to their vested interest. For several of them, the job was looked upon as a monotonous occupation that required the knowledge of certain clever tactics.

> . . .The supervisor yields to group pressure, permits subordinates to violate some rules, and exerts efforts in their behalf because these practices obligate them to him. Their

> obligations to him and continuing dependence on him for benefits constrain subordinates to defer to his wishes and comply with his requests, thus extending his influence beyond the limits of his formal authority.12

The provincial elections did not go unnoticed at the Haven. Quite to the contrary, this was a major event for the director and his assistant. It gave the investigator corroboration on some already existing doubts regarding the benevolence of the staff. In brief, Brother Barnabas -- the founder of The Provincial Haven Society of Canada -- ran for a well-known party. Should he have won the local elections, his position as the president of the Society would have gone to Mr. Darlington. Correspondingly, Mr. Darlington's position as director of the Haven would have been given to his assistant. Thus, there was a great deal of campaigning at the halfway house, pressuring the staff and those guests who could vote to cast their ballot for Brother Barnabas. Mike, the ex-convict staff member, explained much of this situation to the researcher.

"Reality" of the Residents

On November 11, members of the staff were scheduled to have a meeting; meetings were usually held in Mr. Darlington's office. But the meeting never took place. Ron, one of the new guests, had entered the office. He told us he had had a beer or two (his estimate seemed conservative) and he and some of "the guys" had been talking together at a local pub that afternoon about "the way things are at the Haven." It seems they were rather dissatisfied with the way their

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12 Peter M. Blau, "The Dynamics of Bureaucracy", in Phillip E. Hammond, ed., Sociologists at Work, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964), p. 38.

lives were regimented, and the way they were often pressured into doing certain tasks (e.g., mowing the lawn). Having listened to his arguments, Mr. Darlington immediately counteracted the inmate's arguments with his own. He tried to explain to Ron that a certain amount of rules were necessary to maintain order, that every man has a boss, and that one must learn to obey rules and accept a certain number of restrictions on one's behavior. The resident's facial expression indicated that he was not fully convinced.

That same evening, a "hot-seat session" was held at the halfway house; all of the residents were invited. Brother Barnabas was one of the invited guest speakers. Mr. Darlington was there; in addition, two social workers and two staff members were also present. Only four inmates attended the opening of the session. Soon, two of them left. Ron was one of the two men that remained. Most of the session became a dialogue between him and Brother Barnabas. Ron appeared genuinely concerned and interested in knowing what the other individuals present thought. He spoke of himself mostly, defining himself as a "loner" who does not enjoy his predicament and intends "to do something about it". One had the impression that he was trying to "find" himself. Moreover, from this day on, he became a kind of leader in the Haven. The guests would often go to him with their problems; this appeared to have puzzled him.

Ron and the other inmates present at the session seemed convinced that cons and ex-cons were a far superior breed than the normals. They saw normals as gullible "suckers" who remained "straight" all their lives. Brother Barnabas and Mr. Darlington gradually

seemed to have succeeded in making the men aware of their (presumably) "narrow-minded perspective" by pointing out to them that many normals were far more astute than any of them. Some of the most serious criminal acts, they were told, are committed daily by noncons that are never caught or never defined as such by society.

Luck and fate seemed to have held a special place in the lives of many men at Provincial Haven. Their discussions concerning their past and their general conversations as they played cards or pool with the participant-observer occasionally implied this. Perhaps rightly so in some cases, certain individuals blamed their inability to find and keep an employment to "bad luck".

> Many lower class individuals feel that their lives are subject to a set of forces over which they have relatively little control. These are not directly equated with the supernatural forces of formally organized religion, but relate more to a concept of 'destiny', or man as a pawn of magical powers. Not infrequently this often implicit world view is associated with a conception of the ultimate futility of directed effort towards a goal: if the cards are right, or the dice good to you, or if your lucky number comes up, things will go your way; if luck is against you, it's not worth trying.[13]

"Community reality"?

One incident occurred, one day, that might have given us a glimpse on how the community around Provincial Haven perceived this particular establishment. However, it should be kept in mind that the following incident involved only one person's words. A young newspaper boy (about 13 years old) had entered the halfway house to collect his monthly fee. There were few people in the es-

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[13] Miller, "Lower Class Culture", op. cit., p. 11.

tablishment at the time. Mr. Darlington said to him: "You want to get paid, hey?" As the boy nodded, he asked: "Do you know who we are?" The young man, visibly uncomfortable, muttered that he had no idea. Roger Darlington then answered something of this nature: "We are all dangerous criminals", adding, "aren't you afraid?" Taking pleasure at the boy's obvious uneasiness, he finally paid him. On his way out, the boy mumbled something to this effect: "We call this place the Jail House".

The Record

The record of the temporary residents of Provincial Haven was one of the chief factors setting them apart from the normals or staff members. Having been classified as deviants, their record was a constant reminder of who they were or had been.

> . . .Conviction constitutes a powerful form of 'status degradation' which continues to operate after the time when according to the generalized theory of justice underlying punishment in our society, the individual's 'debt' has been paid. A record of conviction produces a durable if not permanent loss of status.[14]

The "status degradation" associated with the record, and the record itself are that which make our subjects in this setting "officially" stigmatized by their society. What is reported in the record or dossier is usually material which is discrediting. It can always be uncovered and used against the person involved during arguments or challenges. Information, it might be argued, is power. Even if

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[14]Richard D. Schwartz and Jerome Skolnick, "Two Studies of Legal Stigma", Social Problems, X, #1, (Summer, 1962), p. 136.

much of the information contained in the case records of ex-convicts may be true, it could also probably be shown that if one were to check up on Everyman's life, one would likely uncover enough denigrating facts as to warrant the need for keeping records on almost everyone.

At Provincial Haven, dossiers were kept on all of the guests and kept up-to-date. Everyday, the staff member on duty was required to make out a report of the incidents that had occurred during his shift, and some comment had to be made concerning every individual. Thus, a discreditable act committed by resident X one day was likely to have been reported back to the other staff supervisors by the staff member on duty when the act occurred. Then, whenever Mr. X would "fall out of line" again, he could always be confronted with the information contained in his file -- enabling the staff to "prove" to him that he was a failure as a person.[15]

Homelessness: Care House

Care House generally caters to homeless individuals. Although it was once a "home away from home" for all kinds of "skid-row" types of people, it is now increasingly becoming a mere restaurant, namely, a place where food is available free of charge.

The homeless may be divided into two categories: the homeless resident -- one who lives in the area of the local mission or "flop-house" -- and the transient -- one who is simply passing through or

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[15] For instance, see Charlotte G. Schwartz, "The Stigma of Mental Illness", Journal of Rehabilitation (July-August, 1956).

staying for a short period of time. The homeless residents are characterized by their lack of means for complete self-support and their lack of kinship ties. By and large, they tend to be itinerant, have few skills, little formal education, and few material resources to alter their predicament. The men are mostly lower class, over forty-five years old, and a sizeable proportion of them must cope with a "drinking problem". For a few of them, the stigma they possess is an evident one; anyone can easily classify them as "old bums" simply by their appearance. But for most of the others (who will spend some of their welfare money on clothing) the stigma is latent -- until they try to get a job. When they do try to find employment, it is easy for the employer to discover that the man is or was an alcoholic. Few of the individuals in our study had any kind of stable employment. Moreover, there appeared to be a rather high incidence of marital separation or divorce; this seemed to have been related to the "drinking problem". Finally, the House had only one regular female visitor; the other females in this particular setting were transients, travelling with male companions.

Unlike at The Salvation Army, the people who visited Care House were not required to pay any fees for anything they received; and there were no spiritual or social programs of "rehabilitation" imposed on the guests. There was, however, a rather unsuccessful program available for the alcoholics who desired to put an end to their drinking. During the researcher's five month study here, a mere handful of individuals appeared for a few of the meetings. And as far as he knew, no pressure was applied on anyone to attend them.

Father Garneau, a Catholic priest in charge of a local parish, was the individual who operated the House. His staff was largely composed of ex-homeless alcoholics -- most of whom eventually returned to the "bottle". He usually left his establishment around 6:00p.m. From then on, Mr. Pierre Tremblay would be in charge. A former alcoholic, Pierre was originally from Northern Québec. When he discovered the participant-observer could speak French, he became very friendly and cooperative.

An Outsider's "Reality"

To the outsider, for whom Care House is not a part of his everyday life activities, it might seem that life there was rather routinized and monotonous. Before every meal, the homeless would arrive downstairs (basement level) and remain in the hall or waiting room that one had to pass through to enter the dining area. They would remain seated on long, uncomfortable, wood benches until five or six minutes before meal time. Then they would begin lining up near the three steps leading down into the cafeteria. No one could enter into this dining area without the signal of Father Garneau or his appointed substitute. The average number of individuals present was approximately forty. Occasionally, one would witness the people at the front of the line standing there drooling -- unable to enter. But when the signal eventually came, it was frequently the trigger to a race for the nearest tables. There seemed to have been two reasons for this: (a) some guests were very hungry (b) while others simply wished to be the first ones out since the first tables near the entrance would be served first. When the homeless were all

seated, they would not be allowed to taste their hot soup until the prayer or grace had been said; this was done by Father Garneau or his assistant — a young seminarian who came to the House occasionally. The tone of voice used for the prayer was generally unconvincing and unemotional. It was more of a ritual than anything else. Few of the homeless residents present would join in the reciting of the prayer; those who did simply muttered a few words. As soon as the "Amen" had been pronounced, the hungry guests would immediately begin eating their soup. Following this, food would be served.[16] While the priest headed for the kitchen, the visitors would begin to eat at a very fast pace. The explanation for this seems to have been the fact that the guests only ate twice a day — the first meal being served early in the morning. Most missions and hostels require early morning rising; apparently, this is done with the purpose of getting the men out in time to find work.

When the visitors had finished their meal, they would move into the hallroom where they sat on the benches, talking, smoking, reading a newspaper that someone else had discarded, or just relaxing. They usually stayed there for ten to twenty minutes, went to

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[16]The food is given (free of charge) to Care House by various restaurants, grocery chains, or hospitals in Border City. Several times a week, Pierre would take the lone truck and go collect the food which was then stored in the large freezers located in the kitchen. On occasion, new visitors to the establishment would be told the story of how chicken came to be on the menu of the House. It is alleged that one evening, some three years ago, an old man dressed in white entered Care House, sat down for a meal, and "ordered" chicken. He was politely informed that chicken was not available here. In the future, Colonel Sanders promised, the establishment would never run out of chicken. He has kept his promise.

the washroom, and left. The one or two transient that remained -- with the intention of spending the night there -- would go upstairs and usually ended up watching television in the living room area. There were few transients that came to the House after April, and fewer still before that. Most of the homeless residents lived in inexpensive boarding houses or apartments in the vicinity of Care House. They payed their rent with their welfare money.

Father Garneau's "Reality"

In an early conversation with the priest, the investigator perceived a note of unhappiness in his voice regarding the fact that the homeless residents today received too much welfare money from the government. The larger the sum of money they received, the lesser their dependency or need for Care House.

In an attempt to learn more about the residents' "drinking problem" and in an attempt to get a glimpse of Father Garneau's way of looking at the men, the researcher approached the priest and the resulting conversation became an informal (though somewhat structured) interview. The first question he was asked was: "Do the men still have families to care for?" He said no; those people who came to his establishment had usually passed that stage. Oftentimes, they had been thrown out of their homes by their families or relatives. Some might have abandoned their families because of a nagging wife that would not tolerate an inebriated husband. When questioned on the efficacy of his rehabilitation program, he answered: "Of the people that enlist, only about 30% of them last for over three months." This period, he emphasized, was the minimum period required to see if

the individual was serious, if he was really willing to forego drinking, and if he was strong enough to do so. Other statistics were unavailable. What seemed important to him was the fact that the program was there -- available to anyone who wanted to make use of it. To the investigator's question concerning how people embarked on the road to alcoholism and vagrancy, he said he believed that socialization was the answer. He held that these individuals began their way of life at a very tender age. Furthermore, he argued that:

> "You can spot them in school; a teacher can see that a particular kid is not going to make it in our kind of society because of his character, personality, environment, or any of these combined. These are the persons that resent any kind of authority. If they can't have things their way, they don't want to play anymore. They have no goal in life. Success and achievement must come to them since they will not go after them. Most of them think that the world owes them a living."

One might argue further, here, that the priest's generalizations tend to contain a certain amount of bias (e.g., will all children who have no goals in life and tend to resent authority become "old bums"?). In any case, the visitors, he continued, were afraid, confused, and rebellious. They continually criticized the governments and the societal institutions around them. They believed that they deserved more welfare money and better living conditions. Many of them criticized the wealthy for having too much money, he said, "yet you try to get one of them a job and he'll never be able to keep it." He hinted that most of the men were too old and hence would never change their way of life and perspective. "Their greatest problem is their lack of motivation. They have little to live for. Many of them don't see any changes in their future."

The researcher wondered how the children of the alcoholic were affected by their father's behavior. "Much of this depends on the mother's personality and character", Father Garneau answered. He cited his own family as an example. His father had been an alcoholic. Apparently, it was his mother, the example she was setting, and her various attempts to discredit her husband, continually pointing out his "shameful" behavior, that seemed to have heavily influenced his personality. Like the society to which she belonged, she tended to deplore alcoholism and depict it as evidence of weakness, inadequacy, and sinfulness, thereby producing shame in the alcoholic. To escape this shameful condition, the alcoholic will frequently seek out the companionship of other alcoholics.

Way of Life and "Reality" of Homeless Residents

One of the main topics of conversation in hostels and missions is food. Since the individuals visit the House primarily for the free meals, this comes as no surprise. One will hear remarks like: "Same ol' crap. . ." and witness the odd person so tired with what he is being given that he will offer it to the others (who will take it immediately). In general, the older the individual, the less likely this fussiness would occur.

It was observed that to the deprived homeless, whatever little he or she possessed seems to have been of great importance. They appeared to have had an exaggerated sense of property. For example, a young vagrant came to sit with a group of us at a table. He had a pint of ice cream with him. He proceeded to eat the entire contents without offering any to anyone. An even better example of this point

occurred on May 25th. The social researcher was about to begin his meal when two of the men seated near him asked for the bread (this is kept in a plate at the center of the table). As the bread was being passed, the participant-observer noticed that some of the slices had green molds in them -- a sign of decaying matter. Seeing this, he mentioned it to the fellow to his right, Sam, and reached for Albert's (seated across from Sam) two slices to check if he had given him some of the rotten bread. At the precise instant that he touched the slices, Albert yelled: "Don't touch my bread; that's my bread. Keep your hands off my bread." Old Sam's attempts to explain the situation to him were all in vain. Albert would simply not listen.[17] He stuffed both slices in his little brown bag, without even looking at them, and banged his bag angrily on the table. Realizing that all attempts at explanation were futile, Sam and the investigator began eating their meal -- no longer paying any attention to Albert. The latter finished his meal before anyone else and left.

As the weather in Border City became warmer, this kind of outburst became more common. Albert himself had another altercation a few weeks later. He was about to sit at a table when Luke, an old alcoholic, reached for the same seat. "I'm sittin' here," said Albert angrily as Luke muttered a few profane words. "That's my place; get your own seat and shut up." Most of the regular visitors seemed to have enjoyed this scene since big Luke had a reputation of being

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[17] One interestingly notices, here, the similarity between Albert's behavior and Old Joe's at Provincial Haven (see Appendix). There seems to be no way to calmly explain anything to this type of individual once he has defined a situation.

a troublemaker who enjoyed pushing his way around; for once, a small man was pushing him around. To many people's surprise, Luke did get another seat: opposite Albert!

Two other outbursts involved Margaret, the only regular female visitor of Care House. One of her violent arguments was with a young Black man, Amos, who presumably was a "glue-sniffer". But the quarrel seemed one-sided since she was the one doing all the yelling, swearing, and racist name-calling. Amos was ignoring her and this made her all the more furious. Her other altercation came one day when the researcher had just arrived at the House. Suddenly, Randy -- a regular who has one leg markedly shorter than the other -- began shouting obscenities at Margaret, threatening to choke her to death the first chance he got to meet her alone on the street. She, in turn, began referring to him in rather vulgar terms. It was obvious that this particular quarrel had been raging long before the social investigator had entered the establishment.[18] During the argument,

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[18] From what could be gathered, it seemed that Randy had seen Margaret with someone she should not have been with. This may account for his calling her a "cheap tramp". He warned her that he would tell her regular "boyfriend", a guest who would often accompany her to the House or the various drinking establishments they could be found in. Randy spoke loudly, his voice trembling with anger. Soon, one of the staff members aroused by the loudness came into the hall to warn both parties that if they had come to the House to fight, they were in the wrong place. He cautioned them to stop lest they wished to be thrown out. The peace lasted for nearly ten minutes. Then Luke, not very sober (as was usually the case), walked in and sat near Randy who had just found himself an ally. Both men seemed to agree that Margaret was a "so-and-so", and thus the fight erupted again, louder than ever. A glance around the hallroom showed some 30 faces that looked either embarassed or indifferent. No one interfered in the argument or attempted to mediate it. Once again, the seminarian staff member ordered them to put an end to their argument. They did so until the meal was completed; then, it started all over again.

young Tim decided to side with Hargaret and offered to "protect" her from Randy's threats. Both of them left the House together, followed closely by Randy (and the researcher). Gradually, it appeared that Randy had become more interested in Tim than Hargaret. He began chasing the young man but it was a losing battle since his bad leg slowed him down considerably. Eventually, all three of them scattered in different directions.

The Drinking Problem

Garry, one of the men who paid infrequent visits to Care House, came to sit near the investigator one day and gave him a glimpse of his "reality". He said he was fifty years old; he looked more like sixty-five. After some idle talk, he looked at the researcher straight in the face and said: "I'm an alcoholic. Drinking is very bad, you know." He was informed that the researcher rarely drank. He seemed very pleased with this and immediately placed his arm around him. Soon, he began a long fatherly speech filled with "good" advice (such as: "Don't start off on a drinking habit...", and so on).

Walt was a war veteran with few relatives left. The participant-observer met him at the House in February. He was given the impression that he was a happy staff member. But at the end of May, he quit his job; in June, he would come to the establishment for free meals and would frequently be half drunk. Pierre Tremblay explained that the ex-alcoholic's life was a perpetual struggle — a battle of man against the bottle. Unless the individual was prepared and determined to give up drinking for himself and no one else, he said, he would not be successful in "kicking the habit". Pierre himself ap-

peared to be over fifty even though he was only forty-three years of age. He pointed out that he had lost numerous good jobs throughout his life because of his once chronic, drinking habit.

Excessive drinking seems to be associated with dependency (welfare) and homelessness. Most of the "regulars" of Care House had had some unfortunate experiences with alcohol.

> The life histories of men in the shelters reveal several ways in which excessive drinking was associated with dependency. . . . Some were dismissed from one job after another because they were drunk on the job; some were dismissed because of inefficiency after their sprees or because of deterioration which resulted from steady drinking; some held their jobs but spent all their surplus funds in carousing; some were ostracized by their families and other groups because of drunkenness. . . . For [these] reasons. . . they left the neighborhood in which they had earlier lived a stable life and moved to Hobohemia, where they could find anonymity and moral freedom...[19]

Some men appeared to have explained most of their failures in life strictly in terms of alcoholism. Thus, their drinking problem became a convenient scapegoat for their failures.

Absenteeism: South Hall

The university residence plays an important part in the life of the out-of-town student. Being absent from home for an extended period of time, his new residence becomes his second home. He will often spend much of his time there: studying, writing, reading, typing, cleaning, and sleeping. Some leisure time is also spent there in the forms of conversations, playing cards or chess, listening to one's radio or stereo set, having an occasional party, turning off

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[19] E. H. Sutherland and H. J. Locke, Twenty Thousand Homeless Men (Chicago: Lippincott & Co., 1936), pp. 75-79.

the lights in the washroom when someone is taking a shower, and so on. Cooking in one's room was forbidden; nevertheless, many residents cooked their meals there. Other graduate students had meal contracts with Border City University's cafeteria.

The majority of students in South Hall were bachelors. Many were from the Toronto area, and most of them were from middle-class environments. Possibly two or three residents on every floor came from foreign countries. Most of the men were over twenty years of age. Unlike the situation in the other settings, there were no curfews nor any special rules concerning girlfriends at South Hall.

The first few weeks in residence generally determine whether or not the new student will enjoy a high degree of social interaction. As is sometimes the case, few of the residents on a particular floor will speak to each other and hence, such a floor earns the reputation of being dull. The floor studied here became known to many as "the greatest" floor in South Hall. From the very beginning of the academic year, one could see several relationships emerging. Some students met in the university's cafeteria where they ate together daily. Others were in the same classes or majoring in the same field. Yet others were from the same geographical area. Others simply had common interests.

Of the seventeen students living on the floor studied, at least ten may be said to be protagonists (subjects who contributed some significant data). In addition, two students from another floor made such frequent visits to our floor as to warrant their inclusion in the study. Here, then, is a brief introduction to these individ-

uals. Paul was a Law student who would often return to his room at night somewhat inebriated; when he was not studying or cooking, it seems that one could usually find him at someone's party. Chan was an American-born Asiatic student who was suspected of being a draft-dodger; he would never answer people's questions when they were related to this matter. Dick was from the province of Québec; he might have been classified as a pragmatic-utilitarian political scientist -- political science being his major. Big Bob was a rather sensitive and lonely individual who appeared to be in great need of companions. Marc was Jewish and would verbalize this frequently; he was alleged to be one of the top Law students in the university. Dan was majoring in Business Administration and seemed to be a hard worker. His friend Howard was one of the two students from another floor who would come upstairs for frequent visits. Abdul -- nicknamed The Koran Kid -- was a student from Egypt specializing in Economics and Computer Science; he played chess in his spare time. Baby-faced Bobby was another Law student whose perpetual smile expressed his happiness; he was engaged to a pretty young girl. Robert was an Italian-born resident who studied at the university's Education Faculty Building. His good friend Larry was the other student from "downstairs" who would drop by occasionally for a long argument in Italian. He would also come to visit the researcher to talk about hockey. Jack was the person who entered South Hall in January, filling a vacant room left behind by Karl -- an economics major who abandoned his studies at the Christmas recess to become an insurance salesman. The remaining students on the floor did not contribute

much to the everyday interaction that took place during the year. They had little or no impact on the main events. They were residents who were there strictly for academic purposes; their friends and social relationships were outside of South Hall. Two of these unimportant subjects were from foreign countries and were never seen speaking to each other, or anyone else on the floor studied.

Life in South Hall

At the beginning of the academic year, a small in-group developed around Big Bob. The group, which also included the researcher, was composed of Dan, Howard, Dick, Chan, and Big Bob. The latter was frequently the main topic of conversations in the first few "chatting sessions" that were held in the hallway or corridor. Big Bob possessed an evident stigma: obesity. He gave the impression that his character and personality had been shaped or strongly influenced by his stigmatic condition. He used the word "obnoxious" to describe himself. He usually appeared embittered, even when he was in a jovial mood, sarcastic, insulting, and seemingly insecure. Although he did not seem to mind laughing at himself before his peers, he would often get angry when others would join in -- as was frequently the case.

As the months passed, new relationships emerged. Mere acquaintances became good friends. The group conversations in the hallway and the card games played in Robert's room seem to have been responsible for this. The card games made Larry very popular with the in-group. He rapidly gained a reputation for his cheating abilities and his "bluffing" skills. So prominent were these character-

istics that soon, a term was coined for people who were cheating or deceiving: "Larrying". The political scientist also received the nickname of "scavenger" because of his habit of arriving on the floor when someone was receiving a pizza, or opening some potato chips, or some biscuits. Larry was also a great manipulator of people. He won many games because of his skills. The investigator was part of the card-playing group.

By December, even Abdul was becoming more extroverted. Not only would he join in the "chatting sessions", but oftentimes, he would start them. His "palm-reading" skills became much in demand. Though few residents professed any kind of belief in such "superstitions", they nonetheless insisted on having their palms read. Among his revealing statements, Abdul predicted Big Bob would not live past the age of fifty.

Since card games were usually played in his room, Robert became better known to the rest of the group. A mild stigma soon developed against him. Working in primary schools as a practice and requirement for his courses in Education, he would often spend his evenings cutting out paper animals and coloring books in preparation for his classes on the following day. As a result of these activities, he would frequently be the target for such comments as: "Working hard, Robert? Colored any pretty pictures lately? How is the new adventure of the Bobsy Twins?" Comments of this nature recurred, even in his absence. But these remarks did not seem to have had much of an effect on him.

By mid-January 1972, the relationships on the floor were in

transition again. The friendship existing between Big Bob and Chan came to an abrupt ending. The latter had become annoyed at the former's arrogance and cynicism. The pair had an argument that almost ended in violence; Chan attempted to practice his karate on Big Bob. Meanwhile, a new student had arrived on the floor who was going to play an important part in the changing relationships. Jack was already acquainted with Big Bob, Dan, Howard, and the researcher. Thus, he was not a stranger on the floor and was soon able to join in the conversations that took place.

While Abdul, Larry, Dick, and the investigator were experiencing increases in their popularity, a strange thing was happening to Marc. For some unexplainable reason, no one was interacting with him anymore. In turn, he did not speak with anyone. Perhaps it was his character or personality that were important factors leading to his ostracism. This was not investigated further since no one seemed willing to talk about it and since the few who did could offer no sensible explanation.

At this time, Paul was becoming one of the chief stigmatizers. On one occasion, as the student from Ceylon (Sutrah) was walking down the corridor towards the washroom, a chatting session was in progress. As the student approached the group, Paul said to him: "Hey Sutrah, when are you going to get rid of that old tablecloth and buy yourself a pair of pants?" The rest of the group were amazed by Paul's boldness; yet they could not help but laugh at this. So did Sutrah who did not comment -- as was his usual style. Several other remarks of this kind were made later, in the Ceylanese's absence.

Another kind of stigma had afflicted Big Bob; it had slowly been taking shape. He had acquired the reputation of being ultra-conservative or a "square". The stigmatizing was beginning to have an effect on him. On the one hand, he would state: "So what's so bad with being conservative? It don't bother me." On the other hand, he would strongly deny the charges as being applicable to him. As more and more people came to his room to watch the hockey games and "All in the Family" (a popular American television program), he would use these occasions to lecture them on how "liberal" he really was. But the stigmatizers appeared unconvinced.

As the end of the academic year drew near, social relationships changed once again. For one thing, there were more of them. Furthermore, Marc was no longer ostracized. People were slowly beginning to interact with him again. In the meantime, Chan had been isolating himself. During the year, he and Dick and the investigator had been good friends; but gradually he had separated himself from us and most of the other members of the in-group. He seemed to have become silent and "mysterious", played ping-pong like the students from the Far East, and had taken up some Chinese or Japanese self-defence course. His great preoccupation with a newly acquired girl-friend might have been partly responsible for his actions. By April, he was maintaining ties with Robert only.

During this time also, chess activity had increased significantly on the floor. The researcher himself played many games with several different individuals. But the chess event of the year came, at last, one day in late April. The two top players on the floor --

and possibly two of the best chess players on campus -- met: Marc challenged Abdul (Jew vs Arab). The participant-observer had tried to get these two together for a long time. Now at last, three games were played; Marc succeeded in defeating the Egyptian three consecutive times. This seemed to have had the effect of tarnishing the charismatic image of the great Arab. As was revealed by the outcome of the games, it appeared that Abdul feared Marc. When he had played him, the researcher noticed that Abdul was trembling. This was the first and only time that Abdul was seen to have been insecure (lacking self confidence). Even though he had been heavily biased against Jews, it seemed that he and Marc had finally developed an amiable relationship that was not based on fear or prejudice.

Role of Researcher

While at Provincial Haven, the researcher's position was somewhat awkward since he was not recognized as a full or regular staff member (as were the others) nor was he a resident. This lack of a clear status might have been a factor contributing to his forced departure.[20] He was training to become an eventual staff member. Although he was able to establish a good rapport with Hiko, the ex-convict staff member, the other members of the staff and most of the inmates never permitted him to become too much involved with them. It might even be argued that a large number of the men avoided a close relationship with staff members -- since they considered them to be "straights". The exception to this rule, of course, was

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[20] See the Appendix at the end of this paper for more details.

Mike. Few of the inmates seem to have confided in any staff member except Mike and Mr. Darlington. But the researcher did receive some confidences from Mike and Paul, and he did interact with the residents in several ways. We played pool together, watched television, had some conversations, and played cards late in the evenings on occasion. In one instance, we mowed the lawn together.

At Care House, the investigator gave the impression that he was a local student who did not have much money and often had to go have his meals there. He tried hard not to be identified as a staff member since there appeared to be a dichotomy between staff and visitors. This was most visible at meal time when the staff would not eat with the guests -- thereby missing a great opportunity for social interaction. The main obstacle encountered in this setting was the great gap existing between the age of the subjects and that of the researcher's. This is an important bias which the reader should keep in mind whenever generalizations and interpretations are given concerning these people. Since the rapport existing between the investigator and his subjects was never very close, the former had to rely heavily on the information given to him by Mr. Tremblay and Father Garneau. Furthermore, it should be realized that the unfortunate experience at Provincial Haven had made the investigator more cautious or conservative in his interaction with his new subjects. Thus, it seems that he was more of an observer in this setting than a participant. The interaction that took place was mostly before and after the meals. During the meals, there was very little talking -- except for the topic of the food itself. On several occasions, the research-

er went upstairs to watch television with the one or two homeless resident that did so. He would offer them cigarettes and this would frequently lead to some idle talk.

At South Hall, unlike his situation in the other settings, the researcher was not an outsider in this one. Thus, this may have been an important difference in the nature of the data gathered. For a period of eight months, the participant-observer literally lived with his subjects. Several of them became his good friends. Being "one of the boys" or working from the inside, as it were, increases the amount of subjective bias; but the atmosphere that one works in is far less tense. Hence, feelings of anxiety are minimized. Lastly, first-hand observation and participation are greatly facilitated.

The students involved in this setting were aware that the investigator was doing a study; but since he did not say much about it, only one or two finally realized that they were playing a part in it -- and they did not seem to have cared. His position in the hierarchy of relationships here was on a relatively equal basis with his subjects. He lived with them, ate with them, spent his leisure time with them, and usually participated in the many chatting sessions held in the hallway until the early hours of the morning.

Life at Provincial Haven and Care House was somewhat stigmatizing for the dwellers. The mere name of Care House was slightly derogatory. In South Hall, this issue was nonexistent. In fact, possibly the opposite was true; living in this residence tended to enhance one's status. At the mention of its name, other students would realize they were speaking to a "grad" student.

The Investigator's "Reality"

As a group, the residents of Provincial Haven were not very cohesive. This may have been due to the following reasons: some guests were about eighteen years old while others were well over forty; many of them did not stay very long in the Haven; and many of them came from different correctional institutions, having committed offenses of various nature. While the in-group in South Hall was indeed quite cohesive, the out-group was not at all. Their "significant others" lied outside of this residence. The homeless residents of Care House were not cohesive either. This may have been due to: the discrepancy existing between their age, the fact that many were unemployed permanently while a few worked occasionally, and the fact that several of the men did not stay very long in one place, going to other nearby cities for weeks or months to live there.

At the Haven

As a group, the inmates did not appear to have been very concerned about whether they would succeed or not in their new life. This attitude may have affected the staff who, at times, tended to react in a similar fashion towards the men, that is, by not caring too much about those individuals. And again, this would affect the residents. Who affected who first is almost impossible to determine.

Sometimes it seemed that distrust was a way of life at the halfway house. Many objects and articles were kept continually under lock. The inmates (and perhaps even members of the staff — although no evidence for this can be found) stole items from each other as well as from the Haven. From the latter, it usually involved food.

They often tried "bumming"[21] money from the staff or from one another (occasionally, the odd staff member would also try this on another staff member, but not on an inmate).

It was observed that much of the ex-convicts' attention seemed focused on what they could get out of the system, friends, relatives, and staff. Their displays of emotions were characterized by a high or low tone of voice. For many men, however, displays of emotion were rare since they would try to reveal a self-assured manner; perhaps by so doing they emphasized their aloofness and "superiority" to the "straights". Another characteristic that was observed -- which might be related to their subcultural socialization -- was their "short-run hedonism".

> There is little interest in long-run goals, in planning activities and budgeting time, or in activities involving knowledge and skills to be acquired only through practice, deliberation and study. . . . They do not take kindly to organized and supervised recreation, which subjects them to a regime of schedules and impersonal rules. . . . This short-run hedonism is not. . . characteristic of delinquent groups alone.[22]

Of the several examples of this, the most important was Steve's case. He had saved $40. One day, he saw an attractive pair of boots displayed in a window. He immediately bought them; they cost him $40.

At Care House

In this particular setting, it appears that the establishment also functioned as a meeting place where the regular visitors would

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[21] See Erving Goffman's Asylums, p. 11 for more on this point.

[22] Cohen, Delinquent Boys, op. cit., p. 30.

be kept in touch with events that were considered important to them. When the homeless residents were in a talkative mood, their gossip tended to be informative. For instance, they would be informed that Mr. X had died last week while Mr. Y had left Border City to go to Hamilton to live a similar life connected with the hostels there, and Mr. Z was back in the hospital again while old Mr. P had been arrested for the n th time due to his disorderly behavior, and so on and so forth.

"Bumming" cigarettes and small change were common at the House. Once, one individual asked the investigator for a cigarette and when he saw that the latter was pleased to offer him one, he immediately asked for three more for his "friends".

To understand the life of the homeless, one needs to acquire information on their whereabouts when they are not in the shelter. A simple way to do this was to follow several subjects as they left Care House. By and large, the majority of the men who did not have any job spent much of their time walking. A sizeable amount of this walking appears to have been aimless wandering up and down certain city streets. They seemed to have been looking for something of interest to them. "There is no reason why one should walk fast, so one learns to walk slow; there is no place to go."[23] Thus, even if they were able to afford it, few of the homeless residents would bother to pay for a bus ride since there seldom was any hurry to go anywhere.

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[23] Sutherland and Locke, Twenty Thousand Homeless Men, op. cit., p. 15.

> The homeless man, as he meanders along the street, is looking for something to break the monotony. He will stand on the curb for hours, watching people pass. He notices every conspicuous person and follows with interest, perhaps sometimes with envy, the wavering movements of every passing drunk. If a policeman stops anyone on the street, he also stops and listens in.... Wherever he sees a group gathered, he lingers. He will spend hours sitting on the curb talking with a congenial companion.[24]

Even though these words were written in 1923, they are still very much applicable to today's homeless men. One can see them in downtown Border City watching construction workers building skyscrapers; they will stand on a corner and watch for hours -- unless they have something else to do or something else captures their attention. One can also observe some of them in local taverns during the day and/or the evening. Some of them can be seen in the main bus depot where they can use the washroom facilities during their stay downtown. Others may be found floundering in certain city parks, sometimes sitting on the grass over an old newspaper or a park bench for long hours. For some, the newspaper is a daily necessity. It would then be passed on to others upon request.

> Many of the men get the papers for information about current events, some follow the ball games, others follow the horse races, and a few look at the want ads. The newspaper helps the men keep in touch with the external world of which they were once a part. It helps them kill an hour or two in an enjoyable manner and it serves the function of stimulating their interests.[25]

It is this researcher's subjective impression that contentment

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[24] Nels Anderson, The Hobo -- The Sociology of the Homeless Man, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923; Phoenix Books ed., 1961), p. 215.

[25] Sutherland and Locke, Twenty Thousand Homeless Men, op. cit., p. 95.

was a characteristic of several subjects over fifty years old. Sheltered from society's reaction, some of them appeared to be perfectly satisfied and willing to spend the rest of their lives in a rooming house and eating two meals a day at Care House. After all, they had a little cash to spend on their favorite drink and a sizeable amount of independence. The majority of the men did not seem to feel resentment or stigma from the society around them. Peeking at Father Garneau's reality, for a moment, the priest had a theory on this. Although it was not his intention to stigmatize them, he maintained that the homeless residents were able to build a kind of immunity to shame, guilt, and remorse. Drinking, accepting free clothes, and receiving free food had gradually become a way of life for the men; if they were to survive psychologically, the priest believed, they simply had to "adjust" or build up a resistance to shame.

It is difficult to explain why so many disputes erupted at Care House with the arrival of the Summer months. Perhaps the weather had a significant influence on these. One particular explanation holds that:

> Lacking the salutary feedback of daily intercourse with others, the self-isolate can become suspicious, depressed, hostile, anxious, and bewildered.[26]

But this explanation seems to leave much to be desired since non-self-isolates can also become suspicious and hostile. One might wish to apply the "frustration-aggression hypothesis" here. If these persons feel frustrated as a result of being stigmatized, then perhaps

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[26] Goffman, Stigma, op. cit., p. 13.

it is an accumulation of frustrations that has made them similar to powder kegs — ready to explode at the slightest spark. As was said earlier, aggression may have as a function the release or externalization of accumulated frustrations.

It seems that on some days, most homeless residents tended to be grouchy and ready to "explode" at any moment; on other days, most of them tended to be cheerful, grinning and joking. At times, the silence in the hall would be such that we could hear each other breathing. On other occasions, we had to speak rather loud in order to be heard by the person seated next to us. This phenomena has been referred to as "behavioral contagion".[27]

Time was a noticeable factor at the House. As one social scientist who followed the shelter life accurately observed:

> Time drags on in the shelter. During the first month it seemed to me that each day was like a week: nothing to do and all day to do it in.[28]

The participant-observer who wrote those lines was probably middle-class; his values and method of passing the time probably differed widely from that of his subjects. But the homeless resident himself is not really very preoccupied with time. If it had not been for his meals at the House, he probably would not have even needed to glance at clocks or watches. Few of the visitors wore watches. Most of them

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[27] Tamotsu Shibutani, Improvised News, p. 95: "In sociology, the term behavioral contagion may be used to designate the relatively rapid dissemination of a mood or form of conduct, generally through direct interpersonal contact."

[28] Sutherland and Locke, Twenty Thousand Homeless Men, op. cit., p. 14.

might not have been able to afford them; many simply had no use for them. Comments like: "Meet you at the park this afternoon", and "I'll be fishing on the riverfront tomorrow night", were commonly heard in the hallroom. No exact time was given (nor any exact place -- where in the park or on the riverfront?). Somehow, the men seem to have managed their lives quite well without "time".

At South Hall

Here, the stigma against a person or group tended to shift onto another person or group every so often. If familiarity renders one's failings more visible (as Goffman tends to believe), then this may partially explain the behavior of the other residents on the floor who completely avoided mingling with the in-group. They might have been aware of this.

The Propositions

Earlier, we spoke of two propositions that were planned for investigation. During the study, no special effort was made to try to prove or disprove them. We will now examine our findings that seem to be related to them.

Proposition I

"Individuals possessing an evident stigma will tend to be stigmatized longer than people with a latent stigma." Only two settings in this study had people with evident stigmas: Care House and South Hall. Unfortunately for the latter setting, Big Bob was the only individual with an evident stigma. It was noticed that he had a rather grouchy character -- perhaps due to his stigmatic condition --

and was generally difficult to get along with. Yet he had many friends who tolerated him. Perhaps it was his television set that brought him so many friends; he was one of the few students in the entire residence with a set. Commenting on his character, two of his friends once remarked: "You've got to understand the guy. He's like that 'cause he's fat." Other people's construction of reality seem to have made him perceive himself the way they did -- somewhat inferior to others. The ostensible stigma against him lasted throughout the academic year; but it was a mild stigma that the people around him understood (after all, one cannot always help being obese). At Care House, the situation was different. There was a minimum of a dozen men who had an evident stigma: their shabby appearance which attract the label of "old bum" from normals. However, since these men were never seen entering "respectable" establishments in Border City, no visible occurences were observed by the researcher concerning their stigma. Hence, if there was no public reaction, then it is not possible to come to any significant conclusion regarding these particular subjects. Another way to interpret this, of course, might be to state that the mere fact they were ignored by normals is a manifestation of stigma; but then again, are all people who are ignored when they pass on the street stigmatized? It does not seem likely.

Concerning the victims of latent stigma, we can turn to South Hall once again. Many of the hallway conversations that did not turn into debates or arguments became a variation of the animal "pecking session."

> Years ago, psychologists attracted considerable attention with their descriptions of the 'pecking order' of chickens. It will be remembered that in each flock there is always one chicken that pecks all the others but does not get pecked by any others, and at the bottom there is one that gets pecked by all the rest. Between the extremes, the flock is arranged in an orderly progression ranging from the one that is second from the bottom and has only one chicken it can peck, up to the #2 bird, who is pecked only by the leader. . . . Chickens have a peck order, horses a 'kick-bite' order. In some cases, a rigidly ordered hierarchy is replaced by another form of association.[29]

The variation of the "pecking session" in South Hall was the "stigma session" which was not as rigid as those described above. The in-group would start "picking" on a particular person and then move on to another. A few evenings later, the same thing would start all over again with the same recurring remarks that would discredit a student before the others present. The shifting of stigma was very noticeable. The targets with a latent stigma at the end of the year were not all the same individuals who had been stigmatized at the beginning of the year. Almost everyone on the floor -- the investigator included -- was stigmatized at some time or other. The change from one victim to another was slow, but sooner or later a discrediting trait or characteristic would be found in a different person which would attract someone's attention. Then, this someone would bring this to the group's attention and the old target would be forgotten in favor of a fresher prey.

Thus, the only real evident stigma in this work is the case of Big Bob and the conclusion we draw from this case lies on tenuous

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[29] Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language (New York: A Fawcett Premier Book, 1968), pp. 46-47.

grounds. But Big Bob's case does seem to agree with our first proposition; other authors would also agree with it.[30]

Proposition II

"The tainted will themselves indulge in stigmatization as a result of their 'condition'." Some of this stigmatization we will call "counterstigmatization" — stigmatizing those who are stigmatizing you. This also involves a repudiation of the stigma ascribed.

At Provincial Haven, this was the attitude that seemed to have been manifested by the guests towards normals or "straights". As one may recall, they viewed these as gullible individuals, ordered around by priests and "big shots", and manipulated and exploited by governments and big business. One might speculate that this perspective frequently acted as a powerful deterrent to becoming "normal". In general, the men did not stigmatize one another.

At South Hall, counterstigma occured in mid-January when the students who were unable to provide evidence of their normalcy -- as measured by sexual experiences -- began stigmatizing those with sexual experience. Some of the tainted residents would ask: "Which slut is Jones sleeping with tonight?" (when no normals were in the area). Normals themselves would ask questions of this nature, but definitely not in such a derogatory fashion.

At Care House, a rhetoric was used by the visitors to legitimate their lifestyle. This rhetoric seemed inclined towards the

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[30]For instance, see C.H. Rolph, ed., Women of the Streets (London: Secker & Warburg, 1955).

stigmatization of "those out there" — as normals were sometimes called. For example, one would hear comments of this nature: "Those out there are spoiled rich; sit in their big offices doing nothin' all day. Got so much, they don't know what to do or what to buy next. But they ain't happier than we are." Other comments would deal with how things "out there are fixed". "If you don't have the right connections, you just don't get anywhere." Here too, one has the impression that such an outlook might not only serve as a way to legitimate their existence but also act as a deterrent to become "normal".

In addition to counterstigma, at Care House, there was also a small amount of stigmatizing nonconformists. In April of 1972, a number of "Jesus Freaks" moved into the House's neighborhood. Occasionally, they would make an appearance at the establishment for a free meal. Three or four young men would come together, often accompanied by one or two young women. Their friendliness, religiosity, and "hippy"-like appearance seemed to have amazed the homeless crowd. Although they tolerated their presence, they disliked the fact that the "Freaks" were mostly all barefooted. Soon, one began hearing cynical comments concerning this. They became more frequent as the visits of "them hippies" increased. When the Freaks would enter the House and greet the guests with their usual "Hi, Brothers!", remarks like: "Why don't you'se guys wear shoes?" and implications that Father Garneau had a large supply for the needy would almost invariably be heard. But this mild stigmatizing activity

did not seem to have had any visible effect on the young people who would ignore the comments or accept them with a grin. On one occasion, as a Freak was sitting at the table to eat, the investigator saw an individual seated to the young man's left promptly getting up and going to sit elsewhere.

This appears to show that no one is immune to stigma. Even the stigmatized select out-groups to stigmatize. This corroborates Rosenblith's findings.[31]

Secrecy

Partial-institutional living usually entails a lack of privacy. The dweller is never completely alone. At Provincial Haven, for instance, there were no locks on the doors of the residents' rooms. There was no privacy for the guests at Care House either. Consequently, the homeless residents developed a kind of reaction to this -- possibly as a defense mechanism for the protection of their self or perhaps for other reasons. This involved a refusal to divulge anything significant about the self. Although more will be said about this later, it might be mentioned here that often, even one's name would not be disclosed. As a result of this and because of the great gap existing between his age and theirs, the social researcher was never able to establish a very close rapport with these particular subjects. Some homeless men had known each other for many years and yet did not know each other's full names.

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[31] See Chapter I, p. 10.

Inquiring about a person's past was frequently out of the question. This aspect of their "reality" has already been accurately perceived by some social scientists.

> I have become acquainted with a few men. . . but I do not know their names. I can get into a group by just sauntering up to it; I will be introduced to the conversation but never to any person. For months you may talk daily to individuals and never know their names. The desire to remain unknown. . . leads to an absence of intimate conversation. Some of the men are extremely inarticulate, sitting hour after hour and day after day with hardly a word to anyone.[32]

Another way of looking at this may be in seeing the homeless residents as people whose socialization has forced them into leading a secret or "closed life".

> But with all the discussion, there is seldom any effort to discuss personal relations and connections. Here is one place where every man's past is his own secret. Only in the case of very young boys or sick men. . . is there any effort to learn something of the individual's past. Men will brush elbows in the [hostels] for days and even weeks without ever learning one another's names. They life closed lives and grant others the same privilege.[33]

As a consequence of the lack of privacy at Provincial Haven, the use of secrecy flourished. As was mentioned elsewhere,[34] the participant-observer or stranger "often receives confidences which sometimes have the character of a confessional..." In an intimate conversation with Mike -- the ex-convict staff member -- the inves-

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[32] Sutherland and Locke, Twenty Thousand Homeless Men, pp. 10-11.

[33] Anderson, The Hobo, op. cit., p. 20.

[34] See p. 39, n. 15.

tigator was told that the staff of the halfway house was deeply divided into three factions: on one side was Mr. Darlington, on another was he, and on the last side was the rest of the staff (excluding the cook). Concerning the last faction, these people apparently invited each other for coffee, beer, or parties and odd sports events. But it seems that Mike was never invited. He had strong suspicions about the staff, appearing convinced that they were stigmatizing him in their own subtle way because he had done "time" in a correctional institution. He added that even if he had been invited, he would have declined the invitation. What annoyed him was the fact that they would simply ignore him or leave him out of their in-group social life. He seemed perturbed by the fact that such a relationship could exist in such a setting. In addition, they would frequently ask him — in a manner that made it difficult for him to refuse — to collect the money for the rent from the guests. This was a task which staff members disliked. Since he tried hard to maintain a friendly relationship with the inmates, he was inclined to believe that his role of collector would somehow tarnish his image in their eyes. Finally, Mike complained about the staff members' habit of gathering together occasionally (two or three at a time) in a corner and whisper to each other, excluding him from the seemingly important conversation. These secret-telling or whispering sessions were plentiful at the Haven; the researcher himself noticed them and also felt estranged from the staff at such moments. It pointed out to him that he was still an "outsider" and could not yet be fully trusted. Not surprisingly, the residents themselves

would often indulge in the use of this technique. It seems like this was the only way they could have any kind of privacy.

> The secret gives one a position of exception. . . . since the others are excluded from the possession. . . . The converse suggests itself psychologically, namely, that what is denied to many must have special value.[35]

Whether the inmates had learnt their habit from the staff or vice versa is not known. With the exception of Mike again, the members of the staff would also be invited into the office of Mr. Darlington's assistant where private discussions would take place. This implied that they did not really trust him or consider him as an ordinary staff member; it added strength to his belief that he was being stigmatized. It is also possible that the staff resented Mike because of his greater popularity with the inmates than the rest of them. In any case, all of these annoyances and frustrations led to his eventual voluntary departure from Provincial Haven.

Fantasying

An important phenomena noticed at Provincial Haven and particularly at Care House was fantasying. This is a form of reasoning. It may be a consequence of "the absence of immediate gratifications in the real world", or it might result "from sheer boredom and lack of external stimulation".[36] In any case, it tends to be an excapist

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[35] Wolff, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, op. cit., p. 332.

[36] D. Krech, R. S. Crutchfield, and E. Ballachey, Individual in Society (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., Inc., 1962), pp. 86-87.

method of reacting to the hardships of life. At the Haven, it was found that the conversations of many residents of the mediatory institution revolved around a girlfriend fantasy -- i.e., a recital or description of the outstanding traits, attributes, and characteristics of one's girlfriend. Story-telling may become an art when it originates from a skillful "raconteur". Many inmates engaged in story-telling, trying to surpass one another in impressing staff and fellow residents with their accounts. Although a large amount of fantasying was found in two of our three settings, it should not be understood that this is typical of all (and only) stigmatized individuals. It was simply a significant finding.

The stories of Provincial Haven frequently depicted norms being violated simply for the "fun of it", and the use of physical violence. In the latter cases, there were usually policemen or "straight" people included in the tale who attempted to enforce a or rule. Such individuals were generally portrayed as weaklings who could be easily duped.

The raconteur appears to derive a considerable pleasure in being in the limelight. On occasion, at the halfway house, a "moral" would be inserted into the story; it might be referred to as a "John Wayne Syndrome" -- "A man's gotta do what he's gotta do" -- in that little logic appears to be given in the accountability of one's behavior.

At Care House, one will meet several individuals -- especially among the young homeless residents -- who live in fantasy worlds as the following incident will try to demonstrate. One day

in April, we had just finished our meal and were relaxing in the ballroom; most visitors were beginning to leave. Tim, whose "reality" we will now examine, was seated next to the researcher; he asked him if he was going "uptown" (the Main Avenue area). Realizing that he was headed that way, the social investigator answered affirmatively. We left the House together. The young man (he is around 18 years old) who had attempted to "protect" Margaret turned out to be extremely talkative -- when compared with the majority of the other homeless residents. After a brief discussion concerning Randy and Margaret (the quarrel had happened a few days before), he talked about himself. He had a job picking grapes in a nearby town. "They" would come to pick him up that very evening for work. He was making "big money". Later he stated that he had a bowling league meeting to attend that evening and that he would go even if his wife would not permit it. Then he said he had a car. "What kind of car is it?" the researcher inquired. He replied that it was "a big one". Soon, we came across a "big one" and he said: "That's it, there." The auto he had pointed to was a 1972 Gran Torino. When asked if he had the key to it, he said no; his brother had it. Eventually, Tim said that it was his brother's car. He added that it had cost $240. We both agreed that this was "a lot of money". Later, he said the car had cost "thousands and thousands" of dollars. Since it was a hot day, the investigator suggested a walk to a popular waterfront tavern where one could go quench his thirst. He agreed. He pointed out that he had a great deal of money but his brother had borrowed it. As we approached a fish market, he said: "My brother is the boss here." He

asked the participant-observer to wait for a few moments while he would go in to see his brother who owed him ten dollars. A few minutes later, he returned saying his brother was not there. The researcher informed him that it was alright, he had enough money for a few beers. Thus we entered the tavern and, when the beers had been brought to our table, he appeared embarrassed and expressed this in his near silence. Before entering the pub, it had been agreed that we would go for a short walk in Riverfront Park after our drinks. But Tim went to the washroom and then went outside for a few minutes. When he returned, he finished his beer, said: "Thanks" (he seemed uneasy), and added: "I'll see ya t'morrow, hey?" He promptly left the premises. Moments later, Randy walked in.[37]

Fantasy may arise from social frustrations; for instance, being snubbed, rejected, or unable to gain recognition from others may lead to fantasying. Sexual fantasies are common in young people.

> Compensatory daydreams allow the person imaginatively to attain goals that are otherwise unattainable. . . . Daydreams of escape occur under conditions of drudgery, anxiety, boredom, hardship, fear, and the like. The fantasies temporarily transport the dreamer into more pleasant surroundings. Daydreams of release function as safety valves by allowing the individual to dissipate his anger, hatred, resentment, irritation, or jealousy in a harmless imaginary form. Although fantasy is supposed to serve the three functions of escape, compensation, and release it is not an easy matter to prove that these are its only or its main functions.[38]

The mass media often offer fabricated fantasies which seem to fill

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[37] It appears that Tim must have seen him when he went outside and simply feared meeting him face-to-face.

[38] Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss, Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 3rd. ed., 1968), p.125.

a public need. Readers or viewers seem to receive a measure of satisfaction through the fantasies. The individual "rides with Autry, fights with Gable, loves with Garbo."[39]

Sex

On the researcher's first visit at Provincial Haven, he found out that one of the residents had been caught in bed the previous night with a young girl described as "not even eighteen". The guest was over thirty years old. The staff member who discovered the rule infraction was Bernie. For several days after, the inmate seemed bitter — not because of what he had done but because (as he had implied verbally on a few occasions) he had been caught and reprimanded. At the same time, his status had been enhanced in the Haven due to his audacious act. Some looked at him with admiration, others with jealousy, and perhaps a degree or measure of envy.

It appears that Bernie's duties on the night shift forced him to become a kind of "Peeping Tom", constantly spying on the men, making any kind of privacy extremely difficult, and forcing them into involuntary celibacy.

Here we seem to have a conflict of "realities". The staff administrators of the halfway house tend to overlook the importance of sexual abstinence for the inmates — particularly to those who have been incarcerated for a long period of time. While the staff rated unemployment as the most crucial problem at the Haven, obser-

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[39] L. Rosten, Hollywood (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1941), p. 11.

vations (and the men themselves) seem to indicate that the most serious problem was the need for sexual fulfillment.

While the topic of sex was also in the inmates' fantasy-filled conversations, this was not the case at Care House. As a matter of fact, very little was ever said about this topic in this particular setting. The visitors either avoided this subject or were simply not interested in it. As suggested earlier, the consumption of alcohol in rather large quantities might have alleviated or compensated for their sexual needs.

At the time of this study, one found mild stigmas held against the residents of South Hall who seemed unable to provide some kind of "proof" that they had had sexual intercourse with a member the opposite sex. In addition, it was generally taken for granted that a large number of the students had had this experience. For those unable to support their claim to "normalcy" -- in this case measured by the criteria of sexual intercourse -- life on the floor studied became a little more tense. Such people appeared to have been looked down upon and deemed to have been somewhat inferior to the rest. This may partially have accounted for the great concern that several students devoted to their projected image or popularity.

What was happening on the floor was a rather common phenomena found in residences of this nature: some individuals were getting the "good" girls, others were getting the "nice" girls, while the others were not getting any girls -- something not so unlikely on campuses where the male population exceeds the female population. Eventually, those subjects who were having their sexual needs more or less reg-

ularly found themselves in a real or imagined, upgraded position and hence, in a position to downgrade the others. This stigmatizing was done in subtle ways (e.g., snide remarks). The chief stigmatizers or normals were Paul and Dick whose relationship became much closer as a result of their common, normal membership.

Although the researcher generally tried to remain aloof in most of these situations involving an in-group and one or more out-groups, he soon found himself included in the stigmatized group since he was unable to provide the necessary evidence for qualifying as a normal. On the one hand, then, he experienced the phenomenon he was studying (as he did at the Haven -- see Appendix) while on the other hand, he found himself in an excellent position to observe the events that were happening.

The line between the in-group and the out-group sometimes changed. For instance Marc, a normal, was being stigmatized by his "own kind" because the females that spent the night in his room were presumably minors. Comments from Paul directed at him frequently sounded like this: "How are the high school 'chicks' these days, Marc?" Later, it was Chan's turn to go through this; a normal, his normality was found to be of an inferior degree than the rest because the girls who spent the night in his room were said to be students with "emotional" problems. On one memorable occasion, Big Bob managed to maneuver a young lady into his room for an entire day and night. The next day, to the amazement of many, he frankly revealed never having had any kind of physical contact with his date. He was ridiculed for this extremely "odd" behavior.

Loneliness

At Provincial Haven, Ron and Steve openly admitted that they led lonely lives and did not enjoy their predicament. One can see a connection between loneliness and sexual frustration. Since loneliness is something felt by many non-stigmatized individuals also, it is difficult to come to any kind of conclusion about this. However, the loneliness or isolation experienced by the blemished in general has already been investigated in an experimental study.

> Kleck and his associates have undertaken an interesting series of studies on the effect of stigma upon interaction distance. College students were asked to go into a room and converse with another person who was sometimes described as an epileptic. They sat further from the person when he was described as an epileptic than when he was not. The experiment was repeated with the other person described as either 'warm and friendly' or 'cold and unfriendly'. It was found that people sat further away from the 'unfriendly' person than from the 'friendly' person.[40]

It appears that the normal fears being hurt by the stigmatized. The fact that the tainted person (especially the one with an evident stigma) is kept at a greater distance than normals is likely to have some effect upon his motivation, attitudes, and feelings of belonging with the rest. There are many ways to produce loneliness in people.

At Provincial Haven and at Care House, the residents were usually excluded from knowledge of the decisions taken concerning their fate. Such exclusions can give officials or staff a certain kind of distance from and control over the population within. This

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[40] Robert Sommer, Personal Space (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 70.

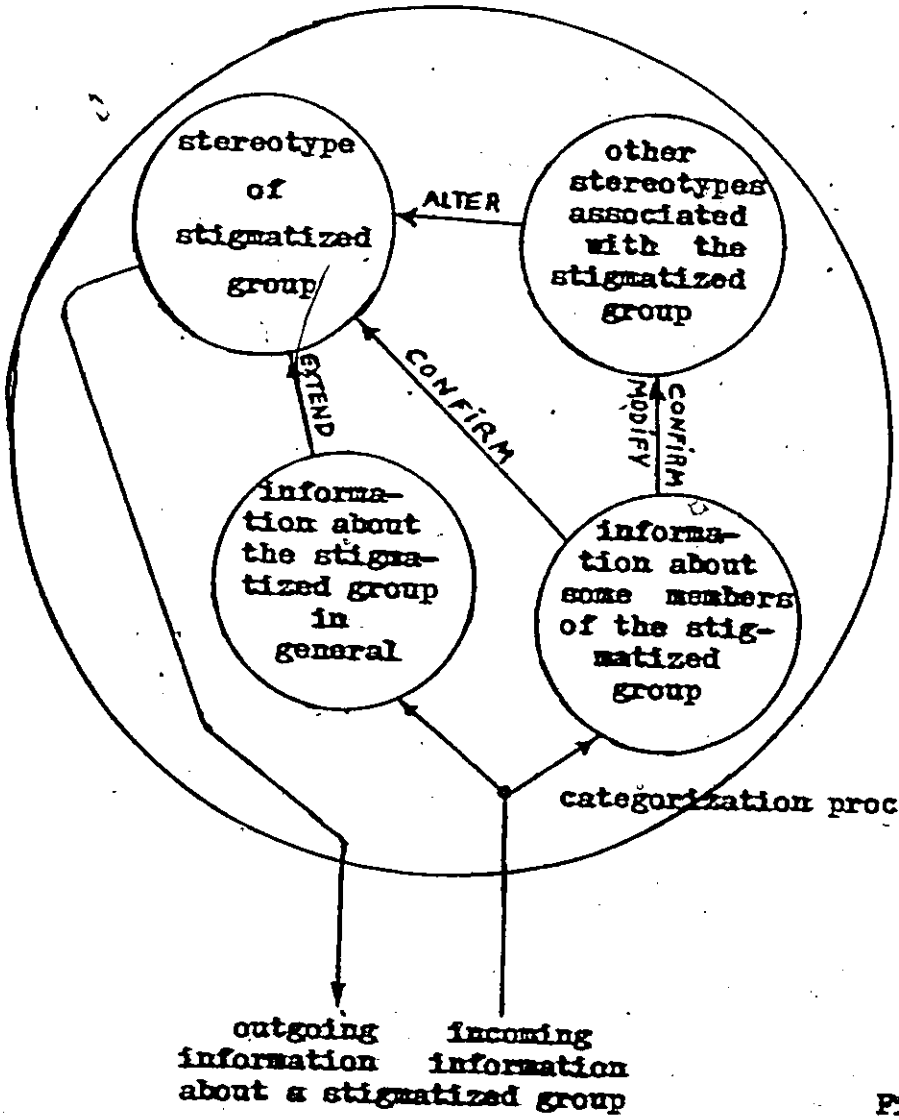

Fig. I

may have led to stereotyping as two or more social or subcultural worlds developed side by side with little mutual understanding. Information about a stereotyped or stigmatized group derives from several sources: direct or indirect experience of behavior, interaction with group, learning about the group through the mass media, and the like. Figure I (above) attempts to show how the process works in Everyman's head. The diagram might also be applicable to the mass media.

Self-Disclosure and Passing

Lonely people are frequently lonely because of their reluctance to engage in self-disclosure, that is, the disclosure of significant facts about the self. This may be due to the way they were socialized. Many individuals find it difficult to become intimate with anyone. Techniques are developed to cope with this.

At South Hall, when Marc first introduced himself to the other residents on his floor, he was installing his "ham set" and its antenna. His technique of disclosing his stigma has already been accurately described:

> There is also 'disclosure etiquette', a formula whereby the individual admits his own failing in a matter of fact way, supporting the assumption that those present are above such concerns while preventing them from trapping themselves into showing that they are not. Thus, the 'good' Jew . . . waits for 'an appropriate time' in a conversation with strangers and calmly says: 'Well, being Jewish has made me feel that . . .' [41]

Indeed, this was Marc's exact way of breaking the news of his stigma to his fellow students. Commonly, he would recite jokes that mocked the Jewish culture or the English accent of the Jew. Meanwhile, Big Bob tended to overindulge in self-disclosure -- especially concerning facts about his sexual life.

As early as October, it had become evident that a network of communication was establishing itself on the floor. As soon as student X dated Miss Y for an evening, everyone promptly learnt about it. Whenever a person would wish to keep something to him-

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[41] Goffman, Stigma, op. cit., p. 101.

self, he would have to go through greats pains to do so. At the same time, everyone was kept up-to-date as far as the latest bit of gossip was concerned. Some of these "chatting sessions" would not end before three or four o'clock in the morning. As they began to turn into "stigma sessions", one noticed that many individuals became increasingly reluctant to disclose any kind of significant information about themselves. The participant-observer saw this progressive change occur over a period of two to three months. Being constantly in the presence of their peer group, then, seems to have had this effect on the residents. We may conclude that the more often one is with a group, the easier it becomes for this group to discover one's shortcoming(s).

We might wish to apply this conclusion to the two other settings. As we will recall, the men at Provincial Haven and at Care House were also reluctant to disclose anything about their self. When people are convinced or are made to believe that their lives are altogether shameful, then it should not be surprising to find that these people do not wish to divulge anything which they believe to be related with their stigmatic condition.

> Certain categories of data are disclosed more fully to various target-persons than to others. For example, information bearing upon one's work, one's tastes, hobbies, and interests, one's attitudes toward religion, politics, and the like are evidently more disclosable than the details about one's sex life, . . . and one's feelings and problems in relation to one's body and to one's own personality. . . . The degree of liking for a target-person was found to correlate substantially with the amount disclosed to him — but, interestingly enough, more strikingly among women than among men. . . . We found that, as people get older, the amount they disclose to other people in their lives, especially parents and same-sex friend, or spouse, increases from the age of 17 up to about the fifties and then

> drops off. . . . Male college students. . . keep their parents about equally informed about their subjective being, and in lesser degree, than do females. The person who knows these boys best is their closest male friend. Their female friend is typically disclosed less authentic and varied personal information than is their chum.[42]

Jourard's findings regarding self-disclosure for old people (as those at Care House) and male college students tend to corroborate our own findings.

The "cause" of a stigma ultimately lies in its known-aboutness. In other words, if Mr. Jones does not disclose his sexual impotence to anyone, then he will not be stigmatized per se (although the society he lives in may stigmatize "his kind"). To avoid being branded by the Other and thus suffer a loss of status, the discreditable individual may be expected to make an effort to conceal his past or his shortcoming. In other words, he tries to "pass" as a normal.

"Passing" involves the concealment of discreditable facts,

> . . .The management of undisclosed discrediting information about self. . . . Passing is sometimes done for what is seen as fun. The person who. . . passes often recounts the incident to his fellows as evidence of the foolishness of the normals and the fact that all their arguments about his differentness from them are merely rationalizations . . . . A physician who meets on the street a man with dull red discoloration of the cornea and notched teeth is meeting someone who openly displays two of Hutchinson's signs and is likely to be syphilitic. Others present, however, being medically blind, will see no evil.[43]

Thus, the "decoding capacity" of an audience is what generally deter-

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[42] Sydney M. Jourard, The Transparent Self (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co.; revised ed., 1971), pp. 229, 231, 234, 230.

[43] Goffman, Stigma, op. cit., pp. 42, 135, 50-51.

mines a person's successful chances at passing. As was suggested earlier, sham behavior is usually used as a protective device, shielding the individual from shame. Shamming can become cumbersome, forcing some people into living a "double life". In general, an evident stigma is more difficult to conceal than a latent one. This seems to have been one of the reasons motivating some homeless residents at Care House to dress in such a way so as not to attract special attention onto themselves. In any case, most of the subjects in this study did not appear to have a very difficult time "passing". The exceptions were Big Bob and the homeless who looked like "old bums". The hard of hearing, the obese, the midget, and the colored man will always be able to find a milieu where passing may be facilitated (e.g., a theater). Frequently, passing is merely temporary, being subject to later discrediting. When the stigma is latent, the tainted learns to trust himself to secrecy, unwilling to disclose anything related to his failing. He learns to "play the game".[44]

1	OTHERS KNOW PERSON KNOWS	OTHERS KNOW PERSON DOES NOT KNOW 2
3	OTHERS DO NOT KNOW PERSON KNOWS	OTHERS DO NOT KNOW PERSON DOES NOT KNOW 4

Fig. II

Figure II (above) shows the possibilities surrounding the existence of stigma. Cell 1 represents the perfect stigma situation;

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[44] See p. 18 of this work.

everyone is aware of the stigma (e.g., Big Bob at South Hall). This kind of stigma is usually called evident. Cell 4 indicates that there is no stigmatic situation present. Cells 2 and 3 represent incomplete stigma situations. In cell 2, it seems that everyone is aware of the subject's stigmatic condition except he himself (e.g., Robert at South Hall). Cell 3 is where the problem of passing comes in; only the individual concerned realizes that he possesses a stigma -- usually latent (e.g., the inmates at Provincial Haven when they are out in public). Hence, figure II can be used to categorize or include all of our subjects and people in general.

When he is passing, the discreditable person must often be alert to certain aspects of a situation which normals treat as uncalculated routines.[45] Interestingly, it has been noticed that the people who can be most helpful to the person trying to pass are the same people who can be most harmful to him: individuals afflicted with a similar stigmatic condition.[46] This may help to explain why a few of the younger guests at the Haven went "girl hunting" all by themselves and appeared reluctant to take them to the halfway house. Finally, he who passes and thus keeps an important secret to himself almost inevitably runs the risk of being discovered and/or confronted with his secret. The confrontation or showdown will frequently turn out to be a traumatic experience. One can think of many kinds of people who live most of their lives as a masquarade -- simply

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[45] See Garfinkel, Studies in Ethnomethodology.

[46] For a good example of this, see Rolph's Women of the Streets.

waiting for the day to be unmasked (e.g., spies and traitors).

Effects of, or Responses to Stigma

One night, Jack and Big Bob of South Hall had gone to a local tavern "to get drunk". When inebriated, Jack became rowdy and did "crazy things", using his drunkenness as an excuse or a shield to escape responsibility for his actions. That night, upon his return from the tavern, Jack said to the residents talking in the hall: "I'm going to play a little joke on quiet Abdul." The "joke" involved the act of urinating on the door of the Egyptian's room. Abdul was furious and disgusted. The rest of the students sympathized with him. They were "fed up" with Jack's behavior every time he was inebriated. As a result of this incident, Jack's projected self-image was markedly tarnished. The stigma against him took the form of partial ostracism. This seemed to have served as an example to the others that some kinds of behavior — defined as "irrational" — would not be tolerated. We might conclude that stigma, in this case, served as a means for social control; such incidents were never to be repeated by anyone on the floor studied, although they might not have occurred in any case.

Some social scientists have found that the role of the tainted can also be functional in some circumstances. Daniels and Daniels,[47] for instance, have shown the role played by the "career fool" in reinforcing social solidarity by enabling the in-group to define

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[47] Arlene K. Daniels and Ricard R. Daniels, "The Social Function of the Career Fool", Psychiatry, XXVII, (August, 1964), 219-29.

its codes, rules, laws, and so on, more adequately. Stigmatized people like the "moron" will often simply be ignored;[48] but many other types prompt various kinds of social responses which can become important ingredients in accounting for the perpetuation, control, or abrupt termination of the tainted act or its perpetrator. The stigmatized, then, may help the emphasizing of the comparison of rewards and punishments for the conformists and nonconformists alike.

Stigma can be seen as an experience on a pain continuum; a slight uneasiness, for instance, might be at one end of the continuum while strong feelings of shame might be found at the other end. If this assumption is correct, then we may expect the tainted to react in such a way as to try to reduce or eliminate the pain felt. Stigma, then, may have a wide variety of effects on different individuals (e.g., the residents in South Hall becoming more secretive regarding their self as a result of unpleasurable experiences; normals were generally more confident and more talkative). With Goffman's help, we will now attempt to list some of the effects of, or responses to a stigmatic condition.

(a) The blemished may reduce or redefine the importance of the situation.

(b) He may call attention onto something else (as one student in South Hall who seemed to believe that if his friends laughed with him, they did not laugh at him).

(c) He may avoid contacts and situations with normals.

(d) He may seek relief in a fantasy world (like Tim at Care House).

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[48] Horace Miner, St-Denis: A French Canadian Parish (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 204.

(e) He may counterstigmatize.

(f) He may laugh about his stigma in order that it may not be taken too seriously.

(g) He may try to rectify or correct his failing in a direct or indirect manner.

(h) He may use his stigma as an excuse for his lack of success or as a shield to hide behind (as Marc in South Hall used his "jewishness" to hide behind on several occasions).

(i) He may see his stigma as a "blessing in disguise", and this may lead him to re-assess the limitations of normals.

(j) He may acquire stimulus properties in anticipation of situations resulting in his being stigmatized (i.e., becoming that which he has being labelled).

(k) He may use his stigma to rationalize the major part of his life and how others treat him.

(l) He may feel unsure about the way normals will react towards him and believe that his minor failings or incidental impropriety will be interpreted as an expression of his stigma.

(m) He may attempt to use some object to conceal his handicap (e.g., eye patch, wig, clothing, contact lenses, etc.).

There might be other responses to a stigmatic condition -- perhaps related to some of those above. These may produce noticeable changes in the persons affected.

Summary and Conclusion

Perhaps the greatest strength of participant-observation lies in Hall's comment that "what people do is frequently more important than what they say."[59] This is what social research is concerned with: people and what they do. Here, we have attempted to portray the blemished person as a total human being with a personality, needs, desires, and problems often similar to those who point

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[59] Hall, The Silent Language, op. cit., p. 15.

their finger at him. A preoccupation with Tainted Man's shortcoming tends to overlook or ignore the difficulties he has in accomplishing his everyday social roles and obligations.

Data from the researcher's diary on the three settings used in the study have been examined and interpreted. We saw that sex was defined by the residents as their number one problem while the staff seemed to have played this down. On the one hand, it seems like the halfway house "castrated" its guests by forbidding them to be sexually gratified, and on the other hand, it appears that it had little choice since it was supposed to reflect the morals of the society upon which it depended for funds to operate.[50] At Care House, particular attention was devoted to the drinking problem and the way the homeless residents spent their time. In South Hall, the stigma encountered was not of a very serious nature; yet the discrediting comments went beyond the mild pecking that one may receive at home, at work, or in a social gathering. Graduate students are assumed to be "sophisticated". Consequently, the stigmatization that was found there tended to be subtle and frequently took the forms of sarcasm, cynical comments, and the like. A notable exception was Jack's case; interestingly, even among those "sophisticated" people, there appeared to have been a rather low level of tolerance for nonconformity.

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[50] The administrators argued that if their establishment permitted its guests to have any kind of sexual life, it is likely that the halfway house would have taken on the appearance and acquired the reputation of a house of prostitution. The dependence on the government and the public for funds seems to have been the principal reason behind the concern with the Haven's projected public image.

Secrecy, fantasy, sex, loneliness, and gossip were examined and, whenever possible, comparisons were made between the various settings. The "reality" of our subjects was also examined. While two of the settings were investigated to study the life of the negatively privileged, the other setting (South Hall) was to be a comparative group composed of positively privileged individuals. It was believed that the comparative method permitted the study of the same phenomenon and its ramifications under a greater variety of conditions. The results, however, showed that stigmatic situations were numerous on the floor studied at South Hall while stigma was almost nonexistent in the other settings where live people whose life-condition was somewhat stigmatic.

Other findings indicated that the blemished tend to develop a rhetoric of legitimization frequently involving counterstigma to neutralize the context of deviance into which the institution they are in operates. It may also be hypothesized that stigma can serve as a means for social control. Furthermore, we might wish to conclude that places like halfway houses, hostels or missions, and perhaps also orphenages, mental hospitals, institutions for the deaf, the cripple, the blind, and so on, are actually stigma shelters protecting the individuals within from society at large.[51] They may be an essential element in the disalienation of Tainted Man, providing him with a moral community which may be a substitute for general, societal acceptance. Moreover, by segregating them, these

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[51] As Goffman attempts to show in his work Asylums.

shelters appear to perpetuate the stigmatization of the persons living within them. They seem to leave much to be desired, especially concerning the sex life of the individuals inside.

Other findings suggested that the more time a person spends with, or is exposed to a group of people, the greater their possibility of finding him a failing. A direct effect of this may be a refusal to disclose any significant information about the self to others. It also seems that individuals with an evident stigma will be likely to be stigmatized for a longer period of time than individuals with a latent stigma that may be easily concealed.

To gain a better understanding of the differences found in the various stigmas in this study, and to gain a better understanding of the reason(s) concerning the selection of victims, it seems necessary to understand that in a multi-group society conformity to a particular group's norms sometimes requires the violations of another group's norms. For example, an ex-convict's account at Provincial Haven of his experience in a tavern where he ended up hitting a law officer enhanced his status in the halfway house, but it violated the norms of the dominant culture. Furthermore, in society not all violators are found and punished even though their violations may be known. And of those who are caught, not all are classified and treated in exactly the same manner.

CHAPTER IV

TOWARDS A MINIMIZATION OF STIGMA

"Delabelling" Strategies

Human beings are not all alike. They are not all of the same color. They do not all think alike. They do not all believe in the same religion. They do not all speak the same language. They do not all have a similar nomos. Some people have only one eye; others have none. Some people cannot hear; others cannot speak. Not all are healthy; and few are wealthy. And because of all these differences, it is almost inevitable that they are not all treated in exactly the same way.

What is frequently "wrong" with a person or group, then, is that he or it is not like other individuals or groups around. Though conformity may be functional in many circumstances, a deep intolerance for nonconformity coupled with the threat of being stigmatized can bind a population in a rigid and ritualistic way of life where little will be ventured and little will be gained.

Marxists and others might argue differently on this. They might hold that since most people are estranged from those who govern their lives, they turn against each other in frustration -- using stigma as one of their "outlets".

In any case, the labels ascribed to various persons for their differentness can widely vary in their degrading ability. Furthermore, some labels may be easily discarded while others may remain with the

individual until his death. For example, with the cessation of drug intake, the drug addict may be said to be "cured". But his stigma may not always go away; he might simply become an ex-addict. But a blind man, after having been successfully operated upon, will become a "normal" man.

> Thus, what is basically wrong with an alcoholic is that he drinks. In the case of other psychiatric disorders the issue of 'what is wrong' is much less clear. . . . The mentally ill, once labelled, acquire such vague but threatening stereotypes as 'strange', 'different', and 'dangerous'. Since the signs of the disorder are vague in terms of cultural stereotypes, it is most difficult for the 'recovered' mental patient to convince others that he is 'cured'.[1]

In this work, we take the position that stigma generally does more harm and causes more suffering than any useful purpose or any service it may render. This is not to say that all stigma is evil. As we have shown, it can occasionally serve as a means of social control (Jack in South Hall) or be used to enhance one's status (Steve at Provincial Haven); lastly, it might be used to serve the masses of people in societies (e.g., idealists, revolutionaries, and others may wish to encourage the stigmatization of capitalists and imperialists in order that injustices might be minimized and hence improve the lot of the masses). But in light of our position, the subsequent "delabelling" strategies were formulated to reduce or eliminate the probability of temporary or permanent stigmatization:

1) The vulnerability of the person or group concerned must be challenged (e.g., by convincing them to redefine their situ-

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[1] H. M. Trice and P. Roman, "Delabelling, Relabelling, and Alcoholics Anonymous", Social Problems, XVII, #4, (Spring 1970), p. 541.

ation).

2) Through reason and any moral arguments available, the stigmatizers must be persuaded that what they are doing is unjust, and they might be persuaded or pressured up to and including civil disobedience — perhaps even revolution, depending on the gravity of the tainted's plight.

3) If possible, work should be pursued from within the group that stigmatizes (to nip the stigma in the bud, so to speak).

4) People must be able or be taught to dissociate the connection between the well-being of the group and its arm of coercion which is frequently all too ready to act against any nonconforming group.[2]

5) "If the profit is taken out of labelling, persons who are prone to label . . . . . will turn to other activities." [3]

6) People might be informed that what they find undesirable about the blemished comes from factors beyond their control (according to Parsons' analysis of the "sick role", permanent stigmatization may be avoided if it can be shown that the taint of the stigmatized is due to, or is a form of an illness).

7) Through contrite, remorseful, and visibly reformed behavior, some stigmatized may be able to take on a "repentant role" and show the community or society that they have "changed".[4]

Implication and Recommendation

While a greater understanding of stigma does not guarantee the power to do away with it, it does seem likely that some success at controlling it could be achieved. Further studies of this nature might include cross-cultural research.

The institutional setting limits the relationships of the individuals within; that is, they are continually exposed to the same

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[2]The first 4 conditions are based on Duster's work (see p. 22n).

[3]Rubington and Weinberg, The Study of Social Problems, op. cit, 170.

[4]The last 2 conditions are based on the Trice & Roman article.

kinds of people ("deviants"), with similar class beliefs, values, and attributes. The residents' behavior is not so much a part of their life pattern but more of a response to the peculiar hardships of their confinement in their institutional setting.[5] Being continually in front of their peers seems to reinforce their behavior. With some of these considerations in mind, one might seriously question the "rehabilitation" powers of many mediatory institutions. As suggested earlier, establishments like Provincial Haven and Care House may well be perpetuating the stigma of their inhabitants by segregating them from the rest of society. Simultaneously, these stigma shelters can become an essential element in the disalienation of the stigmatized by providing them with a moral community -- a social substitute. These areas might be worthy of further investigation in the near future.

Other future studies might wish to investigate the ways (if any) the power élites use stigmatization for their own benefit.

We did not deal with the positive effects of stigma, such as making use of it to enhance one's status. This kind of a study would have to be concerned with the "participating victims" mentioned in the first chapter of this work. Circumstantially, the little evidence we found on participating victims in this study concerned a resident at Provincial Haven who proudly let it be known that he had contracted a venereal disease. According to our defi-

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[5] See E. Goffman's Asylums.

nition of stigma (something that degrades a person), it cannot enhance an individual's status; it cannot be a pleasurable experience. Thus, this aspect of stigma was avoided here since it contradicted our definition. Other social scientists, however, may find this worthy of further research.

A strong case against the stigmatizing of people for social control purposes is that it frequently does not work. Many repercussions or side effects can take place -- by chance or otherwise -- which are outside of the perview of the stigmatizing party. Hence, it often fails to curb countless forms of deviance. In fact, the stigma can create unforseen or unexpected consequences (e.g., it can lead some persons into forming or joining deviant subcultural groups). Societies might take steps, then, in the direction of stigma prevention. As Durkheim noticed long ago,[6] the blemished tend to serve as scapegoats for some unresolved public frustrations. Since the source of these frustrations is not the scapegoat, the psychological relief can only be temporary. But there are always other groups to stigmatize.

Summary and Conclusion

Using the sociology of knowledge approach, we have seen that man tends to impose a meaningful order (nomos) on what he has come to know as "reality". He often lives in a world that he takes for

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[6] Emile Durkheim, The Rules of the Sociological Method, trans. by S. A. Solovay and J. H. Mueller; ed. by G. E. Catlin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938). p. 122.

granted, where behavior tends to be endowed with a "naturalness" or "normality" that is accepted by most people. His socially constructed world has the tendency to legitimate itself by making things appear self-evident and by the mere fact that it is there. Insofar as people believe that others are defining situations the way they do, social order is produced. People in a group may have different opinions and attitudes, but in time this variation is reduced through discussions and interaction. Social pressures and sanctions are frequently brought against the nonconformists and the different. In most societies, these "different" individuals challenge the common definition of "reality", the notion of "normality". They can provoke a fear or a feeling of insecurity in the others. Consequently, they risk being labelled "deviant". Thus, deviance is largely a matter of social stigmatization; and stigma may be a tactic of self-defense for those people who have a rather narrow conception of "reality".

If the researcher were to do this study over again, it seems likely that he would not, first of all, choose the same populations. He would try to find a population with an evident stigma (e.g., persons in an institute for the blind) that would also contain members of both sexes. This population would be compared with the students at South Hall (and their girlfriends). In both settings, particular attention would be paid to the subjects' reference group(s); attempts would also be made to try to uncover the reasons why certain people do not get involved with the in-group. Although participant-observation and ethnomethodology would still be used, these methods would be sup-

plemented by the questionnaire technique or the formal interview. This would undoubtedly increase the validity of the study. Several concrete hypotheses would be formulated and thoroughly investigated -- along with any event considered significant. The investigator would increase his visits to his stigmatized population and try to obtain a greater degree of rapport with it; hopefully, the individuals concerned would not be too old and hence more receptive than the residents of Care House. More emphasis would be paid to the relationship of staff-inmates. Finally, one or more experiments could be undertaken to provide evidence (or lack of it) for the "conditions for successful stigmatization" and the "delabelling strategies".

The researcher is of the opinion that not enough time and effort have been spent on the phenomenon of social stigma. Yet this work seems to point out its importance and, as Goffman has shown, tends to indicate (as in the cases of Robert, Sutrah, and others at South Hall) that virtually any characteristic can be a sufficient reason for it to occur if it is not shared by the rest of the in-group. Since few individuals can actually meet the criteria or qualifications of "normality", we may conclude that a broadening of this category of normals could lead to a greater degree of tolerance and acceptance vis-à-vis the different. In the final analysis, tolerance toward the different requires an openness of mind and a readiness to risk change. To conclude, the victim of stigma might be seen as the creation of his persecutors -- "qua" social object. Without him, Normal Man would not exist. It seems, then, that some people must be degraded in order that others be upgraded.

APPENDIX

DEPARTURE FROM PROVINCIAL HAVEN

Back in October 1971, the researcher defended his Proposal. Somehow, Mr. Darlington heard about it. Apparently, one or more statements that were said there did not seem to have pleased him. He appeared very concerned about this (since the "image" of the halfway house was involved). He said he had received some "negative feedback" but did not elaborate on this. Gradually, the investigator discovered that the director was concerned with what had been said about staff supervision.[1] His attitude towards the participant-observer grew colder.

On November 8, I was asked into Mr. Darlington's office. During that week, I had perceived several staff members murmuring behind my back; hence, I had an idea that something was happening. Darlington explained that the staff were voicing their dissent against my criticisms of their supervision. The "Negative Feedback Affair" was growing. The director wanted to know <u>exactly</u> what had been said at the presentation of the Proposal. Then he asked (although it sounded like an order) for a copy of it. He also warned me that I was destroying my chances of doing my study "properly".

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[1] At the time, I had specified that these statements were based on first impression.

> Gardiner and Whyte (1946) cite [that] the researcher was brought into the plant with the support of a plant manager. The first interviews were with him, he assumed the responsibility for getting the researcher properly introduced at the next lower level, etc. As the researcher carried the interviewing. . . during a two-month period, he noticed a decided change in the manager's attitude toward him. Since the early contacts with the manager had been frequent and informal, the researcher probably felt no need to check back occasionally to see how the manager was perceiving the way in which the research operation was unfolding. . . . Gardiner and Whyte point out that 'subsequent interviews showed he felt the researcher was not interviewing the "right" people, that he was not getting "the true picture" of the situation.' The researcher's presence was, therefore, no longer welcome as far as the manager was concerned.[2]

The ultimate message of his lecture, then, was fairly evident: he would not tolerate any negative comments made concerning the Haven.[3] The director's attitude reminded me of the inmates and the staff member who had warned me on my very first visit at the establishment not to trust anyone. Their trust in me was waning. Perhaps they had become too acustomed to the ex-convict's world-view and had unconsciously internalized several aspects of it. In any case, Mr. Darlington hinted that he should be kept informed of my work as it developed; he wanted to examine my diary. I politely told him that this was not possible but, to appease his doubts and anxieties, I promised him a copy of the Proposal. I also attempted to make him understand that the many rumours he had heard were probably distor-

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[2] Floyd C. Mann, "Human Relations Skills in Social Research" in William J. Filstead, ed., Qualitative Methodology (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1970), p. 127.

[3] Because Provincial Haven was the first of its kind in Canada, it often comes under the scrutiny of governments at the three levels; this could partially account for the administrators' almost obsessive preoccupation with selling a good image of itself to the public.

tions of what had actually been said at the presentation. Occasionally, he seemed to imply that I did not "understand" their problems. Perhaps this was so, or perhaps he meant that I did not share their vested interest.

On November 18, the staff of Provincial Haven were scheduled to have a meeting. I entered the office and talked with one of the secretaries; the other one had gone home early. Brother Barnabas came in and went straight into Mr. Darlington's office, closing the door behind him. Into the office came Old Joe (the inmate who had spent 25 years in prison for murder). We were expecting him since he had been sitting on the back porch of one of the two buildings. The secretary had hypothesized that Old Joe had been drinking again because when he was sober, he would spend most of his day in the office bothering her and her companion. And he had yet to make an appearance in the office on that day. I was standing near his favorite spot, namely the counter, behind which he usually rested. As was his custom, he headed for this spot. As he rested on the counter, I noticed that he seemed nervous. Then, as if he had given this much thought, he spoke directly to me: "You, you know what you are?" he asked as he pointed his skinny finger in my direction, "You're a stool." Somewhat surprised, I asked, "What do you mean?" His tone became louder: "Yes, you're a stool-pigeon and a fink. A rat-fink and a spy -- that's what you are", said he, using common stigma vocabulary from his subculture. I calmly replied that I did not understand what he was talking about. I could not smell alcohol in his breath and I had seen him walking normally. Hence I

concluded he was not drunk but merely a little "high". He was quite excited, moving about all the time.

> "You're a rat-fink; I know you're type. I've met lots of those. You're a spy and you'de better get goin' fast. And don't deny it. It's all there in print. . . . that stuff that you wrote. . . . treatin' us like kids. . . . everybody's read it. . . . Were gonna git you. . . . Ain't nobody gonna do anything to stop us, too. You're a stool. Do you know what happens to stools? No,hey? Well show ya tonight. You'de better get out right now you stool, you. . . ."

At that point, he tried to hit me but somehow, he was able to retain his gesture. I attempted to make him understand that he had misinterpreted the paper he had read (by now, I knew he was referring to my Proposal). But Old Joe was in no listening mood. He had defined the situation. In addition,

> We can predict from the presence of secondary adjustments that the inmate group will have evolved some kind of code and some means of informal social control to prevent one inmate from informing staff about the secondary adjustments of another. On the same ground, we can expect that one dimension of social typing of and among inmates will be this question of security, leading to definitions of persons as 'squealers', 'finks', 'rats', or 'stoolies' on one hand, and 'right guys' on the other.[4]

On and on he talked, repeating the same phrases and becoming increasingly infuriated. "I'll kill ya", he said, trembling with anger.

> "Everybody's read that garbage. . . . It's all there in print about what you said. . . . You talked about everybody. . . . Ain't nobody good enough for ya, hey? . . . . Well, we'll get you tonight. I'm givin' ya five minutes to git out of here. . . . Do you hear me? Now git! . . . . We'll take you out in the alley tonight. . . . You'de better leave or I'll kill ya myself. . . ."

Being labelled a deviant in this manner is not exactly a pleasant

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[4]Goffman, Asylums, op. cit., p. 55. (See also Donald R. Cressy, ed., The Prison).

experience; and the same thing might be said about receiving murder threats from one who is supposed to have already killed. But nothing that I said could have calmed him. Finally, a staff member -- realizing that I was in a tight spot -- attempted to redefine the situation. Reading the copy of the Proposal, he said: "Wait a minute, Joe, we haven't read all of this yet. . . Even I have a tough time understanding it. . . I don't think you got it right." But Old Joe had begun his monologue again, more angry than ever. "Lots o' guys in those houses are real mad. . . We'll get ya. You think I'm kiddin', hey? You wanna fight? Come on. . ." (Here, he motioned that he was ready to fight and invited me to join him). As I tried to calm him down, he repeated the same phrases once more and left.[5]

No one spoke about the incident during the ten minutes that followed; all appeared a little embarrassed. Then, Brother Barnabas walked out of the director's office and said goodnight to everyone -- as if he had not heard anything that had transpired outside the office. It was now time for the meeting. I was eager to find out how Old Joe and "everybody" had found out about the study.

In the office, all the staff members were present except for Bernie. I began by asking Mr. Darlington if he had heard what had gone on outside his office. He said that he had heard some parts of the conversation. After I had filled him in on the other parts, I asked how Old Joe and the rest of the residents could have possibly

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[5]Strangely enough, a conversation was heard at Care House that dealt with "stoolies"; it was very much along the lines of Old Joe's discourse: filled with hatred and references to violent acts.

read the Proposal. It had been given to the secretary with the following advice: "Please give this to Mr. Darlington when he comes in -- and to no one else." I had been assured that all would be taken cared off. Now, Mr. Darlington was telling me he had not read it yet. It had been a week since his secretary had received it. He had asked for it in an urgent tone, and yet once he had received it, it seems like he had forgotten to read it. Moreover, it was the director himself who had warned me that if I wanted to know where things were in the Haven, all I had to do was to ask the residents since they were always "snooping around" and hence knew where everything was hidden. Nevertheless, my Proposal had been left on the secretary's desk. Mr. Darlington expressed his regret for the incident, adding: "I guess this sort of spoils your study, hey?" As far as the staff were concerned, the entire affair had been a "most unfortunate turn of events".

Before I left the Haven, Paul mentioned having discussed the "negative feedback" with Bernie, one night, and admitted that "someone could have overheard the conversation". This explained why Old Joe had stated that I had criticized "everybody" in my Proposal when no such criticisms appeared in the paper. Finally, it seems that a research will often generate some resentment unless it is strictly favorable to all parties concerned.[6] People tend to seek to enhance their image, wishing to appear only in a desirable light. A study that does not do this for them can frequently be perceived as a threat.

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[6] As Vidich & Bensman discovered when their following work was published: "The Springdale Case: Academic Bureaucrats and Sensitive Townspeople", in Vidich, Bensman, and M. Stein, eds., Reflections on Community Studies (N. Y.: J. Wiley & Sons, 1964), pp. 313-49.

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